Psychological and Social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims: Evidence from selected precincts in the Eastern Cape.

by

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work. Each significant contribution and quotation in this thesis from the work or works of other people has been acknowledged and referenced.

F.M. Zondeka

Glossary

SAPS:	South African Police Service
CIMC:	Crime Information Management Centre
CIMO	Crime Intelligence Management Office
CIO:	Crime Intelligence Official
M.O.	*Modus operandi* (methods used in the crime commission)
PTSD:	Post-traumatic stress disorder
RSA:	Republic of South Africa

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ABSTRACT

This study concerns the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims, with the central aim as of understanding, from a victim's perspective, the psychological and social impact of being violently robbed. In South Africa, there has been a steady increase in aggravated robberies which had psychological and social consequences on victims. The purpose of this study was to explore on how aggravated robbery disrupts victim's core assumption of invulnerability, the ability to handle stress after the incident, as well as the kind of support systems employed to overcome the ordeal.

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The South African nation is struggling to manage with a very high rate of aggravated robberies – a phenomenon that has also increased worldwide. Some aggravated robberies are highly organized in nature (*e.g.* most cash-in-transit (CIT) and bank robberies, as well as truck and carjacking). This is particularly the case when organized criminals are involved. Other robberies are not as well organized as is the case with the majority of street robberies. The dramatic changes of this crime as highlighted, remains worryingly when figures increase in one sub-trend and decrease in another. It is worrying when street robbery decreases and house robbery increases as if the robbers have moved from the street to residential places.

Research data was gathered by means of a structured questionnaire. Forty two (42) respondents (3%) out of 1410 victims covering all subcategories of aggravated robberies were interviewed. Respondents were selected utilizing the principle of purposive sampling to ensure representativity in terms of gender, age, race and marital status. The researcher had used his own judgement about which respondents to choose, and picked only those who best met the purposes of the study and further relied on his experience, ingenuity to deliberately obtain units of analysis in such a manner that the sample obtained had to be regarded as being representative of the relevant population. Three research sites *viz.* East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha, were selected because of the highest recorded incidences of aggravated robberies.

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All participants reported some effects during and after the attacks. As a result of physical and emotional trauma, specifically where firearms or dangerous weapons were used to threaten the victims, the findings revealed that the impact of aggravated robberies on victims, accrued in psychological and social consequences followed by post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) which prolongs for a long time. Due to the financial losses, ninety eight percent (98%) of victims' psychological distress appeared, and became very intense.

Very few participants received any support and the overwhelming majority of the victims never received assistance or support from the Government during and after the robberies. The Government has not taken measures in preventing robbery cases or visiting crime scenes promptly.

This study based on the findings, makes recommendations for ways in which victims of aggravated robberies can be assisted, where it proposed for support at the police stations and/or hospitals by means of availing psychologists, and work shopping police in addressing the perceived lack of service, regardless of the severity of the attacks.

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ISICATSHULWA

Esisifundo singqamene neziphumo ngenzululwazi yobungqondo nemeko yasekuhlaleni yamaxhoba okukhuthuzwa kuxhotyiwe, ngenjongo ephambili yokuqonda, isukela kwimibono yamaxhoba, impembelelo ngokwasebungqondweni nasekuhlaleni xa ekhuthuzwa ngobu bhovu-bhovu. EMzantsi Afrika, kubekho ukonyuka ngobuqampu bokukhuthuzwa kuxhotyiwe apho amaxhoba achaphazeleka ngenxa yeziphumo ngokwase bungqondweni nase kuhlaleni. Injongo yesi sifundo yayikuku phonononga ukuba ukukhuthuzwa kuxhotyiwe oku kuphazamisana njani nesizindlo sangaphakathi sokungxwelerhwa kwexhoba, ukukwazi ukulawula isicinezelo emva kwesehlo, ngokunjalo neendidi zenkxaso eyenziwe ngendlela emisiweyo ebekelwe ukoyisa isilingo esinzima.

Isizwe saze Mzantsi Afrika siyazamazama ukulawula ulonyuko olukhulu lophango kuxhotyiwe – isenzeko esiye naso senyuka kwihlabathi liphela. Ezinye iimo zokuphanga kuxhotyiwe zilungiselelwe ngohlobo olukhulu kakhulu (*umz,* uphango lwemali ethuthwayo kunye nokukhuthuzwa kweshishini lee bhanki, kananjalo ukukhuthuzwa kwee nqwelo zempahla neenqwelo mafutha). Le iba yenye imeko ingakumbi xa abaphuli mthetho abadibeneyo bechaphazeleka. Olunye uphango alulungiselelwanga kakhulu njengokuba kunjalo kubuninzi bokhuthuzo lwase stratweni.

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Utshintsho lwezehlo ezivus'umxhelo kolu lwaphulo mthetho njengokuba kuvelisw'ukukhanya soloko zihlupha xa amanani esonyuka kweliny'icala ze ehle kweliny'icala. Kuyahlupha xa ukhuthuzo lwase stratweni lusihla ze ukhuthuzo lwase ndlwini lonyuke ngokungathi abakhuthuzi bafudukile ezitratweni bayokhuthuz'ezindaweni zokuhlala.

Uphando ngeendawo ezaziwa ngento ziqokelelwe ngendlela yephepha lemibuzo elakhiweyo. Amashumi amane anesibini (42) abaphenduli mibuzo (3%) athatyathwe kwi 1410 yamatyala avuliweyo, agubungele zonke iingingqi zokuphanga kuxhotyiwe, baye babuzwa kudliwano ndlebe. Abaphenduli mibuzo bakhethwa kusetyenziswa umthetho siseko wesampulu yeenjongo ukuqinisekisa ukuba wonke ubani umelwe ngokwesini, ngokweminyaka, ngokobuhlanga nangokwesimo somtshato. Umphandi usebenzise isigwebo sokuba ngowuphi umphenduli mbuzo amakamsebenzise , waze wakhetha kuphela abo bamelana neenjongo zesi sifundo waze kwakhona waxhomekeka kumava akhe, ubuchule ukuze ngabom akwazi ukufumana umlinganiselo wohlahlelo ngendlela yokuba uvavanyo olufunyenweyo luthatyathwe njengobumel'obuphathelele kubemi. Iziza ezithathu zophando oko kukuthi, lmonti, Kwazakhele noMthatha, zakhethwa ngenxa yempakamo yezehlo zokuphangwa kuxhotyiwe.

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Bonke abathathi nxaxheba baxela ezinye zezinto zokuthabatheka ngexesha kunye nasemva kokuhlaselwa. Ngenxa yenkangeleko yomzimba kunye nokwenzakala ngokuchumisekayo koluvo ingakumbi apho imipu okanye izixhobo eziyingozi zathi zasetyenziswa ukoyikisa amaxhoba, iziphumo zophando zibonakalisa ukuba impembelelo yophango kuxhotyiwe kumaxhoba, zongezelele kwiziphumo zokwenzakala ngokwase ngqondweni nase kuhlaleni zilandelwe yingulo yokwasengqondweni enenkani nogxininiso oluchukumisayo kwase ngqondweni (PTSD) oluba luzengezeng'ithub'elide. Ngenxa yelahleko ngokwase zimalini, i-98 persenti yamaxhoba avel'uxhwaleko ngokwa sengqondweni, yaze yaba shushu.

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Bambalwa kakhul'abathathi nxanxeba abafumene inkxaso kwaye isininzi kakhulu samaxhoba azange sifumane luncedo okanye nkxaso esuka kurulumente kanye ngeloxesha okanye emva kokukhuthuzwa. Urulumente akathabathanga manyathelo ekuthinteleni amatyala ophango okanye andwendwele iindawo zezehlo zolwaphulo mthetho ngoko nangoko nangokukhawuleza.

Esi sifundo siqamele kwiziphumo zophando senza iingcebiso kwiindlela amaxhoba okhuthuzo kuxhotyiwe anokuthi ancedwe ngayo, apho sindululula inkxaso emapoliseni nase/okanye ezibhedlele ngendlela yokwenza ubukho bomfundi gcisa kweze ngqondo

nokuqhelisa amapolisa ekwakheni iinkonzo ezikrokreleka ngokungabikho, nangokungakhathaleliyo ubungqongqo bohlaselo.

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KEY TERMS

Aggravated robbery

Victims

Invulnerability

Street / Public robbery

Car-jacking

House robbery

Retail robbery

Truck-jacking

Cash-in-transit (CIT) robbery

Bank robbery

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The incidence of armed robberies in South Africa has increased dramatically since 1994 (Harrison & Kinner, 1998, p. 787). There is also growing evidence that as the frequency of armed robberies has increased, the brutality of these robberies has also increased (Herlofsen, 1992, p. 72). The South Africans thought the end of apartheid period and commencement of transformation during 1994, levels of aggravated robberies would drop significantly, but instead, these crimes increased. Barolsky and Pillay (March 2009, p. 14) highlight that transitions from authoritarian to democratic governance around the world have been accompanied by escalating violent crime rates such as aggravated robberies. Herbig and Hesselink (2012, p. 29) explain that transformation, for which South Africa is known worldwide, also has one of the highest rates of crime in the world. Most disturbing is the aggravating nature of these crimes.

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Aggravated robbery is a great sort of human brutality caused by individual to another individual, and that in some ways results into other extreme traumatic incidents and in other ways is a unique stressor.

This research intends to explore how aggravated robbery disrupts victim's core assumption of invulnerability, the capability to handle trauma after the incident, as well as the kind of Government systems utilized to subdue the hardship.

As noted by Friday, Ren, Weitekamp, Kerner and Taylor (2005, p. 123), crime and delinquency exist in all societies, but the nature and rates of crime vary significantly. The present day South Africa has been riddled with aggressive criminals thereby necessitating the doubling of state spending on the criminal justice system (i.e. the department of safety and security, justice, and correctional services). According to Holtmann and Domingo-Swarts (May 12, 2013, p. 115) the state spending on fighting crime, as a proportion of the national budget, has more than doubled from less than five percent (5%) in 1987/88 to almost ten percent (10%) to-date.

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Historically, violence was a result of the ills of apartheid, things such as segregation, maltreatment of non-whites and the oppressive governance which results into the current aggravated robberies in South Africa.

However, in the new South Africa post 1994, the country has been met with even more environmental contributors to violence and violent crime, such as poverty and economic inequality, of which both have been strongly associated with violence and violent crime (Crutchfield & Wadsworth, 2003, p. 67; Fajnzylber, Lederman & Loayza, 2002, p. 1349). Barber (2008, p. 239) states that the variety and intensity of psychological stress associated with impoverished communities, increases competition and intensifies physical aggression, which ultimately increases the probability of criminal violence such as aggravated robberies.

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Important social factors related to violent crime have been identified as poverty-related variables, urbanization, and the influx of illegal immigrants as well as a lack of policing, and economical inequality (Demombynes & Özler, 2005, p. 268; SAPS Annual Report, 2010/2011, p. 07). Also contributing to violent crime is the normalization of violence in general, the accessibility of firearms, feelings of hostility, exposure to violence, and substance abuse (The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, March 2010, p. 10). South Africans have also been criticized for the acceptance of violence in conflict resolution and everyday life (Loots & Louw, June 2011, p. 31).

This research is necessitated by the fact that violent crimes have multiple ripple-effects on all spheres of life for the victims, families of victims and all citizens and visitors. Chockalingam (2013, p. 97) agrees that crime affects the individual victims and their families. Moreover, the very nature of the crimes, their excessive degree of violence further stresses the need for this research. This study seeks to explore the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims with the intention of helping victims cope, and help the system to understand the ripple effects of these crimes and rise up with more speed to fight and uproot crime in South Africa.

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It is against this backdrop that this research uses Janoff-Bulman and Frieze' theoretical perspective for understanding reactions to victimization, to explore the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies. Regarding this theory, Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 01) express that although specific victimizations may differ, there appear to be common psychological responses across a wide variety of victims. This theory emphasizes that the sorrow suffered by the victim is largely due to the destruction of personal individual's fundamental belief. This premise is real in his / her mind as well as the inference that promulgated laws that are extant for his / her safety.

The researcher also exposes the victim's ability to handle stress after the incident, as well rate the kind of support systems employed to help the victims to overcome the ordeal.

The South African Police Service have desegregated and classified aggravated robberies into different sub-categories. According to SAPS Annual Report (2010/2011, p. 12), aggravated robbery is desegregated and classified into the following sub-categories: street / public robbery; car-jacking; robbery at residential premises (house robbery); robbery at business premises (retail robbery); truck-jacking; cash-in-transit (CIT) robbery; and bank robbery. Desegregation and classification has been done to simplify all seven robbery cases affecting the victims. Examples of all these sub-categories are explained underneath:

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Street / public robbery: An African National Congress (ANC) MP and national executive committee member Jackson Mthembu was rushed to Witbank Hospital on Sunday night 19 October 2014 after he was shot in Mpumalanga. He was at an ATM in the Witbank central business district when an offender came to him with a firearm and asked that he withdrew all his money. An undisclosed amount of cash was robbed from him.

Car-jacking: On Monday 5 August 2013, a 63 year old former Transkei Prime Minister George Matanzima's only surviving son, Chief Qaqambile Matanzima was killed when his car was hijacked in Stutterheim. He died in hospital after being stabbed by a perpetrator who disguised himself as a hitchhiker who subsequently took his car.

Recently, a car-jacking involving a four year old boy drew national attention when Chantel Morris' vehicle was hijacked in Boksburg, east of Johannesburg on Saturday 19 July 2014. Her son's foot got stuck as she tried to pull him from the car, but the carjackers sped off. The boy's head and body may have hit the road as the car sped away, causing fatal injuries. The boy was later found dead in the abandoned vehicle.

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Robbery at residential premises (house robbery): On Saturday 21 June 2014 at about 22:00, four men entered a holiday home in Anglers Way, Port Alfred by gaining access through the sliding door, attacked and robbed three elderly fishermen and fled with their cell phones, jewellery, alcohol and undisclosed amount of cash.

On Sunday night 26 October 2014, a South African national soccer team (Bafana Bafana) Captain as well as Orlando Pirates soccer football Captain Senzo Meyiwa was shot and killed.

The football star was shot in the back at his Kelly Khumalo's Vosloorus home on the East Rand, apparently while trying to protect the singer from the robbers. He was rushed to the Botshelong Hospital, but was pronounced dead on arrival. An undisclosed amount of cash and cell phones were robbed.

Robbery at business premises (retail robbery): On Friday 6 June 2014, a Tongaat businessman was reported to be in critical condition after he was shot in the chest during the robbery in his business and an undisclosed amount of cash was taken by the robbers.

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Truck-jacking: On Thursday 20 February 2014, a 54 year old Mzondi Mgwira was robbed of his truck whilst driving along Phoenix Highway near Industrial Park and was assaulted and robbed of his cell phone and cash and later dumped at Etafuleni Cemetery in Inanda, Durban.

Cash-in-transit: on 14 October 2013, a 36 year old guard from Coin security who was with his crew of two other men in front of the First National bank, Bushbuckridge were accosted by a gang of armed men who opened fire and killed the victim. The offenders subsequently fled the crime scene in two vehicles with a bag full of cash.

Bank robbery: On 26 March 2010, six robbers stormed Absa bank in KwaDwesi's Siyabunga shopping complex in Port Elizabeth one kilometre away from Kwazakhele, while another waited in a getaway Isuzu bakkie.

In order to understand the focus of this research, attention is given to the research statement as outlined in the succeeding section of this chapter.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Zinn (2010, p. 01) argues that the South African nation is battling to cope with a very high rate of aggravated robberies – a phenomenon that has also increased worldwide. Some aggravated robberies are highly organized in nature (e.g. most cash-in-transit (CIT) and bank robberies, as well as truck and car-jacking).

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According to statistics released by the Crime Information Management Centre (CIMC) of the South African Police Service (SAPS), the total number of cash-in-transit robberies investigated during 1997 and 1998 indicated that there were 47 cases in 1997, while 53 other robberies took place in the period from January to March 1998 (Pillay & Claaste-Schutte, 2004, p. 123). Robberies rose again in 2007 to 17 988 from 17 284 in 2006 (Robbery statistics, November 2014, p. 01).

In addition, Harrendorf, Heiskanen and Malby (2010, p. 27) state that robbery is most common in Southern Africa and in America where the trend slightly increases.

Williams (2012, p. 01) knows from comparisons with other EU members that robberies in England and Wales are very high as they are in South Africa. According to SAPS Crime Report (2010/2011, p.16) cases of aggravated robberies have decreased as compared to 2003/2004 financial years but that does not exonerate the robbery victims. While the occasional decrease in crime raises some excitement amongst the citizens, the violent nature of ongoing crimes is aggravating and traumatizing especially to the victims themselves who are still living in fear.

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However, in contrast with the 2010/2011 SAPS Crime Report, aggravated robberies continued to rise rapidly and had serious impact on the feelings of safety of all citizens from 2005 to 2009 (Burger, December 2009, p. 09; Newham, September 2009, p. 03 & SAPS Crime Report, 2009/2010). The phenomenon of violent crimes, referred to as aggravated crimes, is not only experienced in South Africa but rather also a concern for many countries in Africa, Europe, Asia and America (Marsh, 1999, p. 180).

Aggravated robberies is classified as an offence where a firearm or a dangerous weapon has been used. Other countries regard robbery as crime where only a firearm was utilized. An example is, in America armed robbery can be any robbery with a weapon, as is the definition of aggravated robbery, while the term can be used as an act of taking property directly from a person while unarmed using force or intimidation.

The comparison of robberies between countries is usually problematic, due to the way different countries classify them (Violent Crime, February 26, 2015, p. 01). Any robbery offender in South African courts is referred to as accused who have committed aggravated robbery.

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Despite the widespread adoption of security measures by commercial organizations, the number of aggravated robberies recorded in England and Wales against commercial premises increased steadily during the 1980's reaching a peak in 1993 to 1994 (Mathews, 2002, p. 45).

In Liberia in and around Monrovia researchers have found that violent crime persists in society because of three major factors: (1) profitable venture, (2) lack of incentive to identify armed robbers, and (3) weak deterrence variables (Doe, 2008, p. 3). Aggravated robbery is not only confined to males, and females are also participants though their number is often less than males. Borzycki (2006, p. 43) explains that Australian cases and overseas robberies are not all committed by males and argues that females are also participating in this crime.

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Cohen and Felson (November 23, 2010, p. 12) agree with this view that men are simply involved in criminal behavior and criminal events far more than women. Australian data indicates that around ten percent (10%) of aggravated robbers are females (Borzycki, 2006, p. 43). A study of convicted aggravated robbers in the United Kingdom, Morrison and O'Donnell (1994 p. 2) found that as few as one percent (1%) of aggravated robbers were females. This is an indication that aggravated robbery is alive and is being committed by both males and females.

A search through academic platforms such as Sabinet and Psych Info has revealed that the topic of the consequences of aggravated robberies has not been well researched specifically in the broader South African context. The available literature is limited and very old (available statistics are more than twenty years old). This is a proof that this topic has not been well researched lately.

The researcher therefore has decided to embark on this study with the interest of exposing the stress and trauma suffered by victims during and after aggravated robbery has taken place. The researcher reflects how the stress and trauma shatters the victim's basic assumption of believing in personal invulnerability, their view of the world as safe and their view of self as worthy.

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The focus of this study is on aggravated robbery and will incorporate all of the sub-categories described above, because it has an impact on the victims (Stewart & Davis, 2003, p. 62; H.J. Parad & L.G. Parad, 1990, p.102) and the Government is not rendering assistance to victims (Zinn, 2010, p. 1; Mawby & Walklate, 1995, p. 95).

The above mentioned sub-categories may look different. The seven classifications of aggravated robberies are demonstrated to obliterate the belief that no sub-category is different to another according to South African laws. It is based on the similar elements of this crime such as where a firearm or dangerous weapon is utilized or grievous bodily harm inflicted or a threat to inflict grievous bodily harm (Constitutional Court[1] of South Africa, 2013, p. 07; Crime definitions, 2012, p. 182; Criminal Procedure Act 51 0f 1977, section 1 (1) (b) and Van der Merwe & Paizes, 2013).

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However, they form one charge in a South African court of law. Whether an individual has committed one of these sub-categories, the prosecutor's charge sheet will state that, "the accused is charged for robbery with aggravating circumstances".

[1] Case CCT 44/13 (2013) ZACC 41

According to figure 1.1 below, about two thirds (68.0%) of all aggravated robberies in South Africa are street robberies. These occur mainly in CBD areas and in black townships where ordinary people are robbed of their money, cellular telephones or other valuables at gun or knifepoint (Crime Information Management, June 2008, p. 01).

The large majority of these incidents is therefore not high profile cases involving well known people and is rarely reported in the media. The individuals affected are ordinary citizens. The car-jacking and house robberies most frequently occur in the more affluent suburbs of East London, Mthatha and Port Elizabeth.

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According to the figure below, twelve percent (12%) were car-jacking in South Africa and house robberies stood at 11.2%. In this figure which summarized aggravated robberies from April 2001 to September 2008 indicated that business robberies in South Africa were at 7.4% and bank robbery at one percent (1%).

The truck jacking and cash-in-transit robbery was at the lowest with 0.3% and 0.1% respectively.

The outrageous violence during robberies which usually arises in severe injuries or fatalities is only attributed to these car-jacking and house robbery cases. However, Crime Information Management (June 2008, p. 3) brings to the fore that extreme violence does occasionally occur because the crimes are usually committed at places where it is less likely for bystanders or eyewitnesses to intervene.

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Figure 1-1: below depicts all seven different sub-categories of aggravated robbery during the first semester of the 2007/2008 financial year.

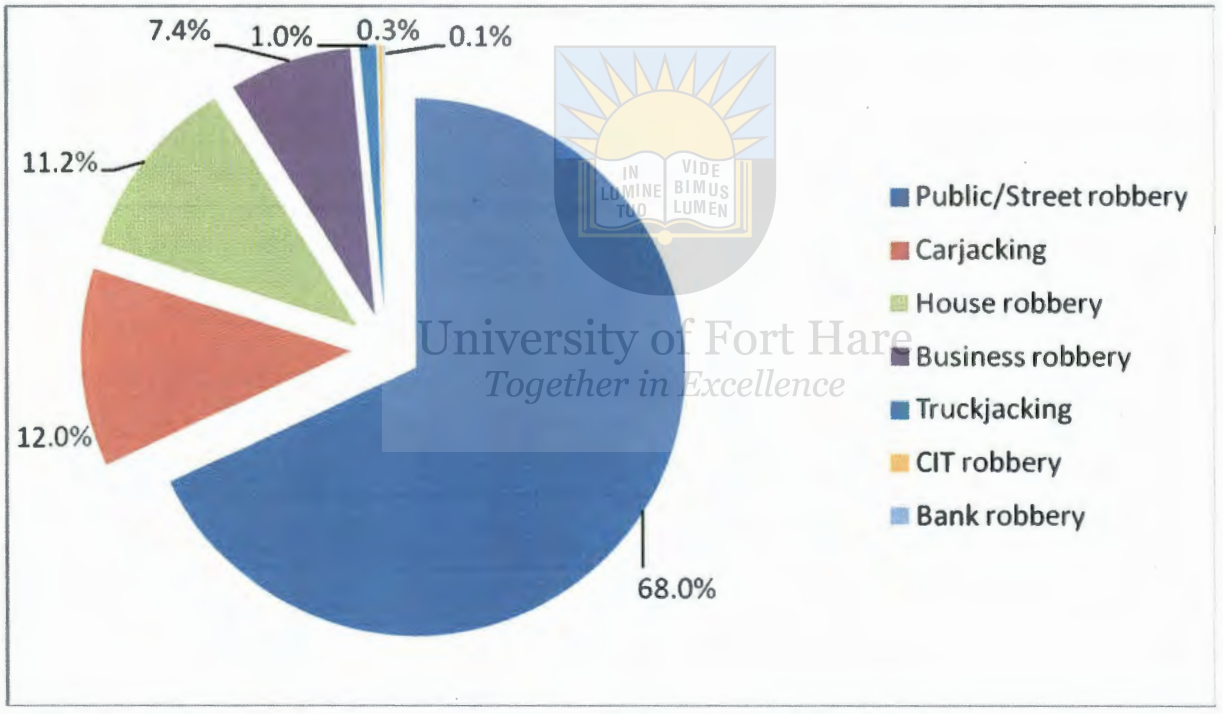

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Figure1-1: Crime situation in the RSA, April to September: 2001 - 2008

(http://www.info.gov.za/issues/crime/crime_aprsept_ppt.pdf).

Statistics from the South African Police Service indicate that all aggravated robberies are committed by a group of individuals (SAPS Annual Report, 2007, p. 4). In all reported criminal cases, victims have stated that they were robbed by a group of people. Being confronted with multiple offenders might have an influence on victimization of aggravated robbery victims. In most cases these aggravated robberies are a well planned criminal operation, executed with military style planning and precision of which one individual is unable to perform this action alone (Geldenhuys, 2007, p. 10). Mukhuthu (February 24, 2015, p. 01) explains that offenders in a South African context get away with thousands in foreign exchange in a carefully planned and executed bank heist.

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The South African situation appears to be similar to Slovenia where the aggravated robbery offenders are also using firearms. They are generally viewed to be more intelligent, better educated, psychopathically structured and who perform their criminal acts in a group, represent one type of danger, since all those characteristics make a solid basis for professionalization in this type of criminal act (Dujmovic & MikŠaj-Todorovic, 1996, p. 4).

Based on the above statement, the offenders show their competence by ensuring that mistakes are not created during the operation. The operation is dangerous for those who resist or attempt to fight back as they can be killed. These offenders are highly organized and calculating and also physically prepared for committing these types of robberies.

The exposition of different sub-categories of aggravated robbery as demonstrated in page five provided good description of known victims. The incidents which affected these victims were published in South African televisions and newspapers.

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Based on the above discussed problem faced by South Africa, the researcher constructed three (3) main research questions that will lead this study. These three research questions are expounded below. In addition and to be clearer, the section below also clearly outlines the specific aims and objectives of this study. The section below enables the reader to be in a position of understanding the direction being taken by the researcher. Further to that, the central aim of this study is to understand, from a victim's perspective, the psychological and social impact of being violently robbed.

1.3 Research questions, aim, objectives and significance of the study

The research questions that are dealt with in this study are:

- How do victims in selected Eastern Cape precincts (East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha) experience aggravated robberies?
- What psychological and social trauma, if any, results from victims' experience of aggravated robbery?
- How does the aggravated robbery disturb victim's core belief of personal invulnerability? How does it disrupt the victim's view of the meaningful and secured world? How it affect the victim's positive perception of self?

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Each question is important in this study based on the following reasons:

- The first question seeks to explore how aggravated robbery victims suffer whilst robbed by their assailants. What can a victim remember as well as his / her feelings during the ordeal will assist the researcher in understanding an aggravated robbery victim's experience during the incident.

- The second question revolves around psychological and or physical abuse suffered by the victim after the attack. The response to this question will disclose the reaction felt by the victim. This will throw light on the social ripple harm during and after the aggravated robbery.

- Every individual is under the impression that he / she is invulnerable, secure, and genuinely believes that the promulgated laws are there to protect the citizens. This third question is formulated to obtain an answer as to when does the intuitive understanding and insight of the victim destroy his / her core assumption of his / her safety.

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The response to this question is of much significance and the researcher will know the stage at which the victim becomes despairing thereby affecting their assumed invulnerability and changing their view of the world. Cognisant of the key research questions outlined above, it is luminous that the overall objective of this study is to disclose the psychological and social impact of aggravated robberies on the victims and society as a whole.

Based on the above information, it is discerning that this study is of much significance. Therefore, the importance of this study is illustrated in the next section.

The purpose of this research study is to expose the dynamics of aggravated robbery which affect the victims psychologically and socially. Understanding of the consequences affecting the victims provides knowledge with regard to the manner in which the victims are handled by attackers and the role played by the Government.

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The aggravated robbers move around the business, residential and shopping areas hunting the victims regarded by them as easy targets and rob them. When the report of aggravated robbery is reported to the police station, the police are usually behind the counter when the complaints are reported. The victims of aggravated robberies are participants in this process where the interview is between the police official and the victim. The police interview victims of aggravated robberies alone without utilizing the services of psychologists or social workers (Holmberg, 2004, p. 17).

In terms of the timing, the police intervention comes at a time when the victim is most likely to be suffering already from the immediate shock of the offence. This is a period of victim's high expectation. The victim is expecting assurances from the police about his / her safety. He / she is anticipating to be transported to hospital or clinic. He / she further wishes to be referred to psychologists subsequently. He or she requires the arrest and prosecution of the culprits. Unfortunately, the victim is still in a position where he or she cannot even develop a short-term plan for handling immediate situational needs.

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Accordingly, there is no indication of what help is offered to the victim by police other than obtaining the statement, enquire if any witnesses were available and the value of the loss (Holmberg, 2004, p. 18). Thereafter, a case is registered without demonstrating empathy towards the victim. As a result of this, as accentuated by Mawby and Walklate (1995: 95), victims of certain crimes, such as aggravated robbery may choose not to involve the police and go for help instead, to an agency such as private psychologists as well as private investigators.

The exposure of this problem will hopefully provide some impetus for the South African Government to implement programs that will ensure that victims of aggravated robberies are given the support that they require as is the case in other liberal democracies.

Moreover, this study intends to make theoretical contributions that drive towards a victim-centred system and addressing social and psychological impact of violent crime.

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1.4 Organization of the report

The report is organized as follows:

Chapter one provides the background framework of this study. The chapter introduces the study's conceptual framework; summarizes the definitions, aims and objectives of the study. It defines the statement of the problem, research questions, and the significance of this study. This chapter briefly introduces the literature review, research method and work plan. It provides a definition of terms used and the summary of the chapter.

Chapter two reviews literature related to this study. Robbery aggravated cases are reviewed in this chapter.

Chapter three discusses discourses and concepts of reactions to victimization. It further deals with the theoretical framework that was used to underpin this study.

Chapter four discusses individual, incidents and environmental determinants. This chapter looks deeper on interaction between the direct victim as well as his / her immediate external environment, the way in which the direct victim is influenced by specific incidents as well as environmental determinants, which not only determine his / her experience of the incident but also the manner in which he / she accepts and adapts to the circumstances.

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Chapter five discusses the research methodology utilized in this study. It illustrates the research design where a research tool is used to solicit answers to the key research questions of this study.

In this chapter the following issues are discussed: an introduction to the chapter, targeted population, study area, selection of sampling procedures, sample size sampling unit and sample frame. Furthermore, this chapter includes a discussion on data collection instruments, data collection procedure, pilot study, problems encountered, and a summary of the chapter.

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Chapter six presents an overview of the results and provides exposition as a summary of the experimental outcome of this study. It does this by presenting graphs, tables and a brief narrative.

Chapter seven presents relevant data and offers a comprehensive analysis of the data that was produced for this study.

Chapter eight discusses the findings of this study, commencing with an introduction to the chapter, followed by recommendation and finally conclusion of this study. Finally, the references and appendixes are provided at the end of this study.

1.5 Definition of key concepts

This section provides the definitions of terms as they exist in this study.

The following key concepts in this study are defined: Armed robbery, Aggravated robbery, Victims, and *Modus operandi*. Cognisant of the fact that these key concepts will be frequently used throughout this study, it is thus crucial that they are adequately defined to arrive at one operational definition used in this study.

Beukman in Luyt (1999, p. 14) states that, it is of much importance to clarify concepts that appear within the continuum of investigation. She further testifies that this ensures that the same meaning is continually attached to the same concepts central to the study.

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1.5.1 Armed robbery

There is a very thin line of distinguishing the difference between armed robbery and aggravated robbery. An armed robbery is when the aggravated robber brings a lethal weapon such as firearm to the robbery incident but does not use it and instead threatens to kill the person.

The definition of armed robbery is taciturn and there is no reference made about dangerous weapon such as knife, screwdriver, assegai and sharpened iron.

Mouzos and Carcach (2001, p. 02) defines armed robbery as the unlawful taking of property, without consent, under confrontational circumstances from the immediate possession, control, custody or care of a person, accompanied by force or threat of force or violence and/or by placing the victim in fear.

The most aggravating factors are that the robber must be armed with a deadly weapon such as a gun, and that the robber actually inflicts serious bodily injury, or that the robber has an accomplice. Doe (2008, p. 01) limitedly explains that an armed robber always carries a gun for his mission. Robbery may be further classified according to the degree of force used or threatened; thus, a state might consider armed robbery a more serious crime than robbery without a weapon (Reid 1988, p. 232).

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Operational definition

Based on the above research done by Doe in 2008, and due to the fact that this research specifically focuses on victims of aggravated robberies, the researcher constructed an operational definition for the term “armed robbery”.

For the purposes of this research, an armed robbery is defined as the possession (used or not) of a weapon such as firearm in the execution of a robbery.

1.5.2 Aggravated robbery

May in Bartollas and Simons (1989, p. 331) defines robbery as "taking or attempting to take anything of value from another person by force or threat of force" and it becomes aggravated when the intention is to inflict serious bodily injury or cause death. Aggravated robbery is when the robber uses violence and force to take the belongings of another person, and fires a gun at the person or uses any dangerous weapon. The term aggravating circumstances in relation to the offence of robbery is defined in section 1 (1) (b) of the South African Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977, as a robbery in which a firearm or other dangerous weapon is wielded, grievous bodily harm is inflicted or grievous bodily harm is threatened (Criminal Procedure Act 51, 1977, p. 5; Plasket & Pickering[2] 2002, p. 02; Snyman, 2003, p. 506).

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[2] Case No. CA and R839/2002 – Eastern Cape Division

On following up the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977 legislation, robberies are recorded by the South African Police Service as "aggravated robberies" when either a firearm or a knife or some other potentially lethal weapons is used by the perpetrator – whether this is used to intimidate the victim, or to hurt or kill him / her during the crime commission (The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, March 2010, p. 30).

Geldenhuys (February 2010, p. 30) explains that robbery with aggravating circumstances can be defined as the unlawful, intentional and violent removal and appropriation of movable corporeal property belonging to another individual. The victim's resistance has to be overcome and the property obtained by using violence against the victim's person. Aggravated robbery is by definition mostly firearm or knife robbery (The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, March 2010, p. 30).

Aggravate comes from the Latin verb *aggravāre*, which meant "to make heavier", that is to add to the weight of. Aggravated, aggravating, aggravates is defined as making worse or more troublesome or to rouse to exasperation or anger or provoke (The Free Dictionary, June, 2013).

The word "rob" came via French from Late Latin words (*e.g.* deraubare) of Germanic origin, from common Germanic raub – "theft" (Wikipedia, April 19, 2013).

Aggravating circumstances in relation to robbery or attempted robbery means:

- The wielding of a firearm or any other dangerous weapon,
- The infliction of grievous bodily harm,
- A threat to inflict grievous bodily harm by the offender or an accomplice on the occasion when the offence is committed, whether before or during or after the commission of the offence, Criminal Procedure Act 51, (1977, p. 5).

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Aggravated robbery becomes a fully fledged crime once two parties are involved, which are the offender and the victim. During the commission of this offence, each party has a role to play. Offenders generally play the part of the initiator and aggressor, whereas victims are usually passive, at least at the start (Karmen, 1990, p 80).

Aggravated robbery is both a property crime and a crime of violence. According to Snyman (2003, p. 506) robbery consists of theft of property by unlawfully and intentionally using violence to take the property from somebody else or threats of violence to induce the possessor of the property to submit to the taking of the property. Snyman (2003, p. 506) further emphasizes that as in theft, only movable corporeal property in *commercio* can form the object of robbery. The owner must not, of course, have consented to the taking, and the offender must have known that consent was lacking. However, this definition needs to take into account the occurrences of aggravated robberies even in situations where the victim does not resist the robbery, but still the robbery results in his / her grievous harm. In both scenarios, the robbery is a serious and violent crime that leaves every victim traumatized hence being harmed.

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The robber does not have to transport the property away from the physical presence of the person who has lawful possession of it or even escape with it. The slightest change of location is sufficient to establish the crime.

Once the robber takes possession of the property, the offence legally is complete, even if the robber later abandons the property. The personal property that is taken must have some value, but the amount of its value is not stipulated by law.

Operational Definition

Due to the fact that this research specifically focuses on victims of aggravated robberies, the researcher constructed an operational definition for the term "aggravated robbery".

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For the purposes of this research study, aggravated robbery is defined as the possession (used or not) of an instrument of fighting in the execution of a crime on a victim armed or unarmed. The aggravating circumstances are not only viewed in terms of the physical harm alone, but includes psychological trauma experienced by the victim. This means once the victim feels threatened and surrenders his valuable items to the perpetrator, this becomes an aggravated robbery.

1.5.3 Victims

A victim is a person who is harmed, injured or killed as a result of crime (Oxford University Press, 2012).

It is defined as a person who:

- is harmed or killed by another,
- is harmed by or made to suffer from an act, circumstances,
- suffers injury or loss (The Free Dictionary by Farlex, 2012).

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Beukman (2005, p. 17) compares the exposition of victim to the daily language of the public of which, the term has a common meaning as referring to those individuals who:

- suffer from some form of hardship as a result of more worldly causes (Kennedy & Sacco, 1998, p. 04)
- experience injuries, losses or hardships due to any cause (Karmen , 1996, p. 02).

The most authoritative international legal instrument on victims' rights as explained below is the United Nations Declaration on the Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power[3], unanimously adopted by the General Assembly in 1985 (Chockalingam, 2013, p. 101; SAPS National Instruction, 2/2012; Van Dijk & Groenhuijsen, January 30, 2012). The United Nations General Assembly resolution dealing with the victims' rights explained that victims mean persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within Member States, including those laws proscribing criminal abuse of power (United Nations, November 29, 1985).

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[3] A/res/40/34, adopted by the General Assembly in 1985.

This Declaration expressly referred to a victim as a person who may be considered a victim under the Declaration regardless of whether the perpetrator is identified, apprehended, prosecuted or convicted and regardless of the familial relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. It is said, the term 'victim" also includes, where appropriate, the immediate family or dependants of the direct victim and persons who have suffered harm in intervening to assist victims in distress or to prevent victimization (United Nations, November 29, 1985).

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In contrast with the United Nations General Assembly resolution, the freedom and security of the aggravated robbery victims as contained in section 12 of the South African Constitution Act 108 of 1996 provides doubtful message. According to section 12 of the Constitution, it is stated that everyone has the right to freedom and security which includes the right to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources. But the same Act does not embrace the specific rights for everybody specifically the rights of victims who suffer violent crimes such as aggravated robberies.

There is no evidence to suggest how aggravated robbery victims are handled before and after the attacks.

In addition to this concern, section 73 (1) of the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977, states that an accused who is arrested, whether with or without warrant, shall, subject to any law relating to the management of prisons, be entitled to the assistance of his legal adviser as from the time of his arrest. This creates a wide impression that the offender has more rights than the victim taking into consideration the legal representation offered to the offender during his first appearance and duration in court.

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Operational Definition

For the purpose of this study, a victim is defined as an individual who has been directly involved in aggravated robbery, affected and suffered negative effects which may include financial, physical, emotional and social consequences as a result of aggravated robbery.

Within this definition, there are four key elements which are injury, harm, emotional suffering and substantial impairment. Each element produces fear in its victims.

Based on this operational definition, victims subsequently encounter the different types of experiences specifically after victimization such as injuries, loss, shock, denial, trauma, stress.

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1.5.4 *Modus operandi*

The offenders plan prior to the commission of aggravated robbery which subsequently affect the victims psychologically and socially. This method is termed *modus operandi* by the police and prosecutors and the definition of *modus operandi* is explained below.

Modus operandi refers to a method of operation, a usual way of doing things, a person's manner of working. According to Investopedia (June 21, 2013), the Latin word *modus* means literally a measure, a limit, a way of behaving or doing something whereas *operandi* means to work, a way of working or a method of operation. *Modus operandi* is a Latin term which means method of working (The Free Dictionary, 21 June 2013).

The term is used to describe someone's habits of working, particularly in the context of criminal investigations (Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, June 21, 2013). This is a term employed by law enforcement authorities to describe the particular manner in which a crime is committed.

The term is commonly applied when discussing criminal behaviour and is often shortened to M.O in both writing and speaking specifically by members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) and Judicial prosecution. In this instance, the investigating officers often utilize this term when addressing the methods employed by the perpetrator.

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The SAPS Crime Intelligence Management Office (CIMO) members daily use this term in criminal profiling, where it can assist in finding clues to the offender's psychology. It largely consists of examining the actions administered by the individual(s) to execute the crime, prevent its detection and/or facilitate escape (Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, June 21, 2013).

A suspect's *modus operandi* can assist in his identification, apprehension and can be used to determine links between crimes. The psychological and social consequences are the end results of *modus operandi*. Aggravated robbery cannot succeed without proper planned *modus operandi*. A successful aggravated robbery leaves the victim affected psychologically and socially.

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Although the *modus operandi* may differ between different groups, all aggravated robberies are carefully planned and researched beforehand (Geldenhuys, December, 2009a, p. 38). The *modus operandi* may embody a simple structure such as a lone robber with an imitation pistol who walks into a petrol station late at night and demands cash before escaping on foot (Morrison & O'Donnell, 1996, p. 161).

This may be a more complex scheme involving several robbers, "scanners" to listen into police radio waves, an array of lethal weaponry and two or more getaway cars, with a cash-in-transit van as the target.

The term *modus operandi* is most commonly used specifically in criminal cases. The prosecution in a criminal case does have to prove *modus operandi* in every case. However, identifying and proving the *modus operandi* of a crime can help the prosecution prove that it was the suspect who committed the crime charged. *Modus operandi* evidence is helpful to the prosecution if the prosecution has evidence of crimes committed by the suspect that are similar to the crime charged. The crime needs not be identical, but the prosecution must make a strong and persuasive showing of similarities between the crime charged and the other crimes.

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According to Mathews, C. Pease, and K. Pease (2001, p. 159), the similarity of *modus operandi* predicted that the same robbers were responsible for all the robberies against the same branch of the bank. The prosecution may introduce evidence from prior or subsequent crimes to prove *modus operandi* only if the other crimes share peculiar and distinctive features with the crime charged (The Free Dictionary, June 21, 2013). The features must be uncommon and rarely seen in other crimes, and they must be so distinct that they can be recognized as the handiwork of the same person.

For the purposes of this study, the *modus operandi* of the offenders will be scrutinized in chapter four from the perspective of the aggravated robbery victims.

1.6 Summary

This chapter introduced the South African context where a high crime rate inspires the key concerns of this study. It has been explained that aggravated robberies are disturbing within the South African societies. It painted the present picture of crime which necessitates the double spending of state on various departments assigned to monitor the crime.

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Furthermore, this chapter gave a brief discussion of some of the literature about aggravated crimes, exposing some of the causes of increased crime in South Africa and further explored why some crimes get rough leading to their aggravated nature.

The desegregation of all sub-categories of aggravated robberies has been explained including the known victims that were exhibited in South Africa media such as newspapers and television.

In addition, this chapter outlines the problem statement necessitating this study, the key guiding research questions, research aims and objectives. The organization of chapters in this study is summarised and explained briefly. It illustrates what should be expected from each chapter until the last chapter which is chapter eight. Finally, this chapter discussed various definitions of key concepts and consequently the researcher gives the operational definition as the terms used in this study.

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The subsequent chapter two offers a review of cases of aggravated robberies.

CHAPTER TWO

AGGRAVATED ROBBERY CASES: A REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a literature review related to the phenomena under study. To do this, the researcher reviews cases of aggravated robberies. Prior to delving into the literature review itself, it is crucial to give a brief discussion of what literature review entails. Literature review is understood to be a collection of what other researchers have said about a particular topic under study.

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Neuman (2006, p.111) reveals that a literature review is based on the assumption that knowledge accumulates, and that we learn from and build on what others have done. Bless and Higson-Smith (2000, p. 20) add on to this notion and disclose that the purpose of a literature review is one or a combination of the following:

- To update the researcher on the latest developments in related areas of research;
- To sharpen and deepen the theoretical framework of the research in question;

- To identify gaps in knowledge, as well as weaknesses in studies already carried out, by establishing what has been done, what has not been done, and what needs to be improved;
- To discover connections, contradictions or other relationships between different research results by comparing various investigations;
- To identify variables that should be considered in a given study, as well as those that prove irrelevant. This finding is often achieved by comparing different investigations;
- To examine the definitions used in previous works, as well as the characteristics of the population under investigation, with the aim of adapting them in a study.

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They, however caution that although a literature review is essential, it also carries certain dangers. One may, for example, be influenced by the results of previous research, or may accept without criticising their chosen characteristics and explanation such that one fails to discover new possibilities and observe without bias (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000, p. 20).

The main purpose of the literature study is to orientate the researcher and gather information regarding existing knowledge on the embarked study (Strydom, 2002, p. 212). Thus, in this chapter, existing research and literature relevant to the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims will be taken into consideration. This information will, in conjunction with the theory discussed in chapter three, serve as a guideline for the remainder of the study. Not very much academic research has been published locally regarding the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims. The review below traces the locus of thinking on this subject based on research done in other countries. The aim of the present research is to test some of these findings in the South African context. As Van der Merwe (2008, p. 1) has noted, there is every need for victim-focused crime research in South Africa.

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For the purposes of this study, the available literature is thoroughly reviewed from sources such as books, conference papers, internet, journals and research publications.

This is done to scrutinize the theoretical framework of the research, to update the researcher on the latest developments and to identify any available gaps in knowledge. Given the above understanding of what literature review entails, this chapter reviews existing research and literature relevant to psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims will be considered. The review of aggravated robbery cases is done to establish the meaning of consequences suffered socially and psychologically by victims of aggravated robberies. The scope of this review is expanded to include research that examines the dominant themes of the research questions. Therefore, this is a survey of everything that has been written about psychological and social consequences of aggravated robbery victims and provides the background of this study.

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This chapter sets out to explain the effective literature in the selected documents pertaining to this study as a proof that the psychological and social consequences involved in aggravated robberies underlie the fact that victims have three basic assumptions identified as: firstly, involves the belief in personal invulnerability: secondly, the view or perception that the world is meaningful and comprehensible: and thirdly, viewing of ourselves in a positive light (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 3).

2.2 Impact of robberies on victims

Stewart and Davis (2003, p. 50) state that when victimized, the consequences measured in terms of direct costs, attributable to the offences themselves, and indirect costs, attributable to the reactions, to the criminal behaviour are often immense. In order to compare it to other forms of trauma, it becomes significant to understand the impact of aggravated robbery to victims. One of the tangible manifestations of the impact of robbery is the anguish experienced by the victim not only during the incident but also after the incident. The victim's perception becomes marked by perceiving threats where there are none as well as a heightened sense of danger and preoccupation with security (Janoff- Bulman, 1985, p. 18). As signified by H.J. Parad and L.G. Parad (1990, p. 102), the victim's psychological and behavioural symptoms of distress are poignant symbols of the destructiveness of the robber's acts, taking away the pride of viewing the self as positive.

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There is a global perception that the Criminal Justice System treats victims unfairly, ignoring their rights and interests.

The victims' charter contains seven rights which are the right to be treated with fairness and with respect for dignity and privacy, the right to receive and offer information, to protection, assistance, compensation and restitution (South African Service Charter for Victims of Crime in South Africa, 2004, p. 06; Canadian Legislation, Victims' Rights Act 114 of 1996; New Zealand Legislation, Victims' Rights Act 39 of 2010). Peacock (2013, p. 06) confirms that the aim of the Declaration is to improve victims' access to justice, fair treatment, restitution, compensation and support. These rights do not accommodate victims of aggravated robberies. There is no provision of how an aggravated robbery victim should be handled during and after the crime commission.

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The South African, Canadian and New Zealand charters require that the victims be treated with fairness and with respect but this requirement is not exercised with respect to aggravated robbery victims. International and South African studies accede to the fact that there are no specific rights entrusted to victims of aggravated robberies (Naudé, 1997, p. 1).

More rights are granted to the offenders than the victims. Chapter two, Bill of rights of the South African Constitution, Act 108 of 1996, for example accords numerous rights to arrested, detained and accused persons such as right to remain silent, not to be compelled to make any confession, the right to legal assistance, the right to a fair trial, to be presumed innocent and to challenge evidence (Naudè, 1997, p. 1). Yet no victim rights are enshrined in the South African Constitution; neither is there any indication in the Justice Vision 2000 to implement a Victims Bill of rights, as is currently the custom internationally. This is one of the reasons, according to Doerner and Lab (1998, p. 3) for the erroneous impression that when victims encounter aggravated robberies, it must be that the victims were not decent.

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The impact of aggravated robbery can be examined in various ways. One perspective as argued by writers such as Stewart and Davis (2003, p. 50), Van der Merwe (2008, p. 157), Harrison and Kinner (1998, p. 787), takes into consideration the underlying meaning the aggravated robbery has for the victim.

There is a strong consensus that the impact of aggravated robberies on victims can be determined in respect of the negative effects on aspects such as quality of life, financial loss suffered as a result of the offence, injuries sustained as well as the emotional and psychological consequences thereof (Glanz, 1994, p. 21). The life of a victim changes dramatically and sometimes forever as a result of grave threats and profound losses the victim suffers.

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2.3 Victims' responses and experiences

According to Snyman (2003, p. 509), Victim's response to aggravated robbery varies from person to person where the reaction may be immediate or delayed. Financial losses can also be substantial hence most property seized by robbers violently during an aggravated robbery is never recovered. Emotional reactions can be very tense if the snatched property has unique or sentimental value for the victim. A way of reacting to victimization is to redefine the aggravated robbery incident so as to minimize the threats to one's assumptive world (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 8). A victim may feel as if he / she is the only one experiencing these feelings and that no one else can understand what the victim is going through, and then the reaction may be normal.

Other victim's reactions may diminish within a short space of time, whereas others may continue for some time from day one or resurface after being activated by another violent event.

Studies show that many victims of aggravated robbery cases are unaware of the interaction among their perception of the trauma and their self-image (Harrison & Kinner, 1998, p. 787). These victims are not aware about the past experience particularly victims who have been victimized through aggravated robbery at some stage of their lives. Harrison and Kinner (1998 p. 787) validate that almost all aggravated robbery victims suffer psychologically to some degree following their experience. According to Kirchhoff (2005, p. 111), victimizations are invasions into the self of the victim, which are like needles that penetrate the onion. As illustrated by Kirchhoff, this demonstrates how painful it is to be victimized. Having been a victim in other circumstances may heighten a person's vulnerability to trauma, even if the events have no obvious similarities.

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Mawby and Walklate (1995, p. 95) explain that the distress is caused usually by an event that subjects the victim to extreme threats, fear, terror and helplessness. In addition to that, the aggravated robbery victim suffers a violent intrusion into the innermost part of himself / herself.

Furthermore, the victim faces forms of discrimination that other victims do not experience, for an example, in case of assault and rape, a victim is immediately taken to hospital for treatment and evidence collection – which the robbery victim is discriminated against. Mawby and Walklate (1995, p. 95) argue that victims of robbery may out of their own go to a Doctor or a hospital for help with injuries out of their own but neither receive police attention. Pretorious (2008, p. 84) highlights that one of his respondents reported being seriously injured when the robbers turned her arm in order to force her to tell them where the money was. The struggle injured her shoulder tearing a ligament and had to be operated at her expenses.

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It is common for aggravated robbery victims to think that the robbers will return for punishment or to rob again and this perception persists until the offender is arrested and detained. As indicated by Stewart and Davis (2003, p. 55), with respect to experience of victimization that it may shatter a victim's assumption of invulnerability.

Pretorious (2008, p. 85) illuminates that the victim felt secured with dog and alarm system that is connected to the security company but subsequently felt unsafe after he was robbed with these preventative measures in place. He further elucidates that the affected victim can no longer say that it will never happen to him / her. They further argue that the destruction of this assumption manifests itself in the victim's pre-occupation with the fear that victimization will recur (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 3).

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2.4 The aftermath of victimization

Grabosky (1989, p. 23), rationalizes that people have widely different personality attributes, social skills and other resources, all of which may bear on their ability to cope in the aftermath of aggravated robbery.

Davidoff (1987, 351) also supports these deliberations that other victims decide to give up in life after accepting the problem and deciding that nothing can be done about it. Despite the ascribed disparities, the affected robbery victims subsequently suffer emotionally and financially. Janoff-Bulman in Figley (1985, p. 16) believes that an emotional reaction that appear to cross a wide range of victimizations include shock, confusion, helplessness, anxiety, fear and depression.

Many studies have indicated that victims of aggravated robberies may experience recurrent and intrusive thoughts and dreams of the incident (Glanz, 1994, p. 21; Harrison & Kinner 1998 p. 787; H.J. Parad & L.G. Parad, 1990, p.102; Stewart & Davis, 2003, p. 50). These symptoms are an indication that the victim is suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder[4] (PTSD) which subsequently affect a victim of aggravated robbery.

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[4]PTSD - This is described as a psychiatric disorder that takes place into a victim following an aggravated robbery. This victim may be normal for a little time or may develop stress that remains in his / her body until he / she is assisted by professional persons such as psychologists. The victims suffering from PTSD relive the experience through flashbacks and nightmares, difficulty in sleeping, and feel estranged from the entire family or community members. A victim suffering from PTSD may be upset when confronted with a traumatic event or may choose to stay away from individuals or places that remind him / her of trauma. It is a complicated disorder hence victims may resort to substance abuse, or be depressed, memory loss or develop other mental or physical problems. This disorder is also associated with impairment of the victim's ability to function in family or social life, family conflicts, unable to parent his / her children, marital problems leading to divorce.

Victims have fear of any stranger who approaches them especially in the instances where the stranger's attire is similar to that of the robbers, for example, sunglasses, beanies *etc.* On this basis and if the victim is continually exposed to traumatic incidents, he / she is likely to be predisposed to experiencing mental illness, increased levels of stress and decreased work-performance. Janoff-Bulman in Figley (1985, p. 18) argues that this level of stress is largely attributable to the shattering of victims' basic assumptions about themselves and their world. These assumptions are marked by threat, danger, insecurity, and self-questioning.

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2.5 Representatives of the state and victims of robberies

Mawby and Walklate (1995, p. 96) imply that crime victims always require a positive response from the police hence police are generally the first representatives of the state to come into contact with the victim. Expectations are high that the physical contact of police with victims will alleviate pains, and this will cause the victim to commence expressing feelings, reactions, and concerns related to the aggravated robbery.

The victim might be of the opinion that by meeting police, he / she will experience some reduction in anxiety and begin to use his / her own coping skills and problem-solving strategies to resolve problems and concerns related to the aggravated robbery. Instead, even after meeting police the victim is still unaware of the common symptoms that characterize the aftermath of an aggravated robbery as well as having no information regarding alternative ways to handle various aspects of the aftermath (Janoff-Bulman, 1985, p. 22).

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The British victim's and citizen's charter both make very explicit recommendations concerning the victim's experience of the Criminal Justice process, but neither offers any guarantees in respect of improving that experience (Mawby & Walklate, 1995, p. 188). In the South African context, an aggravated robbery is treated similar to other criminal cases such as general theft. Otherwise, the victim will depend on the effected arrest if ever, or will remain at his / her home with no assistance or information from the state.

H.J. Parad and L.G. Parad (1990, p. 78) believe that when the victim is describing the event, it is important to explore the person's perception and thoughts during and even immediately after the incident. Within the South African context, there is no evidence that the South African Police Service engages in any similar type of activity. The writers both argue that aggravated robbery victims may resist this process of exploration because of the intense fear that memories of the trauma can generate in them. However, such discussions can be facilitated by making victims aware of the way in which their traumatic memories arise from the unresolved dilemmas of the event. It is argued by Fattah (1989, p. 238) that the victim may lose trust in all police and the robbery victim may move or change jobs to prevent future aggravated robberies.

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There is no evidence to suggest that the South African Police Service utilises psychologists when the victim is describing the perceptions and thoughts during and even immediately after the incident. There is valid consensus that the impact of aggravated robberies on victims can be determined in respect of the negative effects on aspects such as quality of life suffered and injuries sustained as well as the emotional and psychological consequences thereof.

Though the South African victims' charter explains the rights of victims, it is inadequate to expect treatment with fairness and respect after the victim's core assumption of personal invulnerability, the world as meaningful and viewing the self as positive have been shattered. This is the rationale for the current research that can assist in convincing the police to understand a need of engaging psychologists when an aggravated robbery victim is impinged upon.

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2.6 Summary

This chapter dealt with literature which was aligned in explaining the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robbery on victims, recognizing the fact that the majority of victims of aggravated robberies' core assumptions about life are disrupted by these crimes one way or another.

The most recurring pattern of the impact of these robberies shows that the victims' sense of personal invulnerability is affected, their belief that the world is meaningful and comprehensible is altered, and the victims' perception of self as a positive being is affected too.

Furthermore, the literature reviewed on aggravated robbery cases shows how this crime impacts on victims, the victims' responses and experiences, the aftermath of victimization as well as the role played by the representatives of the state.

It has been explained that victims of aggravated robbery suffer emotionally and financially after the robbery. The emotional reaction seems to cross a wide range of victimization which includes anxiety, confusion, depression, helplessness and shock. It appears that victims have much trust on police who represent the state and being the first people to come into contact with victims. Victims become embarrassed when after meeting police, still do not know the common symptoms that characterize the aftermath of an aggravated robbery and have no information regarding alternative ways to handle various aspects of the aftermath. There is no indication of assistance rendered by the state as is in other cases such as assault and rape.

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It is of much significance to illustrate how we understand aggravated robberies in South Africa and the offenders' *modus operandi*.

The next chapter provides a theoretical framework by analysing relevant discourses and concepts pertaining to victimization, which is central to the concerns of this study.

Basically, the following chapter deals with reactions to victimization theory which was derived from the field of psychology and elucidated in order to serve as a background for the discussion of the experiences of aggravated robbery victims.

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CHAPTER THREE

REACTIONS TO VICTIMIZATION: DISCOURSES AND CONCEPTS

3.1 Introduction

All research, whether qualitative or quantitative, has a theoretical basis (Given, 2008, p. 305). A theory is a unit of knowledge that comprises facts, assumptions and hypotheses. Theories are understood in a range of different ways and their approaches have been developed in a range of different disciples (Potter in Hardy & Bryman, 2004, p. 607). Theory helps researchers to develop generalizable answers that can be put to use by human beings (Akers & Sellers, 2013, p. 513).

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Theories give researchers different lenses through which to look at complicated problems and social issues (Neuman, 2006, p. 50; BMJ, 2008, p. 01). The theory provides a guide to describe and understand the problems and circumstances of the world as applicable to the particular occupational area (Beukman, 2008, p. 17). In addition, Given (2008, p. 305) underlines that it influences decisions about both the methodology and the framework used for conceptualizing the problem under study.

The researcher's utilization of theoretical framework is corroborated and supported by Huysamen (1997, p. 02) explanation that a research project has to be associated with a theory hence the universally valid nature of the theory enhances its appeal and prevents it from generating an isolated piece of knowledge. Theory development relies on research and research relies on theory (Fawcett & Downs, 1986, p. 01). In this study, the concepts utilized have been best theorized as an object that can be described to explain the significance of the theory.

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Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's theory of reaction to victimization is utilized as a theory in this study (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 03; Stewart & Davis, 2003, p. 52). Following Williams and McShane statement that aggravated robbery offences are a source of trauma, this study seeks to further examine such victimization' reactions from this theoretical standpoint (Williams & McShane, 1999, p. 24). This theory shows how victims experience, perceive and how they are affected by robberies, and shows how these are related to each other and corroborated. As shown by Cohen and Felson (1979, p. 590), the interdependence between offenders and victims can be viewed as a predatory relationship between functionally dissimilar individuals or groups.

Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's theory is proven suitable as being able to specify characteristics of individuals, groups, situations and aftermath of aggravated robberies. All parts of a phenomenon related to victimization and reaction are discussed in this chapter.

3.2 Theory of reactions to victimization

The reaction to victimization theory was selected in order to explain the victimization risk of aggravated robbery victims, where it states that the volume of criminal offences is related to the nature of everyday patterns of social interaction (Williams & McShane, 1999, p. 236). Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 03) state that the symptoms experienced by victims are indicative of the psychological distress they suffer. This theory explains that a victim's life is changed when he / she becomes a victim of aggravated robbery.

The defining characteristic of victims in this issue is that all have experienced a change in condition as a result of their victimization (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 02). The victim's feelings are not the same as he / she was before the aggravated robbery incident.

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In addition, based on this theory, a model of psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims was formulated to serve as theoretical background for this study. This model is based on the belief that when individuals experience a traumatic event which causes psychological distress, they develop adaptive or maladaptive coping strategies (Stewart & Davis, 2003, p. 52). The psychological response to victimization is generally immediate and often intense (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 02).

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This theory explains that aggravated robbery is senseless, traumatic and can happen to anyone regardless of the precautions that are undertaken to prevent being victimized. Janoff-Bulman & Frieze (1983, p. 03) explain that they are also unusual events in the life of an individual.

Cohen and Felson (1979, p. 589) argue that structural changes in routine activity patterns can influence crime rates by affecting the convergence in space and time of the three minimal elements of direct contact predatory violations. They further argue that the unusual events of aggravated robberies are available due to the availability of motivated offenders and suitable targets.

Stewart and Davis (2003, p. 52) further explain that victims find certain reasons for the aggravated robberies and develop adaptations in order to deal with the shattering of three basic assumptions namely, the assumption of invulnerability, the view of the world as meaningful, and the individual's positive self-perception.

The above assumptions are in general and under normal circumstances, applicable to the psychical and consequences of aggravated robberies on victims (Van den Berg & Pretorius, 2000, p. 94).

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As far as could be established, the study of consequences of aggravated robberies has not been well researched specifically in the broader South African context. The fact that researchers have as yet shown not much interest in the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims led to the lack of an integrated theory with regard to this phenomenon.

Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's (1983, p. 3) theory of reactions to victimization is based on the understanding that from day to day, people operate on the basis of assumptions and personal theories that allow them to set goals, plan activities, and order their behaviour as is suggested by Epstein 1980. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 3) thus assert that all victims have three basic assumptions identified as: firstly, humans assume they are personally invulnerable: secondly, humans perceive the world as meaningful and comprehensible: and thirdly, humans view themselves in a positive light.

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These assumptions are believed to be held by humans prior to exposure to aggravated robberies. The view is in contrary with the probability that a violation will occur at any specific time and place (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 590). They start having a sense of personal vulnerability, they view the world somehow different, and they start questioning how they see themselves along the lines of understanding why they alone were targeted for the incident. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze specify that criminal victimization may result in a victim questioning these inferences. By doing so, this may end up destroying the stability with which these victims are ordinarily able to function.

Consequent to that, inferences are shattered and victims of aggravated robbery are no longer able to see their world as safe. Janoff-Bulman (1992, p. 51) maintains that this traumatic event has a profound effect on a victim's fundamental assumptions about the world. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 5) went on to an extent of simplifying this premise that when such a victim is confronted with aggravated robbery either by hearing about it, or being an eye witness or directly involved, these assumptions can be influenced and or destroyed by the experience. These assumptions are therefore likely to be altered as a result of physical and psychological loss.

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Aggravated robbery violates these assumptions. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 3) state that victims experience a "loss of equilibrium". The world is suddenly out of whack and things no longer work the way they used to be hence victims are no longer able to see their country as safe (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 4). Certain concepts within Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's theory of victim reaction such as, "personal invulnerability, the world as meaningful and viewing the self as positive" are particularly relevant to this study.

These concepts explain that every individual regards his / her life as unique. How victims react to aggravated robbery varies from person to person and is affected by individual factors such as how they usually handle stress and what kind of support systems they have in their lives (Crime Victim Services, 2012, p. 3). No individual anticipates effects of aggravated robbery, neither the effects thereof thus the deeper negative impact on victims, such as suffering from quality of life or sustaining injuries, further complicated by the emotional and psychological distress that follows such victims.

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3.3 Personal invulnerability

Every individual maintains an assumption of invulnerability (Janoff-Bulman, 1992, p. 51). Most individuals take for granted the continuity of a safe existence without having an idea that one day he / she could be the victim of aggravated robbery. Hence most people party through the night, in Johannesburg it is a norm to meet a lady coming from a bar or buying little light groceries way after normal safe hours.

While these individuals assume personal invulnerability regardless of the fact that they are walking at night; many a time crimes occur at night. Individuals who have not been victimized through aggravated robberies tend to perceive themselves as uniquely invulnerable or as less vulnerable to any crime. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 4) are fully aware of this opinion and concur by stating that this illusion of invulnerability is based on the belief of most individuals that, "it cannot happen to me". This is the case with many South Africans that have not been victimized before hence South Africa is popularly known for its night life; in fact Johannesburg is often referred to as the "City that Never Sleeps" (City Reviews, March 21, 2015).

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One of the most universal victim reactions on cases of aggravated robberies is a "why me" response (Trauma Intervention Programs, 2012, p. 5). Aggravated robberies are common; everything is possible, car accidents do happen, and people are infected with HIV Aids, yet people do not believe that these can happen to themselves (Figley, 1985, p. 15). It is key to understand that this assumed invulnerability can be maladaptive in that it sometimes keeps people from taking preventive measures or even become slow to recognize danger as it approaches, (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze, 1983, p. 4).

3.4 The world as meaningful

The assumption of invulnerability exists under the impression that events are understandable and are in fact in good order. Further to that, people believe that we can prevent misfortune by engaging in preventive measures and sufficiently cautious behaviours, hence some people have a lucky charm on their necks, wrists *etc*, and some have these charms in their cars. At a fundamental level, people also believe that they are protected against misfortune by being good and worthy people.

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In other words, people believe bad things happen to bad people. Therefore, there are victims who cannot accept their exposure to aggravated robberies after taking pre-cautionary measures. When Lerner tried to explain observers' reactions to innocent victims, he hypothesized that the belief in a just world is crucially important for people to maintain for their own well-being (Lerner & Montada, 1998, 01). They therefore fail to understand why they were victimized after such pre-cautionary measures were undertaken, and this then destroys their feelings of stability and safety.

Moreover, citizens generally believe they are protected by the law enforcing agents hence they continue to live life with minimum expectation of being harmed, regardless of the obvious occurring crimes around them. Despite the belief of protection, sometimes people increase the victim's suffering because they need to believe they live in a just world, which means a world where people get what they deserve, and so there is no undeserved suffering (Correia, Vala & Aguiar, 2001, p. 328). In other words, people suffer the consequences of being robbed in spite of the security measures applied. It is important to note that in South Africa, the perception of the law being protective of its citizenry is fast changing given the many incidences where the police delay to respond or worse, the South African Police Service (SAPS) gets involved in the actual perpetration of criminal activities where the public is victimized by the very law that is supposed to protect them.

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3.5 Viewing the self as positive

Theorists believe that every human being is under the pretext that he / she is worthwhile and continue living his / her ordinary life as well as maintaining a level of self-esteem.

Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 6) emphasize that people operate under the assumption that they are worthy, decent people based on the fact that they maintain a relatively high level of self – esteem. This assumption tied together with the basic assumption that bad things happen to bad people, the people who perceive themselves as being good people least expect to be victimized.

Once the individual is victimized – he / she starts scrutinizing such perceptions of them, possibly towards an understanding that they are not good worthy citizens perhaps. Barlow and Durand (1995, p. 193) expatiated that there could be the commencement of psychological contribution based on early experiences with unpredictable and uncontrollable events. The trauma of victimization often activates negative self-images and victims may then declare themselves as helpless, weak, out of control and terrified. There is also a belief that if the victim of aggravated robbery sees himself / herself better than another one, as pointed out by Taylor, Wood and Lichtman (1983, p. 30), he / she has a very big chance of recuperating from the negative situation.

Therefore, if a victim becomes positive, he / she will experience less psychological distress and gain greater self-esteem and better social adjustment.

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3.6 Evaluation of Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's theory of reaction to victimization.

For the purposes of appropriateness, this theory is evaluated based upon how well its assumptions relate to the research study. Mark (November 17, 2013, p. 01) points out that theory functions most importantly as a guide to practice. In the case of this study, the theory of reaction to victimization provides a conceptual framework for viewing and understanding circumstances around cases of aggravated robberies.

The most significant contribution of theory of reaction to victimization is probably the argument that it is normal for an affected individual to experience a range of emotions after aggravated robbery has taken place. A well known South African defence lawyer participating in Farlam Commission[5] based in Marikana still suffers a range of emotions after he was stabbed and robbed of his valuable items. Kirchhoff (2005, p. 112) explains this that the emotional damage experienced is the central event of the aggravated robbery.

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[5]Retired Judge of the Supreme Court of Appeal, Ian Gordon Farlam was appointed by the President of the Republic of South Africa. The mandate of this Farlam Commission was to investigate matters of public, national and international concern arising out of the tragic incidents at the Lonmin Mine in Marikana, in the North West province, South Africa. It took place on 11th to 16th August 2012 which led to the deaths of 44 miners and more than 70 people injured.

Dali Mpofu[6] was physically attacked by the robbers and lost his valuable items such as cash, jewellery and cell phones. Subsequent to that incident, Dali Mpofu's traumatic event affected the psychological functioning of himself. The assumptions as provided in Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's theory explain the perceptions that the victim of aggravated robbery has prior, during and after the commission of crime. Steward and Davis in Wortman (1983, p. 198) expatiate that there is a growing consensus that such assumptions as stipulated in Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's theory, may play an important role in the coping process of the victim, since they are likely to have profound influence on how a victimising experience is initially appraised as well as influence behaviour and coping attempts following an aggravated robbery crime crisis.

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Elklit (2002, p. 873) and Jones (2002, p.191) elaborate that there's lack of studies and very little research has been done on these theoretical assumptions and hope for a future research on the role of these assumptions in the coping process.

[6]Dali Mpofu served in the Farlam Commission as a defence attorney representing the victims.

Jones (2002, p. 191) purports that although there is a consensus in the theory that all aggravated robbery victims have some psychological reaction to the event, the deficiency of research leave the researchers in doubt to believe whether robbery has impact, long-term symptomology, and impedes on the recovery process of victims. Coping with victimization is presented as a process that involves rebuilding one's assumptive world (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze 1983, p.1). It is anticipated that a prospective research will assist in determining whether those assumptions are adaptive or maladaptive when aggravated robbery crimes are encountered.

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However, this theory expresses that the misconception of invulnerability may be adaptive because they allow individuals to go about the business of everyday life without being completely immobilised by fear (Perloff 1983, p. 50). Steward and Davis (2003, p. 57) have questioned whether cognitive distortions are in fact adaptive or not. The ability to see things in a positive light may lead an individual to accommodate to situations that are quite undesirable (Steward & Davis, 2003, p. 57). Such individual may keep living in a place that is not safe regardless his / her experience of aggravated robbery.

Wortman (1983, p. 208) discloses that even those who are skilled in the utilization of cognitive distortions may have little motivation to take coping actions that would improve their situation in the long run. This theory of reaction to victimization is able to explain the assumptions being held by individuals before being exposed to robbery attacks.

Hence the theory of reaction to victimization was preferred; it served as background in discussing the psychological and social consequences of victims of aggravated robberies. This theory has established the victimization risk of victims and at what stage the victim's life is turned upside down.

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3.7 Model of the victim's experience prior, during and after crime commission.

Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's reactionary theory form the basis of the model of the victim's experience prior to, during and after an aggravated robbery has taken place.

This model is based on assumption that when aggravated robbery victims experience a traumatic event which causes psychological distress, they develop adaptive or maladaptive coping strategies (Steward & Davis 2003, p. 58; Carson & Butcher 1992, p. 147). These victims of aggravated robberies subsequently develop adaptations that will be utilized in dealing with the destruction of perceptions / assumptions, which are assumptions of invulnerability, the world as meaningful and the individual's self-perception (Janoff-Bulman, 1992, p. 117). These assumptions are, in general and under normal circumstances, applicable to the victims of aggravated robberies. This model reflects that when a victim is confronted with the aggravated robbery or either by hearing about it or being an eyewitness, their perceptions / assumptions can be influenced and/or destroyed by the experience (Van den Berg & Pretorious, 2000, p. 94). Traumatic encounters confront an individual with experiences completely different from what would normally be experienced in everyday life (Jones, 2002, p. 193), thereby causing a change in the way how they view life.

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Victims of aggravated robberies acknowledge that these crimes are randomly committed by offenders against individuals, but do not believe that such crimes can happen on them. People see themselves as less likely than others to be victims of aggravated robberies (Janoff-Bulman, 1985, p. 19).

In their day to day existence, they operate on the basis of an assumption of invulnerability (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 4). Such unassuming citizens end up under estimating the likelihood of encountering outcomes that are negative. People believe that traumatic events are unexpected in the normal course of daily life (Janoff-Bulman, 1992, p. 53). Steward and Davis (2003, p. 58) argue that prior to a robbery, victims may have felt that robberies only happen to other people and this would, therefore, denote the victims' shattered assumption of invulnerability. They further explain that victims of robberies may endure psychological distress because their existing assumptions regarding the world as meaningful and their own positive self-perception regarding their environment have been destroyed as a result of victimization. Kirchhoff (2005, p. 112) states that the victim's feeling of security is shattered.

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Following a traumatic event, victims suffer from intrusive thoughts about what has happened. Jones (2002, p. 193) states that the personal meanings often involves negative feelings such as anger, loss, betrayal and helplessness. Having negative incident happen to an individual therefore creates the illusion that the victim was not decent and worthy.

One of the most universal victim' reactions is a "why me" response. The arbitrary nature of the aggravated robbery leads the victim to search for a reason to explain why the aggravated robbery occurred and happened to him / her. Most victims with feelings of personal invulnerability believe that they are safe having no idea that one day he / she will be a victim of aggravated robbery. Severity of victim symptoms or reactions to aggravated robbery is related directly to the degree of aggravated robbery (Lurigio, Skogan & Davis, 1990, p. 55)

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Aggravated robberies are abnormal events. Therefore, unusual reactions are more likely. Many of individual's reactions during a robbery will be automatic. The victim may fear for his / her personal safety, helplessness about being unable to do anything and anger at having to surrender money or goods. It is significant to remember that everyone responds differently to a traumatic event as a result of aggravated robbery, based on each individual's coping ability, values, life experiences, personality, support systems, fears, expectations and beliefs. The traumatic event, can affect the psychological functioning and coping ability of victims. The effects of a robbery may not disappear immediately. In the days following, a victim may continue to experience unusual feelings such as apprehension and vulnerability and diminished self worth.

In the development of this theoretical model, the researchers assumed that certain individuals in society still believe that a violent crime such as aggravated robbery can only happen to other people (Van den Berg & Pretorious, 2000, p. 95). This view contributes to experience of life as being meaningful and safe. However, when a victim encounters aggravated robbery, he / she starts posing questions as why did such a crime happen to him / her. His / her questioning is based on security measures applied prior the crime commission. Stewart and Davis (2003, p. 56) argue that this would be a belief that misfortune can be prevented by engaging in sufficiently cautious behaviours. Steward and Davis (2003, p. 59) and Zinn (2010, p. 6) expound that robbery victims who feel that they had taken all the necessary precautionary and security measures, such as alarm systems, security guards, snarling guard dogs, armed response and panic buttons, might be unable to understand why their businesses were identified and selected as targets.

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The victims of aggravated robberies believe that they can prevent misfortune by engaging in sufficiently cautious behaviours, and that they feel protected against misfortune by being good and worthy people. Victims no longer perceive themselves as safe and secure in a benign environment (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze, 1983, p. 5).

When exposed to a robbery inside the premises such as bank or business robbery, an employee victim can often experience a unique aspect of robbery trauma, because it occurs at the workplace, where employees ordinarily feel reasonable safe (Jones, 2002, p. 193). Although this traumatic event occurs in the safest place which is the workplace, the response is similar to other traumatic events and can lead to victims experiencing levels of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

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These victims find themselves in a corner not knowing what else should have been done to prevent the victimization. Particularly if they regard themselves as decent people who take good care of themselves and are appropriately cautious, victims are apt to find them at a loss to explain why they were victimized (Janoff-Bulman, 1985, p. 21). The seriousness of being victimized leads a victim to believe that he / she will be victimized again. Events of this nature produce tremendous stress and anxiety as the victim's experience cannot be readily assimilated, and the assumptive world developed and confirmed over many years, cannot account for these extreme events. Therefore, the destruction of the assumption of invulnerability may further manifest itself in the victims' pre-occupation with the fear that they will be victimized again.

3.8 Contribution of this theory

This theory is the only one found suitable to explain this study, also the findings are a test of this theory and its specific goal was to accomplish an understanding of reality. This theory has expounded the fact that there is evidence to suggest that individuals believe in a state of invulnerability. It has demonstrated that, for many individuals, life is simply not the same after being involved in aggravated robbery crime. By taking victims' perception into account, this study was able to scrutinize the relative contributions of social and psychological reactions that were considered in this theory.

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This theory explains the different paradigms around victims and their reactions to their victimization. Though offenders continue committing crimes, every aggravated robbery victim is under the pretext that he / she is safe and does not expect to be the next victim. South Africa is embraced by laws with the sole intentions of protecting all inhabitants of the country (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, Section 215; The Police Act, Act 68 of 1995, Section 13).

Despite acts promulgated with the intentions of maintaining peace, order, safety and stability, aggravated robbery crimes continue to happen and individuals continue to be victims of aggravated robbery crimes.

Most citizens live a life of not knowing what will happen tomorrow, and once something happen, neither can they predict tomorrow's events. However, they operate on the basis of assumptions and personal theories that allow them to set goals, plan activities and order their behaviour (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze, 1983, p. 03). The critical research questions as indicated in chapter one, together with reviewed literature relate well with this theory thereby playing significant role with regard to the use of this theory to guide this study.

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This theory makes an original contribution to the field of Criminology within the landscape of aggravated robberies as it assists to improve practice by making a shift from assumptions of personal invulnerability to a belief that aggravated robberies exist. Further, it helps to address a demand for more pre-cautionary measures. Zondeka in Voigt (1994, p. 34) states that this theory has had enormous effect not only in Psychology but also in Criminology. As discussed above, this theory has adequate information to show its uniqueness in the field of Criminology.

Though derived from the Psychologists known as Janoff-Bulman and Freeze, its explanation is to indicate on how aggravated robbery victims are affected psychologically and socially throughout and after the ordeal.

The explanation of this theory gives homework to future local and international theorists in looking at evidence of existing powerful victims' rights which the aggression on aggravated robbery victims weakens the belief that victims' rights are concrete. The victim rights are not specific on how aggravated robbery victims are protected. Further, there is no provision of how an aggravated robbery victim should be handled during and after the crime commission as compared to other crimes such as assault and rape where a victim is promptly referred to a medical practitioner.

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3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has successfully unravelled the Theory of reactions to victimization, and how this theory explains the victim's assumption prior, during and after the individual has been involved in a crime of aggravated robbery as casualty. This reaction theory was developed by Janoff-Bulman and Frieze in the year 1983.

The three main cornerstones of this theory are explained as three basic individual's assumptions which involve the belief in personal invulnerability, the perception that the world is meaningful and comprehensible and individual's positive self-perception. In other words, Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's theory of reaction to victimization says that how one reacts to an incident of aggravated robbery is influenced by how much they contemplate themselves as safe and secure and this in turn affects their perceptions of the world that they viewed as meaningful. The theory maintains that human beings are never the same after experiencing an aggravating robbery; the trauma changes their psychological view of the world and makes them highly untrusting of the world leading to a change of their social being.

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The individual, incidents and environmental determinants will therefore be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

INDIVIDUAL, INCIDENTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL DETERMINANTS

4.1 Introduction

Aggravated robbery is a negative externality with enormous psychological effects and social costs on victims. It encompasses a fairly diverse group of sub-categories desegregated into street / public; house; retail; bank; vehicle; truck robberies and cash-in-transit which are all leading to high levels of violence or the threats usually arise out of them.

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This chapter is designed to give information about the essence of aggravated robbery. It will also give an overview of the *modus operandi* employed by offenders when deciding to mug victims by surprise. Apart from the scrutiny of *modus operandi*, the discussion is in some ways merely a prelude to the following sections which are: understanding aggravated robberies in South Africa, individuals, incidents and environmental determinants.

As the study elaborates on psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims, this chapter goes deeper in unveiling precisely the different methods employed by robbers during the crime commission.

4.2 Understanding aggravated robberies in South Africa

Historically, one of the first recorded cases of aggravated robbery in South Africa according to Marsh (2009, p. 01) was the Trust Bank robbery in Commissioner Street, Johannesburg on 28th of April 1971. During the same period the notorious Andrė Stander, who was a police official at the time, specialised in robbing banks until he was arrested and sentenced to 75 years in prison on 6th of May 1980 (Wikipedia, April 19, 2013).

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As indicated in chapter one, aggravated robbery is desegregated into the following sub-categories as outlined in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Subcategories of aggravated robberies

CRIME	SUBCATEGORIES
Aggravated robbery	Robbery in public space (street robbery)
	Car-jacking
	Residential robbery (house robbery)
	Business robbery (retail robbery)
	Truck-jacking
	Cash-in-transit heists (CIT)
	Bank robbery

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Aggravated robbery is both a property crime and a crime of violence. It is not just a property crime, but also a crime against the person, and a crime that results in personal violence (Crime Victim Services, 2012, p. 01). Aggravated robbery can cause physical injury or even death, fear in the community, emotional trauma and, of course, financial loss (Morrison & O'Donnell, 1996, p. 160). It is the unlawful taking of property that is in the immediate possession of another, by force or threat of force (Snyman, 2003, p. 506).

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According to Snyman (2003, p. 506) robbery consists in theft of property by unlawfully and intentionally using violence to take the property from somebody else or threats of violence to induce the possessor of the property to submit to the taking of the property. Van der Merwe in Joubert (2001, p.145) distinguished robbery from armed robbery based on the fact that robbery is theft of property by intentionally using violence or threats of violence, whereas armed robbery is an aggravated form of robbery in which the perpetrator is armed with a fatal weapon.

The threat of violence may be of an expressed or implied nature (Geldenhuys, February 2010, p. 30). Snyman (2003, p. 506) makes it clear that as in theft, only movable corporeal property in *commercio* can form the object of robbery. The owner must not, of course, have consented to the taking, and the offender must have known that consent was lacking.

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The robber does not have to transport the property away from the physical presence of the person who has lawful possession of it or even escape with it. The slightest change of location is sufficient to establish the crime. Once the robber takes possession of the property, the offence legally is complete, even if the robber later abandons the property. The personal property that is taken must have some value, but the amount of its value is immaterial. Aggravated robbery can be committed even if the property taken is of slight value. Therefore, the actual monetary value is not of greatest importance as long as it appears that the robbed property has some value to the person robbed.

The most aggravating factors are that the robber must be armed with a deadly weapon such as a gun, that the robber actually inflicts serious bodily injury, or that the robber has an accomplice. Kirsten and Bruce (November, 2010a, p. 2); Kirsten and Bruce (March 2010b, p. 30) state that the core of the problem of aggravated robberies in South Africa is characterized prominently by the common use of weapons, including firearms as well as knives or other instruments of sharp force. As substantiated by Fuzile (February 4, 2015, p. 05), all the robbers were armed with knives and firearms. Robbery may be further classified according to the degree of force used or threatened; thus, a state might consider aggravated robbery a more serious crime than robbery without a weapon (Reid, 1988, p. 232).

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The utilization of a firearm is a very expressive term used specifically when a person points a firearm at another individual, thereby posing a threat to the other person's life. The utilization of firearm is a very expressive term used specifically when a person points a firearm at another individual, thereby posing a threat to other person's life. Being held at gunpoint confronts most people with death, anxiety, helplessness and intense horror (Elklit, 2002, p. 872; E. Beckham & C. Beckham, 2014, p. 01).

They further explain that when robbery is in motion, the victim faces risk of being killed, injured and losing his property. This is a serious and violent crime that leaves every victim traumatized hence being harmed (Elklit, 2002, p. 872).

During the commission of aggravated robbery, each party has a role to play. Offenders generally play the part of the initiator and aggressor, whereas victims are usually passive, at least at the start, (Karmen, 1990, p. 80). As a result of aggravated robbery, victims subsequently encounter the different types of experiences such as injuries, loss, shock, denial, trauma, stress. The United Nations clearly explains victims as persons who individually have suffered harm including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights through acts that are in violation of criminal laws operative within a specific country (Naudè, May 1997, p. 01; New South Wales Victim's Rights, 1996, Section 6; New Zealand Legislation Act 39, 2010, part 3; South African Victim's Charter, 2004; United Nations Victim's Charter, November 29, 1985). Any victim of this crime has something to say after he / she has been directly involved in aggravated robbery (Geldenhuys, May 2007, p. 12).

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It is important to note perhaps that, although very risky and totally illegal, an individual who engages in aggravated robbery can earn in ten minutes the same amount other individuals earn legally in a month, in a year or two (Geldenhuys, May 2007, p. 12). Geldenhuys (May 2007, p. 12) further argues that the operation of armed robbers takes less than five minutes, and the perpetrators become rich within that short space of time. This justifies aggravated robbery hence thousand of rands are received by perpetrators without hard working and within few minutes (Geldenhuys, May 2007, p. 12).

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In the table 4.2 below, all figures under column four (Difference) with a minus (-) mark indicates the decline on a number of cases which were reported in that particular police station. In essence, it is a signal of decrease. Those that are unmarked are a manifestation of how cases increase. The last column (column five) stands for how the percentage is calculated. As shown below, 37 out of 192 policing stations, were affected in the Eastern Cape during 2006/2007 and 2007/2008 financial years.

The 155 police stations that do not appear on the following table are not affected by aggravated robbery cases. In spite of the statistics displayed below, the available latest data indicates that the aggravated robbery is on the increase. The crime statistics released by the police department on September 19, 2014 indicates that aggravated robberies in South Africa have been increasing since 2007/2008 financial year (SAPS, 2013/2014). East London aggravated robberies were at 354 during 2007/2008 financial, and during 2013/2014 financial year were at 441 (SAPS Annual Report, 2013/2014). For the same 2007/2008 period, Kwazakhele was at 645 and has increased to 941 during the 2013/2014 financial year (SAPS Annual Report, 2013/2014). Mthatha was at 411 during the 2007/2008 period and is currently at 685 during 2013/2014 financial year (SAPS Annual Report, 2013/2014). This shows that aggravated robbery is increasing in the three police stations and victims are adversely affected.

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Aggravated robbery is one of the violent crimes whose statistics as shown on table 4.2 , is on the increase, specifically in Eastern Cape (SAPS 2007 : 07).

Table 4.2: Aggravated Robbery figures in the Eastern Cape Province: Robbery with aggravating circumstances in the Eastern Cape for the period April 2007 to March 2008

Police Station	2006/2007	2007/2008	Difference	% Change
Algoa Park	223	194	-29	-13.00
Aliwal North	13	43	30	230.77
Beacon Bay	17	28	11	64.71
Bethelsdorp	306	310	4	1.31
Buffalo Flats	91	105	14	15.38
Butterworth	154	174	20	12.99
Cambridge	148	200	52	35.14
Despatch	36	51	15	41.67
Duncan Village	180	250	70	38.89
East London	348	354	6	1.72
Engcobo	73	90	17	23.29
Flagstaff	30	41	11	36.67
Gelvandale	311	194	-117	-37.62
Grahamstown	148	144	-4	-2.70
Humewood	584	345	-239	-40.92
Ikamvelihle	22	188	166	754.55
Inyibiba	153	132	-21	-13.73
King Wms Town	128	136	8	6.25
Kwanobuhle	352	357	5	1.42
Kwazakhele	635	645	10	1.57
Mdantsane	204	201	-3	-1.47
Motherwell	339	224	-115	-33.92
Mount Road	443	382	-61	-13.77
Mthatha	403	411	8	6.25
Nemato	0	48	48	ERR
New Brighton	440	346	-94	-21.36
Ngangelizwe	98	109	11	11.22
Port Alfred	42	24	-18	-42.86
Qumbu	59	96	37	62.71
Sterkspruit	17	27	10	58.82
Sulenkama	35	46	11	31.43
Swartkops	187	140	-47	-25.13
Uitenhage	186	146	-40	-21.51
Vulindlela	114	152	38	33.33
Walmer	248	281	33	13.31
Zele	17	32	15	88.24
Zwelitsha	37	72	35	94.59

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All three police stations East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha have lower figures during 2006/2007 financial year and increased during 2007/2008 financial year. The Eastern Cape Province comprises of SAPS twenty seven clusters. One hundred and ninety two (192) police stations have been clustered to make twenty seven clusters. They are Alice, Aliwal North, Butterworth, Cofimvaba, Cradock, East London, Elliot, Graaf-Reinet, Grahamstown, Humansdorp, King William's Town, Matatiele, Mdantsane, Motherwell, Mount Ayliff, Mount Fletcher, Mount Frere, Mount Road, Mqanduli, Mthatha, Peddie, Port Alfred, Port St. Johns, Queenstown, Uitenhage, Whittlesea and Willowmore. Therefore, for the purpose of this research, only police stations in which aggravated robberies were reported that appear in this research study. The reasons for choosing these police stations are explained below:

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4.2.1 East London

East London as shown in figure 4.1 below is along the Indian Ocean lower in the centre of the Eastern Cape Province which is 308 kilometres from Kwazakhele and falls directly under Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality.

East London is a cluster office and has seven police stations known as East London, Beacon Bay, Buffalo Flats, Chalumna, Duncan Village, Gonubie and Kidd's Beach. Aggravated robbery cases were reported in Beacon Bay, Buffalo Flats and Duncan Village but were lesser that in East London. No cases of aggravated robbery were reported in Chalumna, Gonubie and Kidd's Beach and are not enlisted in table 4.2. The aggravated robbery cases were only reported in East London police station, Beacon Bay, Buffalo Flats and Duncan Village. Comparing with other police stations in Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, East London was the police station that recorded 354 cases of aggravated robberies and was chosen for this study.

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The aggravated robberies recorded in East London show that East London is far behind two police stations Kwanobuhle with 357 cases and Mount Road with 382 cases. Both police stations are situated in Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality and are represented by Kwazakhele who is higher than both stations.

4.2.2 Kwazakhele

Kwazakhele as illustrated in figure 4.1 below is situated in Port Elizabeth on the far west of the Eastern Cape under Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality. It falls directly under Motherwell cluster.

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The following police stations fall under the Motherwell cluster; Ikamvelihle, Kinkelbos, Kwadwesi, Kwazakhele, Motherwell, New Brighton and Swartkops. It is only Kinkelbos that recorded no aggravated robbery during 2007/2008 financial year. However, Kwanobuhle, Mount Road and New Brighton are also depicting higher figures though they are not elected as research sites. Kwazakhele policing precinct has highest figures of reported robbery cases and that prompted to be chosen for this study. These three police stations fall under the jurisdiction of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality and are represented by Kwazakhele. The distance in between these police stations is lesser than ten kilometres with the exception of Kwanobuhle which is twenty eight kilometres from Kwazakhele.

4.2.3 Mthatha

The third research site is Mthatha which is 224 kilometres from East London, far east of the Eastern Cape Province with 550 kilometres from Kwazakhele and 167 kilometres much closer to Kwazulu Natal province. Mthatha is falling under King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality.

Mthatha cluster as demonstrated in figure 4.1 below has eight police stations which are Bityi, Dalasile, Engcobo, Libode, Mthatha, Ngangelizwe, Ngqeleni and Tsolo. During the year 2007/2008 financial year, no cases of aggravated robbery were reported in Bityi, Dalasile, Libode, Ngqeleni and Tsolo. During the year 2007/2008, Engcobo, Mthatha and Ngangelizwe were affected with aggravated robberies. Engcobo and Ngangelizwe were far lesser than Mthatha and could not be chosen for this study.

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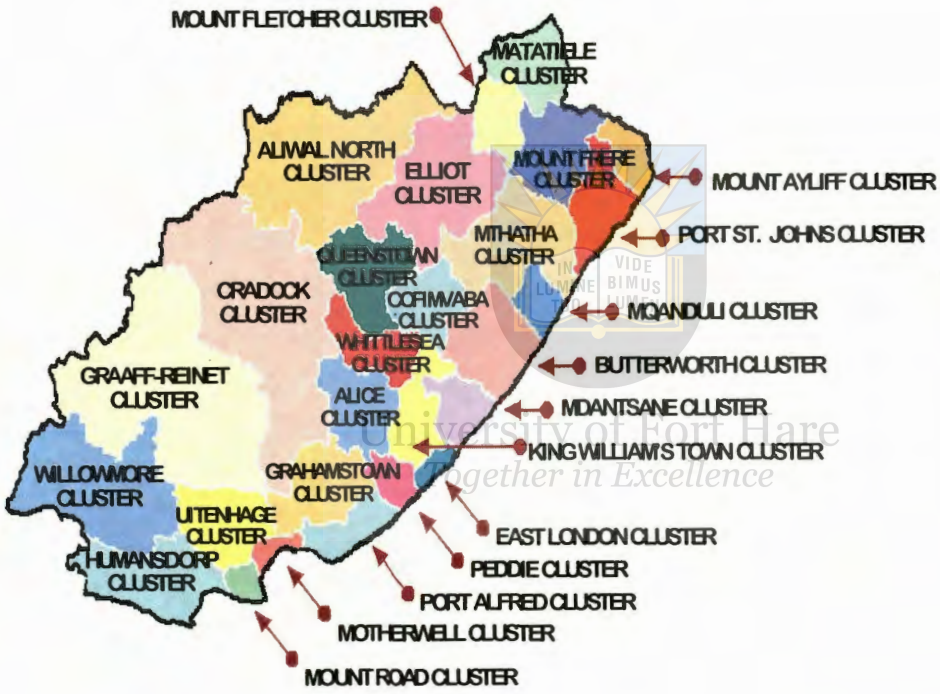
Figure 4.1 below depicts all twenty seven South African Police Service cluster offices during 2011/2012 financial year.

Figure 4-1: Map of the Eastern Cape showing the SAPS Cluster offices



Source: South African Police Service Eastern Cape Provincial Annual Performance Plan 2011/2012

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4.2.4 Eagles' eye: Victims and South African Legislation

The South African Constitution Act 108 of 1996 is silent with regard to the rights of aggravated robbery victims. Instead, Section 73 (1) of the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977, states that an accused who is arrested, whether with or without warrant, shall, subject to any law relating to the management of prisons, be entitled to the assistance of his / her legal adviser as from the time of his / her arrest. This creates a wide impression that the offender has more rights than the victim taking into consideration the legal representation offered to the offender during his / her first appearance in court.

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Victims' rights that are known are rights to receive information, rights to legal advice and rights to open a criminal case. As pointed out by Friday and Kirkhhoff (2000, p. 56), victims' needs and rights are consistently acknowledged in word if not in deed. H.J. Parad and L.G. Parad (1990, p. 108) concur with the fact that rape victims who report their assault cases are brought immediately to hospital emergency departments by law-enforcement personnel for evidence collection services – but this opportunity is not afforded to aggravated robbery victims.

One of the interviewed respondents pointed out the significance of aggravated robbery in a victim's life which he referred to it as being illuminated by the following statement, "My life is divided into two parts: before the robbery and after the robbery." The statement shows that the victim was enjoying his life prior the attack and has resembled another life after the incident. Aggravated robbery dramatically challenges the victim's basic world view. It shatters many of his / her beliefs and assumptions about his / her environment, himself / herself and other people.

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One's assumption about the world operates at both the conscious and unconscious levels. Victims know that bad things happen, but they tend to believe that they happen to other people or to people who use poor judgment or do bad things. As argued by Antaki and Brewin (1982, p. 09) using Heider's analysis on attribution theory, they state that they note that a person tends to explain his / her own actions as being due to the demands or opportunities of the situation, but sees other people's actions as being due to their dispositions. In these ways, people think that they feel in control of themselves.

This is the basis of the victims' sense of security within their environment, within themselves, and with other people. This security enables them to function in the world. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 5) see the world as meaningful based on the understanding amongst individuals. They further explain that individuals understand what to expect as well as the reasons on why negative events happen.

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What needs to be further researched is the complex script that gets played out in aggravated robberies. What this means for the trauma that victims have to live with and how such an experience impacts on more general feelings of insecurity.

Despite the fact that victims' cases are far more often under reported (Morrison & O'Donnell, 1996, p. 160) than are offenders committing aggravated robberies, this crime of aggravated robbery is a targeted crime where victims directly experience the effects of the crime while in process (OVC Archive 2013; Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia, August 07, 2013; Wikipedia, August 11, 2013). This is not the case with all crimes as some crimes are victimless and some do not involve acts of physical violence, such as crimes involving commercial and narcotics (Geis, 2008, p. 1).

4.3 *Modus operandi* of robbers

Despite the fact that this study is victim-centred, the methods utilized by offenders will be included in the discussion as explained by Stewart (2002, p. 57) that it provides the valuable background information on styles of career robbery and target selection.

Docket analysis in all 1410 case dockets registered during the year 2007 and 2008 was conducted in conjunction with data captured from the South African Police Service corporate systems such as Crime Administration System (CAS) and Business Intelligence System (BI) and the information pertaining to the day, when the crime took place.

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Following is information obtained from 1410 aggravated robbery case dockets indicating the *modus operandi* utilized by the perpetrators, and days of the offences in East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha.

4.3.1 Day of the aggravated robbery in East London

Research in East London as demonstrated in table 4.3 page 112 with regard to the days of the week on which the aggravated robbery cases take place, demonstrates that Saturdays (75), Sundays (55) and Fridays (54) record the highest and can be deemed as the high risk days. Tuesdays (48), Thursdays (45) and Wednesdays (40) can be considered as medium impact/risk days and Mondays (37) as the low risk days of the week. These were number of criminal cases of aggravated robberies registered on the days mentioned. Research in East London refers to what is seen and obtained from the 354 aggravated robbery case dockets. During the research into all 354 case dockets, all seven days of the week indicate that the reported aggravated robberies are not the same.

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The findings regarding the day of the aggravated robberies are elucidated underneath:

- Mondays indicate low risk days which can be attributed to a day which employees use to bunk from their places of employment. This habit affects robbers who also become lazy to continue with their illegal operations. It seems as if it shows that it stabilizes in the beginning of the week.

- Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays show a slight increase. It seems to be medium impact hence victims who are regarded as targets by the robbers have no adequate funds.

- Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays can be considered the peak days of high risk period. Fridays are commencement of the weekends and everybody is in need of money so as to enjoy himself / herself. The findings regarding Fridays explain that victims have sufficient funds, are careless and insusceptible towards the existence of crime. These findings are consistent with Geldenhuys (February 2010, p. 30) results that show that aggravated robbery occurs every day of the week, reaching a high on Fridays, due to the fact that victims tend to be more relaxed.

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The victims are probable engaged in shopping spree and attending to outdoor activities, where they lose sight of vigilance. It is a fact that when their vigilance decreases, their vulnerability also increases (Davis in Davis & Snyman, 2005, p. 230).

4.3.2 Day of the aggravated robbery in Kwazakhele

The exploration in the precinct of Kwazakhele as illustrated in table 4.3 page 112 relevant to the days of the week on which the aggravated robbery cases take place, demonstrates that Tuesdays (69), Wednesdays (64) and Thursdays (62) as the low risk days of the week.

Mondays (86) can be considered as medium impact/risk days and Saturdays (137), Sundays (121) and Fridays (106) record the highest and can be deemed as the high risk days.

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The exploration referred to, is information from the 645 aggravated robbery case dockets. The analysis conducted in all 645 case dockets demonstrates that all seven days of the week in Kwazakhele indicate that reported aggravated robberies are not ostensible the same. The findings regarding the day of the aggravated robberies are explicated as follows:

- Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays can be considered the peak days of high risk period. Fridays are commencement of the weekends and individuals have businesses such as funerals, traditional ceremonies, parties, weddings and other commitments to fulfil.

  The findings regarding Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays explain that victims carry large cash and significant belongings thus becoming vulnerable to offenders.

  The offenders target these days by sitting down and plan on how to coerce the victims in the near future. An example is a video footage that showed two men creeping up on either side of an unsuspecting Diesel who had his back to them at the ATM cash machine (Hollands, February 3, 2015, p. 01)

- Mondays indicate low risk days when robbers after hard work during the weekend decide to rest. The robbers are utilising the belongings they dispossessed during the weekend such as enjoying themselves and selling vehicles that have been hijacked.

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They are also scrutinizing their strengths on how to apply them again, weaknesses that posed threats into their previous operation or could pose threats into their future operations which can expose themselves and thereby designing means of evading justice.

- Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays indicate a slight increase. It seems to be medium impact hence victims who are regarded as targets by the robbers have no enough funds, and are confined in their places of residence or employment, and are planning for the weekend.

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4.3.3 Day of the aggravated robbery in Mthatha

The study in Mthatha as shown in table 4.3 below pertaining to the days of the week, on which the aggravated robbery cases happen, shows that Saturdays (101), Sundays (60) and Fridays (68) record the highest and can be deemed as the high risk days.

Wednesdays (54) and Thursdays (47) can be considered as medium impact/risk days and Mondays (45) and Tuesdays (37) as the low risk days of the week.

The study in Mthatha refers to what is seen and obtained from the 411 case dockets. During the investigation and analysis of 411 case dockets, it transpires that though the aggravated robberies are committed in all seven days of the week, their frequencies are different. The following explanations can clarify the findings regarding the day of the aggravated robberies:

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- One can assume that on Mondays and Tuesdays, the volume of victims on the streets is low and most victims are confined in their employment places.

  There are no individuals in residential places which can be regarded as targets in house robberies. That may explain the lower figures for Mondays and Tuesdays in Mthatha.

- On Wednesdays and Thursdays, the robbers still exploit the available opportunities to cash vehicles collecting the previous weekend's money from the businesses and depositing funds in local banks' ATM machines.

The aggravated robberies start to increase hence the volume of victims are starting to increase on the streets. It seems to be medium impact hence victims who are regarded as targets by the robbers have no plenteous funds.

Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays can be considered the peak days of high risk period. During the beginning of the weekend on Fridays and during Saturdays and Sundays, the most victims are not taking much care of them and end up being targets of the offenders.

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Table 4.3: Aggravated robberies in East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha according to week days

	East London		Kwazakhele		Mthatha	
Day	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Sunday	55	15.5	121	18.8	60	14.6
Monday	37	10.5	86	13.3	45	10.9
Tuesday	48	13.6	69	10.6	36	8.8
Wednesday	40	11.3	64	9.9	54	13.1
Thursday	45	12.7	62	9.6	47	11.4
Friday	54	15.2	106	16.4	68	16.6
Saturday	75	21.2	137	21.2	101	24.6
Total	354	100	645	100	411	100

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4.3.4 Analysis of days in three precincts

- Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays are common as high risk days in all three precincts.

- Wednesdays and Thursdays are declared as medium risk days in East London and Mthatha. Mondays only are medium risk days in Kwazakhele whereas Tuesdays are also medium risk days in East London.

- Mondays in East London and Mthatha indicate low risk days. Tuesdays in Kwazakhele and Mthatha are also low risk days and the low risk days for Kwazakhele area is Wednesdays and Thursdays.

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Next, the *modus operandi* used by offenders is analyzed. As indicated in table 4.4 in page 124, it is evident that the offenders employ the similar methods in dispossessing victims of their properties and are explained as follows:

- Broke lock

  This method has been utilized in house robberies by the offenders to gain entry. One of the robbers prefer to break the locks at about 01:00 (1 am) when residents are asleep so that he and his accomplices can overpower them before they are seen (Zinn, 2010. p. 43).

- Grabbed hands

  In cases of street or public robbery, the victims are accosted and their hands are held tight behind their backs where other offenders search the victims and remove cash, clothes, bags, cellular phones. A force is used at this stage whether the victims are resisting or not. Conversely, the victim might resist an unarmed robber until the robber uses force (Karmen, 1990, p. 84). The victims have no choice other than to comply hence according to Davis in Davis and Snyman (2005, p. 231) they know that victim resistance can also facilitate violence and increase the potential for injury and death. The aim of the perpetrator is to obtain money by means of applying violence (Maree, Van den Berg & Pretorious, 2002, p. 93)

- Pointing with and threatened with firearm or threatened with knife or panga or any sharp instrument.

The methods mentioned above are all illustrated in 1410 aggravated robbery police case dockets that were scrutinized and analyzed.

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The concept *modus operandi* is in most cases utilized and applied in criminal cases, specifically in cases of aggravated robbery. One obvious reason for an individual to engage in aggravated robbery is economic where the motive is to obtain money or the property (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003, p. 308), where Wright, Brookman and Bennett (2006, p. 01) explain that the decision to commit aggravated robbery emerges out of an immediate desire to keep the party going. Wright, Brookman and Bennett (2006, p. 03) conclude that the main motive for robbery is financial advantage for the suspect. During this robbery operation, a threat of violence is always present. Fuzile (February 4, 2015, p. 5) concurs by expounding that the victim sustained a wound to his forehead after being grazed by the bullet fired at close range.

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During bank, street/public, house, retail robberies, car-jackings[7], truck-jackings[8] and cash-in-transit[9], the victims are threatened with firearms or pointed with them with the intentions of acquiring the property being in control of the victim. It is evident that public robbery may in most cases be executed with a dangerous weapon such as knife; the firearm is usually the last weapon to be used to win the victim.

It is again evident that firearms are in most cases threatening which causes the victim to comply with given orders. According to Rossouw (2002, p. 15) the majority of offenders use handguns to rob victims of their belongings. The rationale behind the utilization of handguns is that, they can be easily hidden on the body without being detected. The firearms also provide maximum protection against armed victims.

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[7]Car-jacking is the unlawful, intentional and forceful depriving of automobile from the lawful driver. Often a victim is robbed of other valuables, abducted and/or raped. It involves an individual or group of offenders robbing a vehicle when the car is already occupied.

[8] Truck-jacking refers to the taking of a truck specifically for the consignment being carried, unlawfully and exerting force to the driver.

[9] Cash-in-transit is a violent robbery of a van or small truck carrying banknotes, coins and items of value whilst being physically conveyed.

Firearms are the preferred weapons to use and therefore a firearm is an important tool needed by the robber to take control of the situation (Geldenhuys, October 2009b, p. 38). Kempen (April 2000, p. 16) states that the robbers mostly use pistols, as experience has shown them that the tongue-clicking imitation of slipping the safety catch is a powerful psychological weapon to strike fear into victims. Davis in Davis and Snyman (2005, p. 231) illustrate that although the mere showing of a firearm holds a great threat for victims, it appears that cocking a firearm at the crime scene unambiguously conveys the intentions of the robbers.

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As seen in the above discussed sections, when offenders have no firearms, they use knives, pangas, and sharp instruments as intimidation. Borzycki (2003, p. 05) reveals that it is probable that the presence of weapons compels victim compliance and reduces resistance and attempts at apprehension, regardless of how many robbers wield those weapons, as seen in the above discussed section. Aggravated robberies that begin with the brandishing of a gun or knife are less likely to escalate into bloodshed because the threat of the deadly weapon is sufficient to convince most victims to surrender without struggle (Karmen, 1990, p. 84).

Circumstances under which a victim is robbed may vary (Crime Victim Services, 2012, p. 03). The aggravated robber may unlawfully enter the victim's home; confronts him / her on the street in a manner that other individuals cannot see or in most cases in public places such as public transportation. The *modus operandi* may embody a simple structure such as a lone robber with an imitation pistol who walks into a petrol station late at night and demands cash before escaping on foot (Morrison & O'Donnell, 1996, p. 161).

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Morrison and O'Donnell (1996, p. 161) further explain that it may be a more complex scheme involving several robbers, scanners to listen into police radio waves, an array of lethal weaponry and two or more getaway cars, with a cash-in-transit van as the target.

- Stabbed with either a bottle head, knife, screwdriver or any sharp instrument. Most victims especially males refuse to comply with the instructions of the offenders and end up being stabbed by any dangerous weapon which is in the possession of the offender at that particular moment.

As one stabs him in the hand he wrestles with the attacker, desperately holding off his arm to prevent being stabbed again (Hollands, February 03, 2015, p. 01).The type of dangerous weapon wielded by the robber is the most significant factor determining whether or not a victim will be wounded or killed (Karmen, 1990. p. 83). The main purpose of the offenders is to get the properties of the victims.

- Shot at

This type of method is usually utilized in banks or businesses when offenders identify resistance and fear for prompt arrival of law enforcement if the operation is delayed much longer.

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The planning is done in the finest detail as they know that they only have limited time to retrieve the money from the victim before a helicopter is in the air or before the police arrive at the scene (Geldenhuys, May 2007, p. 11). The intention of the robbers is to get away from robbery scenes as quickly as possible and with the least risk of encountering a police vehicle (Zinn, 2010. p. 33).

This happens in cash-in-transit robberies when the crew is refusing to open their vehicles. Geldenhuys (December 2009a, p. 38) expatiates that after the cash-in-transit vehicle has come to a standstill some of the robbers shoot at the windscreen or underneath the wheels of the vehicle into the cabin where the security officers are sitting, in an attempt to force them to open the vehicle's doors. When the motorists are refusing to conform to robbers' instructions, the robbers do not hesitate in shooting at the victims. Geldenhuys (May 2007, p. 11) explains that aggravated robberies in South Africa involve large numbers of heavily armed robbers who do not hesitate to use violence or kill to get the money they want.

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- Thrown at with a brick

In East London, three reported criminal cases indicate that the victims were walking and had bricks thrown at them. Each victim claimed that he / she became unconscious and discovered that all his / her belongings had been taken. Morrison and O'Donnell (1996, p. 159) state that offenders always make reasonably accurate predictions with regard to how to surprise the victim without having any suspicion.

The crux of a criminal incident is usually that a victim is taken by surprise. If the surprise element is absent, the victim can presumably takes some action to avoid or prevent the crime (Hennop, Potgieter & Jefferson, 2001, p. 03). Thus, in many of the case dockets opened in East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha police stations, the victims were unable to mention what the offender was doing prior to the crime, as they were rather not vigilant or never noticed the offender's actions but all actions subsequently became a surprise.

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- Hacked with an axe

  In Kwazakhele, when the victim refused with his belongings, he was hacked with an axe and became unconscious. When he regained consciousness, he was naked and all his belongings had already been taken.

- Sprinkled with pepper spray

  In one of the seen case dockets, one victim was pepper sprayed during the confrontation and could not see thereafter.

- Throttled

The victim was fighting back with his fists and was subsequently conquered and strangled to calm him down until he became unconscious. Without weapons, according to Borzycki (2003, p. 05), more offenders may be necessary to exert the control that produces compliance and results in success. His earlier findings on victim injury suggest that unarmed gangs inflict more injury (Borzycki, 2003, p. 05). The increased compliance they generate by means of suffocating victims arises from an increased preparedness to demonstrate control by inflicting injury (Borzycki, 2003, p. 05).

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- Other

These criminal cases were mistakenly captured as aggravated robberies in East London (2), Kwazakhele (7) and Mthatha (14).

When case dockets were analyzed, it transpired that when the victims were laying charges, the personnel in Community Service Centres (CSC) were uncertain in interpreting the victims' testimonies.

Other cases were found to be fraud, theft with false pretences, theft general, forgery and uttering and not aggravated robberies.

- Data not available from the dockets

East London (11), Kwazakhele (21) and Mthatha (58) have recorded cases where the *modus operandi* cannot be explained. There is no proper information from the case dockets as well as from the systems.

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The following table 4.4 indicates the various methods utilized by offenders when robbing victims.

Table 4.4: The *modus operandi* used by robbers in East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha

East London			Kwazakhele			Mthatha		
Modus operandi	**Frequency**	**%**	***Modus operandi***	**Frequency**	**%**	***Modus operandi***	**Frequency**	**%**
roke lock	4	1.1	Broke Lock	3	0.5	Broke lock	11	2.7
rabbed hands	7	2.0	Hacked with an axe	1	0.2	Grabbed hands	61	14.8
ointing with firearm	61	17.2	Pointing with firearm	286	44.3	Pointing with firearm	69	16.8
hot at	3	0.8	Shot at	8	1.2	Shot at	7	1.7
tabbed either with a bottle head, nife, screwdriver, sharp instrument r panga	23	6.5	Sprinkled with pepper spray	1	0.2	Stabbed with either a knife or screwdriver	28	6.8
hreatened with firearm	72	20.3	Stabbed with either a knife, bottle neck, sharp instrument	22	3.4	Threatened with firearm	68	16.6
hreatened with knife or panga	168	47.5	Struck with hammer	1	0.2	Threatened with knife	95	23.1
rown with brick	3	0.9	Threatened with firearm	158	24.4	Other	14	3.4
ther	2	0.2	Threatened with knife	136	21.1	Data not available from the dockets	58	14.1
ata not available from the dockets	11	3.1	Throttled	1	0.2			
			Other	7	1.1			
			Data not available from the dockets	21	3.2			
tal	354	100	Total	645	100	Total	411	100

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The victims of aggravated robberies who are individuals are discussed in the next section.

4.4 Individuals

The way in which victim reacts to aggravated robbery varies from person to person and is affected by individual factors such as how the victim handles stress and what kind of support systems he / she has in his / her life. Lurigio, Skogan and Davis (1990, p. 51) and Taylor, Wood and Lichtman (1983, p. 30) are of the view that reactions to crime and other deleterious events are often quite varied due to individual differences in response to criminal victimization.

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The manner in which the victim reacts to the aggravated robbery incident will vary according to the specific individuals and the situation (Van den Berg & Pretorious, 2000, p. 96). Variability in attempting to heal and cure the victim can be an execution of the features of an affected victim depending on the type of experienced event as well as what happens to him after the attack.

This happens based on the mental strength of the victim before the aggravated robbery takes place. During and after an incident, each individual responds in his / her own unique way. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p.3) indicate that individuals must deal not only with any physical injury resulting from their experience, but also with the tremendous psychological toll exacted by these extreme events.

In reaction to the trauma, he can experience symptoms such as shock, which can manifest itself in reactions such as heart palpitations (Van den Berg & Pretorious, 2000, p. 97. Their perceptions are now marked by threat, danger, insecurity and self-questioning (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 3).

Theorists believe that every individual is under the pretext that he / she is worthwhile and always continue maintaining his / her value amongst the communities. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 6), emphasize that people operate under the assumption that they are worthy, decent people based on the fact that they maintain a relatively high level of self-esteem.

But once the individual is victimized – he / she starts scrutinizing such perception. Barlow and Durand (1995, p. 193) expatiate that there could be the commencement of psychological contribution based on early experiences with unpredictable and uncontrollable events. Regardless of experiences mentioned above, citizens in high crime areas are more sensitive to illegal activities (Eberly, Takahashi, Messina & Friday, 2007, p. 19). The trauma of victimization often activates negative self-images and individuals may then declare themselves as helpless, weak, out of control and terrified.

The actions of the robbers which are termed as incidents against the individuals are discussed in the next section.

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4.5 Incidents

The level of analysis in any aggravated robbery case is the incident itself. When an aggravated robbery victim is confronted and directly affected with the robbery incident, a number of different aspects can come into his / her mind and influence his / her judgment on this crime.

When this incident happens and the victim cannot prevent it, he / she subsequently feels helpless and gives up in life. After an incident, the victim fears that he / she is losing control of his / her life. His / her perception is that he / she is not in control of his / her life during the event, and this feeling of loss of control may then continue after the event (National Crime Victims Research and Treatment Centre, August 09, 2013, p. 01).

Perhaps, the most agonizing incident for victims, involves dealing with the criminal justice system if and when an offender is apprehended (The National Centre for Victims of Crime, 2012, p. 01; CPS Policy for Prosecuting cases of Domestic Violence, August 08, 2013; OVC Archive, 2013; United Nations Victim's Charter, November 29, 1985). It is at this stage that the state owns the attack to protect the victim and the crime is regarded as committed by the perpetrator against the victim, and a victim becomes a witness to the incident. In the event of the victim being called as a state witness at the ensuing trial, he / she may not be allowed to be present during the victim's testimony and as a result may experience this administration of justice as victimization (Van den Berg & Pretorious, 2000, p. 96).

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Friday and Kirchhoff (2000, p. 57) agree and explain that Benjamin Mendelsohn was a penal lawyer whose initial interest in the victim was in defending suspects by pointing out the victim's contribution to the criminal act. The participation of victims in the prosecution of cases has been regarded commonly as stressful and disruptive to their recovery (Lurigio, Skogan & Davis, 1990, p.60).

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According to the Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime (August 12, 2013) and National Crime Victims Research and Treatment Centre (August 09, 2013), the procedure is very difficult for the robbery victim to understand and come to terms with it, because in the victim's mind, he / she is the one who has suffered emotionally, physically, psychologically and financially.

Addington and Rennison (2008, p. 206) state that the individual believes that due to incident characteristics, which has increased his likelihood of reporting the aggravated robbery to police and that the offender is because of his role arrested and prosecuted.

Due to his / her efforts, the individual is of the opinion that he / she has already played a role and does not accept a situation of not being included in the trial of the accused. This can deepen his / her feelings of anxiety, helplessness, depression and exercise fear.

The South African courts as indicated in section 29 of the South African Rules Board for courts of Law Act 107 of 1985, allow an accused to plead to the charge and submit his / her basis of defence in the absence of the complainant. It is unfortunate for a victim or complainant not to be educated or have adequate knowledge on the criminal justice system processes prior the commencement of the case trial. However, it is evident that victim can be assisted in rebuilding the victim's life if he / she is allowed to participate in the criminal justice system. The victim may feel part of the process, provided he / she is updated about the court proceedings.

This effort capacitates the victim into gaining more knowledge about the processes of the judicial system which can assist in returning a sense to his / her life and occurrences.

Subsequent to that, if he / she hears about incident that take place on another victim, it can trigger his / her memory about his / her previous incident. This reaction may continue for some time or resurface after being triggered by another event (Crime Victim Services, 2012, p. 2). The victim's perception towards aggravated robbery can influence his / her endurance on the event.

The circumstances and environments which are the cause of aggravated robberies are discussed in the next section.

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4.6 Environmental determinants

As explained by Van den Berg and Pretorious (2000, p. 97), various environmental determinants, that may directly influence the victim's experience of aggravated robbery exist, and Clarke (1989, p. 01) explains that aggravated robbery results partly from the opportunities presented by physical environment. They further state that the victim may be victimized by the robber and criminal justice system.

The awareness of insecurity of the victim's home environment for example, can cause the victim to incur incidental expenditure by, for instance, changing the telephone number, having the valuables marked with identification numbers, installing alarm systems, improving the physical security of the home, securing weapon or even moving to another area (Davis & Friedman, 1985, p. 98; Van den Berg & Pretorious, 2000, p. 97). Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 10) allude to this view that robbery victims not only put new locks on their doors or bars on their windows, but some refrain from going out at night, move to new residence, or change their place of employment.

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They further state that the direct actions can provide the victim with a sense of environmental control and can thereby minimize their new found perception of vulnerability (Van den Berg & Pretorious, 2000, p. 97). If the victim deems his / her external environment as being unsafe, but due to financial constraints cannot improve it, his / her feelings of helplessness, anxiety, depression and fear may further be aggravated. Buonanno (2003, p. 9) and Omotor (2010, p. 01) stress that some individuals become victims because of the financial constraints.

The ushering of victim in court so as to face the offender and give evidence may strike in the direct victim's experience of aggravated robbery and constitutes another form of environmental influence. In the criminal justice system, victims are often confronted with aversion, or they may even be met with aggression and with irrelevant questions which offend their personality, and they thus feel degraded (Schneider, 2013, p. 27). But in many ways as Schneider (2013, p. 27) has argued persuasively that these institutions (police, prosecutors, courts) further harm the very people they are supposed to help.

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This exercise can either further victimize the victim or enable him / her to cope more effectively with the trauma. It is the suggestion of Schneider (2013, p. 27) that one could see victims as in double victimization by the crime and by the subsequent societal (environmental) reaction. The media is playing a leading role in reporting the robbery incidents which also play a significant role in the victim's opinion and experience of aggravated robbery. This is particularly the issue when, according to the victim, the media reports incorrect facts or an assumption is created to portray the victim as the cause of the robbery.

Sometimes victims are unable to remember precisely on how he / she was robbed. Under abnormal circumstances such as aggravated robbery, the victim is traumatized and his / her brain therefore functions differently as compared to other individuals' brains, which can be misconstrued by the media in suspecting that the victim's evidence is untrue.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with individual, incidents and environmental determinants. It has supplied information in illustrating the aggravated robberies in South Africa. The preceding analysis of aggravated robberies in this chapter suggest that the huge number of these aggravated robberies can be categorized as violent orientated. The precincts which are research sites clearly demonstrate the increase of aggravated robberies.

There is a definite peak around weekends in all three research sites. Most victims have a high risk of being involved in aggravated robbery incidents.

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In their studies, Friday, Ren, Weitekamp, Kerner and Taylor (2005, p. 126) found replicable risk factors including hyper-activity, impulsivity and poor concentration. The offenders are also exercising their *modus operandi* in order to ambush and snare the victims by surprise.

Moos (1986, p. 19) states that the nature and difficulty of adaptive tasks are affected by aspects of the event by personal factors, and by environmental factors. In turn, the coping efforts stimulated by these tasks can change personal factors, environmental factors and event related factors (Moos, 1986, p. 20). Moos (1986, p. 22) further explains that the aspects of the social and physical environments affect the adaptive tasks individuals and their families face, and the choice and outcome of the coping skills they use. The human environment encompasses the relationships of individuals and their families and the support and expectations of the wider community.

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As already mentioned in this chapter, it seems that there are largely psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims. In the subsequent chapter there is coverage of the research design, methodology and methods utilized in obtaining answers to the key research concerns of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the fieldwork that was undertaken to answer the key research questions of this study thereby enabling the researcher to achieve the goals of the study, namely to explore the psychological and social consequences experienced by the victims from selected precincts in the Eastern Cape.

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Bailey (1994, p. 34) argues that methodology is the philosophy of the research process. Huysamen (1994, p. 163) further explains that in enhancing knowledge in a justifiable and accountable manner, the methodology which is applied should produce justifiable and accountable conclusions possible. This includes assumptions and values that are important for the research and also the criteria of interpreting data and reaching conclusions.

It is significant for any scientific research to have valid and reliable information. This goal was achieved in this study, by the use of a qualitative research methodology.

The aims of qualitative research methods are to establish the socially constructed nature of reality, to stress the relationship between the researcher and the object of study as well as to emphasize the value-laden nature of enquiry (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005, p. 08).

In addition to this scenario, Babbie and Mouton (2012, p. 309) state that flexibility is also a major advantage of qualitative research. The utilization of this process will allow the researcher to modify his research plan at any time. Accordingly, this not only increases the validity of findings, but allows the researcher to have more control and freedom in the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 309).

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In this study the victims provide information from an insider's perspective about their direct contact with robbers; the physical and emotional trauma, resulted from their past memories of aggravated robbery, and how aggravated robbery shatter their core assumption of invulnerability, the ability to handle stress after the incident, as well as the kind of support systems employed to overcome their unpleasant experiences.

In order to obtain this information, the research is guided by scrutinizing the psychological and social consequences suffered by victims of aggravated robberies. In this chapter the research methodology will be presented first, followed by the ethical aspects of the study, such as the measuring instruments developed, the manner in which sampling is utilized, the methods used in the collection of data, and finally the data analysis and discussed.

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5.2 Targeted population

According to Letherby and Bywaters (2007, p. 113), it is of much significance to know and understand something about the types and nature of the population to whom findings will be made available at a later stage. The targeted population is the entire group a researcher is interested in, the group about which the researcher wishes to draw inference. Privitera (2014, p. 125) confirms the selected population is all members of a group of interest to the researcher.

Babbie (1999, p. 180) strengthens this idea that a study population is that aggregation of elements from which the sample is actually selected. In this study, the targeted population are the only victims who encountered aggravated robbery crimes in their areas.

Goddard and Melville (2001, p. 34) refer to a target population as any group that is the subject of a research interest, and Neuman (2006, p. 225) views it as the population of a study as a larger pool of cases or elements such as people, businesses, commercials and animals. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005, p. 57) describe a target population as the population on which the researcher would like to generalize his / her results.

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Illuminating the features of the interest population was the first step towards calculating the size of the target population. A population is the theoretical specified aggregation of study elements (Babbie, 1999, p. 142). As indicated above, the researcher chose the population of East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha.

The Eastern Cape comprises 192 police stations. In building a logic model, the researcher is required to identify the target population and its key characteristics. This study targeted all selected victims of aggravated robberies in the Eastern Cape, particularly in East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha, the police stations that recorded high number of aggravated robberies. Eastern Cape Provincial police spokeswoman Brigadier Miranda Mills stated that sixty percent (60%) of the aggravated robberies in the province could be attributed to East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha (Wilson, September 21, 2012, p, 03). Based on this crisis, The Eastern Cape Provincial Commissioner declared the three police stations as contributing a high volume of serious crimes and are regarded as weight bearing police stations on aggravated robberies (Ministry of Transport, Safety and Liaison, January 26, 2015). Therefore, these three police stations declared as encountering aggravated robberies represents all other police stations in the Eastern Cape. The only population included in this study was the direct victims of aggravated robberies in those three research sites.

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The total target population is elucidated in the table below:

Table 5.1: Target population of the study

Research site	Targeted crimes	TP
East London	Robbery in public space (street robbery)	2
	Car jacking	2
	Residential robbery (house robbery)	2
	Business robbery (retail robbery)	2
	Truck-jacking	1
	Cash-in-transit heists (CIT)	1
	Bank robbery	2
Kwazakhele	Robbery in public space (street robbery)	4
	Car jacking	2
	Residential robbery (house robbery)	3
	Business robbery (retail robbery)	3
	Truck-jacking	2
	Cash-in-transit heists (CIT)	2
	Bank robbery	0
Mthatha	Robbery in public space (street robbery)	2
	Car jacking	2
	Residential robbery (house robbery)	2
	Business robbery (retail robbery)	2
	Truck-jacking	2
	Cash-in-transit heists (CIT)	2
	Bank robbery	2

TP stands for Total population

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The target population for this study as shown in table 5.1 above is the entire set of units for which the survey data is used to make deductions.

The researcher chose 12 respondents from East London, 16 respondents from Kwazakhele, and 14 respondents from Mthatha. In this case, the respondents are victims of aggravated robberies in the three research sites. All sub-categories of aggravated robbery are to be catered for. The respondents were chosen to represent the total population. A sample that was too large or too small was avoided. The large sample could lead to waste of valuable resources and small sample could limit the researcher in obtaining reliable insights.

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Four percent and above was too big as well as two or one percent were too small. Three percent of 1410 respondents were reasonable and 42 were suitable respondents to be interviewed. Three percent (3%) of 354 victims in East London were 12 respondents. Three percent (3%) of 645 victims in Kwazakhele were 16 respondents.

Three percent (3%) calculated out of 411 victims in Mthatha were 14 respondents. The researcher managed to study all 1410 case dockets, and was able to have an understanding of all victims including their personal details which were ages, marital status, residential and work addresses, racial groups, sexes, cell phone and telephone numbers. The chosen sample contained all these characteristics including the nature of victimization such as robbed on the street, robbed in his / her house, robbed of his / her vehicle, robbed of his / her truck, robbed in his / her business, robbed whilst transporting money and robbed in bank.

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The researcher was judgmental in choosing two respondents from each sub-category and also ensuring that age, sex and racial groups were represented. The chosen respondents were willing to share their experiences and voice out their feelings. The respondents comprise males and females between the ages of eighteen and sixty. The sample represents all racial groups who are affected in the crime. The researcher utilizes his own judgment about which respondents to choose, and selects only those who best meet the purposes of the study (Bailey, 1994, p. 96).

Non-probability sampling is a technique where the units that are investigated are based on the judgment of the researcher. The researchers rely on their experience, ingenuity to deliberately obtain units of analysis in such a manner that the sample they obtain may be regarded as being representative of the relevant targeted population (Huysamen, 1994, p. 44; Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005, p. 69).

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The information describing age, gender, race, academic qualifications and marital status of respondents was considered. It is argued that the respondent is entitled to know the researcher more before he / she can be allowed to participate. When creating a personal bond, the researcher gave some personal and biographical information about himself to which the respondent can relate (Holmberg, 2004, p. 18). This strategy is adopted to create a comfortable atmosphere before a respondent can reveal his / her personal details. This phase also comprises of a way of reducing anxiety wherein the respondent conveys his / her interest in maintaining the researcher's confidence.

5.3 Study area

Figure 5-1: Map of the Eastern Cape showing the research sites

Source: Office of the Premier: Human Resource Planning Strategy & Systems: Bhisho: Eastern Cape: 2013

5.3.1 Description of study areas

5.3.1.1 East London

East London as shown in figure 5.1, within the Buffalo City Municipality is in the bottom of the map along Indian Ocean. East London is part of Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, also consisting of Bhisho, Dimbaza, King William's Town, Mdantsane and Zwelitsha and is the seat of the metro.

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It is situated on the south east coast of South Africa, at 32.97 degrees south and 27.87 degrees east (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013). The city of East London is located on the Indian Ocean coast, largely between the Buffalo and Nahoon Rivers, and presents the country's only river port.

The area is 156.70 square kilometres. The community survey conducted in October 2007 by Statistics South Africa, estimates the total population of East London to be 227 273 (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, 2012/2013a, p. 24).

Nel (1991, p. 60) states that the city was founded by Lieutenant John Bailie of the Royal Navy and one of the 1820 Settlers in 1836. The city formed around the only river port in South Africa and was originally known as Port Rex (Nel, 1991, p. 61). This settlement on the West Bank was the nucleus of the town of East London, which was elevated to city status in 1914 (The New Labyrinth of East Lore, July 16, 2013).

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During the early to mid - 19th century frontier wars between the British settlers and the local Xhosa inhabitants, East London served as a supply port to service the military headquarters at nearby King William's Town about 60 kilometres away (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, 2012/2013b, p. 05 & Wikipedia, July 09, 2013).

A British fort, Fort Glamorgan, was built on the West Bank in 1847, and annexed to the Cape Colony that same year (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013). This fort is one of a series of forts the British built, that include Fort Murray, Fort White, Fort Cox, Fort Hare and Fort Beaufort in the border area that became known as British Kaffraria (Nel, 1991, p. 62).

The settlement of permanent residents together with later development of the port came, which included German settlers, most of whom were bachelors. These settlers were responsible for German names of some towns in the vicinity of East London such as Stutterheim and Berlin (Historical East London and Mdantsane, July 16, 2013). Today, German surnames such as Gehring, Salzwedel, and Peinke are still common in East London, but the descendants of the settlers rapidly became anglicised (C. Thomas & K. Thomas, 2008, p. 11; Wikipedia, July 09, 2013).

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The existing port, in the mouth of the Buffalo River, adjoining the Indian Ocean, began operating in 1870 (Nel, 1991, p. 63). In 1872, the Cape Colony under the leadership of its first Prime Minister John Molteno, attained a degree of independence from Britain. The new Government merged the three neighbouring settlements of East London, East London West and Panmure in 1873, forming the core of the current municipality, and in 1876 it began construction on the region's railway lines, commencing on the river's east bank (The New Labyrinth of East Lore, July 16, 2013). At the same time, it began construction of the East London harbour (Nel, 1991, p. 65).

The development of the area was rapidly accelerated by this new infrastructure, into today's flourishing city of East London. In 1961, areas on either side of East London were declared Bantu homelands, Ciskei to the west and Transkei in the east (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013). East London finding herself almost surrounded, except to the north, became very unsettled during the apartheid era. Subsequent to that, these homelands created tax and wage incentives to attract industries (Historical East London and Mdantsane, July 16, 2013).

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The East London was left relatively isolated after investment flowed into surrounding areas such as Fort Jackson and Dimbaza. The labour union activity of the time was not conducive to productivity or good labour relations (Historical East London and Mdantsane, July 16, 2013).

Transport infrastructure deteriorated and port activity wound down (The New Labyrinth of East Lore, July 16, 2013). To encourage investment in East London, the East London Industrial Development Zone (IDZ) was established on the West Bank close to the port and the airport (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013).

East London is the second largest industrial centre in the province (Nel, 1991, p. 67). East London is the dominant urban axis of Mdantsane which dominates the industrial and service sector centres and attracts people from throughout the greater Amathole region in search of work and better access to urban facilities (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, 2012/2013a, p. 23). The motor industry is the dominant employer.

A major Daimler plant is located next to the harbour, manufacturing Mercedes-Benz and other vehicles for the local market (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, 2012/2013b, p. 39), as well as exporting to the United States and Brazil (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, 2012/2013b, p. 46). Other industries in East London included food processing, textiles, clothing, and pharmaceuticals.

There is also a shorter and lesser dry period in December and January. The hottest temperatures have been recorded in springtime, rather than the summer months (Weather South Africa, July 10, 2013). Although temperatures have never dropped below freezing since records began, East London has recorded snowfall in 1985 and 1989 (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013).

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Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality has fifty voting wards, including East London which has twelve wards (Independent Electoral Commission, 2013). The statistics further indicates that East London has sixteen suburbs, twelve townships, four informal settlements and twenty four villages (Independent Electoral Commission, 2013).

The suburbs of East London consist of Whites which are a dominant group with few Africans, Coloureds and Indians. C. Thomas and K. Thomas (2008, p. 11) explain that many of the early inhabitants – Coloureds, Indians, Chinese and Whites, moved into neighbourhood from the farms around the current Amalinda and beyond, or migrated from elsewhere in South Africa, most notably from the mining areas and Durban. The villages consist of Africans who are at one hundred percent (100%) and townships are a mixture of Africans, Coloureds and Indians, though Africans are a dominant group.

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The transport in South Africa is linked to East London who has good transport. The N2 national road is the only highway connecting Cape Town and Durban which bypass the city, while the N6 highway joins East London with the inland city of Bloemfontein as well as via the N1 to Johannesburg.

East London airport is about eight kilometres from the city and has daily flights to all major South African cities such as Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.

5.3.1.2 Kwazakhele

Kwazakhele is a village in the Eastern Cape, South Africa (Kwazakhele History, July 15, 2013). It is 942 kilometres south of Pretoria and 11 kilometres north of Port Elizabeth (Kwazakhele History, July 15, 2013). Kwazakhele was planned and built in the 1950's. It is one of the six townships that are within the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality, which are known as Motherwell, Kwamagxaki, New Brighton, Zwide and Walmer (Kwazakhele Township, July 15, 2013).

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Walmer village is the only community situated right within the suburbs of Port Elizabeth. The remainder of other townships including Kwazakhele are generally situated between the Nelson Mandela Metro towns of Port Elizabeth, which are Uitenhage and Dispatch. As a result, the residents of these townships are commuting by busses and taxis as public transport between Kwazakhele and other townships.

The housing density in Kwazakhele is one of the highest in Port Elizabeth. It is the largest township covering thirteen (13) square kilometres and has an official average population density of twenty (20) to twenty five (25) units or about one hundred (100) persons per hectare totaling to a population size of 350 000 persons, while in the informal housing areas, the density is about fifty five (55) units per hectare (Ntontela, November 16, 2006, p. 28). Ntontela (November 16, 2006, p. 280) further reveals that there is a lack of public services in Kwazakhele, citing limited number of shops, and that there is no post office and no bank. A Women's Resource Centre is located on Daku road. It was founded by local women in the late 1990's. It is a place for women to gather in facilities provided by the municipality. Today the Resource Centre contains a hair salon, a bakery and a law firm.

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The inhabitants of Kwazakhele protect themselves from crime and vandalism by putting up walls and fences around their plots. The awareness campaigns conducted by local police twice a year, prompt the inhabitants to secure themselves against crime.

Friday and Kirchhoff (2000, p. 56) point out that awareness of victim needs and rights, and understanding of the process of victimization has significantly grown and evolved. Fences are also erected around schools and other public facilities. In small spaza shops, the customer is separated from the cashier by bars. For the visitor, these fences and bars enhance the feeling of being unsafe in the Kwazakhele area. Zinn (2010, p. 01) highlights that when driving through any city in South Africa, you cannot help noticing the vast array of signs proclaiming alarm systems and armed patrols, together with the rampart-like walls, the electrified fences and lights, and the snarling guard dog signs – all attesting to a nation battling to cope with a very high rate of violent crimes.

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Most formal businesses are located in small clusters on residential streets or at the nodes along Njoli Street and Daku road. In addition to the nodes and clusters, businesses are located mainly on Njoli Street and Daku road. As one of the key nodes in the Khulani Corridor that links Motherwell in the north to the Port Elizabeth CBD in the south, Njoli Square has attracted significant informal trading and semi-formal business, making it the most important commercial node within the greater KwaZakhele area (Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality, 2013/2014, p. 130).

The important node is Daku Road Shopping Centre. The Shopping Centre contains the cash machines, supermarket, fast food restaurant, a building materials store, a clothes' accessories store, public toilets and an electronic store. The Shopping Centre is well visited and there are always a lot of people within the centre and on the connected streets. There are two large grocery stores although one is located just outside the centre. There are other formal stores, mainly in the food and related trade, such as KFC. There are also some entertainment related businesses, such as taverns and braai outlets.

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The Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality which Kwazakhele forms part of, is made up of sixty wards and the dominant group is Africans that are at one hundred percent (100%). Therefore, Kwazakhele occupies seven out of sixty wards. Kwazakhele comprises wards sixteen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, twenty one, twenty two and twenty four (Independent Electoral Commission, 2013).

5.3.1.3 Mthatha

Mthatha as shown in figure 5.1 is situated along the Indian Ocean towards the north-easterly direction, at the crossroads of the N2 National Road from East London and the R61 from Queenstown. It is at a distance of 224 kilometres from East London and is made up of thirteen town suburbs, seven townships, eight administrative areas and one hundred and thirty one localities exercising control over ninety five percent (95%) of the African population who are isiXhosa speaking at 3027 km² (King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality, 2013/2014, p. 02). It is extending its service to a population of 65 472, (Statistics of South African Census, 2001). Figure 5.1 above is an indication of where Mthatha is located.

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Mthatha is the administrative centre of King Sabata Dalindyebo Local Municipality and the O.R. Tambo District Municipality who is the Water Services Authority (WSA) responsible for the provision of water services to the area under its jurisdiction (Umvoto, 2011, p. 01).

Although Umtata was founded in 1871, it was not until 28 March 1882, that it received formal status when a Village Management Board was established (Mdlekazi, 1991, p. 02). Mdlekazi (1991, 02) state that its status was enhanced on 10 November 1882 when it was proclaimed a municipality. A further enhancement of status occurred on 23 June 1981 when Umtata was proclaimed a "City" (Mdlekazi, 1991, p. 02).

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The city was named after the Umtata River and there are several theories as to how the river got its name, which was already in existence in 1688 (Mdlekazi, 1991, p. 03). One theory holds a local Tembu clan buried their dead in the river while entreating the Gods "Mthathe Bawo" (Take him father) (Mdlekazi, 1991, p. 02). It is believed that the noun "Umtata" was derived from this verb (King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality, 2011/2012, p. 114).

Mdlekazi (1991, p. 03) state that the settlement which was to become Umtata, was established when, as a result of constant attacks from the Pondo tribesmen on the north bank of the Umtata River, Ngangelizwe, paramount Chief of the Tembus, settled Europeans on the south bank in 1871 as a buffer.

The community grew, especially after the establishment of the Anglican Mission, and became a municipality in 1882 (King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality, 2012/2013, p. 89). By the turn of the century, it was a thriving little town with schools, churches, hotels, a hospital, shops, sports facilities and several primary industries such as basket weaving (Mdlekazi, 1991, p. 03).

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The completion of the railway line from East London set it on course for prosperity and made it the major commercial centre in Transkei (Wikipedia, 09 July 2013). It was a military post for the colonial forces in 1882, and the town itself was founded in 1883, along the banks of the Umtata River (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013).

About eight kilometres upstream of the Umtata town, the dam was constructed to feed the community with fresh water. In 1903, the headquarters of the Transkeian Territories General Council, known as the "Bhunga" was established in Umtata and it thus became the capital city of Transkei (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013).

It therefore became the seat of the traditional authorities and a parliament building for this purpose known as the Bhunga, was erected (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013). Transkei obtained self-Government in 1963 and the obvious place to locate, or rather to retain the capital was Umtata (Mdlekazi, 1991, p. 03). On 26 October 1976, Transkei attained sovereign national independence and Umtata became the national capital of the new state. Umtata has experienced exceptional growth and development since the attainment of self-Government by Transkei. According to Statistics of South African Census (2001), the area is 1 400 square kilometres, with a population of 229 621 with a racial makeup of blacks 96.4%, coloureds 1.9%, whites 1.1% and Indians 0.6%, where 94.2% of citizens speaks isiXhosa, 3.6% speaks English and other languages at 2.2%.

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Mthatha is the only main town of the King Sabata Dalindyebo local municipality in the Eastern Cape. The town has an airport previously known by the name K.D. Matanzima airport after former leader Kaiser Daliwonga Matanzima (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013).

A branch of the University of Fort Hare was established in the town, and after the independence of the Transkei in 1977, it became the University of Transkei, which has since been integrated into the Walter Sisulu University for Technology and Science (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013). From 1976 to 1994 under the name of Umtata, Mthatha served as the capital of the Transkei homeland. Umtata was officially renamed to its current name Mthatha on the 2nd of March 2004.

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Some sections of the African business and professional community migrated to traditionally white areas of economic activity after the end of apartheid, and this has been widely posited as a course of economic recession in the municipality, but a number of construction projects offer some hope for renewal.

Many of the well known leaders such as Oliver Tambo, Christopher Hani, Walter Sisulu, Bantu Holomisa, Buyisiwe Yonela Mhlana and Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela come from this area.

The retired former President Mandela whilst still alive used to visit his home village of Qunu which is about fourteen (14) kilometres south of Mthatha. Mthatha is the home of one of three Nelson Mandela museums: spread across three sites, it collects, interprets and exhibits key aspects of the story of the life and times of Nelson Mandela in context (Wikipedia, July 09, 2013). According to Mdlekazi (1991, p. 03) the three historical sites of the museum are all in the locality of Mvezo, Qunu and the Bhunga building in Mthatha itself. In the Bhunga building is the story of the long walk to freedom and an exhibition of the many gifts received by Nelson Mandela on behalf of the South African people (Mdlekazi, 1991, p. 03).

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5.4 Selection of sampling procedures

The sampling procedures were carefully chosen and the researcher had an opportunity of selecting the best sampling that suits the study. This procedure is a powerful tool for accurately measuring opinions and characteristics of a population. Where the expert judgments to select participants that are representative of the population are used, thereof a purposive sampling is selected. The researcher considers factors that will give direction to the population such as the aggravated robbery direct victims.

Selection procedures are, if the researcher wishes to investigate a problem such as the difference between non-probability and probability sampling is that, non-probability sampling does not involve random selection and probability sampling does. Bless and Higson-Smith (2009, p. 100), state that sampling theory distinguishes between two types of sampling methods, namely probability sampling and non-probability sampling. Bless and Higson-Smith (2000, p. 84) argue that sampling theory is in fact the study of the relationship between population and the samples drawn from it.

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Probability sampling is the process where the probability of selection of each respondent is known. There are four methods of probability sampling namely; simple random sampling, stratified sampling, systematic sampling and cluster sampling (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005, p. 56). The selection of each respondent in the non-probability sampling is not known (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2009, p. 100). A non-probability sampling method is best suited for the purpose of this study.

5.4.1 Non-probability sampling

The obvious disadvantage of non-probability sampling is that, the probability that a respondent will be chosen is not known (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2009, p. 101; Trochim, 2001, p. 55). The researcher cannot be sure that his sample is representative of the larger universe. This limits the ability of the researcher to generalize his findings beyond the specific sample studied. Huysamen (1994, p. 44), reveals that the advantage of non-probability samples is that they are less complicated and more economical (in terms of time and financial expenses) than probability samples. Wysocki (2004, p. 157) argues that most often, a non-probability sample is used because the respondents are easy to find.

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The chances of selection for each element are unknown, but instead, the characteristics of the population are used as the basis of selection (Ritchie & Lewis, 2010, p. 78). Accidental samples, purposive samples, quota samples and snowball samples are examples of non-probability samples (Huysamen, 1994, p. 43). In purposive sampling, you sample with a purpose in mind (Trochim, 2001, p. 56). Ritchie and Lewis (2010, p. 79) confirm that purposive sampling is precisely what the name suggests.

They further explain that members of a sample are chosen with a purpose to represent a location or type in relation to a key criterion. A non-probability sampling technique is employed in this study as it was less complicated and less expensive.

The selected unit of analysis is first considered before selecting a sampling procedure. In the sample, a victim of aggravated robbery constitutes an element or unit of analysis (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000, p. 84). It is imperative that the sampling technique selects cases when selecting the sample, based on the unit of analysis. In other words, hence the unit of analysis is victims of aggravated robberies, and then the sampling technique is to focus solely on how these victims are selected.

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5.5 Sample size

A researcher's decision about the best sample size depends on the degree of accuracy, of variability or diversity in the population and the number of different variables examined simultaneously in data analysis (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2009, p.108). People not familiar with research processes are always skeptical about the accuracy of surveys, where they would argue that they were never interviewed.

In general, it holds that the smaller the total population, the relatively larger the sample should be to ensure satisfactory results (Huysamen, 1994, p. 47). It is the feeling of Bless and Higson-Smith (2009, p. 107) that a small sample is much less accurate but more convenient. Therefore, the major criterion to use when deciding on sample size is the extent to which the sample is representative of the population (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2009, p. 107).

The logic of sample size is a little different for that of purposive sampling. A purposive sample is one in which each sample element is selected for a specific purpose (Wysocki, 2004, p. 157). Wysocki (2004, p. 157) further submitted an example of a researcher interested in studying women who are HIV infected to find out about their quality of life, it would be difficult to have a random sampling. Therefore, the researcher would need to find a group of women who had HIV, and then those women would become his or her sample (Wysocki, 2004, p. 157). This explains that it is appropriate for a researcher to select this sample on the basis of his / her own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of the research aims: in short based on researcher's judgment and the purpose of the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 166).

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In case of aggravated robbery, it could not be easy to employ random sampling and purposive sampling was resorted to.

Aggravated robbery cases are desegregated into seven different sub-categories as discussed in chapter one. Other cases are incorrectly registered and others with no data available from the systems. The Crime Intelligence Officials discovered that thirteen cases in Kwazakhele, nine in East London and eighteen in Mthatha have been falsified where complainants have rather lost their cell phones or valuable belongings such as money wallets, wrist watches, neck laces or clothes, through other means such as drunken brawls, but intended to submit claims to their respective insurance companies.

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Two other cases of car-jacking in Kwazakhele were proven to be fallacious where owners were struggling with payment of instalments. All these cases have thus been closed by the Directors of Public Prosecutions situated in those three magisterial districts as “unfounded or false”. That is why the researcher has to be judgmental to understand victims’ experiences and all the contaminated cases cannot be considered for interview purposes.

During the course of investigation, a qualitative approach is followed in order to form a best understanding of the realities being experienced by the direct victims of aggravated robbery. Fouché and Delport (2002, p. 79) state that with the qualitative paradigm, the emphasis is on understanding rather than explanation; on naturalistic observation rather than controlled measurement; and on the subjective exploration of reality from the perspective of an insider rather than the outsider perspective that is predominant in the quantitative paradigm.

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One of the major distinguishing characteristics of qualitative research is the fact that the researcher attempts to understand people in terms of their own definition of their world (Mouton, 2004, p. 194). Letherby and Bywaters (2007, p. 115) argue that many researchers suggest that qualitative methods enable respondents to influence the direction of the research and encourage participatory researcher/respondent relationships within and beyond the traditional boundaries of the research process. This qualitative approach is based on the reasons that sampling is typically not to be random but is to be purposive. This style is adopted knowingly that purposive sampling is virtually synonymous with qualitative research (Palys, 2008, p. 01).

The research is located in East London policing precinct in Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, Kwazakhele policing precinct in Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality and Mthatha policing area in King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality.

In purposive sampling, each sub-category of aggravated robbery is represented in East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha and each is of interest in itself. Purposive sampling is the non-probability sampling equivalent of judgment sampling, with added requirement that each victim is generally represented in the sample in the same proportion as in the entire population (Bailey, 1994, p. 96). Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 202) concur that purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling method in which the researcher uses his own judgment in the selection of the sample. A form of non-probability in which decisions concerning the individuals to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher, based upon a variety of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue, or capacity and willingness to participate in the research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001, p. 202).

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Babbie and Mouton (2012, p. 309) argue that this design allows to adapt the methodology, time frame, and other aspects of the study to suit the object of study.

The researchers are able to take decisions about the individual participants due to some types of research design that necessitates this process would be most likely to contribute appropriate data, both in terms of depth and relevance. For example, it becomes practical for the researcher in this study that other potential participants are willing to be interviewed, but are not able to provide sufficient rich data. Tongco (2007, p. 153) clarifies on what usually happens, that chosen respondents among men who were willing to participate to the study and such respondents suddenly became unavailable when he was ready to administer his survey. He further explains that some respondents also did not answer all items in questionnaires, and so new informants were needed to be found. All respondents selected were chosen in accordance with their gender, race and age group.

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Even though purposive sampling is not probabilistic, the investigator obviously must take every precaution to keep from prejudicing selection and thus make sure that the sample is as representative and generalizable as possible (Bailey, 1994, p. 97). Bailey (1994, 97), further explains that the major biasing factor is that interviewers may take the path of least resistance when sampling, avoiding houses with unfriendly dogs or unfriendly people. Table 5.2 in page 171 provides the information dealing with the sampling framework.

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5.6 Sampling unit

A sampling unit is either a single sampling element or a collection of elements (Bailey, 1994, p. 83). Babbie (1999, p. 180) regards sampling unit as an element or set of elements considered for selection in some stage of sampling. It is an element or set of elements deemed necessary for selection at a certain point of sampling. Each aggravated robbery victim affected during the 2007/2008 financial year in East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha who has been included in the survey population represents a sampling unit in this study.

A non-probability sampling technique is employed in line with the research objective. A sample of three percent of respondents out of 1410 victims that were affected during 2007/2008 financial year was selected by means of purposive sampling. The researcher has chosen 12 respondents from East London, 16 respondents from Kwazakhele and 14 respondents from Mthatha. The respondents comprise 26 males and 16 females between the ages of eighteen and sixty as shown in table 5-2 *infra*.

Table 5.2: Sampling of population

	Selection	East London	Kwazakhele	Mthatha
Respondents		12	16	14
Gender	Males	7	10	9
	Females	5	6	5
Total		12	16	14
Race	Africans	8	11	9
	Coloureds	1	2	2
	Indians	0	1	1
	Whites	2	1	1
	Foreign Nationals	1	1	1
Total		12	16	14
Age Group	18 – 30 yrs	3	3	3
	31 – 40 yrs	3	5	3
	41 – 50 yrs	3	5	4
	51 – 60 yrs	3	3	4
Total		12	16	14
Total		12	16	14
Total number of respondents		**42**		

The sample represents all racial groups who were affected in the crime. Foreign nationals include groups of people from the African countries such as Burundians, Ethiopians, Pakistanis and Somalians. They are affected hence included.

5.7 Sample frame

Properly drawn samples provide information appropriate for describing the population of elements composing the sampling frame – nothing more (Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 184). A sampling frame is the complete list of all units from which the sample is drawn (Bailey, 1994, p. 83). Babbie (1999, p. 180) believes that a sample frame is the actual list of sampling units from which the sample, or some stage of the sample, is selected. In this study, 1410 case dockets were registered with 1410 victims of aggravated robberies in the three research sites.

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Similarly, Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005, p. 57), state that a sampling frame is a complete list on which each unit of analysis is mentioned only once. Each victim in all these 1410 aggravated robbery criminal cases appears once. The population encompasses the total collection of all members, cases or elements about which the researcher wishes to draw conclusions and to be representative, it should be representative of something and the latter is the sampling frame (Huysamen, 1994, p. 38).

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In this study, the population includes male and female respondents from the age of eighteen to sixty years in all three research sites so as to be representative.

5.8 Description of the sample

The majority of respondents as indicated in table 5.3 page 182 below, are involved in street/public robberies (twenty one percent) as well as retail robberies (twenty one percent), followed by house robberies (nineteen percent), and car-jacking (seventeen percent). The other victims are involved in bank robberies (ten percent), truck-jacking (seven percent) and cash-in-transit heists (five percent).

The seriousness of street/public robbery (21%) is that the non-compliance from a victim is expected to be followed by an escalation to some violence. These respondents highlight the financial implications they have to consider replacing the stolen items or recovering from physical injuries, and they have experienced profound emotional and psychological consequences, such as increased fear of victimization. This has shattered their core assumptions of invulnerability, their ability to handle stress after these incidents as well as lack of support systems utilized by the Government to overcome the ordeals. Walsh (2011, p. 01) argue that the increased negative effect particularly out of severe cases of street/public robbery results in diagnoses of post-traumatic stress disorder. It is therefore no surprise that the street/public robbery is of great public concern.

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Retail robbery is also high at twenty one percent (21%) according to the analysis. Retail establishments such as supermarkets, restaurants and bars are prime targets for offenders interested in obtaining cash (Stewart and Davis, 2003, p. 01). Twenty one percent (21%) of the sample are owners of businesses whose places were affected.

Although the police analysis indicates a significant increase in this trend, it is concerning that offenders are becoming more brazen and reckless by operating in retail areas (Papp, September 2009, p. 18). Subsequently, victims of retail robberies may endure psychological and social distress because their existing assumptions regarding the world as meaningful and their own positive self-perception regarding their environment have been destroyed as a result of victimization.

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The victims become more traumatized when certain insurance companies refuse to compensate, compelling the business owners to be declared insolvent when the victim cannot be able to pay his / her debts caused by the loss as a result of robbery. While it cannot be denied that exposure to crime adversely affects business profits, the magnitude of the financial erosion and associated repercussions is rarely appreciated (Australian Government, 2004, p. 10). They further explain that this is because loss assessments ordinarily fail to extend beyond the direct financial losses incurred by business; however, losses may occur due to merchandise, cash or equipment being stolen or misappropriated.

In addition to the immediately discernible costs of crime, businesses encounter a range of indirect negative financial consequences (Australia Government, 2004, p. 10).

House robbery is next to follow the top two sub-categories at nineteen percent (19%) according to the analysis. A house robbery can be violent, life-threatening situations where a victim can integrate issues of his / her own death. A majority of victims found house robbery to be a frightening experience and have suffered serious psychological distress. Zinn (2010, p. 11) states that the house is then watched to understand the routines of the residents, find out what security devices are in place, identify escape routes and establish an optimal time for the robbery.

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According to the victims who experienced this crime, it becomes coherent that this crime is well planned before it is executed when looking at its entire accomplishment. They believe that they would never have the same feeling of security and invulnerability that they have, prior the incidents.

The majority of the sample states that sleeplessness and anxiety for months after the house robbery and their children are still shaken by the experience. Security World News (February 27, 2014) illustrates the seriousness of this crime about a one first-grader who began hiding favourite toys before leaving for school each day. They further explain that house robbery victims may experience recurrent and intrusive thoughts and dreams of the incident and may also be hyper-alert (Security World News, February 27, 2014). During this period the victims might get threatened easy after noises or abrupt actions.

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The fourth sub-category is Car-jacking where seventeen percent (17%) of the sample responded according to the analysis. Barkhuizen (November 15, 2011) highlights that car-jacking is an unlawful act by a person to seize or to attempt to seize another person's vehicle using any force necessary. The resistance of victims is subdued and their vehicles are confiscated violently. By doing this, the car-hijackers according to respondents subjected them to humiliating and fear inducing treatment, which left them completely helpless and defenseless and with the expectancy to die.

The uncertainty of their situation, the physical attacks as well as the possibility of being killed reinforced their fear (Kekana, 2008, p. 98).

The general feeling among the respondents is anger about being hijacked and robbed of their possessions and helplessness, because they found themselves at the hijackers' mercy, and had to surrender to the hijackers. As a result, Symington (2006, p. 19) state that the experience of trauma shatters assumptions held about oneself, others and the world. The survivors begged, prayed and negotiated to be spared. To them (the victims) the hijacking means that they cannot trust people or feel safe anymore and have to be vigilant at all times. The person's response may involve intense fear, helplessness or horror that impairs their sense of safety and security (Symington, 2006, p. 19).

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The following sub-category is Bank robbery where only ten percent (10%) of the sample participated. A bank is classified as a financial institution and robbery that has taken place there is regarded as bank robbery. It is evident that the principal purpose for this type of crime is pure economic because the motive is to obtain money.

A unique aspect of bank robbery trauma is that it occurs at the workplace, where employees ordinarily feel reasonably safe (Jones, 2002, p. 193). The majority of respondents interviewed, agreed that offenders posed credible threats before the victims could comply with their demands. It was a threatening situation pointed with a gun not knowing whether he / she was going to be killed. Borzycki (2003, p. 04) says the level of violence necessary to establish that threat can range from an offender simply stating their intentions, to actual serious physical assault or even murder.

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According to the analysis, all victims claim that the robbers are more physically violent in order to exact victims' compliances. Experiencing a bank robbery according to the victims is traumatizing, because the violence is instrumental in achieving money and not personally directed towards the employees. Victim can often experience a traumatic response when exposed to a bank robbery. Harrison and Kinner (1998, p. 796) state that although this traumatic event occurs in the workplace, the response is similar to other traumatic events and can lead to victims experiencing significant levels of post-traumatic stress.

These employees may suffer the additional stress and trauma associated with repeated exposure to workplace triggers and cues (Jones, 2002, p. 191).

The sample of seven percent (7%) is victims that were involved in truck-jackings. Buys (2003, p. 143) state that truck-jacking continued to increase since 1989 and the targeted trucks are usually those travelling on the main highways or roads carrying a variety of goods such as iron/steel, groceries, clothing, meat, vegetable, tires and fuel. As explained above, the sole intentions are to obtain the goods loaded in the truck.

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It is either the truck would be recovered empty or would never be found again. Fuzile (September 02, 2013, p. 02) colludes to the fact that heavily armed motor vehicle theft syndicate is increasingly terrorizing truck drivers and business people in the Eastern Cape. This has a social and psychological impact on victims who are robbed at gunpoint or dangerous weapons used to threaten them.

Afterwards as according to respondents, these victims suffer from post-traumatic symptoms such as fear, anxiety, anger, depression and trauma, and that is apart from sustaining physical harm (Geldenhuys, April 2008, p. 09).

The sample of five percent (5%) is victims who experienced cash-in-transit heists. Cash-in-transit heist is actually an unlawful, intentional and violent removal and appropriation of cash and/or assets in transit, while such cash and/or assets are under the control of a security company (Geldenhuys, May 2007, p. 10). Maree, Van den Berg and Pretorious (2002, p. 100) classify cash-in-transit robberies as a violent and an economic crime and the experiences of the direct victims during such robberies.

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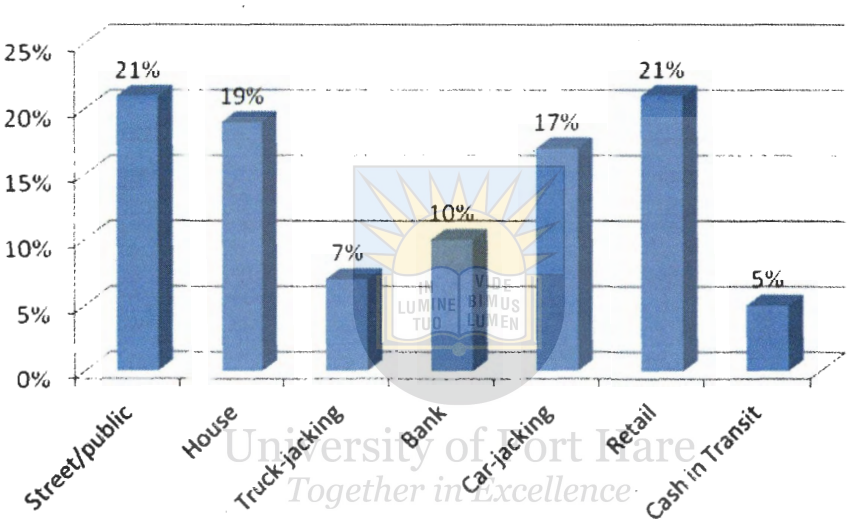
Table 5.3: What kind of aggravated robbery were you involved in?



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5.9 Pilot Study

No matter how carefully a researcher designs a data collection instrument such as a questionnaire, there is always the possibility – indeed the certainty of error (Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 166). This demonstrates that there is a need for pretesting of questionnaire.

Pretesting is an important step in which the questionnaire is tested on a few respondents in an attempt to discover any problems in the questionnaire, such as ambiguous or extraneous questions (Bailey, 1994, p. 146). Ritchie and Lewis (2010, p. 134) explain that initial interviews will be an important test of the scope of the study guide, and carrying out initial test fieldwork or piloting the study guide is a critical part of research. Hofstee (2010, p. 53) confirms that the researcher does pilot tests of questionnaires to see whether they are reliable.

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For purposes of testing the relevance of the study, a pilot test for all the measuring instruments was conducted with seven respondents within the desegregated sub-categories, namely for robbery in public place; car-jacking; residential robbery; business robbery; truck jacking; cash-in-transit and bank robbery.

The necessary pretesting for surveys is worthwhile, as it makes it unnecessary to develop several sets of instruments for different types of respondents' sub-samples that may be impossible prior to the administration (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005, p. 180). In addition, it is often sensible to try out different styles of questioning prior to the main study (Silverman, 2010, p.197).

The questionnaires were pre-tested on seven different respondents based in Graaf-Reinet and Queenstown which both places are hundreds of kilometres from the precise research sites. The distance between these towns is two hundred and seventy four kilometres.

In each place, one victim was chosen from each desegregated sub-category so as to cover all seven sub-categories. Therefore, three respondents from Graaf-Reinet and four from Queenstown were selected. Babbie and Mouton (2012, p.166) confirm that the researcher may in the initial stage of a questionnaire wish to select the widest variety of respondents to test the broad applicability of the question. These questionnaires were few and that has fulfilled the aspirations of the researcher. Bailey (1994, p. 143) says that the questionnaires can be administered to a few respondents so that its flaws can be identified and corrected. These respondents are excluded from the main study.

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The test run may effectively uncover any peculiar defects in the questionnaire (Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 166). Pre-testing of the questionnaire helps highlighting problems on aspects such as question formulation, interpretation as well as confusing questions. Modifications can then be made when necessary (Strydom, 2002, p. 216). The researcher can orientate himself / herself to the project he / she has in mind by means of pretesting the already compiled questionnaire. It involves testing the measuring instrument on a small number of respondents sharing the characteristics of the target group (Strydom, 2002, p. 211).

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In addition, the researcher's data capturer Ivan Harris was consulted with regard to compilation of the questionnaire. Throughout this process, the researcher was able to learn from his early mistakes. In the course of the pilot study, factors like the inclusion of short, clear, crucial and relevant questions were taken into consideration. Other rectifications were subsequently made with regard to question wording and order, missing questions and inappropriate questions.

5.10 Data collection instruments

The study is directed and structured by an interview schedule, which enables the researcher to obtain firsthand knowledge of the experiences encountered by victims. Davies, Francis and Jupp (2011, p. 64) explain that the main advantage of interviewing is that the interviewer can encourage the respondent to open up and probe for further explanations. The research questions that are dealt with in this study for purposes of acquiring information relating to experiences encountered are:

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- How do victims in selected Eastern Cape precincts (East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha) experience aggravated robberies?

- What psychological and social trauma, if any, results from victims' experience of aggravated robbery?

- How does the aggravated robbery disrupt victim's core assumption of personal invulnerability, disrupt their view of the world as meaningful and secure, and affect the victims' positive perception of self?

The order in which questionnaire items are presented can also affect responses (Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 242), and the questions are structured as follows:

The first section which consists of fourteen questions is designed to measure pre-trauma demographic, prior trauma, prior stress, history of incident, and the feelings about the attack as well as after the incident. The first question intends to understand the type of aggravated robbery which was encountered by the respondent. It is important to know the type of weapon used whether it was a pistol, heavy arm or dangerous weapon. It is possible that other respondents were never involved in this crime and others experienced it before. The question is attempting to identify one of these possibilities.

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Question four looked at how the respondent was feeling before the attack. It is also significant to know the reasons prompted the assailants to attack the respondents. Branic (March 04, 2015); Cohen and Felson (November, 2010, p. 04); Cohen and Felson (1979, p. 590) believe that when motivated offenders and suitable targets meet in the absence of capable guardians, crime is likely to happen. As argued by the above authors, the respondents' routine activities might have prompted the attacks.

Question five, six and seven were looking at factors that caused the attacks as well as what could have been done to prevent these incidents.

Question eight, nine, eleven and twelve were specifically contemplating the feelings of the respondents during and after the attacks. Question ten was considering the period of years when the incident took place. Question thirteen and fourteen examined the injuries sustained as well as whether the respondent recovered.

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The second section which consists of five questions scrutinizes the professionalism of the police service pertinent to assistance of aggravated robbery victims. Respondents were asked to name three things they appreciated as well as another three things they never appreciated concerning the received service from police. The researcher required to know the person who contacted police and the police response time. The respondent might have called police himself / herself or the family or friends or other people. The respondents were asked if they met police in crime scenes, hospitals, clinics or at the police stations. The treatment posed by police and if respondents were satisfied followed by assistance offered to them by police was examined.

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The following question looked at the efficiency and effectiveness in pursuit to prevent aggravated robbery.

The third section consists of thirteen questions which examines the kind of support services delivered by the Government with the aim of rendering assistance of aggravated robbery victims after the attack. Respondents were asked if they were informed about the various Government services to assist in their physical and psychological recoveries suffered during the incidents. The views of respondents were scrutinized pertaining to intervention/remedial programmes they think the Government should provide to survivors of aggravated robberies. It was thereafter necessary to obtain from the respondents their opinion on how could be done to improve the service level of Government institutions to aggravated robbery survivors. Finally, the respondents' comments, suggestions or criticisms were solicited.

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The fourth section is a 5-point Likert Scale with all statements positively elucidated and scored. Ten statements are used. Welman and Kruger (1999, p. 155) state that the Likert Scale is presently the most popular type of scale in the social sciences, due to it being easier to complete and its use for multi-dimensional attitudes. The Likert Scale is used and it contains statements where respondents have to indicate the degree, to which they strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

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The last section focuses on the demographic data being the background information, which are the age, gender, education, and marital status and are generated at the end of the schedule. The reason placing these items at the beginning gives the interview the initial appearance of a routine form, and the person receiving it may not be motivated to answer (Babbie, 1999, p. 158). These two principles are adhered to as closely as possible in this study. This section comprises of general items that elicits both demographic and personal data about the respondent.

These efforts enable the researcher to gather rich and detailed data on how victims experience this crime, as well as how the victims' experiences correspond and differ. Questions cover all sub-categories of aggravated robbery cases.

Rather than asking respondents to read questionnaires and enter their own answers, researchers send interviewers to ask the questions orally and record respondents' answers (Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 249). Structured interviews are completed through face-to-face and in-depth interviews with all respondents. Privitera (2014, p. 236) says the advantage of a face-to-face interview is that the researcher can control how long it takes to complete the survey in as much as it is the researcher asking questions. The principal method of data collection is in-depth interview.

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5.11 Data collection procedure

The data is the basic component of research (Blanche & Durrheim, 2002, p. 46). The process of data collection must be systematic and based on well-defined procedures that are appropriate to the context within which the data are being collected (Wikipedia, December 16, 2013). It is imperative for the researcher to have perfect data that is to be analyzed and interpreted so as to be able to draw proper conclusions in a study from a valid captured data.

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Data collection comprises of a number of methods, of which others are interviews, document reviews, questionnaires, interview schedules, observation *etc*. This study utilizes questionnaires to obtained detailed information from the selected respondents. The researcher had all the details of victims who were telephonically called and an appointment was made after the purpose of calling was fully explained. This approach rests on ethical principles, signifying that the researchers show respect and treat each respondent as equal human beings with the same rights to dignity, self-determination, and free choice (Holmberg, 2004, p. 13).

In addition, Privitera (2014, p. 59) highlights that the respect for persons means that participants in a research study, are treated as autonomous beings. The data was collected over a period of three months. The researcher ensured a high ethical standard being maintained throughout the study.

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5.12 Data collection

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Data collection forms part of the research process, as well as what the researcher intends to achieve thereafter. As explained by Wikipedia (December 14, 2013), data collection indicates what the researcher wants to know most and first. It is similar to victimological journey that leads from previously unasked or unanswered questions to definitions and from there to a knowledge base (Kirchhoff, 2006, p. 02).

This study focuses much on the experience of the victims prior, during and after the aggravated robbery. The researcher's intentions are to gain insight suffered personally by the respondents so as to achieve more knowledge about victims' experiences.

The research questions, namely:

- How were you feeling before this attack;
- What feeling(s), if any, did you experience during the attack;
- After the attack happened, were you feeling any difference to, while the attack was happening;
- Do you feel your normal self again as before the incident?

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These research questions intended to explore and responded to how aggravated robbery disrupted victim's core assumption of invulnerability, the ability to handle stress after the incident, as well as the kind of support systems employed to overcome the ordeal.

As a researcher, you will have the privilege of exploring the significant truths in people's lives (Bakan, 1996, p. 05), and writing them down is an important step in achieving the expected goals.

During the study, the following aspects pertaining to collected data are noted:

- Accuracy

  The collected data accurately describes the topic being studied.

- Clarity

  The collected data is clear, unambiguous, easy to interpret and easy to understand.

- Relevance

  All the key constituencies of relevance to the subject matter were covered (Ritchie & Lewis, 2010, p. 79). The collected data is relevant to the phenomenon intended to be analyzed and studied.

- Simplicity

  The collected data is simple in concept and easy to measure.

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- Practicability

  The collected data is easily accessed and reliably used. It was obtained through a strict process and guaranteed data quality and ensured consistency.

5.13 Problems encountered

However, there are a few limitations to the study that should be considered. The area in which the study was conducted was predominantly Afrikaans and isiXhosa speaking; thereby presenting a challenge to the respondents whose spoken language is isiXhosa.

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This difficulty would have been obviated by using questionnaires written in Afrikaans and isiXhosa. This was not done because of the expenses that would have been incurred. In addition to language barrier, seven percent (7%) of the sample consisted of foreign nationals as displayed in table 5.2 page 171 and table 7.1 page 257, who were not much conversant with English language, and services of a translator had to be used.

Babbie and Mouton (2012, p. 238) state that in a multilingual society like South Africa, it is important that respondents are interviewed and answer questions in a language they feel comfortable. They further argue that not only is translation time consuming and expensive; it is also a difficult process (Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 238). This means that care was always required in discussions and note-taking. Even then, there is a slight possibility that some things might have been lost in the translation. Given the limited sample size, the results cannot be widely generalizable, and are therefore applicable to the present study only.

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All research sites including those utilized in pilot study are no less than three hours from the researcher's place of residence, meaning that much time was spent travelling, which could have been spent in the field.

The budgetary constraints were a limitation to the breadth of the study in terms of covering the affected research sites where at times the researcher had to sleep in nearby lodges.

Lastly, with the researcher being an employee of the South African Police Service, which is dealing with all criminal cases, community members may have expected answers to their long outstanding cases as well as their safety in the near future.

Despite all these challenges, the researcher ensured that the quality of this study was not compromised by ensuring that the available resources were employed to their optimal effectiveness and the researcher did all he could to minimize their negative impact to this study.

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5.14 Summary

This chapter has offered the actual steps and the research approach follow in this study. It has presented a detailed account of the methodology accordingly and through which this study is conducted. The methodological justification is given for the utilization of qualitative research method and the incorporation of figures and tables.

The measuring instruments, the composition of the sample, as well as the sampling strategy are demonstrated. The sample in this study is disaggregated by areas to address the fact that there is wide variance in the number of aggravated robberies within each of the three research sites identified by the researcher. The pilot study is also dealt with and explained in this chapter.

The approach employed on how interviews are conducted and the profile of the sample is also elucidated. The survey techniques are used to collect data from selected victims of aggravated robberies across the Eastern Cape Province in East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha. Data was collected from the survey and the respondents represented their perceptions regarding the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies. Respondents were asked questions individually, and questionnaires were completed that addressed their perceptions regarding the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies.

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Further to that the techniques for the analysis of the data and the exposition of the study acquired through the use of interview schedule are highlighted. This chapter forms an integral component in achieving the aims and objectives of the research study.

Chapter six, deals with the overview of results.

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CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS: OVERVIEW

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the results obtained after the interaction with the victims. These results comprise of processed data and analyzed information resulting from the drawn tables. Data processing and analysis is the heartbeat of research (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004, p. 103). It is a process of evaluating data, inspecting it, and transforming it with the intentions of discovering valuable information, suggesting conclusions and supporting decision making (Wikipedia, January 27, 2014). As explained by Kirchhoff (2006, p. 02), this process takes an individual to the collection and analysis of data. Data were sorted out, categorised, subjected to quality control check, and coded with the assistance of a postgraduate student of statistics and a Cape Town based data capturer Ivan Harris.

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The results that were obtained from forty two respondents will now be discussed. The results obtained are presented in the sections that follow, the results presentation is graphical or in table format following a brief explanation.

6.2 Results' section

SECTION 1: AN OVERVIEW OF THE AGGRAVATED ROBBERIES: WHAT, WHY, WHEN, AND HOW

Table 6.1 shows that forty percent (40%) of respondents indicated that the South African Police Service members were caring, while thirty six percent (36%) commented on the professionalism of the members. The remainder, (twenty two percent) merely commented on the rapidity of the South African Police Service' responses.

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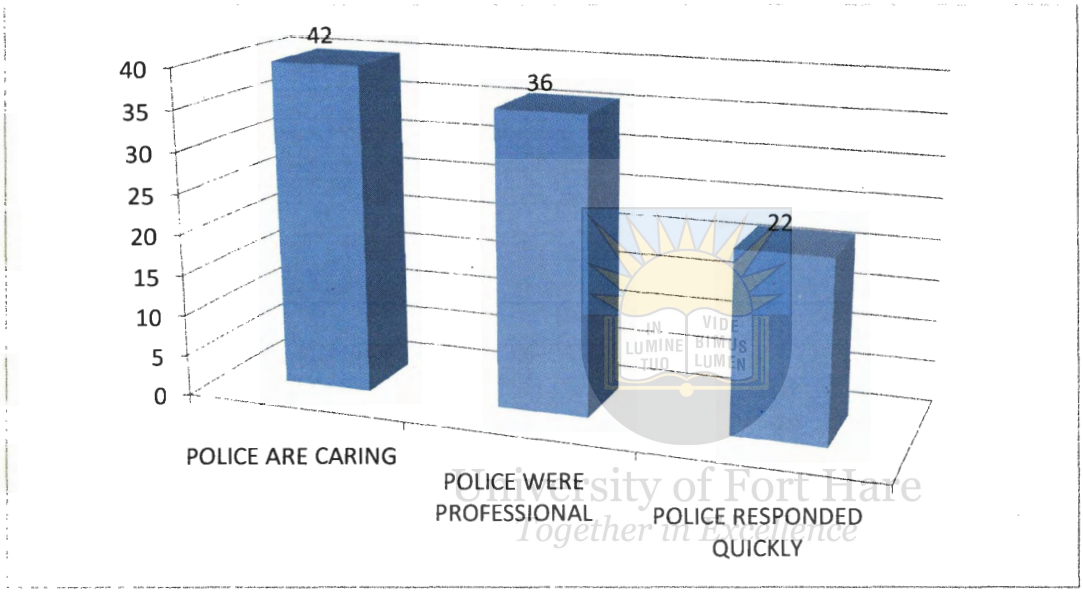
The purpose of this interview was to acquire the view from each respondent. All forty two (42) respondents responded differently, and stressing about the care offered by police, their professionalism and their promptness.

Table 6.1: Name the three things that you appreciate concerning the service you received from the South African Police Service members.



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As expected, in aggravated robberies the use of firearms and heavy arms were employed. As illustrated in table 6.2 below, fifty percent (50%) of respondents encountered pistols, whereas twenty one percent (21%) experienced heavy arms. The other twenty nine percent (29%) were confronted without pistols or heavy arms. However, dangerous weapons were used to attack or scare them.

Whilst aggravated robbery can potentially involve the use of pistol or heavy arm, its use has been taken into account. The utilization of pistols and heavy arms is a very expressive term used when a person points a weapon at another, posing a threat to the other's life. Being held at gunpoint confronts most people with death anxiety, helplessness, and intense horror (Elklit, 2002, p. 872).

Twenty nine percent (29%) were threatened with other dangerous weapons such as knives, pangas, broken bottle heads and necks, bricks, axes, hammers, pepper sprays and sharp instruments as indicated in table 4.4 (in page 124). Gilvie (2000, p. 01) classifies knives under "other weapons", which comprise any instrument or substance, other than a firearm, capable of inflicting damage, injury, or death. This includes knives, sharp instruments, blunt instruments, hammers, axes, clubs, iron bars, pieces of wood, syringes, and other "like" instruments (Gilvie, 2000, p. 01). The use of dangerous weapons is confirmed by May (2011, p. 28) who claims that the offenders tend to commit aggravated robberies when they are armed with dangerous weapons.

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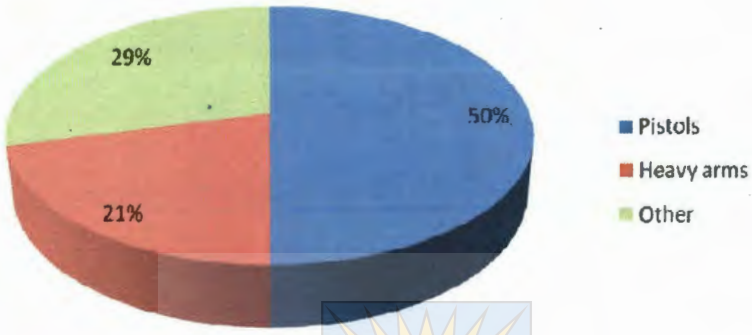
Table 6.2: What were they armed with?



The overwhelming majority of eighty eight percent (88%) of respondents as shown in table 6.3 stated that it was their first time they have been victims of aggravated robberies. Twelve percent (12%) of respondents have experienced this kind of crime before. It is the second time Diesel has fought off attackers (Hollands, February 03, 2015, p. 01). It is further explained that ten years ago a hijacker tried to shoot him after forcing him and his ex-wife out of his car at gunpoint at a KwaZulu-Natal beach.

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They were asked on how they were feeling before the attack.

The majority of sixty one percent (61%) respondents felt safe before the incident and thirty nine percent (39%) were not feeling safe at all.

The sample of sixty percent (60%) regarded themselves as invulnerable to aggravated robberies. The perception of these individuals is that good things happen to good people, and bad things to bad people (Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime, August 2009, p. 03). Stewart and Davis (2003, p. 56) confirm that the assumption of invulnerability rests, in part, on the basic belief that events are comprehensible and orderly and, therefore, controllable. Therefore, the majority of the sample took for granted the continuity of a safe existence without having idea that one day he / she could be the victim of aggravated robbery. They perceived themselves as uniquely insusceptible to aggravated robberies.

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The other nine percent (9%) of the participants who were not feeling safe ascribed this to other individuals who were robbed on the same spots and at the same times. It was their expectation that they could be attacked specifically if there were no police members patrolling in such areas.

Table 6.3: Were you ever a victim in this type of crime before?

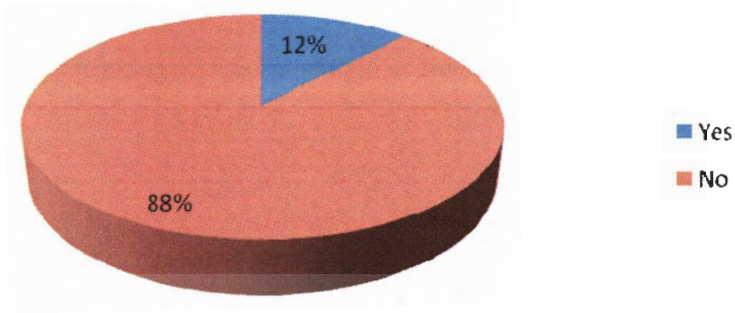

Table 6.4 below shows that most respondents (sixty nine percent) felt that they had been targeted for their possessions, while some (thirty one percent) felt the attack was a result of their own carelessness such as walking in dark secluded places, carrying attractive articles to the offenders, unlocked houses, and staying in idling parked vehicles on public roads.

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Table 6.4: What factors did you think lead to your being attacked?

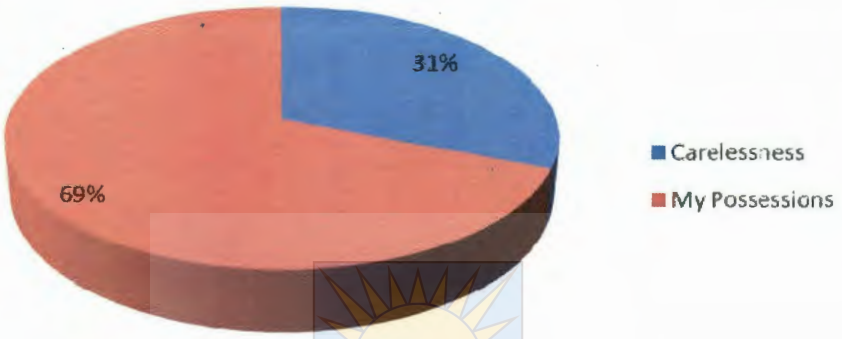

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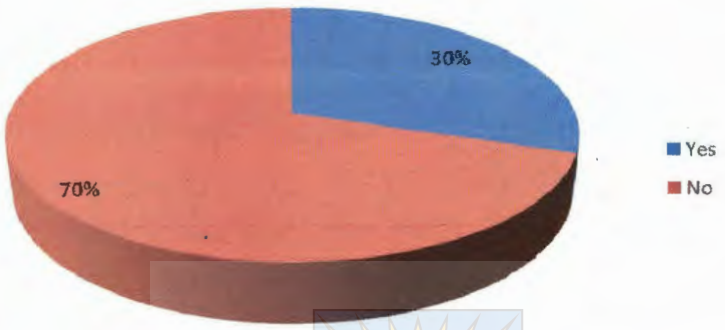
Table 6.5 below illustrates that more than two thirds of the respondents (seventy percent) felt that they could not have prevented the attack, unlike the minority of thirty percent (30%) respondents who felt that the attack was avoidable.

A question was asked as if yes, what precautions should the victim has taken?

Most of the respondents could give no reasons for their failure to take precautions or what these could have been, because that had never been the subject of prior attacks or were trusting of others.

Table 6.5: Do you think you could have avoided being a target?



As expected, most of the respondents (eighty six percent) as demonstrated in table 6.6 below, feared for their lives during the commission of the crime, while a minority (fourteen percent) felt that 'it only happened to them'. It is obvious that aggravated robbery victims may suffer from psychological distress when they are confronted with robbers (Holmberg, 2004, p. 13).

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The respondents felt threatened, unprotected, helpless and frightened. An aggravated robbery is a crime that is always an unexpected crime event and often causes disequilibrium.

According to Green, Chol and Kane (2010, 01), if disequilibrium occurs, tension and discomfort are felt, resulting in feelings of anger, fear, anxiety, and depression. Elklit (2002, 873) agrees that the experience of life endangerment during the robbery was associated with an ascending number of psychological symptoms.

However, as Jones (2002, p. 193) has stated that the location where robbery took place remains in the mind of the victim, and by returning to the same environment where the trauma took place; the victims can experience a continued level of psychological stress well after the incident. It becomes clear that crime hot spots tend to have other forms of social issues (Eberly, Takahashi, Messina & Friday, 2007, p. 01).

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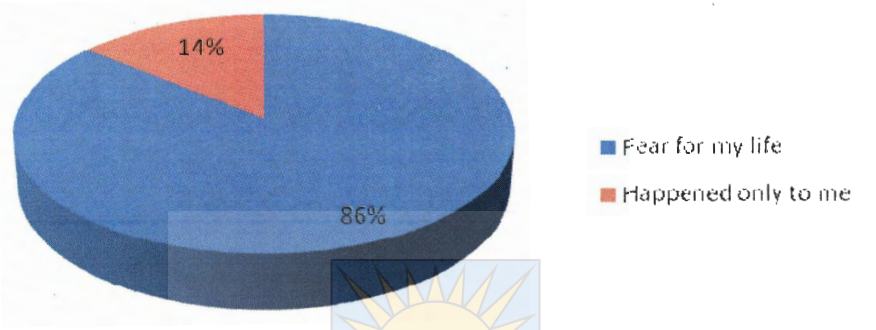
The fourteen percent (14%) of respondents were unhappy with what happened to themselves, but had ended up accepting it. They stated that what had happened could not be changed as long as he / she was still alive. Kekana (2008, p. 99) expounds that when the respondents survived their ordeal after thinking that they were about to die, they developed the attitude that "I am happy to be alive". Life is what made the respondents happy after being battered, frustrated, and wounded and feeling helpless and vulnerable (Kekana, 2008, p. 99). When the victims tried to remember the past events, they always regard themselves as having survived.

Table 6.6: What feeling(s), if any, did you experience during the attack?



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As indicated in table 6.7, after the attack took place, ninety percent (90%) of respondents felt difference to, while the attack was happening as against those (ten percent) who did not feel any difference.

These respondents experienced extreme stress or post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) immediately after an event, or days, weeks, or even months later. The symptoms according to Holland (January 19, 2014b), may last for a few days, a few weeks, or even longer.

Aggravated robbery is a traumatic event that is often followed by continuous adjustment to a number of financial, social, physical, and psychological losses (Green, Chol & Kane, 2010, 01).

The respondents were asked to explain the feelings they encountered.

Sixty percent (60%) of the respondents felt shocked and traumatized, while the remainder (forty percent) claimed that they suffered pre-trauma stress disorders (PTSD). Holmberg (2004, p. 11) states that the traumatized individual becomes helpless because he / she experiences the world as unpredictable, threatening and assaulting, which fundamentally threatens the individual's sense of self.

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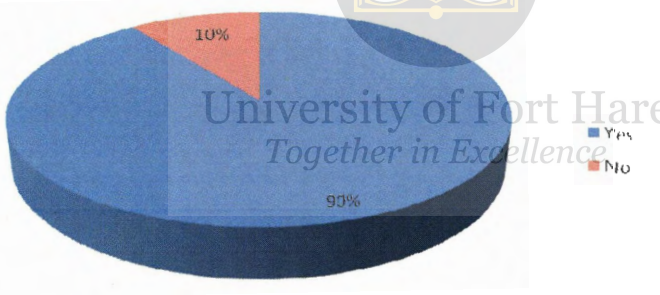
Holmberg in Classen and Koop-man (1993, p.178) further confirms that the traumatic event is extremely alien and, as such, an experience outside the range of ordinary life, with respect to which the mind has little immediate resources but to distort the event or to banish it from consciousness. Elklit (2002, p. 881) allude to this argument based on the fact that the individual robbery victim generally has experienced several trauma elements, and each of them may set off psychological reactions.

The assumptive helplessness is often made equal by pain and fear that originates from the victim's sense of having no control over what transpired. Dahl (1992, p. 23) states that victimization may in aggravated robbery cases go beyond the range of normal life experiences and can be assumed to cause great pain in any victim.

Table 6.7: **After the attack, were you feeling any different to what you felt during the incident?**



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Two thirds of the incidents (sixty six percent) occurred less than six years whereas thirty four percent (34%) happened more than six years ago. Following are visuals as table 6.8, showing the mentioned period.

Table 6.8: How long ago did this incident take place?

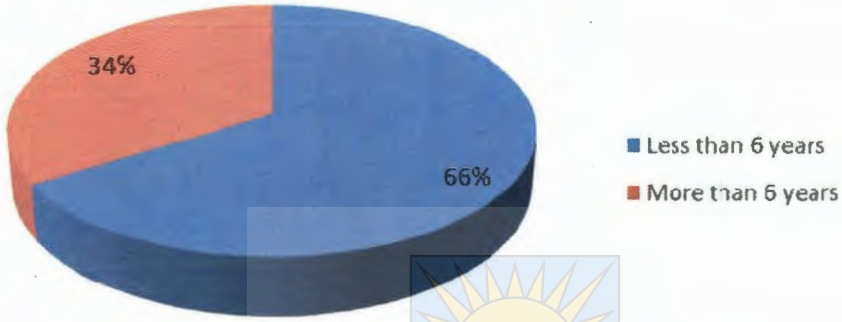

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Table 6.9 below indicates that most of the respondents (ninety eight percent) have not as yet recovered from their ordeal and only two percent (2%) who had recovered.

The majority of these respondents mentioned how they suffered from stress in the hands of aggressive offenders since they were involved in aggravated robberies. If a victim has experienced aggravated robberies in his life, those traumatic feelings, memories, and symptoms may reappear. Holland (January 19, 2014b) states that, an aggravated robbery may stir up many thoughts and feelings.

She further explains that the traumatic event can affect the psychological functioning and coping ability of victims (Holland, January 19, 2014b).

The causal stressor of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a traumatic event in which the individual has experienced a disaster or a catastrophe such as robbery that has been perceived as extremely threatening (Holmberg, 2004, p. 12). He further elaborates that the clinical indicators of PTSD symptoms include: dissociation, nightmares and re-experiencing trauma/flashbacks, avoidance of reminders of trauma, anxiety/hyper arousal, and impairment in social and occupational functioning.

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A question was asked if no, what feelings he / she was still experiencing.

Maree, Van den Berg and Pretorius (2002, p. 98) elaborate on the feelings of aggravated robbery victims, that this is an aspect of vulnerability which makes a contribution in the sense that a robbery does not only affect the traumatic experience of the direct victim, but also his / her perception about his / her own vulnerability immediately after the incident. Most of the respondents felt fear for their lives, stressed and traumatized with a significant number suffering from PTSD.

In this perspective, stress is seen as a specific relation between the human being and the environment that is perceived and evaluated as a strain that may exceed the individual's coping resources (Holmberg, 2004, 11).

Holland (January 19, 2014b) makes clear that every victim responds differently to a traumatic event based on each individual's coping ability, values, life experiences, personality, support systems, fears, expectations, and beliefs. According to the respondents, they experienced the same feelings at the same times, and others had different feelings from others who had suffered through the aggravated robbery.

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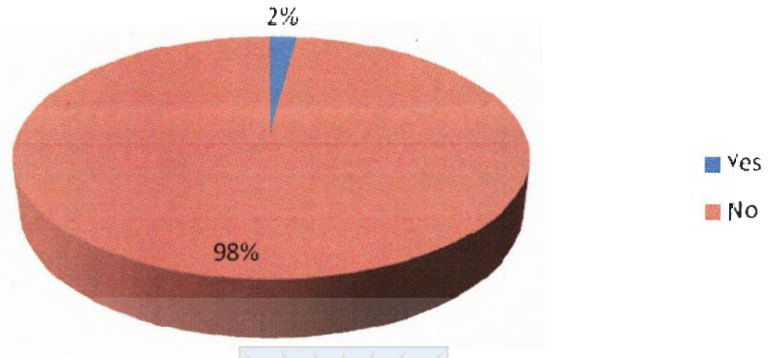
The affected respondents reported that they reacted to extreme stress or post-traumatic stress, having difficulties with focusing and concentrating, emotional and physical fatigue, forgetful, hopelessness and with severe headaches. Sometimes these cycles might take minutes, or they can take hours, days, weeks or months (Holland January 19, 2014b).

Table 6.9: Do you feel your normal self again as before the incident?



Most victims (fifty seven percent) as indicated in table 6.10 below received physical injuries as a result of the attack and forty three percent (43%) reported that they were not injured. The injured victims suffered cuts, bruises, broken arms or legs. Having robbed him, the men fled and Diesel, bleeding profusely from his stab wound, sped home in his car where his mother bandaged his wound (Hollands, February 03, 2015, p. 01).

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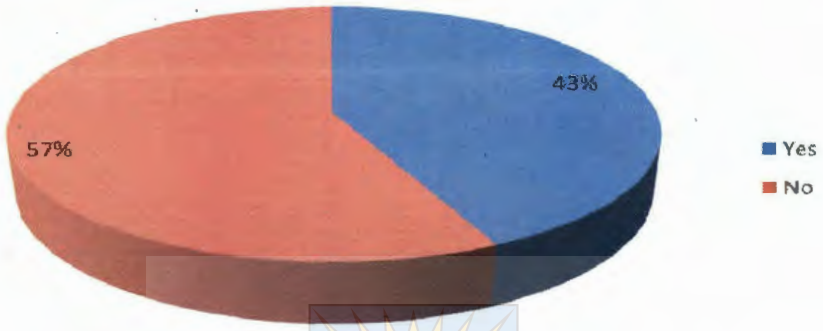
Table 6.10: Were you injured during the attack?



The majority of respondents (sixty percent) as demonstrated in table 6.11 below are still suffering as a result of their injuries and have yet to recover, whilst a small sample of forty percent (40%) has recovered.

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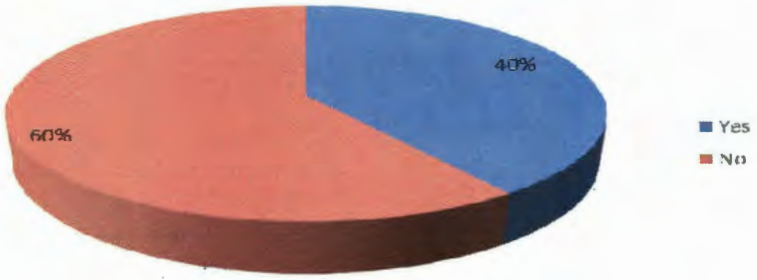
Table 6.11: Have you recovered from your injuries?



SECTION 2: AN UNDERSTANDING OF HOW AGGRAVATED ROBBERIES WERE EXPERIENCED AND ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL IMPACT ON THE VICTIMS

Forty five percent (45%) of the respondents as illustrated in table 6.12 below indicated that the South African Police Service members were unprofessional; thirty four percent (34%) felt that they were uncaring, while the remainder (twenty one percent) felt that the South African Police Service responders were inexperienced and bewildered as to what to do. As a result of this incident, Diesel said he was undecided about whether or not to report the incident to the police as he did not feel anything could be done (Hollands, February 03, 2015, p. 01).

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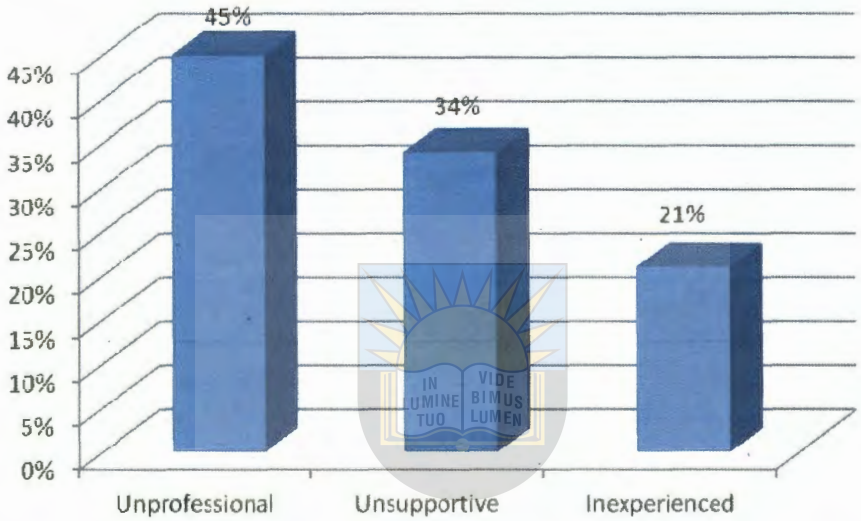
Table 6.12: Name the three things that you did not appreciate concerning the service you received from the police.



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The table 6.13 below demonstrates that half of the sample (fifty percent), the greater majority of whom were females contacted the police themselves. Fourteen percent (14%) of the respondents were assisted by relatives and friends to contact the police. This helped the respondents who were well supported by family and friends who listened to them. The victims were able to express themselves, and they felt better when they talked with other people (Elklit 2002, p. 883).

The victims' association with other people helped their own ability and towards the future to reduce the acute stress and obtaining quicker remedial assistance without the assistance of the state.

Thirty six percent (36%) of respondents did not know how police were summoned. According to them, they only noticed police in the crime scenes without summoning them or bearing knowledge of who called them.

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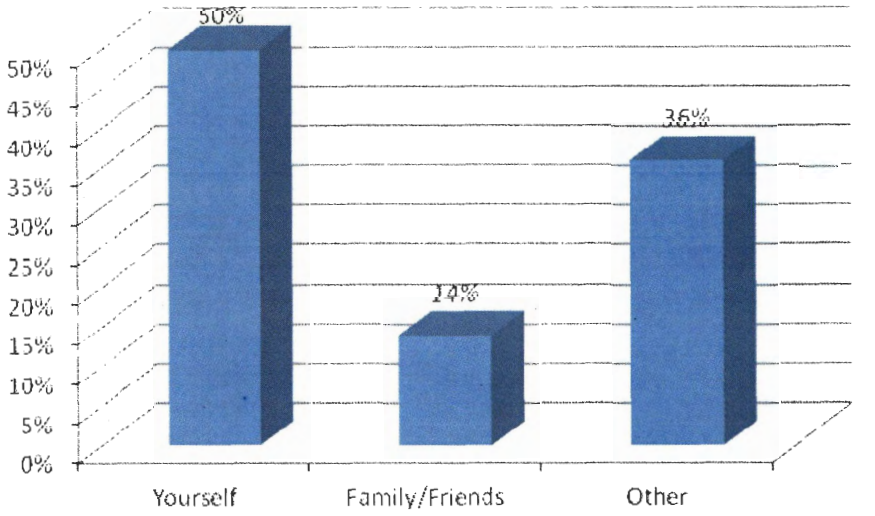
Table 6.13: Who contacted the police?



Clearly the majority of respondents (sixty seven percent) were not satisfied at the time it took the South African Police Service to respond. As shown in table 6.14 below, thirty three percent (33%) of respondents reported that the South African Police Service members did not respond at all or arrived long after the reporting of the incident.

Victims had expectations by calling police to the crime scenes. Shepherd, Mortimer, Turner and Watson (1999, p.139) state that a police officer is often the first person a traumatized crime victim meets, and that police officers visiting robbery crime scenes are in a unique position to set in train a healing, expressive process. Holmberg (2004, p. 18) supports this statement that the counselling should take place as soon as possible commencing on the crime scene after a crime event has occurred.

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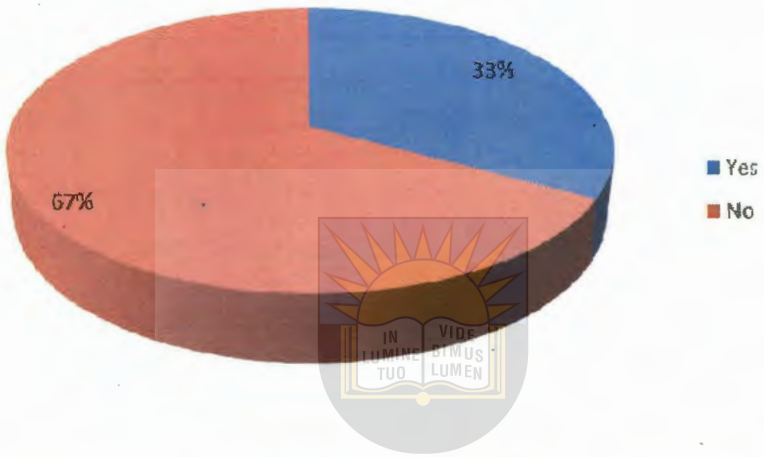
Table 6.14: Were you satisfied with the response time of the South African Police Service members?



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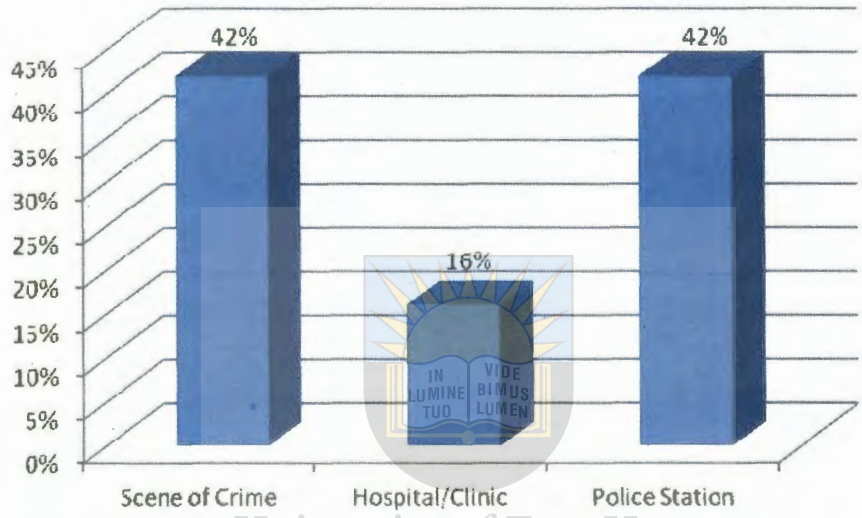
Following from the comments below in table 6.15 about the lack of a South African Police Service members' response or a tardy response, most victims (forty two percent) did not meet the police at the scene of the crime. Forty two percent (42%) of victims went to the police station themselves and sixteen percent (16%) were met in hospitals and or clinics.

Table 6.15: Where did the police meet you?



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SECTION 3: VICTIMS' PERCEPTION OF THE SERVICES RENDERED TO HELP THEM POST VICTIMIZATION

The respondents were asked on how they were treated by the South African Police Service. As illustrated in table 6.16 of the forty two (42) responses, eighty one percent (81%) felt that they were treated well by the South African Police Service members and nineteen percent (19%) felt that the treatment was bad.

Table 6.16 in page 228 below, shows four different questions posed against respondents and were compared to understand that thirty four percent (34%) were dissatisfied with the treatment while sixty six percent (66%) appreciated the treatment. The respondents were asked to give possible reasons for not being treated humanely. Others commented that SAPS were unprofessional, or the victims got the impression that the South African Police Service members were in cahoots with the perpetrators of the crime.

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When asked if South African Police Service members offered them with any assistance. Sixty four percent (64%) were unhappy because their expectations had not been met. They had expected to be taken to the hospitals or clinics, their stolen goods be recovered, the perpetrators also be arrested, and being referred for professional help.

Thirty six percent (36%) did receive assistance in the form of transport to the hospital or having South African Police Service contact their families informing them of the incidents.

The respondents were asked if the South African Police Service members were efficient and effective in their pursuit to prevent this type of crime and all of them (forty two) responded. As indicated in table 6.16 page 228 below, seventy six percent (76%) of the victims believe that the police members were not efficient and effective in their pursuit to prevent aggravated robbery cases. Twenty four percent (24%) believed that police can prevent this type of crime.

Respondents (seventy six percent) believed that the effectiveness of police with relation to patrols could have prevented the aggravated robbery cases they had experienced. Another fundamental police goal is to prevent crime through methods other than apprehension (Santos, 2013, p. 04). Conventionally, as McLaughlin and Muncie (2013, 375) analyse crime prevention pertinent to aggravated robberies; argue that it needs to be based on a thorough understanding of the causes of robbery cases.

Santos in Ekblom (2005, p. 28) alluded to the fact that crime prevention is intervention in the causes of criminal and disorderly events to reduce the risk of their occurrence and or the potential seriousness of their consequences. The police were expected to be everywhere especially in areas identified as hot spots.

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The key idea behind hot spots policing is that a disproportionate number of crimes happen in particular areas in a city and tend to have other forms of disastrous repercussions (Eberly, Takahashi, Messina & Friday, 2007, p. 01; Santos, 2013, p. 42). Santos further expatiates that when determining the effectiveness of hot spot policing, officials need to consider whether it actually prevents crime or just moves it to a different area. The presumption of respondents is that police were inefficient and ineffective in attempting to prevent aggravated robberies with the belief that as McLaughlin and Muncie (2013, p. 381) state that the police are the most obvious group likely to intervene effectively.

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A further question was if yes, why?

Of those who agreed twenty four percent (24%) of them based their perception on the police response time and visibility around the crime scene areas.

The respondents were again asked as if no, what their expectations were.

Those who disagreed seventy six percent (76%) of them did so because they had not perceived the South African Police Service members in the same light and they did not observe visible policing, rapid responses and professional behaviour.

The respondents were asked if whether they were informed by the South African Police Service members that they could access various state services to assist their recoveries, physically or psychological. Table 6.16 in page 228 below indicates that seventy six percent (76%) of the respondents claimed that they were never informed by the police that they could access various Government services to assist them in their recoveries, physically or psychological suffered during the incidents. Only twenty four percent (24%) alleged that they were informed.

Table 6.16

	Yes	No
Were you satisfied with the treatment received from South African Police Service members?	66%	34%
Did the members of the South African Police Service offer you any assistance?	36%	64%
Do you think South African Police Service members were efficient and effective in their pursuit to prevent this type of crime?	24%	76%
Were you informed by South African Police Service members that you could access various state services to assist your recovery, physically or psychological suffered during the incident?	24%	76%

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Table 6.17 below indicates that nineteen percent (19%) of respondents requested assistance whereas eighty one percent (81%) did not see any need to seek for assistance. They stated that they had suffered financially when their cash, valuable goods or jewellery was taken, when their properties were damaged and when their medical aid providers refused to cover all the expenses. They were therefore unable to see police succeeding in assisting them.

The respondents were asked if not, do they know why assistance was not offered. The majority of respondents (eighty one percent) felt that they were not offered assistance because the South African Police Service members were ignorant, confused, inexperienced or uninformed as to what was required of them.

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Table 6.17: When assistance was not offered by South African Police Service members, did you request it?

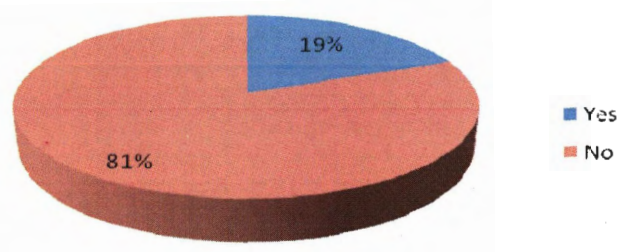

Table 6.18 below explains that seventy eight percent (78%) of the respondents confirmed meeting with police again after the attacks and twenty two percent (22%) never met police or called by them.

A follow up question was if yes, how often he / she met with police.

Seventy eight percent (78%), who had met police thereafter, stated that they had met with the South African Police Service members only once or twice after reporting the incident. Regarding victims' experiences of the crime and the police investigation, Holmberg (2004, p. 16) reviewed the victims' physical and psychological costs and argued that aggravated robbery crime victims in investigations weigh the pros and cons of their participation. According to Holmberg (2004, p. 16) when police officers showed attention, concern, listening, were emphatic, sympathetic and helpful, and treated victims with respect, the crime victims perceived this demeanour as positive, because the officers seemed to understand the victims' situation.

This could be very helpful to talk about the investigation and probabilities of locating, tracing and arresting the offenders as well as to debate about the fact that the experiences the robbery victim may perceive, do not mean that the event will occur again.

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On the other hand, aggravated robbery crime victims, perceived negative demeanour when the South African Police Service members despised the situation by downplaying the gravity of what have occurred, disbelieved the victim, and did not show comprehension or seriousness of the matter. These aggravated robbery victims according to Holmberg (2004, p. 16) who perceived negative demeanour, experienced mistrust that undermined the interaction with the South African Police Service; in these cases the robbery victims became alienated. Thus, in addition to possible maltreatment in the aftermath of the crime, aggravated robbery victims suffer psychological distress from the actual crime that has impacted upon them.

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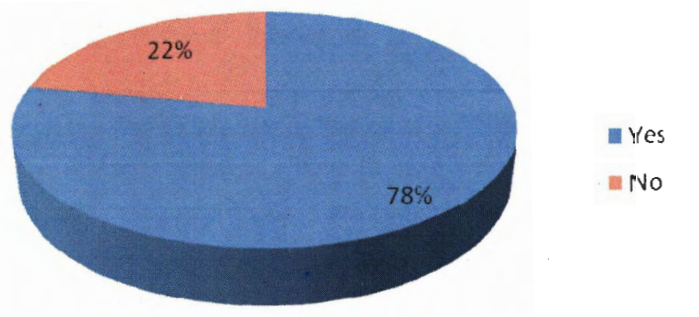
Table 6.18: Did you meet with the police again after the incident?



As made clear in table 6.19 below, seventy six percent (76%) of the respondents were only those respondents who were in need of assistance and twenty four percent (24%) were not in need of assistance. They never asked for assistance.

The respondents were asked as if yes, what assistance were they expecting?

Seventy six percent (76%) of the victims were in need of trauma counselling, required medical attention, as well as personal attention. If a victim had the opportunity to ventilate his / her anxiety, it is likely that he / she will see his / her situation from another, somewhat less anxious perspective (Holmberg, 2004, p.11).

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Table 6.19: In your opinion, were you in need of assistance?

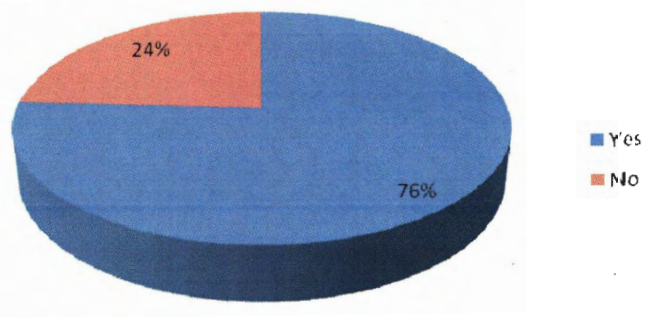

Table 6.20 below expresses that twenty four percent (24%) managed to access the necessary services whereas seventy six percent (76%) did not have that type of accessibility.

Questions were further asked as if yes, what in their opinion the type of services that were rendered?

The respondents (twenty four percent) who were able to access services were satisfied hence they were transported to hospitals or clinics.

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Table 6.20: Did you manage to access the necessary services?

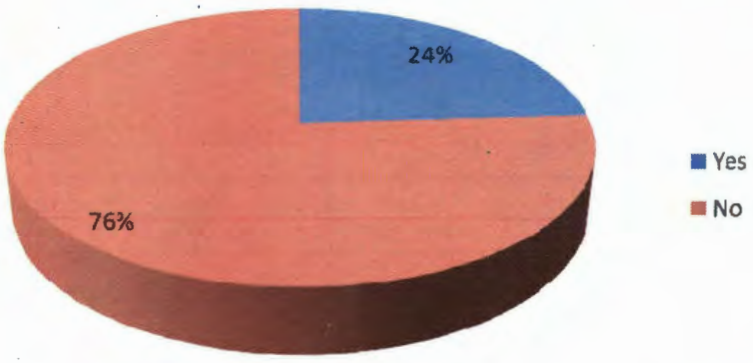

Table 6.21 below manifests that forty three percent (43%) of respondents believe that the Government should have healing centres to assist aggravated robbery victims. Holmberg (2004, p.11) explains that the trauma and stress are congruent in the sense that the experience of a certain event causes an unbalance between the perceived demands of the event and the perceived resources at the individual's disposal in the situation and its aftermath.

Twenty six percent (26%) of respondents explained that there should be specialists in police stations to assist the victims.

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Ten percent (10%) of respondents believed that police should be trained on how to deal with aggravated robbery victims and also responding to such cases promptly.

Twenty one percent (21%) were praying for much visible policing to prevent aggravated robberies and assist victims immediately.

Table 6.21: Precisely what intervention/remedial programmes should be made accessible to aggravated robbery survivors?

Programmes at healing centres	43%
Specialists at police stations	26%
Police training	10%
Visible policing	21%

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The majority of respondents (fifty one percent) as exhibited in table 6.22 below, state that victim support centres should be established in police stations with adequate resources. Thirty seven percent (37%) of respondents assumed extensive training on police.

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A small number of respondents (twelve percent) claimed that police in cases of aggravated robberies should have empathy towards the victims. Therefore, police should be trained on that aspect. Holmberg (2004, p. 13) emphasizes empathy, which means treating each other from the perspective of mutual understanding. However, according to the respondents, showing empathy and compassion was the lowest rated skill identified within police.

Table 6.22: What, in your opinion, can be done to improve service levels at state institutions providing support to survivors of aggravated robbery?

Victim support centres at police stations with relevant expertise	51%
Police training	37%
SAPS given empathy training	12%

Table 6.23 below displays that fifty one percent (51%) commented that the Government should establish centres and programmes to assist with the recoveries. Other respondents (nineteen percent) considered treatment of aggravated robbery victims with sensitivity. Seventeen percent (17%) of the respondents believed that the better co-operation between the police and the public members should be encouraged. Thirteen percent (13%) appreciated treatment meted to victims by police.

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Table 6.23: Do you have any comments, suggestions or criticisms to make?

Centres and programmes to assist with recovery	51%
SAPS to treat survivors/victims with sensitivity	19%
Better co-operation between SAPS and the public	17%
Appreciate police treatment	13%

SECTION 4: THE AFTERMATH OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERIES *i.e.* Invulnerability

The respondents were given a series of statements to which they were asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed. They were not asked specifically about themselves but how they felt about victims in general. McLeod (2008, p. 02) explains that various kinds of rating scales have been developed to measure attitudes directly. Survey Unit (March 10, 2015, p. 01) corroborates with McLeod's explanation and state that the commonly used question format is to provide a list of statements and ask the respondent to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with each statement.

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The main purpose of this intention is that respondents will project their own feelings or experiences into the statements so that the results can be interpreted as reflecting their own feelings or experience. The respondents project their own beliefs, feelings, attitudes in their response to such a stimulus thereby making accessible attitudes and feelings, which would have otherwise remained hidden (Qualitative Field Research, March 10, 2015).

As made clear in table 6.24 below, the severity of the aggravated robbery is seen as a significant determinant of Post-traumatic distress with sixty four percent (64%) strongly agree and thirty six percent (36%) just agreed.

All of the respondents (one hundred percent) agree that the attack resulted in post-traumatic distress. As simplified by another victim who stated that few days after being stabbed and robbed by two assailants, his hands were still shaking at the memory of the attack (Hollands, February 03, 2015, p. 01).

Table 6.24: The severity of the attack will cause the level of post-traumatic distress.

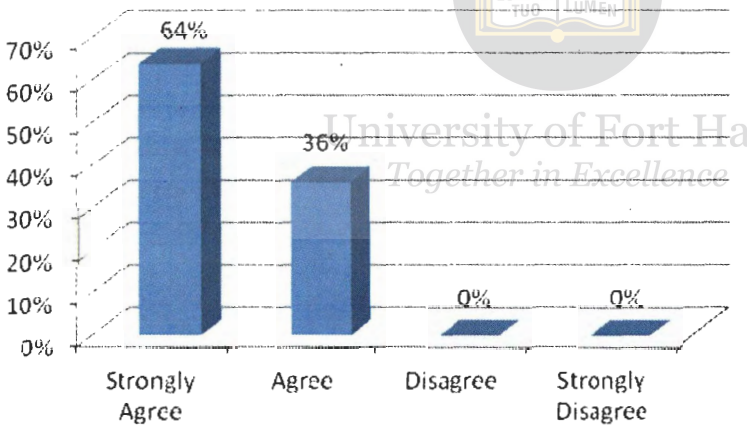

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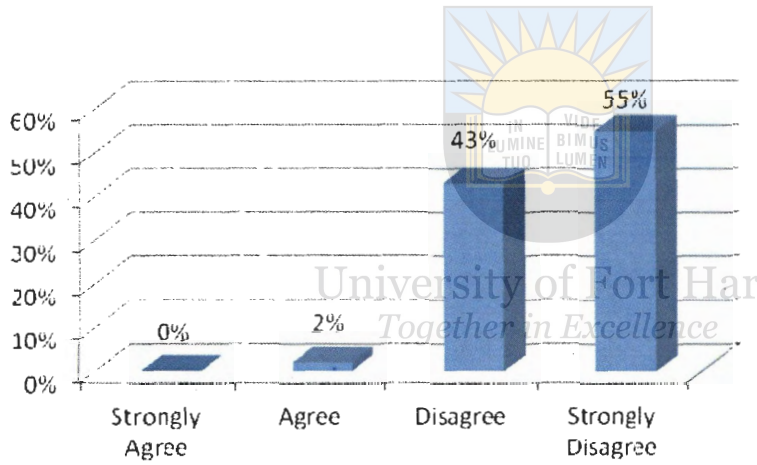
Table 6.25 below expatiates that ninety eight percent (98%) of respondents indicate that psychological support from the state is virtually non-existent.

Only two percent (2%) agree to the statement that the Government is making all means available to support aggravated robbery victims psychologically.

Table 6.25: The Government is making all means available to support the survivors psychologically.



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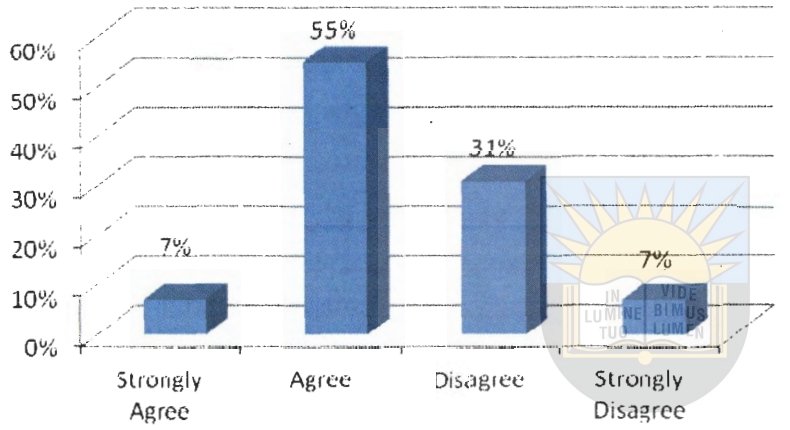
Individuals as rallied in table 6.26 believe in their personal invulnerability until they become the victims of aggravated robbery. Sixty two percent (62%) of the respondents believe they were invulnerable until after the attack. Only thirty eight percent (38%) believed that they were never safe and invulnerable towards aggravated robbery crimes based on the absence of police on the streets, as well as the regular availability of this crime in East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha.

Table 6.26: Individuals believe that they are safe until he / she becomes vulnerable to aggravated robbery.



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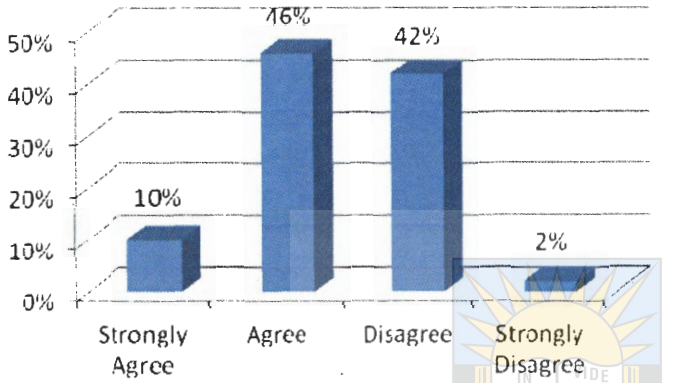
Fifty six percent (56%) of the sample as indicated in table 6.27 below believes that there is a link between the levels of trauma impact and the degree of assumptive world belief. On the other hand, forty six percent (46%) of the respondents believe that there is no link between the level of trauma impact and the degree of assumptive world.

Table 6.27: There is a relationship between the level of trauma impact and the degree of assumptive world belief.



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Individuals (seventy one percent) who have not been through the trauma of aggravated robbery believe themselves to be uniquely invulnerable. Seven out of ten respondents felt that their perceived invulnerability was shattered by the attack. The violence they endured shattered their sense of security and that of those around them. Morrison and O'Donnell (1996, p. 160) highlight that aggravated robbery can cause physical injury or even death, fear in the community, emotional trauma and, of course, financial loss.

Table 6.28 below is a testimony of the above information.

Table 6.28: Individuals who never went through incidents of aggravated robbery tend to perceive themselves as uniquely invulnerable as others.

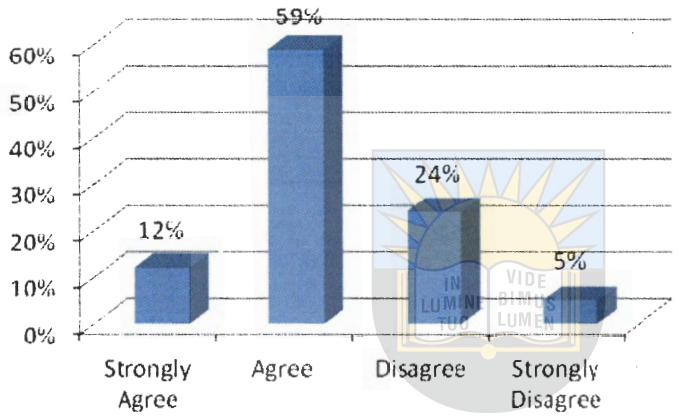

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Table 6.29 shows clearly that the experience of victimization seems to shatter the illusion of invulnerability thus creating in victims a new and unfamiliar sense of vulnerability, often accompanied by psychological distress. All respondents (one hundred percent) agree that the aggravated robbery has shattered not only their invulnerability but also led to psychological distress.

Table 6.29: The experience of victimization seems to shatter the illusion of invulnerability, thus creating in victims a new and unfamiliar sense of vulnerability often accompanied by psychological distress.

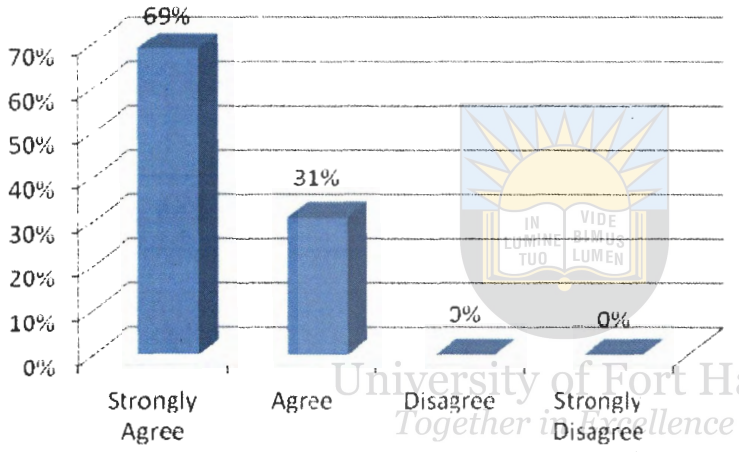

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Table 6.30 below proves that seventy six percent (76%) of respondents felt that nothing that they could have done would have prevented the aggravated robbery, whereas only twenty four percent (24%) supports this statement.

Table 6.30: Many victims believe that aggravated robbery can be prevented by engaging in adequately cautious behaviour.

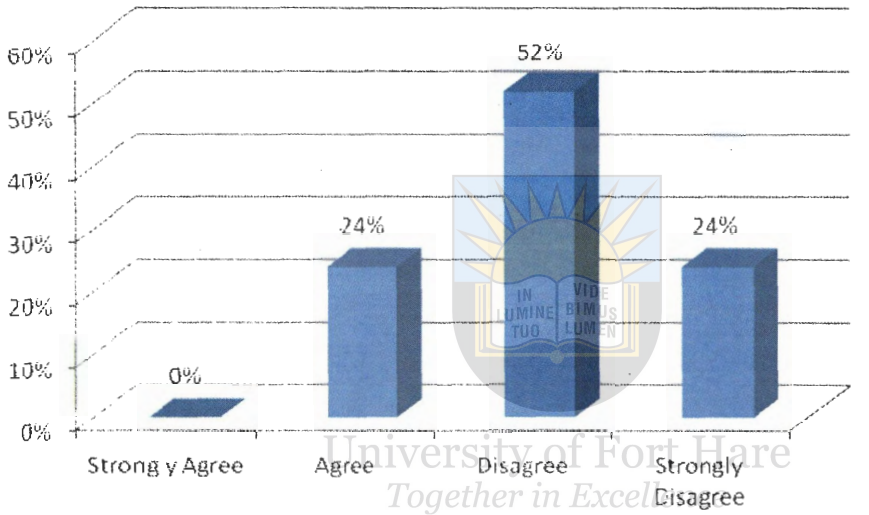

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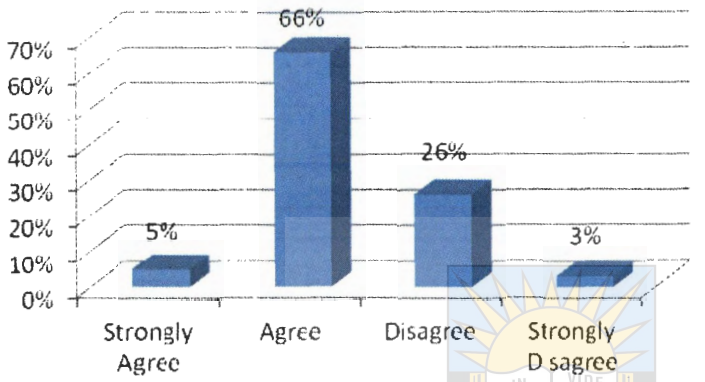
Table 6.31 displays that out of ten respondents heartily agree with this statement. Five percent (5%) strongly agree and sixty six percent (66%) just agree. Twenty nine percent (29%) does not agree with the statement.

Table 6.31: The victims with the most difficulty in coping with their misfortune may be exactly those victims who initially felt least vulnerable prior to the victimization.



All respondents (one hundred percent) as shown in table 6.32 agree that they experienced a loss of autonomy after their ordeal.

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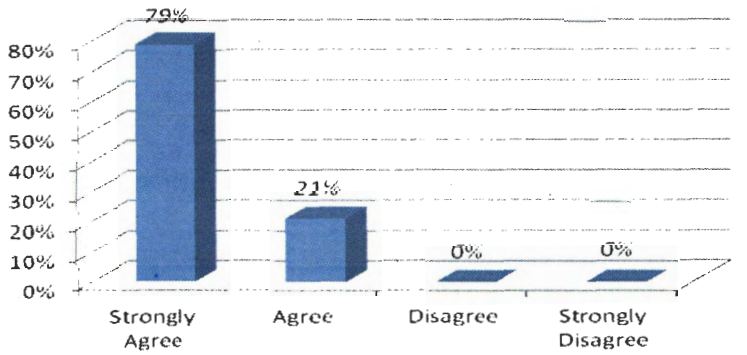
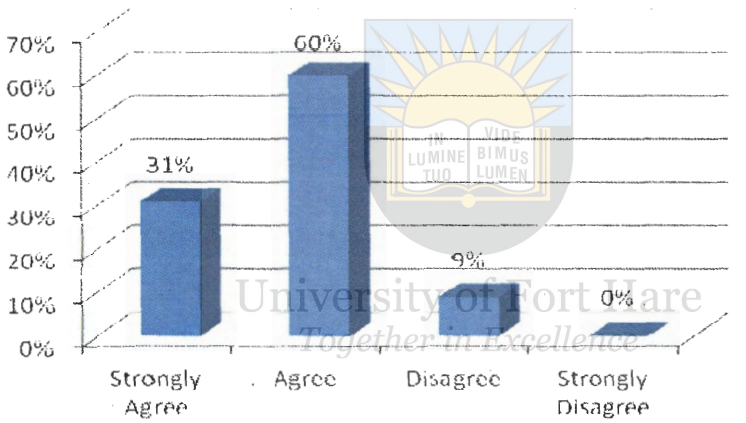
Table 6.32: Victims of aggravated robberies invariably experience a profound threat to their autonomy.



Ninety one percent (91%) of respondents in table 6.33 agree that they had suffered personal injuries.

Table 6.33: The results of aggravated robbery are that, victims suffer personal injuries.



Nearly all respondents (ninety five percent) in table 6.34 suffered personal loss.

Table 6.34: As a result of aggravated robbery victims subsequently encountered different types of experience such as loss.

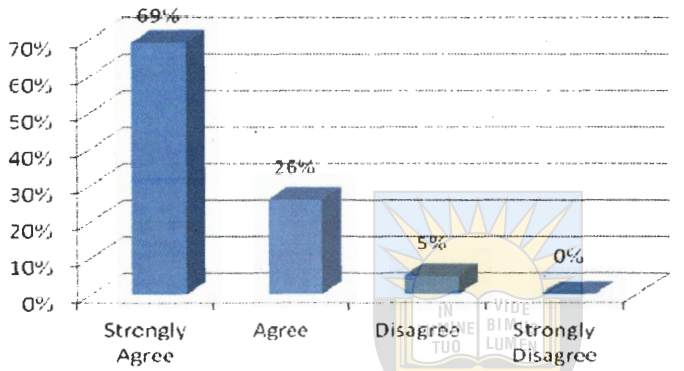


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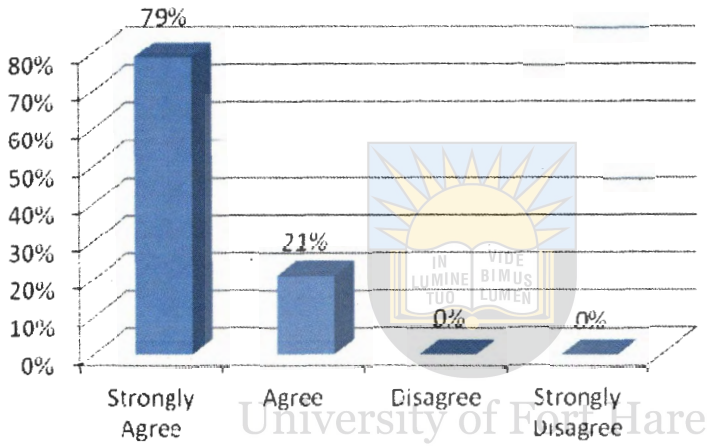
Table 6.35 below demonstrates that all respondents (one hundred percent) suffered shock as a result of the attack.

Table 6.35: As a result of aggravated robbery, victims subsequently encountered different types of experience such as shock.



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All of the respondents in table 6.36 below are aware that they have been attacked or robbed, but one hundred percent (100%) of them disagree with the statement.

Table 6.36: As a result of aggravated robbery, victims subsequently encountered different types of experience such as denial.

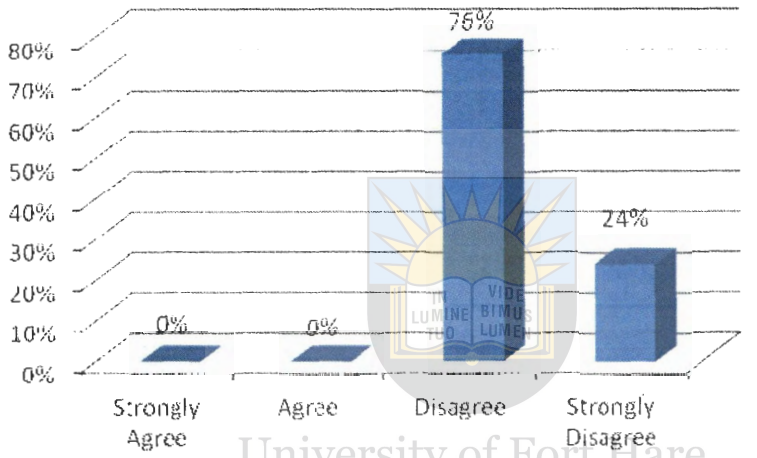

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Table 6.37 below exhibits that everybody in the study (one hundred percent) confirmed that they have been traumatized by the attack.

Table 6.37: As a result of aggravated robbery, victims subsequently encountered different types of experience such as trauma.

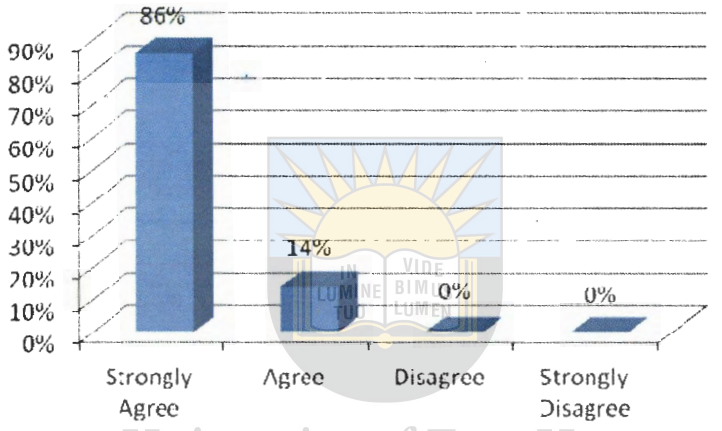

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Table 6.38 below shows that the entire sample (one hundred percent) agrees that they have been stressed by the incident. Respondents were asked if they had been involved in the study of this nature before. All respondents (one hundred percent) were never involved in this type of study before. The participants openly talked about their personal stories. In research, it is the right of every person to make informed decisions regarding whether to participate in a research study (Privitera, 2014, p. 66). All these respondents participated voluntarily.

The respondents were further asked if they think this type of study was valuable.

All respondents (one hundred percent) agreed and could see the significance of this study. All of the participants were thankful for the opportunity to take part in the research. Respondents were willing to ventilate their experiences and have been waiting for this opportunity which some regarded as something that could begin healing them.

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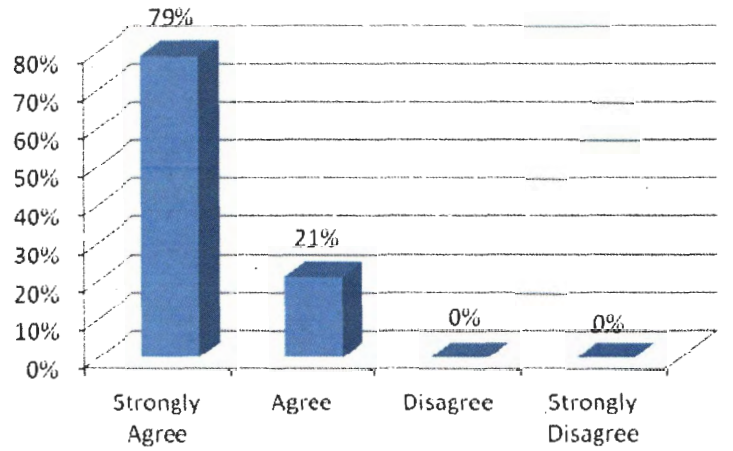
Table 6.38: As a result of aggravated robbery victims subsequently encountered different types of experience such as stress.



6.3 Summary

This chapter has provided the detailed results which included concise description of the outcome as well as tables. These tables included information explaining what they are summarizing and the exact responses of the victims during the interviews.

The purpose of the results is to inform the action. This study has therefore succeeded in contextualizing the findings within the larger body of research. As explained by Muftah, (December 02, 2013), the findings are the information which is obtained from the research, and the results are what will interpret the findings to mean.

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The results as explained in this chapter indicate the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robbery victims. Finally, this chapter presents all the data obtained from the respondents regarding the four key research questions of this study. The results are subdivided into four major themes as reflected in the next page.

- Section 1: An Overview Of The Aggravated Robberies: What, Why, When, And How.

- Section 2: An Understanding Of How Aggravated Robberies Were Experienced And Its Psychological And Social Impact On The Victims.

- Section 3: Victims' Perception Of The Services Rendered To Help Them Post Victimization.

- Section 4: The Aftermath Of Aggravated Robberies i.e. Invulnerability.

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Below each one of these major themes related questions are addressed and various relevant issues are discussed.

Chapter seven, deals with the analysis and interpretation of data.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the data which was attained from the interviews conducted, and is analyzed and interpreted in terms of the research expectations. The results are therefore, discussed in eight sections, namely how tables were employed, the demographics of respondents; victim's involvement into robbery crime before and now; invariably experience profound threat to victim's autonomy; victim's experience into Government support; situational factors which play a role in aggravated robberies; reaction of victims during the incidents and consequences of the victims of aggravated robberies.

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This study is also considering the aims and objectives of the research on scrutinizing the experiences encountered by aggravated robbery victims. The study also contemplates physical and trauma suffered by victims. It is significant to examine the level in which aggravated robberies shatter the victims' core assumptions of personal invulnerabilities, the world as meaningful and viewing of victims as positive.

The terms victims, respondents and sample are used interchangeably in the analysis and interpretation of data.

7.2 An analysis of the respondents' demographics

The sample has forty two (42) respondents and is characterized as follows:

Three percent (3%) of victims from each research site is included in the sample. Twenty one percent (21%) of the respondents belong to the eighteen to thirty year age category.

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Twenty six percent (26%) of the respondents are between thirty-one and forty years of age. Twenty nine percent (29%) of the respondents are between forty-one and fifty years of age. Twenty four percent (24%) of the respondents are between fifty-one and sixty years of age.

Sixty two percent (62%) of males and thirty eight percent (38%) of females are selected to participate in this study because of the higher number of males as opposed to females who were affected by these aggravated robbery cases at the three research sites.

Sixty seven percent (67%) of respondents are Blacks, twelve percent (12%) are Coloureds, nine percent (9%) are Whites, five percent (5%) are Indians and seven percent (7%) are non South Africans.

The marital status of respondents is as follows: -

- Thirty eight percent (38%) of respondents are single.
- Forty three percent (43%) are married.
- Nineteen percent (19%) are victims separated from their spouses/partners.

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Twenty four percent (24%) have completed their degrees or diplomas, fifty seven percent (57%) have matric (Standard 10 or Grade 12) qualification and twenty four percent (24%) have some high school education but have not completed matric.

For a visual explanation see table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 Demographics of respondents

		Respondents	Percentage
Age Categories	18 - 30 yrs	9	21
	31 – 40 yrs	11	26
	41 – 50 yrs	12	29
	51 – 60 yrs	10	24
Gender	Male	26	62
	Female	16	38
Race	Black	28	67
	Coloured	5	12
	Indian	2	5
	White	4	9
	Other	3	7
Marital status	Single	16	38
	Married	18	43
	Divorced /Separated	8	19
Academic qualification	Some high school	8	19
	Matric	24	57
	Degree / Diploma	10	24

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7.3 Descriptive demographic characteristics of the sample

7.3.1 Days

In general, most aggravated robberies in all three research sites occurred during weekends. In East London for example, it occurred late on Saturdays with 75 cases and early on Sundays with 55 cases. In Kwazakhele, these cases also took place late on Saturdays with 137 cases and early on Sundays with 121 cases. In Mthatha, the victims were robbed late on Saturday evenings with 101 cases and early on Sundays with 60 cases.

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This was a pattern linked to social activities that had attracted many individuals who happened to be victims. It is interesting to note that although the overall rate of aggravated robberies' victimization took place during the weekends, there were still other cases that happened in mid-week such as bank robberies. It is further argued by Geldenhuys (October 2009b, p. 38) that the high-risk days for bank robberies were Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays with the high risk times between 10:00 to 12:00 and 14:00 to 15:00. This is supported by Davis in Davis and Snyman (2007, p. 43) that violent victimization takes place over weekends.

7.3.2 Times

Overall, most aggravated robberies occurred during the evenings. For some groups, however, peak robbery times vary with the robbers' routine activity patterns. An example is most respondents between the age of 41 to 50 and between the ages of 51 to 60 run errands during the midday.

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Accordingly, the perpetrators attacked these people (41 – 60) in the early afternoons. By contrast, perpetrators had robbed the youths (18 – 40) between 16:00 (4 pm) and 21:00 (9 pm). This timeframe aligned with school and work dismissals when students and workers routinely went home or elsewhere. Yet, perpetrators robbed these victims who might be in public later in pursuit of entertainment. The research shows that those from bars or workers returning home after work on paydays were at high risk during late-night hours due to the absence of effective police patrols and the remote locations of some entertainment venues. Davis in Davis and Snyman (2007, p. 43) conspire that the aggravated robbery aggression takes place more often at night and in the early hours of the morning.

These time succession in aggravated robberies could be expressed as the risk factors that existed even prior to the aggravated robberies; the commission of the robbery events, and the reactions of the victims after the incidents. Despite aggravated robberies reportedly took place during weekends and late afternoons and nights, seventy one percent (71%) as illustrated in table 6.28 page 242 never went through incidents of aggravated robberies but were robbed in mostly secluded places.

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Evidence suggests that three quarter; forty eight percent (48%) of victims experienced aggravated robberies during quietest times whereas the remaining twenty three percent (23%) were robbed in highly congested places. Consistent to this view, Morrison and O'Donnell (1996, p. 180) stress the fact that the timing of the robberies was often chosen to coincide with quietest time of the day where targets were approached specifically when empty. In contrast, as Morrison and O'Donnell (1996, p. 180) have noticed that other robberies are committed when rush-hour traffic would be likely to interfere with the speedy arrival of police.

Arguably, this study suggests that aggravated robberies are committed either during he quietest time of the day or when the area is congested with people. In spite of this argument, one respondent (a lady teacher) usually avoid isolated places and does her businesses during the day, but was robbed in full view of other people.

The seventy six percent (76%) of victims in table 6.16 page 228 explained that the South African Police Service members were not efficient and effective in their pursuit to prevent cases of aggravated robberies. In the absence of police in hot spot areas, perpetrators feel free, unhindered and comfortable to pursue their illegal activities against harmless victims. Proceeding from an analysis of the circumstances giving rise to specific kinds of crime, it introduces discrete managerial and environmental change to reduce the opportunity for those crimes to occur (Clarke, 1997, p. 02). Thus, according to Clarke, it is focused on the settings for crime, rather than upon those committing criminal acts. The argument is based on preventative measures supposed to be implemented by police on areas declared as risky for the community. The intentions are to make criminal action less attractive to perpetrators.

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Clarke (1997, p. 02) highlights that central to this enterprise is not the criminal justice system, but a host of public and private organizations and agencies — schools, hospitals, transit systems, shops and malls, manufacturing businesses and phone companies, local parks and entertainment facilities, pubs and parking lots — whose products, services and operations spawn opportunities for a vast range of different crimes. In addition, the violent aggravated robberies take place on the streets or in public places (Davis in Davis & Snyman, 2007, p. 43).

7.3.3 Location

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Most aggravated robberies in all three research sites occurred in urban areas. The 1410 case dockets registered during 2007/2008 financial year indicated that 1174 cases took place in urban areas and 236 occurred in rural areas. The Mthatha area was the most affected with 198 cases in rural areas, East London with 36 cases and Kwazakhele with only 2 cases, also in rural areas. Based on this elucidation, Kwazakhele does not have rural areas and the reported two cases happened in nearby farms that are directly under the jurisdiction of Kwazakhele. This trend is similar to East London and Mthatha hence they also have rural areas.

Almost 1396 cases of aggravated robberies occurred one kilometre or less from the victims' residential places or businesses – perhaps because victims were nearer or in their homes or businesses most of the time, or specifically perpetrators targeted them near their homes, in their homes or businesses. Eberly, Takahashi, Messina and Friday (2007, p. 18) rely mostly on the crime pattern theory which explains that an offender's activity space is limited within his / her recreation areas. In most instances, the offenders choose to commit crimes in areas they are familiar with.

Other frequent aggravated robbery locations include parking lots and filling stations – followed by parks, fields, playgrounds and areas near public transportation. Mouzos and Carcach (2001, p. 30) explained that aggravated robberies committed at locations such as an open space or park, transport-related vehicle, bank or credit union or building society, office, other retail, or at a licensed premise or hotel were equally as likely to be serious hence a victim is affected. Prinsloo (2006, p. 02) adds to this concern that physical environment influences crime and related outcomes such as social and physical incivilities. Morrison and O'Donnell (1996, p. 182) also suggest that aggravated robberies are influenced by predisposing factors. All these locations can be classified into the broader category of community locations.

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Table 6.5 in page 209 indicates that seventy percent (70%) of respondents felt that they could not have prevented the attacks, unlike thirty percent who believe the attacks were avoidable. Though the latter believed that aggravated robberies were avoidable, they had no reasons for their failure to take precautionary measures hence they had never been the subject of prior attacks or were living in assumptions of invulnerabilities, the world as meaningful and perceived themselves as unique. The majority of respondents stated that the attacks were quick and nothing else could have been done.

Twenty four percent (24%) of victims as shown in table 6.30 page 244 believe that aggravated robberies can be prevented by engaging in adequately cautious behaviour, as against seventy six percent (76%) who disagreed with this statement. It was the belief of all these respondents which comprised of twenty four percent (24%) that situational factors in specific precincts which play a role in aggravated robberies should be made known to the communities specifically if law enforcement agencies are unable to avail themselves. In event when communities could be educated, these respondents revealed that this could lessen the rate of aggravated robberies as well as victims resulting from robberies.

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The implications are indeed profound. Wasserman and Ellis (2007, p. 01) insinuate to the significance of educating victims so that they may understand the different ways that aggravated robberies affect victims psychologically, financially, physically and spiritually. These discussions with individuals can assist to prepare themselves of the future robberies as well as how to behave during and after the aggravated robberies' commissions.

The seventy six percent (76%) did not think the workshops can change the mindsets of the people. The argument of these victims is similar to another group of twenty four percent (24%) where fingers have been pointed to situational factors as the cause of aggravated robberies. They differ only on facts such as:

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- People need to be work shopped based on information received pertinent to situational factors. Twenty four percent (24%) of these victims as shown in table 6.30 page 244 stated that as a proof of adequate cautious behavior, they do not allow their children to walk in secluded areas without being accompanied by adults.

Five percent (5%) took their experience into cognizance and that a person has to be alert all the time and avoid suspicious people. Two percent (2%) were unable to justify their responses.

- All seventy six percent (76%) in table 6.30 page 244 of the victims explained that the situational factors are expected to be known by law enforcement agents who should plan their operations in accordance with such factors. People are in their country of democracy and must be expected to move anywhere at any time.

Half of these victims at thirty eight percent (38%) stated that they heard about aggravated robberies from radio stations and that never saved them. The education pertaining to this behavior will still not save them. Twenty six percent (26%) asked why they should be educated on crime that is well known by the state, and what does the state do to protect and secure the aggravated robbery victims. Twelve percent (12%) explained that there is no need for them to engage themselves in mentioned educational workshops. When asked further, they failed to justify their responses.

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In spite of the respondents' views, Clarke (1997, p. ix) state that this could involve questions about the determinants of behavior as well as about criminal justice policy. The respondents as in table 6.30 twenty four percent (24%) in page 244 highlighted that this could assist community members in raising moral questions about society's attitudes to crime and criminals, and philosophical and political questions about the kind of society in which the people wish to live.

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On the other hand, as pointed out by nine male respondents and two female respondents, choice may be an illusion since irreversible social change has already occurred and it is their attitudes that may be lagging.

Research in this area that has been conducted suggests that the aggravated robbery destroys the victims' core assumption of invulnerability. Hodgson (2005, p. 71) agrees that all victims who experienced force and violence appeared to have suffered the greatest impact.

7.4 Victim's experiences with robbery crime before and now

Every individual has his / her own assumptions about the world. These individuals understand that aggravated robberies are in existence and committed, where after certain victims suffer as a result thereof. As a result of this, the individuals advocate that the world is really benevolent and meaningful (Collins, Taylor & Skokan, 1990, p. 264). In spite of this statement, there is no individual who can associate himself / herself with this crime and assume to be always safe.

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Consistent with this perception, one respondent (two percent) stated that she only heard about aggravated robberies through media and this was just amusement to her. She never witnessed this crime or her relative or friend being involved. Accordingly, she distanced this crime from her and her consciousness was based on people who were careless about themselves. Janoff-Bulman (1985, p. 19) suggest that these kinds of victims are those who operate on the basis of illusion of invulnerability with the belief that such crime cannot happen to themselves. Nevertheless, this will be expatiated more on the following paragraphs.

The view of Peacock (2013, p. 336) refers to past victimization as frequently best predictor of subsequent victimization. According to Davis in Davis and Snyman (2007, p. 233), it is believed that victim's pre-victimization factors are conditions that were present before victimization occurred. It is argued that both communications are silent with regard to individual who was never a victim before. This study is focussed on victims who were never involved in aggravated robbery before. It can be further argued that overwhelming majority respondents of eighty eight percent (88%) never thought about being attacked by robbers, even if a minority of twelve percent (12%) as shown in table 6.3 page 207 was once attacked before.

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Prior to victim's involvement into aggravated robbery, all these respondents held generally positive beliefs about themselves and their environment (Collins, Taylor & Skokan, 1990, p. 279). This explanation elucidates that no victim of the previous crime believes that he / she will be attacked again.

This research study evolved around Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's theory of reactions to victimization which according to them, Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 03) is based on the argument that all victims have three basic presumptions identified as: firstly, involves the belief in personal invulnerability: secondly, the view or perception that the world is meaningful and comprehensible: and thirdly, viewing of ourselves in a positive light. The research results as illustrated in table 6.3 showed that eighty eight percent (88%) were never involved or being victims of aggravated robbery before, and the aggravated robbery under scrutiny has been their only first hurtful experience (see page 207). The number of the respondents takes for granted the continuity of a safe existence in their areas without having an idea that one day they can be the victims of aggravated robbery.

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These assumptions are believed to be held by the majority of aggravated robbery victims eighty eight percent (88%) as shown in table 6.3 page 207, and they include a sense of personal invulnerability, the belief that the world is meaningful and comprehensible, and a positive view of one's self.

This research study demonstrates that that there is a relationship between the level of trauma impact and the degree of assumptive world as shown in table 6.27 page 241. Fifty six percent (56%) supports this statement as against forty six percent (46%) who disagree. Fifty six percent (56%) of the victims believe that criminal cases such as aggravated robberies can be prevented and more so, the victims regard them as protected and secured in the light of laws around them. Beder (2005, p. 255) highlights that the assumptive world is an organized schema reflecting all that a person assumes to be true about the world and the self on the basis of previous experiences. It refers to the assumptions, or beliefs, that ground, secure, and orient people that give a sense of reality, meaning, or purpose to life.

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The interviewed victims label this assumptive world as nucleus of their beliefs. In the face of aggravated robbery, victims feel that they are in the face of death or trauma. Nineteen out of forty two victims, forty five percent (45%) as indicated in figure 7-1 in page 273 below, state that during and after such terrible robbery incidents, their beliefs were shattered and were disorganized.

Resulting from the nineteen victims' feelings, twenty one percent (21%) are those with some high school education, seventeen percent (17%) are those who passed matric and only seven percent (7%) consist of victims who have degrees or diplomas. All these three educational groups do not show the same percentage hence the most affected victims are those with some high school education. Further analysis shows that twenty one percent (21%) of these victims are between the ages of 31 and 40, seventeen percent (17%) at the ages of 41 to 50 and seven percent (7%) at the age of 51 to 60. Twenty seven percent (27%) involves males whereas eighteen percent (18%) are females.

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Overall the response shows that single males and females are twenty eight percent (28%), those married are only five percent (5%) and victims who are divorced or separated from their spouses are twelve percent (12%). Figure 7-1 below also illustrates dissimilarity with regard to race where thirty one percent (31%) are blacks, coloureds at seven percent (7%) and whites at seven percent (7%). The remaining fifty five percent (55%) are victims who are uncertain about their beliefs though they feel threatened with the robbery.

This includes victims between the age of 18 and 30, the Indians and other races who decide not to share their views. In addition to this explanation, the Indians and other races are the least at five percent (5%) and seven percent (7%) respectively. The youth at 18 to 30 years believe that they have long life to live and can still recover from risks that were encountered before.

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Figure 7-1: Summarized table of cross-tabulation of the sample with shattered beliefs

	Academic qualification		Age categories		Gender		Marital status		Race	
					Males	Females				
The victims' beliefs were shattered and were disorganized	High school	21%	18-30	0%	27%	18%	Single	28%	Black	31%
	Matric	17%	31-40	21%			Married	5%	Coloured	7%
	Degree/Diploma	7%	41-50	17%					Indian	0%
							Divorced or Separated	12%	White	7%
			51-60	7%					Other	0%

In essence, as Beder (2005, p. 255) argues, the security of their beliefs has been aborted.

Twenty four of these victims, fifty seven percent (57%) believe that they have been holding on incorrect belief that the world is good and protective but after they were attacked, such beliefs turned up to be untrue.

Figure 7-2 in page 275 below demonstrates the total percentage of victims whose belief ended up being inaccurate that the world was exceptional. Twenty six percent (26%) are victims with some high school education followed by twenty one percent (21%) of those who have passed matric and ten percent (10%) who have degrees or diplomas. The victims between the ages of 18 and 40 are at seventeen percent (17%), 14 to 50 at fourteen percent (14%) and 51 to 60 at nine percent (9%). Males are more than females at thirty three percent (33%) and twenty four percent (24%) respectively. The single victims are at thirty one percent (31%), married couples at fourteen percent (14%) and those divorced or separated at twelve percent (12%). The blacks are at twenty nine percent (29%), coloureds at seven percent (7%), Indians at four percent (4%), whites at ten percent (10%) and other races at seven percent (7%). The remaining forty three percent (43%) are victims who perceive that the world is not excellent.

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Figure 7-2: Summarized table of cross-tabulation of the sample with shattered beliefs

	Academic qualification		Age categories		Gender		Marital status		Race	
					Males	Females				
Victims who have been holding on incorrect belief that the world is good and protective, but after they were attacked such beliefs turned up to be untrue	High school	26%	18-30	17%	33%	24%	Single	31%	Black	29%
	Matric	21%	31-40	17%			Married	14%	Coloured	7%
	Degree/Diploma	10%	41-50	14%					Indian	4%
							Divorced or Separated	12%	White	10%
			51-60	9%					Other	7%

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Similarly, the other group of victims consisting of forty two percent (42%) never accepted that there was a relationship between the level of trauma impact and the degree of assumptive world. According to them, there is no correlation between the trauma impact and the assumptive world belief. Based on the assumptive world beliefs, sixty two percent (62%) as demonstrated in table 6.26 page 240 agree that individuals believe that they are safe until one becomes vulnerable to aggravated robbery.

As demonstrated in page 240, the minority of thirty eight percent (38%) disagree with this statement. This indicates that once a victim loses hope, he becomes traumatized, and consequences are severe. The trauma impact emerges after the destruction of the degree of assumptive world. Updegraff and Taylor (2000, p. 03) explain that the clinical literature, for example, has found various stressful life events to be risk factors for the development of depression, anxiety, and in extreme cases, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

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The victim's behaviour involved in aggravated robbery is in fact complicated. It is perplexing when taking into consideration the manner it happened where every interviewed victim elaborated on how he / she was caught by surprise. As he made his return to the train, he was grabbed from behind and quickly overpowered by one of the robbers (Wikipedia, March 19, 2014). This is further alluded to by Heinonen and Eck (2014, p. 01) who stated that the robbers tend to attack unexpected victims.

It is essential that the psychological and social processes underlying aggravated robbery are equally elementary. For instance, a victim deals with his / her daily business without knowing that during the process he / she will be robbed.

Generally, robbers always ensure that a victim is caught by surprise. It is possible as explained by Heinon and Eck (2014, p. 01) that robbers confront victims trying to avoid being injured and likely prefer victims who will not resist. One female respondent had been cornered in an ATM machine by robbers who menacingly urged her not to scream but to hand over all the cash. When she refused, she was held by her neck and throttled. Wright and Decker (1997, p. 01) state that, when robbers intend to be successful, they usually take control of the offence right from the start. They immediately have to impose on the interaction a definition favourable to their ends, allowing targeted victims no room for negotiation.

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It is customary that robbers use pistols, heavy arms or any other dangerous weapons to execute the aggravated robbery operations. All forty two (42) respondents reported that they were threatened with weapons during the robbery incidents. The research study indicates that when forty two respondents were interviewed, not a single victim was humbly requested by robbers to hand over his / her items, but was violently forced duly pointed with a gun or a dangerous weapon which was being wielded out of where it was hidden from.

Mouzos and Carcach (2001, p. 07) highlighted that the weapons also serve as a powerful tool in the intimidation of victims and listed four main purposes for the intimidation of victims: to assure quick cooperation, to prevent resistance, to prevent pursuit, and to discourage victims from aiding the police and courts. The victims are expected to work together with their attackers and act upon given orders. They are further discouraged to avoid escaping or chasing the perpetrators and to assist the criminal justice system in terms of evidence and information submission.

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Table 6.2 as shown in page 205, demonstrates that fifty percent (50%) of the sample experienced pistols, twenty one percent (21%) were threatened with heavy arms and twenty nine percent (29%) were robbed whilst dangerous weapons were utilized. For the purposes of this study, pistols and heavy arms are regarded as one hence they both fire bullets. It is argued that not all respondents know the different types of guns, where some victims composed of nine percent (9%) never saw them before and another group of respondents seventy four percent (74%) once and only saw them in televisions.

Eleven female victims twenty six percent (26%) as well as six male victims fourteen percent (14%) do not know much difference between the firearms. The remaining sixty percent (60%) know all different firearm calibres. Therefore, it was necessary to refer to small and big guns as firearms to avoid confusion.

Although knives are the most frequently used weapons in aggravated robberies, where commercial establishments, particularly financial institutions and licensed premises are targeted, firearms are equally or likely to be used (Willis, 2006, p. 09). Seventy one percent (71%) of the sample as indicated in table 6.2 page 205 collude with each other that the use of firearm seems to be significant to the offenders. Kempen (April, 2000, p. 16) explains that the tongue-clicking imitation of slipping the safety catch is a powerful psychological weapon to strike fear into victims.

Zinn in Peacock (2013, p. 187) and Davis in Davis & Snyman (2007, p. 231) allude to the fact that the mere showing of a firearm which poses a great threat to victims, it appears that cocking a firearm at the crime scene unambiguously conveys the intentions of the perpetrators.

However, as Zinn in Peacock (2013, p. 187) and Davis in Davis & Snyman (2007, p. 231) expatiate, the firearm cocking sounds command authority and confirms the unequal balance of power between the perpetrator and the victim. The respondents echo that firearms are utilized by offenders possible because of the greater likelihood of victim compliance.

Stewart (2002, p. 74) highlights that in instances where firearms are utilized by aggravated robbers, and victims do resist, robbers often increase the level of intimidation by cocking the firearm, holding it up to the victims' heads, or using the blunt instrument to hit the victims. One respondent whose Caltex garage situated in the corner of Koyana and Njoli square was robbed in Kwazakhele explained that when he resisted, the robbers fired several shots in the air and he (victim) immediately decided to hand over the cash to the robbers.

This research study suggests that each victim was given a command and pointed out with a firearm and had to do as ordered. Hennop, Potgieter and Jefferson (2001, p. 01) argue that in aggravated robbery incidents, offenders are armed with firearms, which they use to achieve compliance.

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Mouzos and Carcach (2001, p. 04) and Hennop, Potgieter and Jefferson (2001, p. 01) pointed out that the research on aggravated robbery has consistently identified a firearm as the most commonly used weapon. This research study as narrated by respondents indicates that the robbers who carried firearms completed their activities without experiencing victims' resistance.

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As indicated above, seventy one percent (71%) in table 6.2 page 205 of the sample had no choice when threatened with firearms, but had to comply with the instructions of the robbers. This study concludes that the main purpose of using weapons, and in particular firearms, in aggravated robberies is to stimulate collaboration and to impede resistance on the part of the victims.

Twenty nine percent (29%) in table 6.2 page 205 of the sample was respondents who were threatened with dangerous weapons. Table 4.4 in page 124 above comprise of a list of dangerous weapons used when they were attacked to mention knives, hammers, axes, pangas, bricks and bottle necks.

Morrison and O'Donnell (1996, p. 172) report that the official criminal statistics published by the British Home office, suggest the majority of aggravated robberies in England and Wales are conducted with real firearms. Geldenhuys (October 2009b, p. 38) also suggest that firearm is an important tool needed by the perpetrator to take control of the situation. In contrary to the view of Morrison and O'Donnell and Geldenhuys, firearms are the preferred weapons to be utilized, but sometimes aggravated robbers will also make use of dangerous weapons such as sledgehammers. However, in the South African context, all victims (one hundred percent) had explained that the general availability of dangerous weapons is one of the major contributing factors in the usage of illegal force to commit aggravated robberies.

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Generally, dangerous weapons as have been disclosed by twenty nine percent (29%) of victims, as indicated in table 6.2 page 205 were more frequently used and inflicted physical injuries at twenty two percent (22%) of victims as compared to seventy one percent (71%) of firearms where only seven percent (7%) of victims were fired at.

This research study discovered that sixty four percent (64%) of victims could not be shot at, due to congestion of the areas where these crimes were committed.

Though twenty nine percent (29%) in table 6.2 page 205 is the smaller sample, the victims involved consider offenders as wholly dependably on dangerous weapons to induce fear – otherwise aggravated robbery would be very difficult or even impossible. It is argued that no victim would easily hand over his or her property even if a vulgar language was used or threats levelled as long as the firearm or dangerous weapon was not produced. Recent results as pointed out by Strydom and Schutte (2005, p. 117) also highlights that perpetrators are usually armed with knives and pangas. As can be seen in table 6.2 page 205, the use of firearms was correlated with the use of dangerous weapons to make the aggravated robbery a successful operation.

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An old woman who was robbed from her house remembered that verbal threats and insulting language whilst robbers were wielding knives and pangas created a fear and had to submit her belongings immediately. Furthermore, as Pretorious (2008, p. 87) has observed that robbers swore and shouted at the victims, and threatened to kill them should they not obey the orders of the robbers. In respect of the experiences encountered by the interviewed victims, it becomes factual that psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies are of the more obvious repercussions (Van der Merwe, 2008, p. 146).

Though the attacks were individual based, it is evident that the victims of aggravated robberies suffered immensely due to the robbery incidents. Van der Merwe (2008, p. 157) Harrison and Kinner (1998, p. 787) state that it has been established that all victims of aggravated robbery suffered psychologically to a certain degree following their experience. Table 6.10 in page 218, shows that fifty seven percent (57%) of the sample, suffered physical injuries as a result of the attacks. Eight respondents suffered abdominal, neck, foot, thigh, arm, elbow, knee and leg shots individually.

According to them as shown in table 6.11 in page 218, sixty percent (60%) of victims never recovered from those injuries. Out of sixteen respondents, three were hit with bricks, five were stabbed with knives, one with a panga, one with a broken bottle neck, one with a broken bottle head and five with unidentified sharp instruments. The sharp instruments refer to, are sharpened sticks, thick serrated fences or iron bars. During the attack eighty six percent (86%) of the sample as in table 6.6 page 211 described how they felt throughout the ordeal. They all felt threatened; where thirty three out of thirty six respondents thought they were going to die. Many respondents referred to the callousness and brutality of the robbers as very hurtful (Pretorious, 2008, p. 87).

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At the time of attacks, the overwhelming experience was fear – fear of being physically injured or even of being killed. These respondents disclosed their sentiments as follows:

- Sixteen respondents felt shocked, were not in control of their lives during the attack and did not know what to do.
- Eleven endured a feeling of hopelessness and despair.
- Six of them were frightened without understanding what would happen thereafter.

One female victim felt that the attack on her to deprive her of her belongings was really not necessary. She claimed to be a harmless woman who would just hand over whatever required from her.

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The victim's psychological and behavioural symptoms of distress are poignant symbols of the destructiveness of the robber's acts, taking away the pride of viewing the self as positive (H.J. Parad & L.G. Parad, 1990, p. 102). This was a traumatic event she will never forget and is re-activated again and again once she hears news about other violent aggravated robberies.

Consequent to these attacks, the conclusions are destroyed and victims of aggravated robberies are no longer able to see their world as safe. According to the respondents, and as illustrated in table 6.9 page 217, the overwhelming majority of ninety eight percent (98%) expounded that this traumatic event has an acute consequences on a victim's significant perceptions about the world. Owing to this ordeal, it can be concluded that the aggravated robbery has shattered the victims' core assumptions of invulnerabilities, as well as their abilities to handle stress during and after the incidents. Shortly after the incidents, fifty percent (50%) of the sample according to table 6.13 page 221 of who were females reported the incidents to the South African Police Service. According to them, police were called but never turned up or arrived very late as shown in table 6.14 page 223.

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Due to their losses, injuries and being at a stage of feeling intimidated, decided to personally visit the police stations. Hennop, Potgieter and Jefferson (2001, p. 01) believe that aggravated robbery is a property crime and, as a result, it was usually the victim of the crime who reported it to the police.

Forty two percent (42%) of victims were met on the crime scenes and another forty two percent (42%) met the police in the police stations as shown in table 6.15 page 224. Forty two percent (42%) of respondents argued that calling police to the crime scenes and thereafter fail to turn up, shows carelessness on police part. The victims complained for finding themselves in a situation where they could not interact with police promptly. Hodgson (2005, p. 72) argue that in case where a police officer did not attend the aggravated robbery crime scene, victims commonly felt that the incident was not taken seriously by the police and felt let down by the criminal justice system.

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Only thirty four percent (34%) as shown in table 6.16 page 228 of victims explained that they were dissatisfied with the police treatment posed upon them (victims) as well as the way the police handled their cases and felt that the South African Police Service members were insensitive towards the encountered incidents that happened to them. They voiced out a variety of reasons such as lack of information about the progress of the case, as well as absence of support.

It is further argued that the individual's contact throughout the case is extremely important in making the victim feel part of the process (Hodgson, 2005, p. 72). Furthermore as Hodgson (2005, p. 64) has discovered that the most important determinant of anxiety and depression is victim's participation in and treatment by the criminal justice system. Throughout this programme, the active victim's participation in the police investigation and handling of the case, empowered the victim, enhanced satisfaction and could have a positive impact on a victim's mental health.

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This research study suggests that every individual lives a peaceful life unaware about the possibilities of aggravated robbery that simple change his / her life completely.

As a result of his / her involvement in aggravated robbery, this individual is subsequently regarded as a victim.

7.5 Invariably experience profound threat to victim's autonomy

Any law related definition of aggravated robbery suggests some collected idea of what is morally wrong with aggravated robbery: its illegitimate use of violence, force, its disregard of the victim's existing autonomy. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 06) noted that one essential component of an individual's equilibrium is the sense of autonomy, and crime victims invariably experience a profound threat to their autonomy. At the time of an aggravated robbery incident, someone takes control over the life of another; this sense of being out of control persists as dreams and intense feelings continue to impose themselves (Batley in Peacock, 2013, p. 119).

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The view most commonly identified with aggravated robbery in popular discourse is that it is a crime of violence – that is, a form of personal attacks whose intentions are unnecessary, and which is similar to other violent crimes such as rape. Such efforts often seek to challenge views of aggravated robbery as a crime of passion, motivated by the perpetrator's overwhelming greediness.

Indeed, it may be that concepts of the state, the family and the community — the mainstays of current criminal policy — have less relevance today in a world that is shaped principally by economic forces, but in which individuals place a premium on autonomy in their daily lives (Clarke, 1997, p. ix).

Table 6.32 in page 245 provides that one hundred percent (100%) of the sample agreed that they experienced a loss of autonomy after their tribulation. All these victims explained how they came face to face with their personal vulnerabilities up to serious harm. Jacobs and Wright (2008, p. 516) pointed out that aggravated robbery with its face-to-face dynamics, leaves no doubt about the victim's unwillingness to take the instigating violation lying down. One of the respondents stated that he could be very quiet and has no other way of exposing shock suffered, but what regularly comes to his mind is, "he could not believe this happened to him". The violence he endured shattered his autonomy, sense of security and that of those around him.

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Individual autonomy is an idea that is generally understood to refer to the capacity to be one's own person, to live one's life according to reasons and motives that are taken as one's own and not the product of manipulative or distorting external forces (Stanford Encyclopedia, July 28, 2003).

In the crime of aggravated robbery, not only is the extension of the self taken from the victim (property, money, *etc*) but he / she is also coercively deprived of independence and autonomy, the ability to determine one's own fate (Crime Victim Services January 28, 2014). Under threat of violence, these victims ninety eight percent (98%) as shown in table 6.9 page 217 surrendered their autonomies and controls, and their fates subsequently rested unpredictably in the hands of threatening others (perpetrators). One woman explained how she was stripped naked hence the robbers thought she might have hidden other valuables such as jewellery. Besides pains suffered, threat and shock subjected to her, she could feel that her dignity had been adversely undermined by being shoved around the house fully naked. This situation really had a profound ego.

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Zinn in Peacock (2013, p. 187) and Davis in Davis and Snyman (2007, p. 231), highlight that a loud tone of voice heightens victims' shock response, whereas foul language and profanities are used to convey the seriousness of the situation and to intimidate the victims. Verbal abuse, degradation, and humiliation were used by perpetrators to rob her of her autonomy, dignity and confidence, and the perpetrators used this strategy to confuse her so as to comply with their orders. As the use of crude language is often associated with aggression, and the robbers want to control and intimidate victims, they often swear during the aggravated robbery (Zinn in Peacock, 2013, p. 187; Davis in Davis & Snyman, 2007, p. 231). This form of control is designed to get the victim to accept a position of inferiority, as well as to view the perpetrator as omnipotent (Mohandie, 2002, p. 12).

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A respondent only known as Mrs. "X" (her identity hidden) residing at the Mthatha suburbs explained how she found herself direct under the control of robbers five years ago. She stated that it was early on Sunday at about 03:00 when four armed men with knives and one firearm held her, her husband and two children aged 12 and 17 years.

The suspects had used the neighbors' yard to jump into theirs and gained entry by cutting through the burglar door.

Once inside the house the perpetrators rounded up the already frightened family members in one bedroom and used rope to tie the couple and their son and daughter. The couple's three dogs barked but were allegedly pepper sprayed by the perpetrators. The woman explained that the perpetrators had targeted them knowing very well there were valuables inside their house. They were physically assaulted when suspects demanded money and jewellery. In matters of this nature as Turner and McIvor (1997, p. 205) explain, victims are usually tortured and pain inflicted to obtain information, or to force them to confess, or to intimidate or to punish them. She said it was a traumatic experience and other family members were traumatized when they heard about the news. Zinn in Peacock (2013, p. 189) pointed out that by being exposed to such an ordeal not only affects the victim but also everyone in the victim's family, circle of friends and associates, frequently creating feelings of helplessness, distrust and a general belief that aggravated robbery is spiraling out of control.

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Throughout the robbery process, this respondent and family agreed that they were under the control of the perpetrators until the affliction was over. Her autonomy and dignity she is known of in her community members and her subordinates at work was dismantled. Palermo (2009, p. 616) agrees that the violence in aggravated robbery serves as a way to exercise control over victims.

This was supported by the majority of ninety seven percent (97%) of respondents who found themselves subjected to the control of their perpetrators. However, previous studies as highlighted by Mohandie (2002, p. 13) enlighten that perpetrators devise strategies and these strategies weaken the victim's psychological attitude and reinforce dependency on the perpetrator, and serve to increase perceptions of the perpetrator's omnipotence.

Forty one respondents as demonstrated in table 6.9 ninety eight percent (98%) page 217 did not feel their normal self again as before the incident. They were happy individuals with thrilled family lives prior the incidents.

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According to these respondents, they viewed themselves as positive and had been continuing maintaining their level of self-esteem. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 6), confirm that people prior to any aggravated robbery incident always operate under the assumption that they are worthy, decent people based on the fact that they maintain a relatively high level of self – esteem. When the moment of attacks arrived, their lives changed completely hence the incidents had affected their autonomies.

A victim's psychological, emotional, physical, and intellectual space it lives in, defines the range of matters over which the person has rightful power of consent. Because a person's image is at the very centre of his / her domain and is the locus of the properties and capacities that makes him / her a person, the intentional invasion of his / her image is an especially attack that is egregious.

Table 6.10 in page 218 illustrates that most victims fifty seven percent (57%) were physically injured during the attack and sixty percent (60%) of them are still suffering as a result of their injuries. However as Hodgson (2005, p. 67) explained that in comparison to other symptoms experienced, physical injury had little impact on the quality of life or daily activities of those involved.

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The research in this area that has been conducted, suggests that the vast majority of fifty seven percent (57%) of victims had suffered extensively and others sixty percent (60%) are still undergoing treatments. In a house and retail robberies, two women claimed that their arms were twisted by robbers who demanded to be given safe keys and their ligaments were torn off and have never healed up to date.

They underwent hospital surgery at their own expenses when no assistance was rendered by the state. Due to their current abnormal ligaments, they regularly wear long sleeves even if the weather is too hot. These respondents regarded the attacks as double threats: the loss of independence, control, and the removal of something symbolically as part of themselves. It is interesting to note that Hodgson (2005, p. 67) in contrast to his view elaborates that only one victim said the physical injury was the most upsetting aspect of the offence.

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With or without these harms, aggravated robbery constitutes severe trauma. Undergoing trauma shatters the victim's most basic assumptions about himself / herself and his / her safety in the world.

According to Mr. "Y" (whose identity is hidden) survived a violent cash-in-transit heist together with his team members, where their vehicle was crammed with Toyota Fortune vehicle and it fell down on a side road embankment. Trauma introduced a surd, a nonsensical entry into the series of events in his life, making it seem impossible to carry on with the series. Not only is it now impossible to carry on with the series, but whatever sense had been made of it in the past, has been destroyed (Stanford Encyclopedia, May 2, 2013).

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This physical evidence reminds victims that they are forced to surrender their autonomy and also that they have been made to feel less than sufficient. The victims' physical injuries are the visible reminders of their emotions and helplessness to preserve themselves.The asymmetry of power, knowledge, and prerogative is pure absolute: and according to the interviewed respondents, the victims had to be in positions of complete vulnerability and exposure, and the robber is in one of perfect control.

As shown in table 6.10 page 218, only forty three percent (43%) of the sample who reported that they were never injured physically during the attacks. These respondents claimed that they decided not to resist but comply with orders of the perpetrators. The victim's greatest interests are completely subject to the caprice of his / her robbers, who normally conceal just what it is they want or what their ultimate plans are, or represent their goals in inconsistent and ever-shifting ways (Stanford Encyclopedia, May 2, 2013).

Though not physically injured, Miller (2005, p. 180) argues that the individual being robbed, is for the duration of the aggravated robbery process physically powerless in relation to his / her assailants. Batley in Peacock (2013, p. 119) states that victims are born to have control over their own lives or at least important parts of their lives. In contrast, the interviewed forty three percent (43%) of respondents explained that it transpired that robbed people necessarily have no autonomy or power; and therefore aggravated robbery on someone is an infringement of a victim's right to autonomy.

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It is known that an increase in aggravated robbery, affects victim's mobility and independence, severely hampering their rights to security and freedom (Nel & Van Wyk in Peacock, 2013, p. 77). This research study suggests that the autonomy a victim possesses is immediately taken away by actions resulting from aggravated robbery. Thus aggravated robbery usually results in severe personal losses for the victim: safety, control, trust, autonomy, integrity, and self-esteem. In addition, this loss of control is demoralizing, and affects one's safety, identity and wellbeing (Batley in Peacock, 2013, p. 119). Respondents elaborated that the most common initial reaction is shock. Aggravated robbery victims experience numbness and disbelief. They may seem dazed and may appear outwardly calm, and subdued.

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7.6 Victim's experience into Government support

In the South African context, police are a forefront of the Government hence cases of aggravated robberies are reported to them. The police have the cardinal role to play because they are the main, and often the only criminal justice agency which victims come into contact with, and the one that victims generally have the most sustained contact with (Victim Support, 2011, p. 04).

In addition, Skogan (1989, p. 02) believes that victims need reassurance and protection, and the police are important symbols of the provision of protection. There is an assumption that the Government (police included) will maintain law and order, give required support and ensure people's safety (Pretorious, 2008, p. 82). However, when any victim finds himself / herself in the control of robbers, he / she believes that he / she will be comfortable and feel secured once police arrive. In support of this statement, Mawby and Walklate (1995, p. 96) point out that crime victims always require a positive response from the police hence police are generally the first representatives of the state to come into contact with the victim. The view of Mawby and Walklate is supported by Skogan (1989, p. 02) who believes that the rapid appearance of the police and considerate attention may help alleviate the consternation of aggravated robbery which follows victimization.

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All interviewed respondents as shown in table 6.15 page 224, one hundred percent (100%) stated that the expectations were high that the prompt physical contact of victims with police would alleviate pains, and this would cause the victim to begin articulating concerns, emotions, and reactions related to the aggravated robbery.

They were of the opinion that by meeting police, they would experience some reduction in anxiety and commence to utilize their own coping skills and problem-solving strategies to resolve problems and concerns related to the aggravated robbery.

The above analysis very clearly shows that all forty two (42) victims had entrusted their hopes to the Government. However, it is also true that the role of the Government is to support victims of aggravated robberies. In contrast to the above statements, this research study suggests that fifty percent (50%) of respondents in table 6.13 page 221 had personally called police for assistance; fourteen percent (14%) were assisted by friends and relatives and the remaining thirty six percent (36%) resulted from other persons such as passing motorists or pedestrians.

Sixty seven percent (67%) in table 6.14 page 223 were victims who were completely not satisfied with the response of police. In order to supplement this argument, thirty three percent (33%) in table 6.14 page 223 of respondents were victims who reported that police never responded at all or arrived long after the reporting of the incidents.

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This is inconsistent with the statement of Pretorious and Louw in Davis and Snyman (2007, p. 84) where they believe that victim of aggravated robbery who approaches the South African Police Service will receive a more victim-friendly service, incorporating the basic elements of victim empowerment and support, namely emotional and practical upport, information, and referral to support services.

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The true extent of the issue indicates that many victims get little, no communication or no support from the police or any other criminal justice system agency after they report aggravated robberies (Victim Support, 2011, p. 03). As explained by Skogan (1989, p. 01) victims traditionally have been the forgotten participants in the criminal justice system. A small percentage of aggravated robbery victims eventually met with police after they were involved in this crime. Forty two percent (42%) in table 6.15 page 224 met police in crime scenes; forty two percent (42%) went to the police stations themselves and a small number of sixteen percent (16%) met police in hospitals or clinics. Forty two percent (42%) went to the police station after police failed to turn up.

The sixteen percent (16%) who were visited in hospitals or clinics consisted of fourteen percent (14%) who were conveyed to hospitals by relatives and friends out of their own expenses, one percent (1%) went to the clinic and one percent (1%) who found himself / herself in hospital and not knowing how he / she landed there.

Despite the visit of crime scenes by police, there is no evidence to suggest that the police rendered the required services to the victims. Newham (March 12, 2014, p. 01) agrees that police as a vehicle towards delivering safety to the aggravated robbery victims is far from satisfactory.

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Around three quarter of respondents, ninety two percent (92%) who never received information or support from the police said that this had created a situation where they had lost confidence with the Government, compared to less than a quarter which is eight percent (8%) where it had made them more confident. Victims themselves often told the researcher that their experience with the Government organs (police) negatively affected how they are likely to trust them in the near future.

Consistently, according to table 6.12 page 220 forty five percent (45%) of the victims were shocked to find that police were unprofessional, thirty four percent (34%) labelled police as unsupportive whereas twenty one percent (21%) regarded police as inexperienced. Newham (March 12, 2014, p. 01) explains that the significant numbers of police personnel continue to undermine the South African Police Service with highly unprofessional conduct. There is evidence to suggest that seventy eight percent (78%) as shown in table 6.18 page 231 met with police but only once or twice after the incidents, as against twenty two percent (22%) who never saw police after the attacks.

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Instead, even after meeting police the victims were still unaware of the common symptoms that characterize the aftermath of aggravated robberies as well as having no information regarding alternative ways to handle various aspects of the aftermath (Janoff-Bulman, 1985, p. 22).

A statement was put to the respondents that the Government was taking care of aggravated robbery victims. A small percentage of victims which is two percent (2%) as indicated in table 6.25 page 239 agreed, as against ninety eight percent (98%) who disagreed. In association with this statement, seventy six percent (76%) as illustrated in table 6.19 page 232 went to an extent of requesting assistance which was never offered to them. The requested assistance was pertinent to communication with their relatives, or being transported to the nearest hospital.

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South African Service Charter (2004, p. 02) shows that the Government's commitment to implement measures aimed at continuous reform of the criminal justice system to protect and promote the rights of victims in compliance with international obligations under international human rights instruments, such as the UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power (1985) and the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children Addendum to the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development.

In support of the Service Charter, those who had reported criminal cases, experienced the justice system in many instances as helpful with distinct pockets of excellence where dedicated officials went the extra mile on their behalf and made them believe that their criminal case was being taken very seriously (Rape Crisis, March 14, 2014).

The South African Victim's Charter was specifically highlighted to the respondents where only two respondents had no idea about such declaration and thirty nine victims knew about it. They regarded it as a piece of paper with its contents not practiced. It is argued that when respondents ninety eight percent (98%) were interviewed, they stated that the South African Victim's Charter is silent with regard to counselling or debriefing specifically aggravated robbery victims shortly after the incident as well as with no indication regarding therapeutic sessions to be undergone thereafter.

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According to the respondents, the above statements are viewed as ideologies that they (victims) have no confidence into the authenticity of them.

As a result, ninety eight percent (98%) of the sample as indicated in table 6.25 page 239 disagreed with the statement that the Government was making all means to support the survivors psychologically, and thirty four percent (34%) in table 6.16 page 228 were dissatisfied with the treatment received from the police. Davis in Davis and Snyman (2007, p. 358) state that victims are seriously traumatized and professional help and assistance is often postponed due to the fact that victims are often too shy to admit that they cannot work through the trauma. In contrast, the interviewed respondents almost ninety eight percent (98%) argued that they never received support such as undergoing debriefing sessions. Green and Pomeroy (2007, p. 99) support the respondents that victims often feel that the Government is unsupportive and thus the psychological and social consequences are exacerbated.

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Apart from this information, the British victim's and citizen's charter both make very explicit recommendations concerning the victim's experience of the Criminal Justice process, but neither offers any guarantees in respect of improving that experience (Mawby & Walklate, 1995, p. 188).

Consistent to this statement, out of forty two respondents as demonstrated in table 6.16 page 228, the majority of sixty four percent (64%) felt that the Government was not rendering assistance as against thirty six percent (36%) who claimed to have received assistance from the South African Police Service. The victims had many expectations which amongst them had expected transportation to hospitals or clinics, referral to psychologists, that their robbed items be recovered. The minority of thirty six percent (36%) were only helped in terms of being transported to hospitals though expenses were theirs (victims), as well as informing their families. There is no other evidence to indicate other assistance rendered to victims.

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The South African Government representative, the late Honourable Dr. Manto Tshabalala-Msimang argued that the unavailability of Government support pertinent to robbery victims, by stating that the human rights of the accused are overemphasized and the human rights of victims are marginalized – support services, including medical services where necessary and rehabilitation services, are available to the accused and convicted persons, but not to victims (Camerer & Kotze, 1998, p. 16).

The utterances of this politician vehemently corroborate with the demonstration of respondents that the Government available support as explained, is not established for victims of aggravated robberies.

It is argued that, in the South African context, an aggravated robbery is treated similar to other less serious criminal cases such as burglary or ordinary theft. Otherwise, the victim will depend on the effected arrest if ever or will remain at his / her home with no assistance or information from the state. In support of this argument, seventy six percent (76%) of the sample as illustrated in table 6.16 page 228 disclosed that they were never informed by police that they could access various state services to assist their recoveries, physically or psychologically which were suffered as a result of the attacks.

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If there were any services available, police would know. An example is cases of assault with grievous bodily harm and rape, where police are compelled to ensure that these victims are instantly taken to hospitals for treatment and evidence collection, which victims of aggravated robberies are discriminated against.

In the event of when this has not been done, the police registers indicate that, and the responsible members are dealt with harshly.

Table 6.20 in page 233 shows that twenty four percent (24%) of the victims managed to access the necessary services at their own expenses, and seventy six percent (76%) never accessed the services. The hospital's role in this phase was to assist the victims, accept and prepare for the reactions they were likely to experience after being discharged from the hospital. Since most victims experience the aggravated robbery to at least some degree, an understanding of it would help the social workers or psychologists plan and provide care. Six respondents of those who managed to access services are still suffering psychologically and financially. They stated that, the services they embarked upon had utilized huge monies they did not have, apart from what they lost during the attacks.

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Seventy six percent (76%) of the victims, who never managed access to services, reported that they suffered from trauma, shock, confusion, helplessness, anxiety, fear and depression.

Though no assistance was rendered, nineteen percent (19%) as demonstrated in table 6.17 page 229 recounted that they requested assistance. It is their belief that police never assisted them because police were ignorant, confused, inexperienced or uninformed. The victims thereof had nothing else to do hence they did not have money to access relevant services. Davidoff (1987, 351) also supports these judgments that other victims decide to give up in life after accepting the problem and deciding that nothing can be done about it.

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The focus of the above section was scrutinizing the experiences of victims pertaining to Government support levelled, but it could be observed that there is no intervention from the Government (Zinn, 2010, p. 1; Mawby & Walklate, 1995, p. 95). Following is a discussion on situational factors which play a role in aggravated robberies.

7.7 Situational factors which play a role in aggravated robberies

All forty two (42) respondents were asked if they had any knowledge about factors they thought led to their attacks. Table 6.4 in page 208 indicates that sixty nine percent (69%) of the respondents believed they had been targeted for their properties. Thirty one percent (31%) estimated that this could be through their carelessness – where they failed to apply more precautionary measures. Research has provided a demographic sketch of typical aggravated robberies as illustrated in paragraph 4.3 page 104 of this study. With that in mind, the researcher has demonstrated how aggravated robberies cluster by days, times and locations in the above paragraph.

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7.8 Reaction of victims during the incidents

Like many other crimes, aggravated robbery usually has a rippling effect upon victims. Becoming a victim of an aggravated robbery can be a very traumatic experience. In most cases it involves a threat to the victim, and can leave them feeling unsafe long after the incident has occurred.

Victims often begin to see the world as a dangerous place. All forty two (42) respondents at one hundred percent (100%) in table 6.24 page 238 agreed that the severity of the attack causes the level of post-traumatic disorder. MamTshawe, one of the respondents who lives with her two children aged seven and twelve in Mthatha, said the men took two cell phones, a laptop and her handbag, which had rent money amounting to R4 800-00 in it. "The money and the other things are easily replaceable but she was frustrated about documents such as certificates and awards that were in the laptop bag." His hands were trembling and the whole body shivering as he recalled the attack (Hollands, February 03, 2015, p. 01).

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The reactions and subsequent needs of people who experience aggravated robbery vary. It's important to remember that everyone responds differently to a traumatic event based on each individual's coping ability, values, life experiences, personality, support systems, fears, expectations, and beliefs (Holland, March 08, 2014a, p. 01). These respondents had experienced high levels of stress and anxiety, especially when returning to a place that reminds them of the crime.

A medical doctor who was robbed of his car near Delta Motors in Cambridge Street, East London is still avoiding that area hence it reminds him of how his expensive vehicle with valuables inside, was hijacked.

Another former Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University student who was robbed of loaned school registration fees near Daku Road in Kwazakhele and had to abandon the school during the year 2008, hence no other funds could be located to assist in her registration. The aggravated robbery still rings in her mind and does not want to walk along Daku Road even now. It is not that she is terrified but once she is around that area, all what happened on her returns to her mind. The research study indicated that she suffered from post-traumatic disorder and is still attending sessions that were arranged by the University authorities at school. The respondent's response was often abnormal hence her core assumption of invulnerability, the ability to handle stress after the incident and the person's self-perception were shattered.

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Table 6.29 in page 243 demonstrates that all forty two respondents (one hundred percent) agreed that the experience of victimization seems to shatter the illusion of invulnerability, thus creating in victims a new and unfamiliar sense of vulnerability often accompanied by psychological distress. The interviewed participants agreed that the aggravated robbery shattered not only their invulnerabilities, but also led to psychological distress. A situation where aggravated robbery victims encounter perpetrators face-to-face, or in close proximity, the victims often feel total and immediate loss of control.

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When a weapon is utilized, the sense of helplessness and the fear of death can be strong. Most property stolen during a robbery is never recovered, and financial losses can be substantial. If the stolen property has unique or sentimental value for the victim, emotional reactions can be very intense leading to psychological distress (Pima County Attorney's office, February 28, 2014).

As another respondent has stated; as an aggravated robbery victim, he felt as having many feelings, thoughts, and reactions to what happened. A victim may feel angry at the robber, the police, and legal system for not rendering assistance. He said he felt intense sadness and grief over his possessions that were stolen and had a fear that the robbers would return or that another aggravated robbery could occur. Although he did nothing wrong, he felt guilt that something he did, led to the aggravated robbery.

A victim may feel nervous in crowds or suspicious when he / she is alone with someone he / she does not know and end up having nightmares or flashbacks resulting from psychological distress about the aggravated robbery (Pima County Attorney's office, February 28, 2014). Twenty three respondents shared the same sentiments that they found themselves startling more easily at little noises or abrupt movements.

Seven interviewed victims alluded to the fact that the way victims react to aggravated robberies varies from person to person. Individuals react differently to crime victimization; some are unaffected by the event, others experience serious and lasting harm (Hodgson, 2005, p. 61). It is further argued that reactions can differ for a variety of reasons, such as how strong a victim is, mentally and physically.

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One young adult male victim felt that he was always angry and praying to meet the robbers again with the intention of revenging for him. Two of these victims mentioned that a victim feels vulnerable and that he is not in control of his life and at times, reactions may be immediate or delayed. Respondents explained that a victim may feel as if he / she is the only one experiencing these feelings and that no one else can understand what he / she is going through. This experience destroys the illusion of invulnerability accompanied by psychological distress. Indeed as Jacobs and Wright (2008, p. 519) explain, the damage wrought by any given aggravated robbery become more emotional than materially, involving a palpable loss of face that cries out for redress.

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Nine respondents believe that they (victims) found it helpful to speak with others about the aggravated robbery experience and about their crisis reactions. There is some evidence that financial loss, emotional and psychological effects are usually less visible than physical injury and are often left unnoticed and unattended to by the family or friends of victim.

The emotional impact of victimization has been referred to as the most devastating component of crime victimization effects and is often more serious and damaging than any physical injury sustained (Hodgson, 2005, p. 61).

As they conversed about their aggravated robberies over time, they put the incident into perspective and begin to cope with its consequences. Pima County Attorney's office (February 28, 2014), pointed out that it is important for a victim to deal with and resolve his / her crisis reactions at his / her own pace. Hodgson (2005, p. 64) put it in perspective that support from the victims' family or community can alleviate the intensity of emotional effects. Just as everyone reacts to an aggravated robbery differently, not everyone re-assembles his / her life in the same way or within the same timeframe. Grabosky (1989, p. 23) explains that victims have widely different personality attributes, social skills and other resources, all of which may bear on their ability to cope in the aftermath of aggravated robbery. As stated by Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's (1983, p. 3) in their theory of reactions to victimization, they argued that all victims have three basic assumptions which involves personal invulnerability, meaningful world and individuals as unique.

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They went on to an extent of simplifying this premise that when such a victim is confronted with aggravated robbery, these assumptions can be influenced and or destroyed by the experience and are therefore likely to be altered as a result of physical and psychological loss. Janoff-Bulman in Figley (1985, p. 18) point out that this level of psychological distress is largely attributable to the shattering of victims' basic assumptions about themselves and their world. These assumptions are marked by threat, danger, insecurity, and self-questioning. The victim loses hope when this crime occurs whilst he or she felt safe before the robbery.

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7.9 Consequences of the victims of aggravated robberies

Despite the relatively look-alike small sample of three percent (3%), this study has provided insight into the consequences of the victims of aggravated robberies, especially with respect to the persistence of symptoms over time. However, this research has shown that aggravated robberies are traumatizing events. The trauma of victimization is a direct reaction to the aftermath of aggravated robbery.

Wasserman and Ellis (2007, p. V1) highlight that aggravated robbery has significant, yet varying consequences, on individual robbery victims. Zinn in Peacock (2013, p. 191) argues that fear is not the only social consequence, but the loss of feelings of safety and security are also often associated with aggravated robbery.

A great deal of this section has explored the financial, psychological, and social aftermath of the attacks. This section also deals with consequences around each sub-category of aggravated robbery as explained *infra*.

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7.9.1 Financial consequences

Aggravated robbery is a form of parasitical consumption, where offenders subsist directly on the income and the consumption of others (Rosenfeld & Fornango, 2007, p. 741). A victim thereafter suffers a great loss after his / her valuable item has been taken away by the robber. If the robbed property has unique or sentimental value for the victim, emotional reactions can be very intense once the victim involuntary loses it.

Glanz (1994, p. 21) explains that there is a strong consensus that the impact of aggravated robberies on victims can be determined in respect of the negative effects on aspects such as quality of life, financial loss suffered as a result of the offence, injuries sustained as well as the emotional and psychological consequences thereof.

Ninety five percent (95%) as illustrated in table 6.34 page 247 are respondents who agreed that as a result of aggravated robbery, victims subsequently encountered different types of experiences such as loss, as against five percent (5%) who disagreed. Those victims who disagreed are those who had no valuables or nothing of value which was confiscated from them. The victims who encountered financial loss, explained that the grave threats and profound losses suffered, changed their lives dramatically. Zinn in Peacock (2013, p. 183) accedes and adds to Glanz' explanation that the serious implications of aggravated robbery holds for the individual in terms of the loss of property, physical injury and emotional trauma, the negative public response to this crime, as well as international condemnation thereof make it one of the most serious crimes the South African Police Service has to deal with.

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Most property stolen during a robbery is never recovered, and financial losses can be substantial. Victims whose property is destroyed or damaged as a result of aggravated robbery often suffer great financial losses (Stewart, 2002, p. 73). One respondent explained how he suffered financially as a result of his only vehicle which was hijacked. He explained that it was unfortunate because his vehicle was uninsured. Stewart (2002, p. 73) states that the financial losses are even greater if the victim is underinsured or has no insurance at all. If the stolen property has unique or sentimental value for the victim, emotional reactions can be very intense (OVC Archive, August 11, 2013; Wasserman & Ellis, 2007, p. V1)). Obviously, the main point in living is for the victim to maintain what he / she owns, and not to lose it.

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The consequences of a financial loss are very painful. Two businessmen lost their businesses hence they were not covered by insurance companies. Huge amounts robbed from their businesses were amounts that had not been banked after a long weekend and were equal to amounts that could be utilized in purchasing more stock and payment of workers' salaries.

These respondents described experiencing extremely high levels of hyperventilation, physiological anxiety, including rapid heart rate and stomach distress after these losses. As explained by Stewart and Davis (2003, p. 55), with respect to experience of victimization that it may shatter a victim's assumption of invulnerability.

Many studies have indicated that victims of aggravated robberies may as a result of financial loss, experience recurrent and intrusive thoughts and dreams of the incident (Glanz, 1994, p. 21; Harrison & Kinner 1998 p. 787; H.J. Parad & L.G. Parad, 1990, p.102; Stewart & Davis, 2003, p. 50).

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Aggravated robbery involves not only the threat or practise of violence but also the financial loss of property. This study shows that overall financial losses to victims are sizeable. About eighty nine percent (89%) of these costs were financial – victims' monetary losses for lost productivity and emergency response to the robbery. Roughly, eighty four percent (84%) reflects values ascribed for nonmonetary losses, such as pain, suffering, and the risk of death, psychological damage, and reduced quality of life.

This financial loss does not account for the intense short-term and long-term emotional trauma suffered by the victim of aggravated robbery. Janoff-Bulman in Figley (1985, p. 18) make it clear that these levels of stress as a result of financial losses suffered, are largely attributable to the shattering of victims' basic assumptions about themselves and their world.

7.9.2 Psychological consequences

The impact of crime on victims results in emotional and psychological, physical, financial, social and spiritual consequences (Wasserman & Ellis, 2007, p. V1-1). Zedner in Maguire, Morgan and Reiner (1994, p. 1223) also allude to this reality that crime and the violence associated with aggravated robbery may cause psychological trauma for the victims.

When a statement was made to the respondents that as a result of aggravated robberies, they subsequently encountered different types of experience such as shock as indicated in table 6.35 page 248, trauma in table 6.37 page 250 and stress in table 6.38 page 251.

All of them, one hundred percent (100%), explained that victims subsequently encountered different types of experience such as shock, trauma and stress respectively. It is evident that each victim was shocked during the robbery, traumatized and later felt stressed. An East London woman who was awoken in the early hours by two robbers who broke into her home armed with pangas and knives felt shocked, traumatized and subsequently stressed. According to the victim, the robbers gained entry into her house after jumping over a razor wire fence. Once inside the yard, they smashed down a door into a house where she was sleeping and demanded money and keys to her car. It is on one of this shocking event that respondents referred to an aggravated robbery as a violent and life-threatening situation.

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As an aggravated robbery victim, the victim may have many feelings, thoughts, and reactions to what has happened. An Mthatha respondent elucidated how he was awoken from his house by a gang of seven armed males with firearms. He was forced to drive the robbers to the bank where he is a manager and felt shocked and traumatized during such agony. He was forced to de-activate the alarm system, open the bank and de-activate the vaults where about forty million rand was taken.

His wife and children were left guarded by two males who constantly promised to rape her if the respondent was not co-operating. Ever-since then, he and his family suffered from stress, trauma and later post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). His family has been asking him to resign or relocate to another city, but the bank authorities have been refusing based on how he best administers the bank. It is convincing to note that the trauma of aggravated robbery can have a profound and devastating impact on crime victims and their loved ones (Wasserman & Ellis, 2007, p. V1-1). When victims do not receive the appropriate support and intervention in the aftermath of the robbery, they suffer secondary injuries (Morrison & O'Donnell, 1996, p 160). The bank robbery victim and his family have not received support from his employers, and when victims experience common stressors, they are susceptible to more extreme crisis reactions.

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As demonstrated in table 6.3 page 207, an overwhelming majority of victims at eighty eight percent (88%) were never attacked before and therefore regarded themselves as invulnerable to aggravated robberies as opposed to twelve percent (12%) who were previously attacked thereby expecting incidents of this nature in the near future.

Similarly, seventy one percent (71%) of victims as shown in table 6.31 page 245 agreed that the victims with the most difficulty in coping with their misfortune may be exactly those victims who initially felt least vulnerable prior to the victimization, as against twenty nine percent (29%) who disagreed. Kauffman in Perloff (1983, p. 52) found that individuals who had not been victimized by negative life events tend to perceive themselves as uniquely invulnerable, as less vulnerable to victimization than others. The three quarter of these victims at sixty six percent (66%) expatiated on the level of shock, trauma and stress they encountered once they were caught by surprise during the robbery incidents. It is obvious that this leaves victim psychologically affected after the attack and is possible suffering for other many months to come.

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One woman claimed that, if she had never regarded herself as invulnerable, she would have devised other precautionary measures that would prepare her mindset in case she was robbed. She was not ruling out the trauma she endured, that it would still affect her psychologically even if she was vigilant with regard to attack.

The other twenty nine percent (29%) disagreed on the basis that every victim is psychologically affected whether he / she was attacked before or not. However, Kauffman (2002, p. 185) state that the actual experience of victimization appears to shatter this illusion of invulnerability, creating in victims a new and unfamiliar sense of vulnerability often accompanied by psychological distress. Despite the different opinions of the respondents, they all suffered psychologically after the robbery incidents. This research study suggests that all interviewed victims who are at one hundred percent (100%) suffered intensely and were struggling to cope with their misfortunes. Instead, they were shocked, traumatized, stressed and suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder.

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This study has shown that aggravated robbery can cause physical injury or even death, fear in the community, emotional trauma and, of course, financial loss to the respondents. Typical victim responses to an aggravated robbery according to thirty seven respondents includes reactions such as, shock, anxiety, numbness, anger, disbelief, despair, fear, depression, confusion, humiliation, helplessness, shame, denial and guilt.

Victims' old assumptions about the world have been shattered producing intense feelings of anxiety and helplessness, and preoccupation with fear of a recurrence of the crime.

7.9.3 Social consequences

Aggravated robbery affects victims and their families on a variety of levels: physical, physiological, behavioral, emotional, cognitive, financial, social, and spiritual (Wasserman & Ellis, 2007, p. V2; Davis in Davis & Snyman, 2007, p. 234; Jones in Peacock, 2013, p. 218). Strydom and Schutte (2005, p. 117) support this statement and expound that when victims speak to other people of the same ethical, religious and political beliefs, feelings of anxiety and fear are projected into the community and leads to a variety of long-term psychological changes and problems. They further explain that other people are influenced and traumatized by each incident.

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It can further be argued that the violence associated with aggravated robbery can have far reaching effects upon the quality of life of the individual victim as well as the community (McKendrick & Hoffman, 1990, p. 25).

It is evident that aggravated robbery develops fright which demolishes peace within the society. Suspects are usually from the same community and animosity between the families of the victim and the offender end up not seeing each other eye to eye. Other offenders are unknown and community members end up feeling unsafe and uncomfortable. Lumun, Tormusa and Orngu (2013, p. 57) reveal that aggravated robbery is associated with insecurity of lives and properties, loss of human resources, reduction of the level of development, unemployment, poverty, permanent disability on the victims and wastage of state resources on security agents. Ninety six percent (96%) of the victims explained that they were concerned about what caused upsurge in aggravated robberies which is causing fear, panic and state of insecurity amongst the society. This group of interviewed victims state that the activities of these aggravated robberies have compelled many South Africans to live in fear.

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Table 6.33 in page 246 of the sample shows that ninety one percent (91%) of the respondents agreed that the results of aggravated robberies were that, victims suffered personal injuries. It is only nine percent (9%) who never suffered personal injuries.

Thirty seven of these victims pointed out marks in their bodies such as scars on their throats, dislocated arms and ankles, cuts on various parts of their bodies, neck injuries, facial injuries and damage to hair.

One male victim states that he is always frustrated due to the scar on his face and becomes more traumatized when he is asked by curious individuals as to what happened. This angers and traumatizes him thereby triggering the robbery event he encountered seven years ago. This male victim claims that other community members regard the scars on his face and throat as consequences of criminal activity. Individuals who do not know him would think that he is an offender.

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The visible injuries as shown out by these victims develop threats among community members. A community member who never encountered this type of attack becomes terrified and end up not trusting any other member of the society. One victim reports that young and middle age males as well as females feel terrified to go out at night. This threat exists even when the terrified victim intends to move from one house in the village to another.

If the victim in the village or township attends an event such as traditional ceremony which extends till late, the victim becomes threatened to leave the place to his / her residential place. One other victim feels worried about his dislocated arm and would appear as not properly wearing his beautiful attire. He needs to buy bigger shirts to hide his dislocated arm.

Another victim indicates that it was very scary and when a victim is robbed, the society tends to be little more paranoid. One woman states that she suffered severe bruising, but no bones were broken. Though the bruising healed, this woman keeps on touching her face when meeting other people. Zinn in Peacock (2013, p. 189) remarks that victims do not necessarily sustain injuries during aggravated robberies, but it is clear that the psychological impact on the victims and community members is severe. She is used in touching her face and would feel the scars before they were healed. During the interview with the researcher, she kept on touching her face as if she was feeling something.

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A female victim explained that once she is among other community members either in a taxi or in shopping mall, she would be anxious and immediately suffers from headache. Strydom and Schutte (2005, p. 123) believe that the potential for stress is high and victims experience feelings of insecurity, frustration and hopelessness.

The respondents as indicated in table 6.7 page 213 were all asked if after the attacks, they were feeling any difference to what they felt during the incidents. Ninety percent (90%) of them felt the differences. It is only ten percent (10%) who did not see or feel any differences. It is the view of these respondents that the mere fact that a victim has been attacked spreads around the community where the close relatives within the society feel worried. Another woman discloses that she slipped and badly bruised her face during the scuffle. As a lady who always regarded herself as unique became shame to walk around her community because of the scaring marks on her face. Four males suffered badly bruised ribs. Injuries as mentioned above are usually accompanied by severe pains despite emotions suffered by victims.

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After the victim has been robbed, other members of the society feel that the victim should have applied safety measures by avoiding walking in isolated or dark areas. The society develops strange attitudes toward victims and is stigmatized (Schneider, 2013, p. 27). Accordingly, the victims are re-victimized, due to the fact that their harm and suffering are considered with indifference, that their harm is even denied and that their suffering may be seriously increased by questioning their innocence with respect to their victimization (Schneider, 2013, p. 27).

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More than two thirds of the victims (seventy percent) as shown in table 6.5 page 209 stated categorically that they could not have avoided attacks. Yet, the fellow community members believe that they could have prevented the robbery incidents. Seven victims consisting of sixteen percent (16%) out of twenty nine victims at seventy percent (70%) emphasized how they felt isolated and anxious after they learnt that the community members were accusing them for making themselves the targets of aggravated robberies.

They claimed that they were ordinary citizens who have a right to go anywhere and at anytime. These victims are stigmatized by other fellow community members because they (victims) have to encounter some kind of murmuring campaign that doubts their innocence and stresses their responsibility. Once the victim hears about these whisperings, he / she immediately feels isolated, helpless and alone in a world experienced as antagonistic.

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The research study suggests that every individual in an affected society does not feel secured once other individuals are attacked. Both the rich and the poor are always in a perpetual state of fear because nobody really knows where and when they will strike (Lumun, Tormusa & Orngu, 2013, p. 57). These respondents have anticipated violent attacks as the aggravated robberies occurred, and most of them (twenty two percent) were shocked, surprised, and terrified when these robberies occurred.

Aggravated robbery victims often experience cognitive symptoms of anxiety, including feeling terrified, helpless, guilty, or out of control (Waserman & Ellis, 2007, p. V1).

Aggravated robbery victims often had feelings of unreality when attacks took place. A tough male respondent could not believe when this attack took place and ended up not believing that this could be happening to him. As a result of such attack, he is still angry since regarding himself as a coward. He explained that he always has fear of any stranger who approaches him especially in the instances where the stranger's attire is similar to that of the robbers, for example, sunglasses, woollen hat *etc*.

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On this basis, this victim is likely to be predisposed to experiencing mental illness, increased levels of stress and decreased work-performance if he is continually exposed to traumatic incidents. Wasserman and Ellis (2007, p. V4) consider that people who have been victimized in the past are at greater risk of developing emotional problems than newly victimized individuals.

This study highlights that in spite of an individual who has been robbed; the community is also emotionally affected. Stewart (2002, p. 75) believes that robbery crime reduces trust and attachment to neighbors and to the community as a whole.

This therefore indicates that aggravated robberies have serious social consequences, because it is the most feared crime within the community that it also encompasses a double element of fear, namely losing one's property and especially, risking the loss of one's life. Lumun, Tormusa and Orngu (2013, p. 57) point out that the aggravated robbery is a social menace that persistently continues to retard the development of the society. They further elaborate that aggravated robbery is a prevailing social phenomenon that negatively affects the lives and social functioning of a significant number of people in a society (Lumun, Tormusa & Orngu, 2013, p. 57).

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7.9.4 Subsequent consequences in each sub-category

Twenty one percent (21%) of the sample as shown in table 5.3 page 182 was involved in street/public robberies suffered from emotional consequences of losing valuable and irreplaceable items such as mementos or photographs kept in their robbed handbags and wallets. The robbed items created much stress due to the loss of contacts, photos, important documents and information.

Twenty one percent (21%) of the sample in table 5.3 page 182 was involved in retail robberies reported feeling fearful after the events, and more than half of them felt the same. Moreover, about one-third of them reported nightmares and flashbacks. According to Taylor and Mayhew (2012, p. 05), the impact for aggravated robbery victims specifically those in businesses or retailers is greater.

Nineteen percent (19%) of the sample in table 5.3 page 182, was respondents that were involved in house robberies and they reported that they suffered from feelings of shock and disbelief. Seven of them experienced anger, fear and sadness. They stated that the offenders directly attacked them and invaded their privacies, and reported particularly high levels of emotional distress shortly after facing the perpetrators. It is striking to note how heavily armed the aggravated robbers were (Maedl, 2011, p. 141). One woman stated that when she opened the door to the dining room, the perpetrator was standing in front of her. She screamed and her husband came downstairs quickly because he thought she was being attacked.

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The robbers manhandled her husband and demanded cash, cellular phones and jewellery. When given those items they ran out and drove off with someone who had remained in their get-away vehicle. For eleven months she has been afraid to go downstairs at night. She said she still hasn't got over the house robbery.

Seventeen percent (17%) of the sample in table 5.3 page 182 was respondents who were involved in car-jacking. Three victims explained that car - jacking is very traumatic to every vehicle owner because it creates fear in the act of driving a car. These respondents have reported being unable to drive a car again while one of them required months of therapy. Kohen (2005, p. 02) states that car-jacking victims during the aftermath of this crime become so hypersensitive, that embarrassing situations come up, just when an innocent person approaches the car of the person who was victimized, the person would drive through red lights or even honk the car horn in panic. Victims of car-jacking at times refuse to even complete their travel and vacation due to the fact that the robbers may have the victim's personal identification and picture. This means that aggravated robberies indeed terrorize the people.

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Ten percent (10%) of the sample in table 5.3 page 182 was respondents who were involved in bank robberies who explained that they were shocked and feared that they could be killed. Weisel (2007, p. 01) pointed out that although violence is rare, employees and customers are at some risk of injury, and if nothing else, being victimized can be terrifying. Borzycki (2003, p. 04) believes that all violent acts can have a negative impact on victims, but perhaps the most immediate and tangible negative effects arise from victim injury. Both writers have fallen short of specifying the precise negative impacts as a result of bank robberies, despite the physical injuries observed.

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The research argues that four respondents (two females and two males) indicate how scaring it is to be involved in hold-up operation. One victim from East London is diabetic and she discovered later that due to the anxiousness, she had dampened herself and with terrible headache as an indication of her rising sugar-level. The shock and fear reported by victims do not diminish promptly, but extend to trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as the days proceed. Morrison and O'Donnell (1996, p. 176) believe that robbers usually attack lucrative targets such as banks.

Seven percent (7%) of the sample in table 5.3 page 182 was respondents who were involved in truck-jacking who explained that they suffered emotional consequences during and after the attacks. Buys (2003, p. 144) state that not only does the transport industry lose huge amounts of money, but the direct victims are also severely emotionally affected due to this truck-jacking crime. Geldenhuys (April 2008, p. 09) colludes with the victims that afterwards, these victims suffer from post-traumatic symptoms such as fear, anxiety, anger, depression and trauma, and that is apart from sustaining physical injuries.

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Five percent (5%) of the sample in table 5.3 page 182 was victims of cash-in-transit who explained how they felt threatened, shocked and traumatized as a result of this aggravated robberies. Two interviewed victims from Kwazakhele referred to the attacks as psychological abuse which was just harmful. Another two victims from Mthatha stated that they experienced intense fear and an undermined sense of self due to the robbers' extreme controlling, and humiliating tactics and behavior which contributed to high levels of mental distress.

Morrison and O'Donnell (1996, p. 176) contemplate that perpetrators with greatest financial expectations attacked victims likely to yield the highest amounts such as cash-in-transit vans.

7.10 Conclusion

The qualitative analysis provided in this chapter served as a useful tool in understanding the demographics of research participants, the victims' involvement into robbery crime before and now, the invariably experience profound threat to their autonomies, the maintenance of an illusion of invulnerability, their experiences pertaining to Government support, the situational factors, their reactions and general effects.

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Throughout this study, the term victim has been used to describe individuals who have had the misfortune of experiencing such extreme events as aggravated robberies (Janoff-Bulman in Figley, 1985, p. 31).

The sample utilized represented all racial groups, all ages between eighteen and sixty as well as all educational levels. This research study demonstrates that there is no distinct gender, race or marital status differences in the commission of aggravated robbery, and therefore, any individual is vulnerable to this crime. It has been proven that there is a divergence of opinion as to whether socio-demographic variables, such as age, sex, race and socio-economic status have any impact on emotional suffering (Hodgson, 2005, p. 62).

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However, the research suggests that all groups irrespective of age, gender and race are all affected by aggravated robberies. Hodgson (2005, p. 70), asserts that this analyzed data clearly showed that all groups experienced emotional reactions following aggravated robberies regardless of socio-demographic characteristics. From the victims' perspective, aggravated robberies are not only part of crime, but they are first schedule offences – meaning that they are very serious.

It is interesting to note that respondents repeatedly indicated that they suffered from psychological and social consequences, confusion, emotions, shock, fear, anxiety, anger, helplessness, depression, trauma, numbness, hopelessness and, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Central to the present argument, this research suggests that the victims' basic core assumptions of vulnerabilities, basic assumptions about themselves, and their safety in the world have been destroyed.

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The results of this study also suggest that victims appear to be unhappy with the kind of support systems employed by the Government and means of rendering assistance pertaining to aggravated robberies which seem to be non-existing. The results have further communicated that due to the unavailability of Government support systems, the victims found themselves in a state of despair not knowing what to do during and after the aggravated robberies. On the other hand, this study shows that the robbers are determined to carry out the aggravated robberies and this seems to be a robust one. This leaves victims frustrated, stressed and traumatized. As noted by Mohandie (2002, p. 13), the experience of being a victim of aggravated robbery has several, but sometimes cognitive, emotional, and behavioural consequences.

There is strong evidence to suggest that there are many other situational factors that also influence the perpetrators to attack the victims, such as days of the week, times as well as locations. The respondents referred to those cycles as hot spot areas and times. In this context, the subjective interpretations of these victims may be viewed as coherent calculations based on previous attacks. It has been argued that the more focused and specific strategies of the police and the more they are tailored to the problems they seek to address, the more effective the police will be in controlling crimes such as aggravated robberies and disorder (Santos, 2013, p. 44).

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This chapter recognizes that a range of results determines the reaction of victims during the incidents. The impact of victims was explored where many victims reported how they have individually suffered differently and most of them have not healed from the previous attacks. The results also suggest that the robbed items that were not all recovered as well as considerable financial losses, changed victims' emotional behaviours.

This study has also dealt with aftermath of aggravated robberies. It is evident that the consequences of robberies on victims are not inviting.

Chapter eight presents a synthesis of chapters in this study and moves on to the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter provides the summary of the findings, as well as conclusion drawn and recommendations made by the researcher based on the findings. The chapter will also include the suggested recommendations in all areas that require attention. This chapter will review the aims and objectives of the research study in order to determine whether the intended outcomes were achieved.

The research questions that were dealt with in this research study were:

- How do victims in selected Eastern Cape precincts (East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha) experience aggravated robberies?
- What psychological and social trauma, if any, results from victims' experience of aggravated robbery?
- How does the aggravated robbery disrupt victim's core assumption of personal invulnerability, disrupt their view of the world as meaningful and secure, and affect the victims' positive perception of self?

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The central aim of this study was to understand, from a victim's perspective, the psychological and social impact of being violently robbed.

The purpose was to analyse and determine capability and strength of suffering as well as the volume of pain inflicted to victims which would include, *inter alia*, the psychological and social impact as consequences. Finally the researcher evaluates how the aggravated robberies disrupt victim's core assumptions, their view of the world as meaningful and secure, and influences the change of a positive self perception.

The purpose of this chapter eight is to encapsulate the study that was conducted. Included in this summary is a review of the purpose of the study, a restatement of the research questions, aims and objectives of the study, the research methodology used, and a summary of the study results, conclusions and discussion. Recommendations for further research and possible studies conclude this chapter.

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8.1 Characteristics of the sample

Victims interviewed expatiate that they were involved in different kinds of aggravated robberies as demonstrated in table 5.3 page 182. Twenty one percent (21%) were victims affected by street/public and retail robberies respectively.

This sub-category was followed by house robbery at nineteen percent (19%), car-jacking at seventeen percent (17%), bank robbery at ten percent (10%), truck-jacking at seven percent (7%) and finally cash-in-transit heists at five percent (5%). The forty two respondents interviewed confirmed being dispossessed of their belongings and properties violently. They had no choice but to give up as instructed by the robbers.

Twelve percent (12%) of the sample as illustrated in table 6.3 page 207 explained that they were once aggravated robbery victims prior the current one dealt with in this study. Despite this statement, these never exonerated them from the crime but were robbed again. These respondents explained that the previous robberies encountered never threatened them and it was necessary for them to proceed with their daily businesses whether they would be attacked again without having beliefs that they would be attacked again. Maree and Van den Berg (2002, p. 93) state that the robbery survivors viewed the whole action a mere bad luck and were used to it hence it is part of offenders' work.

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8.2 Synthesis of chapters

Chapter one provides a comprehensive background framework of aggravated robbery which is regarded as an acute form of human cruelty that in some ways resembles other overwhelming traumatic events and in other ways is a unique stressor.

It points out that the intentions of this research study was to explore how aggravated robbery disrupts victim's core assumption of invulnerability, the ability to handle stress after the incident, as well as the kind of support systems employed to overcome the ordeal.

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This chapter also explains that the South African nation is struggling to cope with a very high rate of aggravated robberies – a phenomenon that has also increased worldwide. Some aggravated robberies are highly organized in nature (e.g. most cash-in-transit (CIT) and bank robberies, as well as truck and car-jacking). This is particularly the case when organized criminals are involved.

As highlighted in this chapter, and from the South African Police Service point of view, aggravated robbery has been increasing from the year 1997 up to 2010. The period under review 2007/2008 financial year is also affected and is a point of departure for this study.

Though the focus is on the South African context, it became evident that international countries have also experienced the increase of aggravated robberies in their countries.

This chapter has explained the aims and objectives giving guidance on how to achieve the basis of this research study. In this chapter, we also note an explanation of key concepts where the difference between the armed robbery and the aggravated robbery regarded as an operational definition is clearly elucidated. The research questions and significance of the study are also presented in this chapter.

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Literature reviewed in chapter two, for the purpose of this study demonstrated that aggravated robberies have disastrous psychological and social consequences on victims. The literature was presented with the intentions of comparing theoretical framework with the actual explanations of the victims in this study. The sources used covered trends nationally and internationally. Through these sources, it transpired that individuals were not feeling well after the robberies.

Although there is no vast amount of literature on the consequences of aggravated robberies, based on the fact that this topic has not been well researched specifically in the broader South African context, this research attempted to address the gaps in the literature by focusing on the impact of aggravated robberies on victims.

This chapter further scrutinized at the significance of impact of robberies on victims; victims' responses and experiences; the aftermath of victimization; as well as the representatives of the state and victims of robberies. As highlighted in this chapter, the sources revealed various authors outlined and described as the possible negative experiences of victims of aggravated robberies. The victims' experiences are broadly recounted as a traumatic experience with the effects of the trauma being shock, anxiety, depression, and further exhibit symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

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Chapter three has provided and discussed discourses and concepts of reactions to victimization, where it dealt with the theoretical framework that was used to underpin this study. The reactionary theory of Janoff-Bulman and Frieze which unearthed how facts are corroborated and related to each other was utilized.

This theory was able to specify the characteristics of individuals, groups, situations and aftermath of aggravated robberies, and was further employed in an effort to generate a richer understanding of psychological and social consequences of aggravated robbery. This chapter elaborated on how experience of trauma is closely associated with shattered assumptions of oneself, others and the world.

Chapter four discusses individual, incidents and environmental determinants. This chapter gives a clear picture about the nature of aggravated robbery as well as the weapons used by the offenders in threatening the victims.

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This chapter demonstrated that the utilization of knives and firearms was the most common weapons used to threaten the victims. Thirty victims at seventy one percent (71%) confirmed that firearms were utilized and twelve victims at twenty nine percent (29%) were threatened with dangerous weapons in order to ensure compliance from the victims and to transmit the intentions of the attackers. This chapter shows figures depicting the picture of aggravated robberies in the Eastern Cape that were employed to give direction on choosing the essential research sites, which are also extensively worrying when taking into consideration their frequency.

A distinction was made on the *modus operandi*, where the routine in which individualised methods, techniques and habits utilized by perpetrators in the commission of aggravated robberies was explained.

The most popular days for aggravated robberies were found to be Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays which were indicated as common high risk days. It was noted that during Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays, victims had plenteous funds. These victims were found to be not applying precautionary measures and insusceptible towards the existence of aggravated robberies.

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This chapter also looked at victims as individuals who must deal not only with any physical injury resulting from their experience, but also with the tremendous psychological toll caused by robbery extreme events. As pointed out, the reaction to the aggravated robbery leads to trauma, and the victim experiences symptoms such as shock, which can manifest itself in reactions such as heart palpitations, and the victims' perceptions are subsequently marked by threat, danger, and insecurity and self-questioning themselves.

This chapter further looked deeper on interaction between the direct victim as well as his / her immediate external environment, the way in which the direct victim is influenced by specific incident and environmental determinants, not only determine his / her experience of the incident but also the manner in which he / she accepts and adapts to the circumstances.

In chapter five, the research methodology, sampling and tools chosen for the gathering of data were described. This chapter also explained the choice of a qualitative research methodology. Investigators who collect qualitative data, use several different kinds of analysis and so only general indications of what can be done with such data will be presented here (Research methods, 2004, p. 02). Advocates of qualitative methods argue that only by using such methods can the social sciences become truly scientific (Research methods, 2004, p. 02). Qualitative analysis is often less influenced than is quantitative analysis by the biases and theoretical assumptions of the investigator. In addition, it offers the prospect of understanding the participants in a study as rounded individuals in a social context.

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Various sampling concepts were described and emphasis was placed on those concepts, which were to be applied in the sampling procedure. Two sampling methods were discussed namely probability and non- probability. The latter was described in detail, as it was the method that best suited the current research study.

The purposive sampling technique was employed in this research to ensure epresentativity in terms of age categories, gender, race, marital status, and academic qualification. It explains the reasons for the choice of the questionnaire as a data-gathering tool. The questions asked in the questionnaire were based on the literature review done in chapter three and were structured to avoid confusion by grouping together similar questions. The outline of the questionnaire, language used, types of questions and questionnaire length were described. Questions were divided into section one, two, three and four.

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Section one was the explanation of aggravated robberies duly desegregated into the following sub-categories: street / public robbery; car-jacking; robbery at residential premises (house robbery); robbery at business premises (retail robbery); truck-jacking; cash-in-transit (CIT) robbery; and bank robbery. This section also dealt with the victim's involvement in aggravated robbery.

Section two specifically looked at services rendered by the police as well as treatment imposed to victims. This section showed how victims of aggravated robberies were handled during and after the incidents.

Section three dealt with statements presented to the respondents in a form of likert scale for them to rate against their experiences. The last section four consisted of demographic data that was generated at the end of the schedule.

Chapter five also explains that permission to conduct research was obtained from the Police National Commissioner's office, and Eastern Cape Provincial Commissioner's office. As highlighted in chapter five, authorization from the Station Commanders of three police stations, namely East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha was attained through writing letters before and the researcher thereafter proceeded with data collection. The University of Fort Hare code of ethics was strictly adhered to, so as to avoid violation of respondents' rights. The confidentiality of all information was guaranteed by asking the research participants not to include their names during the completion of questionnaires.

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Chapter six dealt with overview results of the entire study. This chapter including the tables summarized the results performed on the data. The results displayed how victims suffered the attacks caused by aggravated robbery offenders.

This chapter contains answers that were responded to by the respondents. This chapter scrutinized on how the victims felt prior to the aggravated robbery attacks, during the attack incidents and after the physical confrontations.

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Analysis and interpretation of data was dealt with in chapter seven, considering the existing perception between psychological and social consequences' relationship and aggravated robberies on victims. This was done in a form of giving accounts pertaining to demographics of respondents; victim's involvement into robbery crime before and now; invariably experience profound threat to victim's autonomy; victim's experience into Government support; situational factors which play a role in aggravated robberies; reaction of victims during the incidents; and consequences of the victims of aggravated robberies.

The demographic data that was generated consisted of males and females from eighteen to sixty years, all racial groups and taking into consideration their marital status and academic qualification.

This chapter pointed out that all individuals feel comfortable and impregnable prior to the robbery incidents. During and after the aggravated robberies, their basic assumptions of indestructibility are shattered and become despairing. However, as illustrated in this chapter, victim's autonomy is adversely affected during and after his / her involvement in aggravated robbery. As indicated, the victims felt that their dignities were undermined whilst they were under the control of robbers.

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It transpired that the Government is failing in terms of assisting the victims before, during and after the robbery incidents, despite the available victim's charter which is silent pertaining to victims of aggravated robberies. According to this chapter a large-scale research was also carried out in terms of the impact that situational factors have in the process of aggravated robberies. Weekends appeared to be dominant and most aggravated robberies occurred during the evenings.

During evenings, there are usually fewer people who may witness or impede the success of the aggravated robbery. Chapter seven expressed that most robberies took place in urban areas specifically in secluded and even in congested places such as businesses, houses, parks, fields, playgrounds and areas near public transportation.

This chapter demonstrated the reactions of victims as well as psychological and social consequences suffered by victims which are:

Anxiety; Confusion; Depression; Flashbacks; Nightmares; Self-questioning; Shock; Threat; Trauma; Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and destruction of person's Physical, Emotional, Psychological and Intellectual space.

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Anger; Disbelief; Degradation; Fear; Grief; Humiliation; Insecurity; Isolation; Sadness; Shame. Feeling of Helplessness and, Distrust; Feeling of Hopelessness and, Despair. Loss of Autonomy, Confidence, Control, Dignity, Independence and removal of something symbolically.

Despite the fact that the victim's reaction differs from another victim, this chapter shows that the victim eventually suffers irrespective of such disparity.

This eighth and last chapter is devoted to summarise, to provide the findings and to make recommendations on psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims and thereafter conclude the research study.

8.3 Findings

The discussion of the findings is not a selective or partisan interpretation, but a candid discussion of what is in the results section, so that a reader can examine the data and arrive at different interpretations (Neuman, 2006, p. 498). He further proposes that this section shows how to discuss the results that have been found in relation to both research questions and the existing knowledge.

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This chapter will discuss the findings in relation to the study's research questions and objectives formulated as indicated in chapter one. The research questions that were dealt with in this study were:

- How do victims in selected Eastern Cape precincts (East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha) experience being robbed by armed offenders?

- What physical and emotional trauma, if any, results from victims' experience of aggravated robbery?
- At what level does aggravated robbery disrupt victim's core assumption of personal invulnerability, the view that the world is meaningful and viewing of us as positive?

This section demonstrates precisely what is known about this topic by interpreting the findings and outlining what they mean.

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Aim of the research study

The central aim of this study was to understand, from a victim's perspective, the psychological and social impact of being violently robbed. The purpose was to analyse and determine capability and strength of suffering as well as the volume of pain inflicted to victims which would include, *inter alia*, the psychological and social impact as consequences. For purposes of this study, psychological and social impacts are both dealt with separately with the intentions of understanding the findings of each concept.

- **Psychological impact**

The findings reveal that the impact of aggravated robbery on victims results in psychological consequences.

Despite the fact that victims were threatened or injured physically, they also lost their valuables and suffered financially. They lost items of monetary value, such as wrist watches, jewellery, cell phones or clothing. Having lost the valuable items, the victim suffers a huge loss and emotional reactions can be very intense. Ninety five percent (95%) of the victims, as shown in table 6.34 page 247, encountered different types of experiences such as loss. The psychological consequences of aggravated robbery are of the more obvious repercussions (Van der Merwe, 2008, p. 146).

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Aggravated robbery is highly distressing, specifically when it comes as surprise where the victim meets the perpetrator face-to-face, and the victim often feels total loss of confidence and control. Table 6.6 in page 211, shows that eighty six percent (86%) of victims feared for their lives, felt threatened, unprotected, and helpless and frightened when the robbery was in motion.

The victim feels limited in terms of controlling the situation where he / she feels that his / her own life is in danger thereby developing trauma. The question of "after the attack happened, were you feeling any difference to, while the attack was happening" was answered where the majority of respondents (90%), felt differently to the situation he / she was during the attack. The minority of respondents (10%) did not feel any difference.

The question of "do you feel your normal self again as before the incident" indicated that the majority of respondents (98%) have not yet recovered from their torment. Only two percent (2%) felt as they were before the attack. As a result of attacks and the manner in which it is done, the victim feels anxious for not successfully defending his / her property thereby losing confidence. The feeling of being unable to control the situation results into a traumatic event and the victim is promptly affected.

During the study it has been discovered that the unpreparedness and surprise attacks caused victims to suffer from psychological distress resulting from shock. Kirchhoff (2005, p. 112) states that the feeling of surprise, of being unexpectedly harmed explains how vulnerable a victim is.

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Sixty six (66%) of the respondents expatiated on the level of shock, trauma and stress experienced when they were caught by surprise during the attacks. It is obvious that the surprise invasion left victims psychologically affected and possible suffering for other longer periods to come. Table 6.8 in page 214, illustrates that thirty four percent (34%) experienced robbery attacks more than six years ago whereas sixty six percent (66%) were confronted by robbers less than six years. Apart from that, the traumatic picture of the attack still remained in their minds and continues distressing them.

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Zinn in Peacock (2013, p. 189) substantiates this finding that aggravated robberies are typically thought to result in more severe and long-lasting psychological problems for victims. It is evident that they suffered from prolonged trauma, fear, depression and nightmares. Ninety percent (90%) of victims as demonstrated in table 6.7 page 213 explained how their lives changed shortly after the incidents. In corroboration with the view of these victims, their psychological distress exacerbated after these victims (seventy six percent – 76%) could not receive access to necessary services as indicated in table 6.20 page 233, such as access to psychologists.

Findings indicate that only twenty four percent (24%) as demonstrated in table 6.20 page 233 managed to access services of their own. It is possible that a common response to victimization in matters of this nature turn to others for emotional as well as other forms of help (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 11). Seven of these respondents are employed with medical aids and were able to consult with their personal medical practitioners for treatment. Four of them were referred to psychologists for counselling. The remaining three respondents are unemployed and were referred to psychologists by their families.

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As a result of evolving distress, one hundred percent (100%) of all victims as shown in table 6.32 page 245 explained how they were haunted by memories of the aggravated robberies which intruded on their sovereignties and interrupted their daily lives. Harrison and Kinner (1998, p. 795) concluded that victims of aggravated robberies suffer long-term psychological distress and that symptoms of intrusion and avoidance are common. Their statement is alluded to when a victim revealed that the robbery incident left a deep scar psychologically that would not heal easily (Fuzile, February 04, 2015, p. 05).

- **Social consequences**

Findings indicate that robbed victims suffered socially.

The aggravated robbery alone has far reaching impact in relation to the life standard of a victim as well as the community. It has been discovered throughout this research study that robbery develops threats which destroys peace within the community. McKendrick and Hoffman (1990, p. 25) are concerned about the impact upon the quality of life of the victim. They state that it does not affect the victim individually, but it also affects the community.

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The findings as deduced from thirty respondents comprised of seventy one percent (71%) as shown in table 6.31 page 245 which indicate the understanding of the victims pertinent to being robbed violently, has a perspective of suffering socially. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 11) suggest that those who feel most vulnerable prior to victimization may have the most difficulty in coping after victimization. Having negative incident happening to an individual, thirty eight respondents at ninety percent (90%) in table 6.7 page 213, alluded to the fact that aggravated robberies therefore create the illusion that the victims are not decent and worthy.

This affects persons' relation to life and produces an intimate and existential suffering that undermines the achievement of personal and interpersonal gains (Gilot, 2003, p. 01). The victims at ninety one percent (91%) in table 6.33 page 246 were left with visible scars on their throats whilst they were being chocked in order for the victims to surrender their belongings. It is evident according to the findings that other victims, ninety one percent (91%) were left with dislocated arms and ankles as well as permanent disabilities on the victims, which these marks caused fear and panic amongst the society. Having a mark on the face does not only irritate a victim but always reminds him/her on how he/she sustained such marks. Fuzile (February 4, 2015, p. 05) strengthens this finding by stating that another victim was left for dead in the bush after being shot by robbers at close range, stabbed 38 times and both arms broken.

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When asked by a community member or anyone outside the location on how he/she sustained such mark, this again triggers the past events and he/she subsequently suffers psychologically. It has further been discovered that these marks threaten other community members hence no one knows when he / she will be attacked whereas other victims become the laughing stock of the members of society being accused of carelessness and negligence for their security.

The victim suffers psychologically as a result of the loss of safety' feelings and security which are also often associated with aggravated robbery. It has been discovered that thirty two victims at seventy six percent (76%) as shown in table 6.16 page 228 were denied information by police that they could access various state services to assist their recovery, physically or psychologically suffered during the incidents. These victims were in need of trauma counseling, medical attention, as well as personal attention. As a result of denial, findings indicate that the victims subsequently suffered from anger, depression and sadness.

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Based on the fact that it is very harmful and painful to be violently robbed, this therefore leaves a sense of mistrusting other community members and hatred towards any male persons similar to the assailants in terms of age.

Due to the fact that the central aim of this study was to understand, from a victim's perspective, the psychological and social impact of being violently robbed, it was therefore successfully achieved.

Research question 1

- How do victims in selected Eastern Cape precincts (East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha) experience being robbed by armed offenders?

This question was asked to establish the experiences encountered by aggravated robbery victims whilst the crime was in motion. The main purpose was to ascertain the reaction of the victims during the robbery. This question is also associated with the following first objective:

- To examine how victims in the selected Eastern Cape precincts experience being robbed by armed offenders.

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Findings reveal that aggravated robbery victims experienced high levels of stress and anxiety during the robbery.

It is a stage when violence, threats by means of firearms or dangerous weapons are utilized by robbers so that their instructions can be complied with. As noted by Mouzos and Carcach (2001, p. 07), the weapons serve as a powerful tool in the intimidation of victims.

As demonstrated in table 6.2 page 205, fifty percent (50%) were threatened with pistols, twenty one percent (21%) with heavy arms and twenty nine percent (29%) with dangerous weapons. Victims believe that these weapons are used to prevent resistance and escaping and assure prompt co-operation. Firearms are cocked or dangerous weapons as described in are wielded as threats to increase intimidation. All interviewed victims mentioned that they felt threatened during this practice and as a result, almost all victims (100%) as indicated in table 6.38 page 251 experienced high levels of stress.

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The question of "how were you feeling before the attack" was responded to by twenty six respondents (61%) who felt safe prior the incident. Sixteen respondents (39%) felt unsafe even before the attack. This indicated that the majority of respondents felt safe before they were robbed by their attackers. The majority had perceived themselves as uniquely invulnerable and less vulnerable to any crime prior the aggravated robberies and their core assumptions of invulnerabilities were adversely demolished. As a result of these incidents, they experienced high levels of stress and anxiety. Feelings of intense anxiety accompany the victim's lost sense of safety.

At the time of attacks, the overwhelming experience was fear – fright of being physically injured or even of being killed where they felt shocked hence they were not in control of their lives and did not know what to do.

The victims then endured a feeling of hopelessness and despair, and were frightened without understanding what would happen thereafter. During the aggravated robbery the anxiety emanates from the inability to know what would further encourage the robber to injure or kill him / her and establish high level of stress. Re-experiencing the traumatic event is a major criterion of post-traumatic stress disorder (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 07).

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Often the anxiety caused by aggravated robbery is manifested in a form of physical and psychological symptoms such as headache, stomach ache, nausea and depression. The question of "what feeling(s), if any, did you experience during the attack" was answered by all respondents. Eighty six percent (86%) of respondents feared for their lives whilst the robbery was in progress and a small sample of (14%) regarded the whole incidents as just happening on them.

Many robbery victims describe experiencing extremely high levels of physiological anxiety, including rapid heart rate, stomach distress, feeling terrified, helpless or out of control (Wasserman & Ellis, 2007, p. VI-4). It is worrying when anxiety which is often accompanied by restlessness, fatigue and problem in concentration, is not attended to, the victim may suffer from an anxiety disorder. Table 6.20 page 233 demonstrates that seventy six percent (76%) of the victims never managed access to necessary services and subsequently suffered high level of stress and anxiety as a result of such unavailable services. When thirty two victims (76%) could not receive professional assistance, they commenced experiencing this reaction of anxiety immediately during an event. Reactions and feelings of anxiety and high level of stress according to these victims came in waves and reminders continued triggering the anxiety.

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Due to the fact that the intention of this research study was to establish the experiences encountered by aggravated robbery victims whilst the robbery was in motion, and the main purpose was to ascertain the reaction of the victims during the robbery. This purpose was subsequently achieved successfully.

Research question 2

- What psychological and social trauma, if any, results from victims' experience of aggravated robbery?

The intention of asking this question was to obtain information pertinent to the aftermath of aggravated robbery. It was of much significance to gain knowledge about the behaviour and personality of the victim after the incident. This question is also coupled with the following second objective:

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- To examine the physical and emotional trauma, if any, resulting from victims' experience of aggravated robbery.

Another significant finding indicates that victims suffer from physical and emotional trauma after the attack.

The consequences of aggravated robbery on the development of physical and emotional trauma on victims were described which according to findings raged from:

- depression;

- fear;
- shock;
- trauma;
- post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD);
- anger.

Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 01) state that the suffering is generally the result of physical and/or psychological loss. Elklit (2002, p. 881) alludes to this statement that the individual robbery victim generally has experienced several physical and emotional trauma elements, and each of them may set off psychological reactions. Aggravated robberies are abnormal events of which unusual reactions such as anger, shock, depression, fear, hatred and anxiety, are likely very normal. In addition, Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 03) believe that these are really unusual events in the life of an individual.

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Ninety percent (90%) of respondents in table 6.7 page 213 suffered from depression as against ten percent (10%) who felt no changes in their lives. This ninety percent (90%) which consists of thirty seven (37) victims is a huge number of respondents who shared the same feelings. Each respondent corroborated events that were demonstrated by another respondent.

The research study found that the depression which still exists resulted from emotional trauma suffered. Apart from the statement of (Daigle, 2013, p. 42) that the way in which depression manifests itself varies greatly across individuals, (Holland, 2014a, p. 01) noticed that everyone reacts differently to a traumatic event but depression always forms part of emotional trauma. Ten women explained that they first screamed and after that they felt painful headaches.

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The findings indicate that victims of all seven sub-categories of aggravated robberies suffered severely from depression. These respondents subsequently suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). PTSD as explained in page 54 is a medical term used to describe a pattern of symptoms found in a person who has experienced a traumatic event (Victim Support, March 11, 2015).

When an attack is ongoing, it has been found that all victims feared for their lives. Eighty six percent (86%) as illustrated in table 6.6 page 211 feared for their lives. This is natural that when pointed with a firearm or assailant handling a dangerous weapon with abusive language, the victim becomes terrified.

In his judgment, Judge Roberson[10] mentioned that besides the planning and execution of the robbery, there were other aggravating factors (Roberson & Chetty, 2012, p. 05). He further stated that eight perpetrators were acting in concert against three helpless victims, the value of the stolen property was very high and the victims suffered not only the trauma of being held at gunpoint but also the trauma of not knowing their eventual fate while in transit to Port Elizabeth where a witness known as Jandick testified that he thought he was going to die (Roberson & Chetty, 2012, p. 05)

Allie-Paine (March 12, 2015) showed live footages on how Vuyo Mvoko was mugged by three armed men before the 19:00 news. Millions of South Africans and across the world saw how Vuyo Mvoko was shocked and feared for his life.

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[10] Case No. CA and R187/2011 – Eastern Cape Division, Grahamstown.

The SABC was preparing to do a live crossing from outside the Johannesburg Milpark hospital where the President of Zambia had been hospitalized, when the men approached him just as Mvoko was about to go on air. In the footage, the culprits appeared oblivious to the fact that they were being filmed despite standing directly in the crew's spotlight. Holland (2014a, p. 01) agrees and explains that the fear is natural and cannot be stopped, but instead causes a chain reaction in the brain, releasing chemicals that cause a racing heart, fast breathing and energized muscles. The interviewed respondents confirmed each other to the fact he / she thought he / she was going to be killed.

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Many of victims' reactions during the robbery incidents could be automatic. More so, the direct attack causes personal reactions as well as feelings which a victim is unfamiliar with, irrespective of the degree of such aggravated robbery. The most common reactions experienced by all victims involved anger and shock towards the perpetrators and fear that a similar robbery offence may happen again (Hodgson, 2005, p. 68). All respondents as shown in table 6.35 page 248 felt shocked whilst robbery was ongoing.

They stated that when given orders to hand over all items, they felt numbness and having nothing to say as if they had no voices. One male victim explained how he found robbers inside his main bedroom on two occasions but was saved by pressing the security alarm panic buttons. He described these attacks as similar to animals being harassed by other animals known as predators. His life has changed and lives in fear and angry towards any males of the same age with his attackers.

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Suffering from physical and emotional trauma always develops from three consequences of victimization which are identified as physical; psychological; and financial. It is clear from table 6.33 page 246 that the majority of respondents ninety one percent (91%) suffered from physical injuries. During interviews, it was evident from thirty eight respondents who showed up their old marks on their arms, necks and faces that they suffered from personal injuries. The injuries were sustained seven years ago but they were still visible.

Sixty percent (60%) as shown in table 6.11 page 218 have not recovered from the injuries. It is only thirteen (13) victims out of thirty eight (38) whose scars had healed.

Out of twenty five (25) respondents, who have not yet recovered, suffered from dislocated ankles, arms, elbows and knees. Two respondents feel numbness in their left hand fingers especially when it is too cold or using water in doing washing or washing their vehicles. These respondents form a larger group of ninety eight percent (98%) as contained in table 6.9 page 217 who do not feel themselves normal as before the attacks.

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- **Physical consequences**

After the aggravated robbery incident, the findings revealed that the victims were happy that the incident was over and not severely hurt. This is usually followed by frustration, helplessness and anger, specifically when the victim thinks about the attack and can feel alone and frightened. After the robbery, whether the victim was physically attacked or not, he / she feels traumatized. However, the findings have shown that the aftermath of aggravated robberies after physical attacks are genuinely traumatizing events.

Following a traumatic event and experiences such as stress, all respondents at one hundred percent (100%) as shown in table 6.37 and 6.38 displayed in pages 250 and 251 suffered from intrusive thoughts about what has happened.

Green, Chol and Kane (2010, p. 01) and Jones (2002, p. 193) point out that the personal meanings often involves negative feelings such as anger, loss, betrayal and helplessness. The endurance of trauma is closely linked with destroyed assumptions of oneself, others and the world.

The trauma of victimization followed by post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a direct reaction to the aftermath of aggravated robbery as agreed upon by one hundred percent (100%) of victims in table 6.24 page 238. All forty two victims at one hundred percent (100%) explained how a victim of an aggravated robbery can be in a very traumatic situation, especially when robbery operation has been completed (see table 6.37 page 250).

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This study indicates that all forty two victims at one hundred percent (100%) subsequently encountered different types of experience such as shock and trauma as indicated in table 6.35 page 248 and 6.37 page 250. After the attack, the victim is confused about what to do and is in a hesitant position and not certain whether he / she was to be killed or not. As a result of the expeditious aggression, he / she becomes shocked, threatened and traumatized. He feels angry for involuntarily submitting his / her valuables he / she has worked hard for, to the robbers.

Twelve victims expressed how they were handled, and given orders to hand over all their valuables such as wrist watches and bangles, cell phones, cash and other valuable belongings. This left them shocked and traumatized.

In most cases according to findings of this research study, aggravated robberies on victims involve a sense of being disconsolate, and leave them feeling unsafe long after the incidents have occurred. The attack on the victim remains in his / her mind for years and is therefore threatened and not forgetting what had happened in him / her.

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The study has indicated that fifty seven percent (57%) as shown in table 6.10 page 218 suffered from physical injuries hence aggravated robberies also include violence. The several physical injuries sustained by victims were as a result of being assaulted, kicked, stabbed and shot at. Zinn in Peacock (2013, p. 189) and Davis in Davis & Snyman (2007b, p. 233) agree that victims are often pushed around, shaken, pulled from the vehicle, struck (mostly on the head) or pistol-whipped, or thrown to the ground and some victims also shot and severely assaulted. The injured victims suffer from cuts, bruises, broken arms or legs resulting to serious emotional stress.

It is evident as exhibited in this research study that there is a complexity of association between physical and emotional symptoms. Emotional stress can cause physical symptoms, and physical injury can cause emotional stress. Conversely, physical pain can lead to emotional upset and anguish (Hodgson, 2005, p. 61). As long as the mark is visible, the victim becomes emotionally stressed even years long after the incident. As explained by Hodgson (2005, p. 62) physical effects included temporary suffering (for example headaches or pain while performing daily activities) and permanent disfigurements (for example scars or missing teeth).

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It is however, discovered that these victims (60%) never recovered from their injuries as demonstrated in table 6.11 page 218, and findings illustrate that no services (100%) such as medical treatment was received from the Government as indicated in table 6.25 page 239. In the absence of assistance, the findings indicate that victim's emotional stress deteriorates and victim subsequently experiences post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) which prolongs for long periods.

- **Psychological consequences**

Hodgson (2005, p. 62) further elaborates that those psychological effects include worry, anxiety and depression. Findings disclose that psychological consequences are unlikely to end, especially when the victim thinks of the manner he / she was physically handled by robbers, the personal belongings taken as well as the existing scars or disfigurements in his / her body. In spite of this finding, negative psychological effects have been known to persist for a long time after the incident, while health condition tends to decrease.

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- **Financial consequences**

Financial harm includes loss of property, money (both directly and through loss of earnings) and medical expenses. According to sixty nine percent (69%) of the victims as shown in table 6.4 page 208, these were other factors that led to their attacks hence the robbers wanted their belongings, and it was an unavoidable situation according to seventy percent (70%) as shown in table 6.5 page 209.

The lost items included jewellery, wrist watches, wedding rings, cell phones, flat screen televisions, vehicles and clothes. The experience of victimization in all forty two victims at one hundred percent (100%) as demonstrated in table 6.29 page 243 seemed to shatter the illusion of invulnerability, thus creating in victims a new and unfamiliar sense of vulnerability often accompanied by psychological distress. The perception that the individual was safe is completely destroyed because the property forcefully taken away is never recovered and financial losses are substantial.

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This research study has discovered that the robbed belongings have value to the victim, and emotional and psychological distress appear and become very intense due to the loss of his / her goods. Due to financial losses, the overwhelming majority of ninety eight percent (98%) of the victims as indicated in table 6.9 page 217 did not feel their normal self again as before the attack. They felt highly depressed and frustrated.

The findings were successful in determining the study which examined the physical and emotional trauma, resulting from the victims' experience of aggravated robbery.
The objective of acquiring knowledge about the behaviour and personality of the victims of aggravated robbery after the event was successfully achieved.

Research question 3

- At what level does aggravated robbery disrupt victim's core assumption of personal invulnerability, the view that the world is meaningful and viewing of us as positive?

The purpose of this final question was to understand the precise stage when the victim loses hope and gives up with regard to feeling safe in the country. Why is aggravated robbery being committed if all Government resources are effective? The intention of asking this question was to obtain information that could assist in determining the inferences of the victims' experiences. This question is linked to the following third objective:

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- To understand the level at which aggravated robbery disrupts victim's core assumptions, the view that the world is meaningful, and viewing of us as positive.

Findings proclaim that the Government was not supporting the victims of aggravated robberies.

A major finding of this study has been that twenty nine individuals at seventy one percent (71%) as shown in table 6.28 page 242 believed in basic assumptions of personal invulnerability, about the world and the self which is confidently utilized. It is their creed that each human being and household should live with the understanding that they are not vulnerable.

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In addition to this finding, thirty seven respondents as shown in table 6.3 page 207, at eighty eight percent (88%) believed that they were well adjusted emotionally about their lives and experiencing positive changes in their daily demands, standards and challenges before the robbery incidents. As indicated in table 6.26 page 240, the victims were of the opinion that they were safe until they became vulnerable to attacks. They previously enjoyed peaceful life with the idea that Government rules are well respected by every individual. The victims believed in themselves, and regarded their persons as unique.

Collins, Taylor and Skokan (1990, p. 264) noted that individuals hold certain cognitive assumptions about the world, including the belief that the world is both benevolent and meaningful, and the belief that the self is a worthwhile person and the conviction that the self is relatively invulnerable to negative events.

Notwithstanding the continuity and reality of aggravated robberies, it never came to thirty individuals' minds which comprised seventy one percent (71%) as illustrated in table 6.28 page 242, that one day they would be victims of these robbery incidents. It has been the victims' viewpoint that they have been living in a world of kindness, humanity and understanding, until all their perceptions were completely demolished by the robbery incidents. Collins, Taylor and Skokan (1990, p. 264) confirm that an aggravated robbery shatters this perception of personal invulnerability and as a result, alters the assumptions of self-worth and world meaning on which the belief was based.

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It has been discovered that the Government is not providing pro-active protection to the victims of aggravated robberies as expected though the respondents believe that one of the key responsibilities of the Government is to provide security to the public.

The research findings indicate that the most popular days were the weekends (Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays). During the mid-week it is late afternoons and early mornings. These days were preferred by the robbers and could be aligned with school and work dismissals when students and workers routinely went home or elsewhere. Apart from that, the research findings showed that those from bars or workers returning home after work on paydays were at high risk during late-hours due to the absence of effective police patrols and the remote locations of some entertainment venues. The police have access into this information and yet, no effective patrols are conducted to subdue this horrific crime.

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Seventy six (76%) of victims as shown in table 6.16 page 228, stated that the South African Police Service members were inefficient and ineffective in their pursuit to prevent aggravated robberies. This is justified based on premise that the days and times of aggravated robberies could be expressed as the risk factors that existed prior to robberies. It has also been uncovered that there is no reactive role being played by the Government on victims.

The expectations of the victims when police were called could not be fulfilled. Sixty seven percent (67%) in table 6.14 page 223 were not satisfied with the police response time. It is evident that a police officer is often the first person a traumatized crime victim meets, and that police officers visiting robbery crime scenes are in a unique position to set in train, a healing and expressive process (Shepherd, Mortimer, Turner & Watson, 1999, p. 139). As a result of the identified inefficiency and ineffectiveness, victims lost hope and their perceptions on personal invulnerability were shattered and end up experiencing psychological distress.

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According to this research finding, it is obvious that there are no psychologists in police stations or at certain centres where victims of aggravated robberies can be immediately referred to. Twenty six percent (26%) in table 6.21 page 235 of respondents believed that specialists deployed in police stations can be of much assistance. As a result of this shortcoming, studies have shown that the way in which responding police officers deal with victims, has a significant impact on emotional symptoms following the robbery crime and how the victims will view the police overall (Security World News, February 27, 2014).

Based on this finding, the emotional effects may be prolonged by other events, such as further victimization, dissatisfaction with the police or other trauma (Hodgson, 2005, p. 71). Generally, the findings demonstrate that it transpired that the Government is failing in terms of assisting the victims before, during and after the robbery incidents, despite the available victim's charter which is silent pertaining to victims of aggravated robberies. There is no justice and support done to the victims.

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Findings illustrate that victims commence seeing the world as a dangerous place. All forty two respondents who consisted of one hundred percent (100%) as illustrated in table 6.24 page 238 agreed that the victims often begin to see the world as a place that cannot be trusted. The severity of the attacks which subsequently causes the level of post-traumatic stress disorder is the experiences of victims whilst being robbed by armed offenders. Following this painful traumatic event, the victim's cognitive appraisal of the incident may play an important role whether or not problems develop (Harrison & Kinner, 1998, p. 789).

Findings have indicated that when victims of aggravated robberies have abilities of contemplating issues positively, this usually lead victims in accommodating situations that are quite not pleasing. This attitude according to findings may influence a victim by continue residing in a place that is completely unsafe because of his / her belief in personal invulnerability.

Findings in this research study have established that the victims subsequently suffer from psychological distress because their existing assumptions regarding the world as meaningful and their own positive self-perception have been shattered as a result of robbery incidents. This is exacerbated by the fact that table 6.12 in page 220 demonstrated that forty five percent (45%) of victims were fearless to explain that police were unprofessional, thirty four percent (34%) claiming that police were unsupportive and twenty one percent (21%) stating that police were inexperienced.

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Table 6.13 page 221 shows that fifty percent (50%) of respondents called police to the crime scenes immediately after the attacks and fourteen percent (14%) were assisted by family and friends, where only sixty seven percent (67%) as shown in table 6.14 page 223 claimed that police did not respond at all or arrived long after the reporting of the incident, leaving thirty four percent (34%) in table 6.16 page 228 dissatisfied with the treatment of police.

Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983, p. 12) notice that family members and friends appear to help victims in several ways. The victims became hopeless and further suffered from emotional trauma.

The findings show that aggravated robbery disrupts victim's core assumptions, the view that the world is meaningful, and viewing of us as positive during and after the attack removing the existing perceptions that were in the minds of victims about their uniqueness and safety. Findings reveal that when they (victims) were violently robbed as demonstrated in table 6.6 page 211, thirty six (36) of the respondents at eighty six percent (86%) indicated that they feared for their lives during the aggravated robberies and endured psychological distress because their existing assumptions regarding the world as meaningful and their own positive self-perception regarding their environment have been destroyed as a result of victimization. It was as a result of these findings that victims explained the fear endured upon them. It is a fear that established a sense of avoiding the particular location where the crime scene was. On travelling or walking on the same place, the previous attack is automatically triggered into the mind of every victim which subsequently endures a continued level of psychological distress.

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As tabulated and explained above, the three research questions were all positively responded to, thereby achieving the objectives of this research study and acquiring the results of understanding the psychological and social consequences of victims of aggravated robberies within East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha precincts in the Eastern Cape, in the Republic of South Africa.

To the extent that the consequences of aggravated robberies for the victims can be determined by means of the measuring instrument, all three questions and objectives were fulfilled.

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8.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study to examine the psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims, the researcher makes the following recommendations for the implementation of programmes that could assist victims with recovery and in alleviating the pains suffered.

- Direct adequate support should be made available to the victims of aggravated robbery at the police stations and/or hospitals regardless of the severity of the aggravated robbery.

It is apparent that all respondents were negatively affected and traumatized due to exposure to aggravated robberies as well as threats of physical violence, and have not received adequate assistance such as counselling, therapy or treatment. Though symptoms do not necessarily manifest directly after the trauma and often professional assistance is not considered, it is thus imperative that immediate assistance is rendered to the affected victim.

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- **There is a need for training of police members so that police will be aware of the emotional consequences resulting from aggravated robbery and what they can do to alleviate the burden of the victims.**

Thirty seven percent (37%) in table 6.22 page 236 of the respondents emphasized that police training or workshops are imperative to address the perceived lack of service within the South African Police Service members so as to deliver the expected services to the victims.

According to the respondents, the police come across as insensitive and incompetent in the performance of their duties and in that way, fail to address the needs of their clientele.

Forty three percent (43%) in table 6.21 page 235 of victims suggested that programmes at healing centres should be made available as remedial programmes. Specialised support centres should also be created to deal with the after effects of these traumatic experiences. Fifty one percent (51%) in table 6.22 page 236 of victims believed that victim support centres at police stations with relevant expertise should be established to improve the service levels in order to provide support to victims of aggravated robberies. In addition, twelve percent (12%) of victims in table 6.22 page 236 of victims suggested that the members of police should be given empathy training that will be subsequently provided to all victims of aggravated robberies.

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This can render much assistance hence all victims interviewed expressed a need for emotional support for purposes of emotional healing and reassurance. If assault and rape victims are considered humanely, then there can be no difficulty in prioritising aggravated robbery victims as well. Providing support to victims of aggravated robberies will help restore a sense of justice in local communities and increase public confidence in criminal justice agencies (Hodgson, 2005, p. 72).

The lack of the South African Police Service presence or visibility may also have contributed to the commission of these attacks and twenty one percent (21%) as shown in table 6.21 page 235 of victims suggested that they should be made available as an intervention programme. There is a need for deployment of police officers not only in identified hotspot areas or flashpoints but also to other locations that may be identified as targets by the perpetrators of aggravated robberies.

An improved response time by the South African Police Service may contribute to higher conviction rates in crimes such as these. It is also likely that improved follow-up and contact with victims, and preparing them for their court appearances might also lead to improved conviction of offenders. This will be successful once police receive proper training on how to handle victims of aggravated robberies.

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Psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims obtained from evidence in the selected precincts in the Eastern Cape as an incident, is a complex subject, whose complexity emanates from the fact that it is associated with emotional, psychological and social pain suffered by the victims. More research is needed in a range of areas related to this particular victimization. This confirms the fact that one study alone cannot answer all the questions.

- However, there is a need to look at the indirect victims of aggravated robberies and how they are affected by this particular crime.

It is evident that each victim has close relatives, family members and friends who are also adversely affected by the robbery incidents psychologically. Diesel said he had been getting calls from relatives and friends after the video of his ATM attack went viral (Hollands, February 03, 2015, p. 01). It is further stated that the victim had not told his children about it, but they saw it on Face book and were so worried and the victim had to insist that he was alright.

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This crime usually takes place in the presence of other community members who some of them suffer emotionally after witnessing the incident. A similar example is of a certain neighbour in East London who was awoken up by a woman screaming for help and loud knocks on her house front door during the early hours at about 02:30. It transpired that the robbery victim managed to break free and fled to a neighbour's house whilst her house was being ransacked by robbers. Though the assistance was rendered, the neighbour also suffered from stress and was subsequently traumatized.

Based on the fact that much research available in robberies, focuses on perpetrators and conviction rates, and therefore further research is also required to explore the duration of psychological and social effects on indirect victims as well as the recovery times.

This research has dealt much with the existing powerful victims' rights of which the aggression against victims undermines the potency of the victims' rights. This is enhanced by the fact that the victim' rights are not specific on how aggravated robbery victims are dealt with immediately after the robbery attack, as compared to other crimes such as assault and rape. Further research may explore on how to enhance the existing victims' rights.

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8.5 Conclusion of the study

This chapter has provided a synthesis of the study together with the summary of the findings drawn and the resulting recommendations.

The aims of this study were:

- To understand, from a victim's perspective, the psychological and social impact of being violently robbed.

The aim of this chapter was to explain the feelings in a manner understood by the victims. This has so far been achieved through discussion of victim's perspectives.

In line with the expectations and consistent with literature from previous studies, as well as Janoff-Bulman and Frieze theory of reaction to victimization, a number of victims (86%) feared for their lives whilst the aggravated robberies were in progress. This resulting perception of vulnerability frequently manifests itself in the victim's preoccupation with fear of recurrence (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983, p. 04). As such, results of the current study are consistent with the conclusion that aggravated robberies impact psychologically and socially on victims.

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Throughout this chapter, it transpired that the victims suffer long-term psychological distress, and those symptoms of intrusion and avoidance are common (Harrison & Kinner, 1998, p. 795). It further transpired that the impact of aggravated robbery on victims result in psychological and social consequences.

Although the research study and findings point to psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims, it becomes evident that aggravated robberies are extreme form of human cruelty.

Based on the fact that victims suffer differently but have similar consequences, a synthesis of chapters has been done. This has been done to expose the processes followed through research studies in assessing with the objective of summarizing the evidence relating to this research study.

The objectives of the study were:

- To examine how victims in the selected Eastern Cape precincts experience being robbed by armed offenders.

The main purpose of this objective was to provide the established experiences encountered by victims during the robberies. The examination on how victims experience being robbed showed that victims react negatively. This research study has shown that aggravated robbery victims experienced high levels of stress and anxiety during the robbery incidents.

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Hence victims are usually surprised during the attacks; it becomes obvious that the victims feel prompt loss of confidence, become shocked with fear of his / her life and anger on surrendering his / her valuable belongings. Based on this study, the victim is left threatened, helpless and feeling unsafe.

These intrusions leave the victims developing psychological trauma and subsequently post-traumatic stress disorder which commences to expand.

- To examine the physical and emotional trauma; if any, resulting from victims' experience of aggravated robbery.

It has been exposed in this study that victims subsequently suffer from physical and emotional trauma after the attack. It is evident as demonstrated in table 6.10 page 218 that fifty seven percent (57%) of respondents were injured and were left with visible marks. The current research study has indicated that aggravated robbery victims are still experiencing a great deal of psychological distress, even years after the incident; and consequences associated with this distress such as anger, anxiety, depression, fear, nightmares, shock, trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) have been identified.

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- To understand the level at which aggravated robbery disrupts victim's core assumptions, the view that the world is meaningful, and viewing of us as positive.

Every individual lives a genuine life, but the moment such individual experiences aggravated robbery; it is the stage where his / her core assumptions of invulnerability is shattered. All perceptions that, there cannot be an aggravated robbery since the laws of the country seem to be protective to victims in addition to the general uniqueness of individuals – all such perceptions are destroyed once a person is attacked. As a result of attacks, victims suffer from psychological distress.

The final evaluation of this study indicated that most aggravated robbery crimes happen in the area where the perpetrators live. Nearly all of the respondents had never been involved in any robbery which created a mindset of invulnerability. In their opinion as indicated in this research study, no precautions on their part could have prevented the attack because they were targeted for their possessions and not due to their carelessness.

During the attack, they feared for their lives which resulted in trauma, physical injury and the loss of their possessions. The loss of their sense of invulnerability even after the lapse of considerable time meant continuing suffering from the trauma of the incident.

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Opinions concerning the South African Police Service are initially favourable, but as the study continued the nature of these opinions changed. Some comments that were complimentary indicated that the South African Police Service is caring, professional and quick to respond. Contrary to this, other comments that illustrate unhappiness with the South African Police Service because they were perceived as to be unprofessional, unsupportive and inexperienced. Furthermore the victims are unhappy at the lack of the South African Police Service visibility and response time which lead to most of them engaging with the South African Police Service away from the crime scenes but at the hospitals or at the police stations to which they have gone themselves.

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Similarly, interviewed respondents as indicated in this chapter, were also happy with the treatment by the South African Police Service though this changed over time as their expectations had not been met. The reasons given were that the South African Police Service assistance was poor because they were not transported to the hospital or told about services available to them. This study shows that there were poor follow-up of their matter, the failure to recover stolen possessions, lack of empathy and general knowledge which seem to be sorely lacking in most instances.

Due to the aggravated robbery, most of the victims need medical or psychological assistance which is not provided. They feel that police stations do not have any adequate facilities to address their needs. They intimate that the state should remedy this lack of service provision by establishing trauma centres at police stations, or specialised centres that offer programmes to assist survivors with dealing with their traumatic experiences.

Generally, this research study has discovered that the victims' experiences are broadly recounted as a traumatic experience with the effects of the trauma being anger, anxiety, depression, fear, shock, and further exhibit symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

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Appendix A

From: Joubert Giep - Superintendent
Sent: 25 January 2010 12:40 PM
To: EC: King Williamstown CIG
Subject: FW: RESEARCH PROPOSAL: SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT F M ZONDEKA

Dear S/Supt Zondeka

Your Research request was approved by the Provincial Commissioner: Eastern Cape. Please forward (Fax or E-Mail) to this office your signed undertaking that you will not divulge any identities of victims or investigative techniques in your thesis and that you will adhere to paragraph 6 of the National Instruction 1/2006. Thereafter you may proceed in making arrangements with the relevant role players.

This office must also receive a copy - preferably an electronically copy - of you final report. The Office of the Provincial Commissioner: Eastern Cape also awaits a copy of the report.

Kind Regards

Supt G J Joubert
Strategic Research

012 393 3118 Tel
012 393 3178 Fax

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

From: EC:Prov Strategic Management Commander
Sent: 20 January 2010 10:57 AM
To: Joubert Giep - Superintendent
Subject: RESEARCH PROPOSAL: SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT F M ZONDEKA

Hi Supt Joubert

Herewith is an approval letter from the PC for your further processing

The Officer has verbally been informed about the approval.

Kind regards!

Senior Superintendent Kaiser Tengisile
Provincial Commander: Strategic Management
Eastern Cape
Tel.: 040-608 7076
Fax: 040-608 7422
Cell: 082 854 5751

Appendix B

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE **SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS**

My reference / My verwysing	3/34/2
Enquiries / Navrae	Prov Comm Landu Sen Supt Tengisile
Tel	040 - 6087076
Fax / Faks	040 - 6087422

OFFICE OF THE PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER
STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT
PRIVATE BAG X 7471
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

18 January 2010

The Head
Strategic Management Component
PRETORIA

RE: RESEARCH PROPOSAL: AN EXPLORATION OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF VICTIMS OF ARMED ROBBERIES IN THE KWAZAKHELE POLICING PRECINCT: SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT FIKILE MICHAEL ZONDEKA

1. The above proposal is approved on condition that paragraph 6 of National Instruction 1/2006 is adhered to, and a written undertaking not to divulge any identities of victims or investigative techniques in a thesis is signed by the researcher.

2. End results of the proposals will be awaited by this office.

PROV COMMISSIONER
PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER: EASTERN CAPE
M S LANDU

Appendix C

482 N.U. 15
MDANTSANE
5219

31 October 2011

A. The Station Commander
South African Police Service
EAST LONDON

B. The Cluster Commander
South African Police Service
EAST LONDON

C. The Cluster Commander
Crime Intelligence
EAST LONDON

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: COLONEL F M ZONDEKA

A.1 Appended hereto please find e-mail messages both from the Strategic Management office and Provincial Commissioner which are self-explanatory for your information.

2. This member is currently busy conducting research titled, "Psychological and Social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims: Evidence from the East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha precincts in the Eastern Cape". Basically, this study is done towards attaining his PhD Degree through the University of Fort Hare.

3. The area of interest in this research is to explore how aggravated robbery disrupts victim's core assumption of invulnerability, the ability to handle stress after the incident, as well as the kind of support systems employed to overcome the ordeal.

4. The exposure of this challenge will hopefully provide some impetus for the South African Government to implement programs that will ensure that victims of aggravated robberies are given the support that they require as is the case in other liberal democracies.

5. This study at your policing precinct has formally been approved by the Provincial Commissioner.

5. Best co-operation.

.....

B.1 Copy for your information.

.....

C.1 Copy for your information.

2. Most of the time, the researcher will be liaising with your CIO based at the station, when need arises.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

3. Kind regards.

.....COLONEL
CLUSTER COMMANDER: CRIME INTELLIGENCE: KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
(F M ZONDEKA)

Tel : 043-6421274 / 6422659 / 6426255
Fax : 043-6421324
Cell: 0714 72 01 78
E-mail : EC : King Williamstown CIG
or
fzondeka@telkomsa.net

Appendix D

482 N.U. 15
MDANTSANE
5219

27 January 2010

A. The Station Commander
South African Police Service
KWAZAKHELE

Att: Dir Bentley

B. The Cluster Commander
South African Police Service
MOTHERWELL

Att: Asst Comm Kapp

C. The Cluster Commander
Crime Intelligence
MOTHERWELL

Att: Sen Supt Goosen

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: SEN SUPT F M ZONDEKA

A.1 Appended hereto please find e-mail messages both from the Strategic Management office and Provincial Commissioner which are self-explanatory for your information.

2. This member is currently busy conducting research titled, "An exploration of the psychological and social consequences of victims of armed robberies: A view from the Kwazakhele policing precinct in the Eastern Cape". Basically, this study is done towards attaining his PhD Degree through the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

3. The area of interest in this research is:-

3.1 to determine personal experiences encountered by armed robbery victims whilst the crime is in motion and what can a victim remembers thereafter;

3.2 to conduct an in-depth investigation on to how armed robbery shatters the victim's basic assumptions held about themselves (victims) and their world; and

3.3 to investigate remedial steps taken by the Government with respect to armed robbery victims. The incidences of this crime where victims are harmed and humiliated physically and psychologically are high where there is no intervention from the Government side. It is not adequate for the law enforcement to effect arrests on suspects, whereas the victim himself / herself has suffered psychologically.

4. My study at your policing precinct has formally been approved by the Provincial Commissioner.

5. Best co-operation.

.....

B.1 Copy for your information.

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

.....

C.1 Copy for your information.

2. Most of the time, the researcher will be liaising with your CIO based at the station, when need arises.

3. Kind regards.

.....SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT
CLUSTER COMMANDER: CRIME INTELLIGENCE: KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
(F M ZONDEKA)

Tel : 043-6421274 / 6422659 / 6426255
Fax : 043-6421324
Cell: 082 552 2260
E-mail : EC : King Williamstown CIG

Appendix E

482 N.U. 15
MDANTSANE
5219

31 October 2011

A. The Station Commander
South African Police Service
MTHATHA

B. The Cluster Commander
South African Police Service
MTHATHA

C. The Cluster Commander
Crime Intelligence
MTHATHA

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: COLONEL F M ZONDEKA

A.1 Appended hereto please find e-mail messages both from the Strategic Management office and Provincial Commissioner which are self-explanatory for your information.

2. This member is currently busy conducting research titled, "Psychological and Social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims: Evidence from the East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha precincts in the Eastern Cape". Basically, this study is done towards attaining his PhD Degree through the University of Fort Hare.

3. The area of interest in this research is to explore how aggravated robbery disrupts victim's core assumption of invulnerability, the ability to handle stress after the incident, as well as the kind of support systems employed to overcome the ordeal.

4. The exposure of this challenge will hopefully provide some impetus for the South African Government to implement programs that will ensure that victims of aggravated robberies are given the support that they require as is the case in other liberal democracies.

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5. Best co-operation.

.....

B.1 Copy for your information.

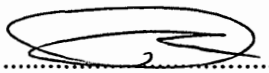
.....

C.1 Copy for your information.

2. Most of the time, the researcher will be liaising with your CIO based at the station, when need arises.

3. Kind regards.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence



.....COLONEL
CLUSTER COMMANDER: CRIME INTELLIGENCE: KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
(F M ZONDEKA)

Tel : 043-6421274 / 6422659 / 6426255
Fax : 043-6421324
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fzondeka@telkomsa.net

Appendix F

482 N.U. 15
MDANTSANE
5219

27 January 2010

A. The Crime Intelligence Official
South African Police Service
KWAZAKHELE

B. The Cluster Commander
Crime Intelligence
MOTHERWELL

REQUESTING AN INFORMATION PERTINENT TO RESEARCH: SEN SUPT F M ZONDEKA

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

A.1 Telephonic conversation between Capt Elandrea Slabbert and Sen Supt Zondeka on 2009.11.06 bears the testimony.

2. The above named officer is currently studying towards the attainment of PhD degree through the University of KwaZulu-Natal. He is engaged in a study that could contribute significantly to victim study, particularly from a qualitative point of view.

3. A permission to continue with the study has been granted by the Eastern Cape Provincial Commissioner, and also has been allowed to commence submitting requests. Your Station Commander, Cluster Commander and your Intelligence Commander have also been notified.

4. Your station was selected after it was noticed that it had recorded the highest number of reported armed robbery cases during the previous financial years; 2006/2007 = 635 cases and 2007/2008 = 645 cases, when compared to other police stations in the Eastern Cape. Cases during the financial year 2007/2008 had in fact increased by 10 cases at 1.57%.

5. This does not say, your station was bad, but the only way to justify on how this particular site had been chosen. The researcher humbly requests the details of all

complainants and CAS numbers with regard to armed robbery cases reported during 2007/2008 financial year, i.e. the full names, address, contact details, occupation, loss, outcome of the case, type of crime whether CIT, house robbery, carjacking, truck jacking *et al*. The requested information could be easily obtained by photo copying the face or page one of the case docket. This information is of much assistance specifically for the purposes of sampling.

6. Your co-operation into this matter will be much appreciated. There is no specific time frame for the requested information so as not to pressurize yourself.

7. Yours in service.

.....

B.1 Fonie, this is just a formality hence there has been fruitful communication between your CIO and S/Supt Zondeka.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

.....SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT
CLUSTER COMMANDER: CRIME INTELLIGENCE: KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
(F M ZONDEKA)

Tel : 043-6421274 / 6422659 / 6426255
Fax : 043-6421324
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fzondeka@telkomsa.net

Appendix G

Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities
Department of Criminology
Private Bag X1314
King Williams Town Rd
Alice

04 December 2013

Dear Respondent

The bearer of this letter F M Zondeka (Student Number 9413118) is a registered PhD student in Criminology in the Department of Criminology at the University of Fort Hare.

Doctoral candidate Zondeka is in the process to start and complete the field work component of his studies. In order to ensure that all relevant information is gathered, it will be necessary to ask specific questions pertinent to aggravated robberies. The research is about psychological and social consequences of aggravated robberies within East London, Kwazakhele and Mthatha. All the information that is obtained in this research will be treated with utmost confidentiality and no names were required.

The research has been accepted by the South African Police Service Provincial office by Provincial Commissioner M S Landu on 2010.01.18, and subsequently by the National office Supt G J Joubert on 2010.01.25. Also this research has passed the University of Fort Hares research ethics guidelines as well.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Dr. Jaco Barkhuizen, PhD (Human Science-Victimology, Tokiwa, Japan); M.A. (Psych); B.A. (Hons)(Crim); B.A. (Hons)(Psych)
MEXT Scholar
Head of Department: Department of Criminology
Department of Criminology
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Fort Hare
Alice
5700
E-mail: JBarkhuizen@ufh.ac.za
Telephone: +27406022418
Fax Number: *086 231 7485*

University of Fort Hare
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University of Fort Hare
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Ethics Research Confidentiality and Informed Consent Form

Please note:

This form is to be completed by the researcher(s) as well as by the interviewee before the commencement of the research. Copies of the signed form must be filed and kept on record

(To be adapted for individual circumstances/needs)

Our University of Fort Hare / Department is asking people from your community / sample / group to answer some questions, which we hope will benefit your community and possibly other communities in the future.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The University of Fort Hare / Department/ organization is conducting research regarding **aggravated robberies**. We are interested in finding out more about **how aggravated robberies shatter the victim's core assumption of invulnerability, the ability to handle stress after the incident, as well as the kind of support systems employed to overcome the ordeal.** We are carrying out this research to help **the South African Government to implement programs that will ensure that victims of aggravated robberies are given the support that they require as is the case in other liberal democracies.**

Please understand that you are not being forced to take part in this study and the choice whether to participate or not is yours alone. However, we would really appreciate it if you do share your thoughts with us. If you choose not take part in answering these questions, you will not be affected in any way. If you agree to participate, you may stop me at any time and tell me that you don't want to go on with the interview. If you do this there will also be no penalties and you will NOT be prejudiced in ANY way. Confidentiality will be observed professionally.

I will not be recording your name anywhere on the questionnaire and no one will be able to link you to the answers you give. Only the researchers will have access to the unlinked information. The information will remain confidential and there will be no "come-backs" from the answers you give.

The interview will last around **40** minutes *(this is to be tested through a pilot)*. I will be asking you a questions and ask that you are as open and honest as possible in answering these questions. Some questions may be of a personal and/or sensitive nature. I will be asking some questions that you may not have thought about before, and which also involve thinking about the past or the future. We know that you cannot be absolutely certain about the answers to these questions but we ask that you try to think about these questions. When it comes to answering questions there are no right and wrong answers. When we ask questions about the future we are not interested in what you think the best thing would be to do, but what you think would actually happen. (*adapt for individual circumstances*)

INFORMED CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding **aggravated robberies**. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

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I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

.....
Signature of participant **Date**: .....

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

.....
Signature of participant **Date**: .....

Appendix H

INFORMED CONSENT

Sir / Madam

I am a PhD student in Criminology at the University of Fort Hare. In part fulfillment of the requirements of the degree, I shall be conducting research on the following topic:

Psychological and Social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims: Evidence from selected precincts in the Eastern Cape.

Purpose:

The purpose of the study is to determine personal experiences encountered by aggravated robbery victims whilst the crime is in motion and what can a victim remembers thereafter. It is also to examine carefully on how aggravated robbery shatters the victim's basic assumptions of invulnerability and to further investigate remedial steps taken by the Government with respect to armed robbery victims.

Sample:

The sample in this study will comprise 3% out of 1410 aggravated robbery victims who had been robbed either on the street, house, in business, in bank or car hijacked, but only individuals between the ages of 18 and 60.

Participation:

Your participation in this study is essential and will be highly appreciated. No identifying details will be required of you. All responses will be kept highly confidential. The researcher will not at any point in the study or the report identify any participant. The study will be undertaken under the guidance of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Fort Hare. All ethical considerations in working with victims will be taken into account. There will be no

payment made for participating in the study. You have a right to withdraw from the study at any stage and for any reason with no penalty. Should you wish to add any comments or require any further information, feel free to ask me.

Kindly complete the consent paragraph below and hand the consent over to the researcher.

Yours faithfully

Fikile Michael Zondeka

Tel: 043 6421274 / 22839 / 22659

071 472 0178

Doctor J Barkhuizen

040 6022418

0715154086

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Informed Consent:

I **agree** / **do not agree** to participate in the study under the conditions mentioned above.

(**Delete whichever is not applicable**)

I, ... the undersigned understand the contents and conditions of the study and consent to me, participating in the study.

....
Signature Date

Appendix I

INFORMATION SHEET

I am Fikile Michael Zondeka, a PhD degree student in Criminology at the University of Fort Hare. In order to ensure that all relevant information is gathered, it will be necessary to ask specific questions pertinent to the effects of Aggravated Robbery. The research is about determination of personal experiences encountered by victims of Aggravated Robbery whilst the crime is in motion, and what can a victim remembers thereafter. It is also to examine carefully on how trauma shatters the victim's basic assumption of invulnerability.

Your participation in this study is very important which will further assist me in investigating remedial steps taken by the Government with respect to Aggravated Robbery victims. Should you feel stressed or traumatized or the past events trigger you during the process of conversation between yourself and myself, feel free to stop me immediately. If in any event after our meeting, you feel stressed or traumatized feel free to contact me immediately at any of the following contact numbers. Your telephonic call will assist me in activating the supervisor of the area Gene Pelser, Ntombekhaya Maneli or Ncediswa Mayeko whose psychologists are on standby to render any assistance.

Tel : 043-6426255 / 6422839/ 6421274 / 6422659 during office hours, or
Tel : 043-7633491 after hours, or
Cell: 071 472 017 8 at anytime.

Keep this information sheet in case you need my assistance.

Thank you

.....
F M ZONDEKA

Appendix J

Survey Questionnaire

Psychological and Social consequences of aggravated robberies on victims: Evidence from selected precincts in the Eastern Cape.
This student is a PhD degree student at the University of Fort Hare probing effects with respect to personal experiences encountered by victims of aggravated robberies whilst the crime is in motion, as well as what can a victim remembers thereafter. It is also to examine carefully on how victims understand the level at which aggravated robbery disrupts victim's core assumptions of invulnerability, the view that the world is meaningful, and viewing of us as positive.

Your participation in this study is very important which will further assist me in investigating remedial steps taken by the Government with regard to aggravated robbery victims. Should you feel stressed or traumatized or the past events trigger you during the process of conversation between yourself and myself, feel free to stop me immediately. If in any event after our meeting, you feel stressed or traumatized, feel free to contact me immediately at 043-6422839 / 6426255 / 6421274 / 6422621 / 6422659 during office hours, or in my home at 043-7633491 or at cell number 0714 7201 78 / 0711 3804 37 at anytime. Your call will assist me in activating the supervisor of the area whose Psychologists are on standby to render any assistance.

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1. What kind of aggravated robbery were you involved in?

Street/public	1	Car-jacking	5	
House	2	Retail	6	C5
Truck-jacking	3	Cash in transit	7	
Bank	4	Other	8	

2. What were they armed with?

Pistols	1	
Heavy arms	2	C6
Other	3	

3. Were you ever involved in this type of crime before?

Yes	1	
No	2	C7

4. How were you feeling before this attack?

C8 - 17

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5. What factors, did you think, caused you to be attacked?

C18 - 27

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6. Do you think you could have avoided being the target?

Yes	1	
No	2	C28

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7. If yes, what precautions should you have taken?

C29 - 36

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8. What feeling(s), if any, did you experience during the attack?

C38 - 47

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9. After the attack happened, were you feeling any difference to, while the attack was happening?

Yes	1	
No	2	C48

9.1 If yes what feelings were you experiencing?

C49 - 58

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10. How long ago did the incident happen?

6 years	More than 6 years	
1	2	C59

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11. Do you feel your normal self again as before the incident?

Yes	1	
No	2	C60

12. If no, what feelings are you still experiencing?

C61 - 66

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13. Were you injured during the attack?

Yes	1	
No	2	C67

13.1 If yes, what kind of injuries?

C68 - 73

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14. Have you recovered from it?

Yes	1	
No	2	C74

NEXT WE WANT TO LOOK AT THE ASSISTANCE GIVEN BY THE POLICE

LET US NOW DISCUSS THE ASSISTANCE YOU RECEIVED FROM THE POLICE.

1. Name the three things that you appreciated concerning the service that you received from the police.

C75 - 80

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2. Name the three things that you didn't appreciate about the service that you received from the police.

C81 - 85

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3. Who contacted the police?

Yourself	1	
Family/Friends	2	C86
Other	3	

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4. Were you satisfied with their response time?

Yes	1	
No	2	C87

4.1 If no why?

C88 - 93

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.....

5. Where did the police meet you?

At the scene of the crime	1	
Hospital/Clinic	2	C94
Police station	3	

PLEASE THINK CAREFULLY BEFORE ANSWERING THE NEXT SECTION:

1. How were you treated by the police?

C95 - 100

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2. Were you satisfied the way you were treated?

Yes	1	
No	2	C101

2.1 If no, please explain.

C102 - 107

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3. Did the police offer you any assistance?

Yes	1	
No	2	C108

3.1 If yes, what assistance?

C109 - 114

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3.2 If no, what assistance did you expect?

C115 - 120

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4. When assistance wasn't offered, did you request it?

Yes	1	
No	2	C121

5. If no assistance was offered, do you know why?

C122 - 127

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6. Did you meet with the police again after the incident?

Yes	1	
No	2	C128

6.1 If yes, how often did you meet?

C129 - 134

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7. Do you think the police were efficient and effective in their pursuit to prevent this type of crime?

Yes	1	
No	2	C135

7.1 If yes, why?

C136 - 141

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7.2 If no, what were your expectations of them?

C142 - 146

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8. Were you informed by the police that you can access various government services to assist your recovery, physically or psychological suffered during the incident?

Yes	1	
No	2	C147

8.1 If no, do you know why it was not done?

C148 - 153

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9. In your opinion, were you in need of assistance?

Yes	1	
No	2	C154

9.1 If yes, what assistance?

C155 - 160

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10. Did you manage to access the necessary services?

Yes	1	
No	2	C161

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10.1 If yes, what is your opinion of services rendered?

C162 - 167

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11. Precisely what intervention/remedial programmes do you think government should provide aggravated robbery survivors with.

C168 - 173

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12. What in your opinion can be done to improve the service level of government institution to survivors of aggravated robbery?

C174 - 179

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13. Do you have any comments, suggestions or criticism to make?

C180 - 185

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14. Below are statements people have made. Please indicate if you.....

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
The severity of the attack will cause the level of post-traumatic distress	1	2	3	4	C187
The Government is making all means to support the robbery victims psychologically	1	2	3	4	C188
Individuals believe that they are safe until he / she becomes vulnerable to aggravated robbery	1	2	3	4	C189
Because we believe that we are safe, the level of impact of trauma will be great	1	2	3	4	C190
Individuals who never went through incidents of aggravated robbery tend to perceive themselves as uniquely invulnerable than others	1	2	3	4	C191
The experience of victimization seems to shatter the illusion of invulnerability, thus creating in victims a new and unfamiliar sense of vulnerability often accompanied by psychological distress	1	2	3	4	C192
Many victims believe that aggravated robberies can be prevented by engaging in adequately cautious behaviours	1	2	3	4	C193
Victims who have the most difficulty coping with their misfortune may be exactly those victims who initially felt least vulnerable prior to being victimized	1	2	3	4	C194
Victims of aggravated robbery invariably experience a profound threat to their person	1	2	3	4	C195
The results of aggravated robbery are that, victims suffer personal injuries	1	2	3	4	C196

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As a result of aggravated robbery, victims suffer personal loss	1	2	3	4	C197
As a result of aggravated robbery, victims suffer personal shock	1	2	3	4	C198
As a result of aggravated robbery, victims suffer personal denial	1	2	3	4	C199
As a result of aggravated robbery, victims suffer personal trauma	1	2	3	4	C200
As a result of aggravated robbery, victims suffer personal stress	1	2	3	4	C201

15. Have you been involved in the study of this nature before?

Yes	1	
No	2	C202

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16. Do you think this type of study is valuable?

Yes	1	
No	2	C203

SECTION B: Demographic Profile

Race

Black	1	Coloured	4	
Indian	2	White	5	C204
Other	3			

What is your gender?

Male	1	Female	2	C205

What is your highest academic qualification?

Some High School	1	
Matric / Grade 12	2	C206
Degree / Diploma	3	

What is your marital status?

Single	1	Married	3	
Divorced	2	Separated	4	C207

In which age category do you fall?

18 – 30	1	
31 – 40	2	
41 – 50	3	C208
51 – 60	4	

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Your participation in this study is highly appreciated. In case after this meeting you feel stressed or traumatized, feel free to contact me for assistance at 043-6426255 / 6421274 / 6422659 / 6422621 during office hours from Monday to Friday between 08:00 and 16:00, or at 043-7633491 after hours or at 071 47 20 178 at anytime. Thank you.

NATIONAL INSTRUCTION 1/2006

RESEARCH IN THE SERVICE

1. Background

The purpose of this instruction is to regulate requests to conduct research in the Service by persons from outside the Service or by employees who wish to conduct the research for private purposes (such as for the purposes of their studies).

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2. Definitions

In this Instruction, unless the context otherwise indicates, —

(a) *"line manager"* means the employee who is responsible for the matter in respect of which it is requested to conduct the research;

(b) *"publish"* means any form of communication, other than communication to the Service;

(c) *"researcher"* means the person who applies for access to a record or information in the possession or under the control of the Service for the purpose of conducting research;

(d) *"research goals"* means what the researcher aims to establish by conducting the research;

(e) *"research instrument"* means an instrument of data collection consisting of a series of questions relating to the research project that will be put to persons in order to gather information for the purposes of the research project;

(f) *"research procedure"* refers to the kind of research tools and procedures that will be used to conduct the research;

(g) *"research proposal"* means an outline of the research that the researcher plans to conduct and the objectives of the research; and

(h) *"the Act"* refers to the Promotion of Access to Information Act, 2000 (Act No. 2 of 2000).

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3. Applications to conduct research in the Service

An application to conduct research in the Service must contain at least —

(a) the full names and surname of the *researcher*;

(b) his or her identity number;

(c) his or her residential address;

(d) his or her work address;

(e) his or her telephonic contact details;

(f) his or her academic and other applicable qualifications;

(g) any relevant experience of the researcher in conducting *research;*

(h) the name of company or institution represented, or on behalf of whom the *research* will be conducted;

(i) full details of the company or institution on behalf of which the *researcher* will conduct the *research* and his or her authorization or contractual obligations to that company or institution, if the researcher represents, or will act on behalf of a company or institution;

(j) the goals of his or her research;

(k) a *research proposal* which sets out the *research procedure* and *research instruments* he or she intends to utilize during the research;

(l) a copy of the *research instruments*;

(m) a recommendation from the researcher's promoter regarding the *bona fides* of the application;

(n) an estimate of the time period necessary for his or her research;

(o) an indication of the method of *publication* of his or her research; and

(p) a motivation for the research indicating the extent to which the research will be in the interest of the Service.

4. Receipt of an application to conduct research in the Service

(1) Any office of the Service that receives an application to conduct research on information in the possession or under the control of the Service, must forward the application to the following functionary:

The Head
Strategic Management
Head Office
South African Police Service
Private Bag X94
PRETORIA
0001.

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(2) If the application is an application to have access to a record to which any member of the public would normally be permitted to have access in terms of *the Act*, the Head: Strategic Management must inform the applicant that he or she must submit the application in terms of *the Act* to the appropriate deputy information officer of the Service and provide him or her with the contact particulars of the relevant deputy information officer.

(3) If an application to conduct *research* in the Service is received by the Head: Strategic Management, and it appears that the application does not contain all the information required in terms of this paragraph or any ambiguity exists regarding any aspect of the intended research or the application, the Head: Strategic Management may make the necessary enquiries or liaise with the applicant regarding any aspect to enable him or her to make a decision regarding the application.

5. Consideration of an application to conduct research in the Service

(1) If an application to conduct research in the Service is an application to have access to a record that would normally not be approved if made in terms of *the Act* or that is contained in an open docket, the Head: Strategic Management must consult with the relevant *line manager* and any other relevant functionary to determine whether the research and outcome thereof will also be advantageous to the Service. If so, he or she must determine whether conditions could be imposed to prevent the unlawful disclosure of information or the disclosure of information that may negatively impact on the functions of the Service.

(2) If the application is an application to have access to employees of the Service to interview them or to distribute questionnaires to such employees to be completed by them, the Head: Strategic Management must consult with the relevant *line manager* under whose command the relevant employees resort and any other relevant functionaries to determine whether the research and outcome thereof will also be advantageous to the Service. If so, he or she must determine whether conditions could be imposed to prevent the unlawful disclosure of information or the disclosure of information that may negatively impact on the functions of the Service or to prevent unacceptable demands being placed on the time of employees or the resources of the Service.

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(3) During the consultation in respect of applications referred to in subparagraphs (1) and (2), the Head: Strategic Management and the relevant *line manager* and other functionary, if applicable, must not only consider the merits of the application to conduct the research, but also the availability of the relevant records or information and the impact that the research will have on the performance by employees of their duties and functions and the demands that it will place on the resources of the Service.

(4) The relevant *line manager* and other functionary, if applicable, must confirm their views in this regard in writing to the Head: Strategic Management.

(5) If the Head: Strategic Management and the relevant *line manager* agree, the Head: Strategic Management may —

(a) subject to subparagraph (7), approve the application; or

(b) disapprove the application.

(6) If the Head: Strategic Management and the relevant *line manager* disagree regarding the merits of the application and the availability of the records or information required or the effect of research on the duties of members and resources of the Service, the Head: Strategic Management must submit the application together with his or her recommendations and the recommendations of the relevant *line manager* to the relevant Deputy National Commissioner for a final decision on the application.

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(7) In the case of an application for research to be conducted nationally, in more than one province or relating to officials of the Service holding the rank of Assistant Commissioner or a higher rank, and the Head: Strategic Management and the relevant *line manager* agree that the application should be approved, the Head: Strategic Management must submit the application together with his or her recommendations and those of the relevant *line manager* to the relevant Deputy National Commissioner for a final decision.

(8) The relevant Deputy National Commissioner or the Head: Strategic Management, whichever may be applicable, must in writing inform the researcher of the outcome of the application, and if approved, set out the conditions upon which the approval was granted and indicate the limits, if any, placed on conducting the research.

5. Conditions

(1) If an application is approved, the *researcher* must be informed in writing that the approval is granted provided that the *researcher* signs an undertaking (of which a copy must be attached to the letter) to comply with the conditions upon which the research was approved.

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(2) The undertaking must mention the conditions set by the Head: Strategic Management and must indemnify the Service against any claim for any loss or damage caused by or to any equipment used during conducting the *research* and against any claim for any loss or damage or any other moneys for which the Service may be held liable as a consequence of its involvement in the project and the *researcher* must at least undertake that he or she —

(a) will at his or her exclusive cost, provide all equipment of whatsoever nature used to conduct the *research*;

(b) will conduct the *research* without any disruption of the duties of members of the Service and where it is necessary for the *research goals, research procedure* or *research instruments* to disrupt the duties of a member, prior arrangements must be made in good time with the commander of such member;

(c) will not divulge information received from a member of the Service or any person with whom the *researcher* conducted an interview, and that the information will at all times be treated as strictly confidential. If information pertains to the investigation of a crime or a criminal case, the *researcher* must acknowledge that he or she, by *publication* thereof, may also be guilty of defeating or obstructing the course of justice or contempt of court;

(d) will pay fees or comply with further procedures in the Service, such as fees or procedures applicable to obtain access to a record of the Service;

(e) will allow the Service fourteen days to peruse the report in order to determine whether it complies with all conditions for the approval of the research before it is published in any manner and, if it is found not to comply with any condition, that he or she will not publish it; and

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(f) will donate an annotated copy of the *research* work to the Service.