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**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY AND THE
REPORTING BEHAVIOURS OF VICTIMS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: A
CASE STUDY OF BOTHAVILLE IN THE FREE STATE PROVINCE**

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of**

Master of Social Work

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

By

Innocent Mwatsiya

Supervisor: Professor N.J.Mesatywa

June 2015

ABSTRACT

This research study explored the relationship between economic dependency and the reporting behaviours of victims of intimate partner violence. The study was conducted using qualitative methods. Data was gathered using semi-structured interviews and a focus group discussion. Data analysis was done using thematic analysis where themes were allowed to emerge from the raw data findings. The study intended to explore the experiences; reporting behaviours; coping strategies and available sources of support for victims of intimate partner violence. The study drew mainly from literature and the tenets of the Resource Theory as well as the Learned Helplessness Theory.

The study established that economic dependency supported the existence of intimate partner violence owing to the fact that victims of intimate partner violence feared financial vulnerability should they report the perpetrator resulting in his arrest. It was also established that the relationship between economic dependency and the reporting behaviours of victims of intimate partner violence was compounded by the number of children the victim had including the number of family members dependent on the victims besides her own children. More dependents were linked to a lesser likelihood of reporting intimate partner violence. This was due to the fact that more dependents translated into a greater financial burden in the absence of the source of income; the perpetrator.

On the other hand, the study also established that even those victims who were employed, though earning lesser money than their partners (the perpetrators), did not leave abusive relationships. This was linked to the possibility of learned helplessness as well as the possibility of their individual incomes being too little to afford them a life away from the perpetrator. The study also established that victims of intimate partner violence experienced physical violence more than all other forms of violence. Availability of support, frequency and severity of abuse were identified as determinants of the timing for reporting. The study established that families were the most active sources of social support for victims of intimate partner violence whilst all professional networks of support were discovered to be functional. The study made several following recommendations including awareness raising, introduction of

policy amendments and the inclusion of victims of intimate partner violence in income generating projects. Lastly the study concluded that little has been done and much needs to be done regarding the alleviation of the conditions of victims of intimate partner violence across the divide.



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DECLARATION

I, Innocent Mwatsiya do hereby declare that this work, with the exception of quotations or references which have been attributed to their authors, is entirely my own and has never been submitted elsewhere.

Date: 05 MAY 2015

Signature:



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DEDICATION

This thesis is humbly dedicated to all women experiencing intimate partner violence in one form or another.

STAND UP AND BE COUNTED!!!!!!!!!!



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude goes firstly to the Lord God Almighty, creator and provider of all that sustains our livelihood. I thank you for the opportunity you granted me to conduct the study. I also extend my gratitude to all those who supported me actively during the time I was preparing for and conducting the study. Special mention goes to my supervisor Prof. N J Mesatwya; your dedication is unprecedented. I thank my mother, Mrs. N. Mwatsiya nee Makurire who always asked me when I was going to graduate. Your persistence motivated me to carry through the down moments of my academic journey. I would like to thank my family in general, Mike, Emmanuel, Lydia and the young one, Abigail Mirirai Mwatsiya. Thank you very much to Child Welfare South Africa: Kgotsong for the permission to access the participants of the study.



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Chapter One

Introduction and background to the study

1.1. Introduction and background

Whilst every woman could be classified as being vulnerable to being victimised, partly due to historical power imbalances and patriarchal attitudes in society (Watts and Zimmerman; 2002), the plight of the financially dependent woman is arguably of greater significance. This is attributable to the fact that the perpetrator of the abuse may most likely be the only source of income for the victim of abuse. The consequential conflict of interest, precisely the conflict between the need to report the abuse and the need for financial security, hypothetically intersects with the victim's ability and willingness to report the perpetrator. It was from such an ideological standpoint that the researcher sought to empirically engage in a study of the topic precisely put as; the relationship between intimate partner violence and the reporting behaviours of victims of intimate partner violence.

A 2008 survey by the United Nations established that 89 percent of victims of Intimate Partner Violence were women (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2009). Even more interesting is to note that together with the above provided statistic, are the findings of the Quarterly Labour Force Survey done by Statistics South Africa for the period of January to March 2013 (dated 6 May 2013). The Survey established that 49.1 per cent of the 4.6 million unemployed South Africans, at the time, were women (STATSSA, 2013).

Further, such statistics raise justifiable concerns when viewed in light that the rate of Intimate Partner Violence cases which were being dropped midway through the litigation process in the study area were also ever increasing. The South African Police Service recorded that between 31 March 2010 and 1 April 2011 in Bothaville, the study area, 517 cases of Intimate Partner Violence were reported and all of the cases had women as victims. However, according to the South African Police Service (SAPS) of those cases, 276 did not successfully complete the process of litigation as midway some of the victims denied all charges and refused to turn up for court hearings thus resulting in the release of the perpetrators or the closing of the police investigation dockets.

87 percent of these cases involved married couples who were either customarily or legally married and where the wife was not working and the man was the breadwinner. Of those, 93 percent involved couples with one or more children. The rest were instances of cohabitation and/or unmarried partners and in most of these the woman was either working or yet living in the same

house with the man thus had relatively autonomous financials. The above statistics suggested an apparent link between the two concepts, namely economic dependency and the reporting behaviours of victims of Intimate Partner Violence, which, in part, formed the basis of the motivation for the current researcher to undertake the study.

The study area, Bothaville, was part of the Vaal Triangle known for its maize production (National Department of Agriculture, 2004). The dominant economic activity in this area is farming. As such many women were unemployed as they could not secure white collar jobs on the farms since historically they were disadvantaged and denied access to education. They also failed to compete with their male counterparts when it came to the labour demands of blue collar farm work.

Subsequent to that, most women in these circumstances are relegated to be caregivers at home since farm work required one parent to live on the farm for the whole farming season and the other to be the primary caregiver for the children at home. Men generally assumed the role of staying on the farms away from the family as their women became the caregiver at home. This resulted in a general trend of women becoming dependent on men for material provision.

Kelly and Johnson (2008) conducted a study to determine the relationship between unemployment in victims of intimate partner violence and the rates of reporting victimization. The study established that in the 25 to 35 age range, victims were less kin to report violence where they were unemployed. Older victims were noted to be more likely to report being violated than the younger ones. Kelly and Johnson (2008) linked the trends to the fact that the younger victims had grater responsibilities in the form of dependent children whereas for older victims children were either old or in some instances independent. As such, their study suggested to the current researcher that the age of children was a determinant of whether or not the victim would report victimization. The researcher incorporated the suggestions into the current study.

A similar study was also done by Ingram (2007). Unlike Kelly and Johnson (2008), Ingram (2007) studied the rate of reporting over a five year period for a group of victims. It was observed that for all victims frequency of reporting was higher within the first year of exposure to violence, medium within the second year and low for years three to five. This was linked to rising level of tolerance at the backdrop of the pressure from relatives to contain intimate partner violence as a domestic issue with the prejudicial assumption that it was normal. Though Ingram (2007) did not stratify the victims on the basis of their employment, the questionnaires used in the study asked the victims about their sources of income. The results indicated that for those victims who indicated that they did not have any sources of income, non-reporting began as early as the second year. The researcher also took into consideration the findings of Ingram (2007) in this study.

The following part will contain a brief description of the problem studied.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Lawson (2012) mentions that there are renowned schools of thought, in the form of behavioural and social theorists that have put forward the suggestion that there is a belief that women are inferior to men and this is likely to be the key to the initiation of Intimate Partner Violence by men. Though authors who subscribe to such ideas increase by the day (Lawson, 2012), polarised views still exist in the form of biological theorists, for instance, who argue that certain individuals are born with an inclination to be violent and given the right conditions, such individuals are likely to be perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence.

Whilst arguments from both the sociological and biological camps are admittedly attractive and the discussions sprouting from such are equally eye opening, the researcher was less interested in delving into the over-trodden path of the causes of Intimate Partner Violence. This decision came from the realization that the causes of Intimate Partner Violence are multi-facial in nature and cannot be located within a single domain be it social, biological or otherwise. More so, it has been viewed as not sufficient to merely locate the causes of the problem without looking at the factors which contribute to the life of the problem.

As such, the study's point of entry is after the onset of Intimate Partner Violence. However, rather than tracing the history and possible causes of the violence, the study has taken the path of assessing a particular factor which was hypothesized as sustaining the life of the violence; namely economic dependency. The researcher was thus interested in examining the possible involvement of economic dependency on the perpetuation of Intimate Partner Violence.

This study as such explored the relationship on how economic dependency could be related to the reporting patterns and reporting decisions of victims of intimate partner violence at Bothaville.

1.3. Research questions

The research questions which this study aimed to answer were as follows;

- To what extent is economic dependency a factor in the non-reporting of abuse by victims of Intimate Partner Violence?
- What coping strategies are of assistance to victims of Intimate Partner Violence?
- What are the reporting trends amongst financially dependent and financially independent victims of Intimate Partner Violence?

- How do professional and social networks such as social workers, the police, families, friends and the neighbours assist victims of Intimate Partner Violence?

1.4. Aim of the study

Fouche in (de Vos, 2002:107) broadly defines the aim as the more abstract conception of the end goal toward which effort is directed and objectives are the more concrete, measurable steps a researcher undertakes to fulfil the aim of the research.

The aim of this study was to conduct exploratory research to establish the relationship between economic dependency and the reporting behaviours of victims of Intimate Partner Violence.

The objectives of the research were:

- To explore the perceptions of financially dependent victims of Intimate Partner Violence
- To find out the reporting behaviours of victims of Intimate Partner Violence
- To investigate the coping strategies of victims of Intimate Partner Violence
- To examine the availability of support structures to victims of Intimate Partner Violence in Bothaville

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1.5. Significance of the study

The study represents a theoretical paradigm shift from the focus on the perpetrator, which at most times degenerated into excusing the perpetrators actions, to a focus on the victim and her circumstances.

Therefore, the study can be taken as crucial in helping policy makers to review legislations and legal frameworks that exist in lieu to partner violence

Social service practitioners may have to shape intimate partner violence interventions to be in line with the felt needs of the victims.

The publication of the research would enable access to the study and possible use by policy makers and service providers.

1.6. Research design and methodology

The following section has described briefly the practical aspects of the study and has related to, inter alia, the method of research used, type of sampling strategy, tools of data collection and methods of data analysis and presentation.

1.6.1. Research methodology

The research was done using qualitative research methods. According to Schi and Tao (2008), qualitative research is a method of inquiry employed in many different academic disciplines it focuses on explaining three components of phenomenon. First it seeks to establish “why” a particular subject is like what it is like, secondly, it avails to “what” it is and lastly, it focuses on “how” it has to be like that. It goes beyond elaborating on the “what, where and when” components of phenomena.

Qualitative research methods were imperative and significant in the research for two main reasons. Firstly, the nature of the research required that the participants to express their true and detailed perceptions in order to highlight the exact relationship between the two variables which were being studied. A qualitative design gave more room for such data to be captured.

Secondly, qualitative research allowed the researcher the flexibility to probe initial participant responses. Respondents often gave incomplete information thus necessitating the researcher to follow up with a probing question. This was permissible under qualitative research whereas it would be impossible to do on a questionnaire based research.

Qualitative research also attached meaning and emotion to the expressions of the participants. This was desirable since it enabled the researcher to gain a holistic picture of the phenomenon under investigation. Thus by using qualitative research methods, the researcher was able to scale the relationships between economic dependency and Intimate Partner Violence.

The study was also exploratory in nature as minimal research has been previously conducted in this area of study.

1.6.2. Sampling

The following part has explained the processes used to select the cases to participate in this research; a process called sampling (Schi and Tao; 2008).

For the purposes of this study, two (2) samples were utilised. Their composition and sampling procedures are explained hereunder.

Sample 1

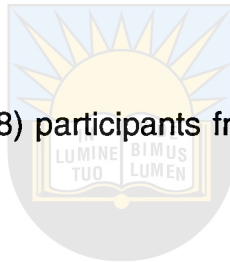
The first sample constituted victims of Intimate Partner Violence. Twenty (20) participants made up the sample. Relational outcropping was used to select these participants. Lee (1999) defines relational outcropping as the use of a group of participants based on their geographical and/or

otherwise proximity. According to Lee (1999) this method is useful for studying rare population groups. Thus the researcher locates himself where the action is by making use of a location of sorts where the group of interest is located.

Issues of representation and other concerns associated with relational outcropping were given due attention at a later stage in this research. What was of significance at this stage however is the fact that the researcher was aware that a sample composed through relational outcropping had the distinct possibility of being biased by excluding socially marginalized individuals. The selected twenty (20) participants were attending support groups to victims of intimate partner violence at Child Welfare, South Africa in the area of Kgotsong. An effort was made to include both employed and unemployed victims of intimate partner violence so as to allow for juxtaposition of the findings in line with the employment status of the participants.

Sample 2

The second sample constituted of eight (8) participants from the following different social service professionals:



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- Social worker
- Pastor
- Police Officer directly working with victims of Intimate Partner Violence
- Magistrate
- Prosecutor
- Councillor
- Non- governmental organization employee and
- Criminal Court Manager

Purposive sampling was used to select these participants since the researcher was looking for certain characteristics to qualify eligibility into this sample such as position held and/or academic background. Purposive sampling as defined by Schi and Tao (2008) is the selection of study units wherein the researcher is consciously involved in handpicking the participants in line with certain attributes deemed as crucial to the carrying out of the study.

1.6.3. Data Collection

Data for the first sample was collected using interview schedules personally constructed by the researcher. Steinberg (1994) defines an interview schedule as a set of questions which the researcher keeps with himself and fills in answers as he/she proceeds with his/her inquiry. The

interview schedule was translated into seSotho since the majority of the participants were seSotho speaking. The researcher personally conducted all individual interviews and with the consent of each participant, the researcher tape recorded the interview and later transcribed it.

Focus Group Discussion

The researcher used a once off focus group discussion for the second sample. According to Cohen (2000) focus group discussions are a method of data collection where a group of people may be brought together and led by a moderator to discuss their opinions, preferences, beliefs and attitudes towards a certain topic or range thereof with a view to have a qualitative insight into their perceptions regarding the subject matter under discussion. Thus all eight (8) participants of the second sample participated in one focus group discussion so as to get a holistic picture of the study from the different perspectives of the different practitioners involved. This was conducted in line with the objectives of the study.

1.7. Data analysis

The data gathered from the individual participants was analysed using the thematic approach. According to Harper and Lantz; (2005), thematic analysis refers to an approach that primarily uses detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts and/or key themes.

The use of thematic analysis meant that the researcher allowed the theory to emerge from the data. Harper and Lantz (2005) further point out that the primary purpose of the thematic approach is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies.

The researcher observed that the free-flowing nature of thematic analysis made the research process less predictive and more liberal in nature. Gaber (2010, p. 56) describes thematic analysis as being goal free because evaluators wish to describe the actual program effects, not just planned effects. The author further mentions that this method requires a lot of attention to detail and is usually time consuming.

The researcher triangulated the data from the focus group discussion with the data from the individual interviews to ascertain major and minor themes and to ensure the validity and reliability of the study. The method of analysis propounded by Tesch (Creswell, 2009: 186) was followed. It consisted of the following steps;

- Planning
- Examination

- Listing
- Abbreviation
- Description
- Preliminary analysis
- Reporting

The details of how the researcher undertook the process of data analysis at each stage are given in a later chapter in this research.

1.8. Conclusion of description of methodology

In the section above, the attempt was to show and justify the work and processes which were followed in terms of the practical aspects of the study. It has been highlighted that the study was qualitative and sampling was done using relational outcropping and purposive sampling for the first and second samples respectively. Conclusively, it can be noted that overall, twenty eight (28) participants were involved in the study and the data collected was analysed as according to the eight steps given by Tesch (Creswell, 2009: 186).

The following table shows the relationship between the objectives, research question, data sources and also offers justifications for those connections

TABLE 1: RESEARCH METHODS LINKED TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

Research Objective	Research Question	Data sources and methods	Justification
To explore the perceptions of financially dependent victims of intimate partner violence	To what extent is economic dependency a factor in the non-reporting of abuse by financially dependent victims of intimate partner violence?	Victims of intimate partner violence: Interviews: Qualitative	Victims of intimate partner violence have first-hand and reliable information regarding their experiences.
To find out the reporting behaviours of victims of intimate partner violence	What are the reporting trends amongst financially dependent victims of intimate partner violence?	Social service practitioners and victims of intimate partner violence: A focus group discussion and in depth interviews: Qualitative.	Social service practitioners observe whilst victims experience the reporting behaviours. A focus group is time efficient and individual interviews reap more information.
To investigate the coping strategies of victims of intimate partner violence	What coping strategies are of assistance to victims of intimate partner violence	Victims and social service practitioners: A focus group and in depth interviews: Qualitative.	Whilst victims have first-hand knowledge of their coping strategies, practitioners such as social workers have experience

			with the most dominant coping mechanisms.
To investigate the kind of services which are offered by social service practitioners and families to victims of intimate partner violence.	How do social and professional networks such as the police, social workers, families, friends and neighbours assist victims of intimate partner violence?	Social service practitioners and victims: A focus group and in depth interviews: Qualitative.	Social service practitioners know the services they give and victims have information on how accessible and efficient those services are.

As is shown in the table above, every objective was related to a research question. Furthermore, it can be seen that they were specific data sources and data collection methods for each objective with its related research question. The table also explains, at each stage, why specific data collection methods and sources were selected.

1.9. Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations refer to the undertaking by an individual to respect the specific ethical values governing a particular profession, trade or industry (Strydom; 2002). The current researcher observed the maximum possible precaution and consideration of facts and undertakings which ensured the safety, humane treatment and which guaranteed freedom on the part of the participants who took part in the study. The researcher applied for an ethical clearance certificate through the Ethics Committee of the University of Fort Hare and after receiving the certificate (Appendix 1) the study was conducted and the following ethical considerations were observed;

1.9.1. Voluntary participation

The researcher observed the principle of voluntary participation which entails that no participant under whatever circumstance was forced to participate in the research. The Australian Law Reform Commission (ALRC) refers to voluntary participation as the conscious willingness of respondents at every stage of the research process. Emphasis is put on the aspect of every stage of the process since participants need not only agree to enter the study but also to stay in the study.

1.9.2. Informed consent

The ALRC (undated) refers to informed consent as the researcher's efforts to inform research respondents of the possible consequences, risks and benefits of the study before engaging them

into the study including that at any point, they can choose to discontinue with the study and no explanation will be sought from them. In this study, this process was done verbally.

1.9.3. No harm

Strydom (2002) highlights that the researcher must ensure that no harm will come to the participants in any way as a result of their decision to participate in a study. Since the current study was on a sensitive topic, the researcher strived to model questions in a way that protected the emotional and mental well-being of the participants and avoided trauma and/or reliving of the abuse. The social auxiliary worker running the support groups for the participants of the study at Child Welfare SA: Kgotsong agreed to provide intermediate counselling should any participants appear to be or indicate that they needed counselling after an interview.

1.9.4. Freedom from coercion and deception

Strydom (2002) emphasizes that researchers need to be open to respondents concerning the intentions of a study. This entails that the respondents are free from coercion and deception. Thus, in this study, a verbal contract was entered into by the researcher and the participants indicating the intentions of the researcher and that the participants will be free from coercion and deception at every point of their participation in the study.

1.9.5. Confidentiality

Schi and Tao (2008) discussed in depth the principle of confidentiality. An important aspect as per their discussion is the issue of relativity of confidentiality. This refers to the fact that whilst respondents' personal names may not be published yet their collective contributions to the study forms the larger part of the findings of a study without implicating them in any way. The researcher explained to the participants how confidentiality would be handled in the study including that they could either opt out of the study or seek clarity where they felt the confidentiality of their responses and/or identity would be compromised.

1.9.6. Responsibility for own work

Strydom (2002) explains that the researcher should remain responsible for his/her own work and actions and should further respect the promises and commitments stated in the contracts entered into with the subjects including the promise to avail the findings of the study to the general community in the study area. The researcher undertook to take full responsibility of the study including any commitments made to the respondents.

1.10. Theoretical Framework

The study was underpinned by two theories; namely the Resource theory and the Theory of Learned Helplessness. The part below will briefly explain the theories and their relevance to the study.

The Resource Theory

The Resource theory was propounded by William Goode (1917-2003) in 1971. Firstly, in the theory Goode (1971) assumed that all social systems, including the family, are based on the threat or actuality of the use of force. As such, one's status within the family system is proportional to the level of resources (social, personal or economic) at their disposal.

Secondly, Goode argues that the more resources a person has, in the family system, the less force that person will use in an open manner since that person already has power based on their resources. According to him, violence occurs when there is a struggle for power as a result of a lack of resources.

Thirdly, he argues that women who are most dependent on their spouses for resources and/or financial well being like housewives, women with handicaps or unemployed women are vulnerable and always fear the increased financial burden if they leave their marriages.

Lastly Goode argues that relationships in which financial power is shared happen to be able to resort to violence less often than those where the financial power is concentrated in the hands of one partner.

These four aspects of Goode's theory had a lot bearing on this study. For instance Goode's (1971) first argument regarding resource control and power in the family, when viewed in the context of his second argument on resource control and use of force would suggest that husbands with more financial resource control resort less to violence and even lesser to open violence. These implications were used as a point of departure for data analysis in the current study together with the implications of his third and fourth arguments respectively.

The Theory of Learned Helplessness

The theory of learned helplessness was propounded by Seligman in 1965. The theory suggests that, individuals exposed to prolonged negative stimuli may become mentally unable and may lose the willingness to avoid subsequent exposure to such stimuli. This is attributed to the development of a phallacious mindset that the individual is unable to escape the stimuli owing to the fact that previous attempts to escape the stimulus would have yielded no results. As such, according to the

theory, where the individual perceives that he or she does not have any sort of control over their situation they may cease to try to correct the situation thus falling into a state of learned helplessness.

The theory suggested three categories of reasons used by individuals with learned helplessness. These are internal, stable and global attributions. An internal attribution blames the failure on the concerned individual and not his or her environment. An example is an individual who fails a driving test and then takes the failure to mean he is dull and useless. Thus, such an individual may believe themselves to be dull and as such failing subsequent tests. On the stable attribution, the individual assuming that they are dull because they failed a single test assumes a belief about themselves which is stable over time and across all situations thus he or she will have used a stable attribution. The third and last type of attribution is the global attribution. Having failed a specific task, individuals with a learned helplessness mentality globalize their failure to other generic spheres of their life.

All tenets of the theory of Learned Helplessness were included during data analysis in this study. Where the theory suggests, for instance that having tried to escape a situation unsuccessfully over a period of time, individuals are bound to give up and remain in the same circumstances the researcher juxtaposed the theory's tenets against the findings of the study for victims who had tried to escape victimization with no success.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the introduction and background to the study, the problem statement; the aim and objectives of the study; the research questions, the theoretical framework and the research methods used in this research. The significance of the study will be extensively dealt with in the research methodology chapter. However, the following chapter highlight various theoretical discourses that were utilized in the study.

CHAPTER 2

Perceptions and experiences of victims of intimate partner violence

2.1. Introduction

The discussion of the available literature on the perceptions and experiences of victims of intimate partner violence was important to this study primarily for two reasons. Firstly, it enabled the researcher to gain insight into the contributions of various authors regarding the frame of reference of victims of intimate partner violence. This gave the researcher an appropriate context and background from which to approach the study topic.

Secondly, such an insight assisted the researcher at the stage where the findings of the study were analysed as it situated the findings in a wider pool of other findings from similar and different study areas. When the study was placed in the context of previous literature, contrasting and generalization of the findings was enabled.

As a point of departure, the researcher has focused on how intimate partner violence became an area of national and international recognition. Such a background is essential to this chapter since it will equip one with an understanding of the progress and milestones reached as well as problems in the movement of intimate partner violence's previous recognition as a familial problem to where it currently is. This information will also help to contextualize the information by giving one a timeline view of the development of the combating of intimate partner violence.

Before delving into the history of intimate partner violence, the chapter also focused on the prevalence of Intimate partner violence by category and by different social groups before looking into the various consequences of violence within intimate relationships. The current researcher also, examined literature on victims' use of medical services, their involvement with the justice system including police responses to reports of violence. The following part discussed the prevalence of different forms of intimate partner violence.

2.2. Prevalence of forms of intimate violence

There seems to be no universal definition of what constitutes intimate partner violence or rather the point at which one's actions may be deemed to be violent towards another. For instance, Black (2011) offers an extensive discussion on issues of differentiating between intimate partner stalking and the actions of a partner trying to reconcile with his former wife/girlfriend. In the discussion, the writer highlights the sensitivity of tracing the point at which a man may request his wife to get back

with him after a separation and this can be deemed as harassing the wife. In terms of crafting legislations and prosecuting alleged offenders, problems may arise regarding marking the boundaries between actions regardless of the severity of the violence (Cockram; 2003).

The National Institute for Justice NVAW (2009) has provided interesting findings that pertain to intimate partner physical assault. In this survey, physical assault has been defined as a range of behaviours including but not limited to slapping and hitting, shoving, pushing and using a gun. The findings were that, of the women who took part in the survey, 22.1 percent and 7.4 percent of the men reported that they had been physically assaulted by a current or former intimate partner at some point in their history.

Furthermore, 1.3 percent of the female participants reported that they had been victims of such abuse in the 12 months preceding the survey whilst 0.9 percent of the male participants reported likewise. This suggests that men are more likely to be perpetrators of physical violence in intimate relationships than women on average.

Mulrony (2006) supports this conclusion on the basis of a 2006 study he conducted in Southern Australia citing that most men are typically physically stronger than their female partners in intimate relationships and thus most likely to be perpetrators of physical violence.

However, based on a questionnaire survey, Saunders (2002) suggest that more men experience physical violence and yet are shy to come forward and report it for fear of ridicule and owing to social perceptions of men as being brave and more powerful than women. Thus reporting physical abuse would incite society to view the male reporter as weak which is an undesirable perception on his part. Though Saunders (2002) agrees that exact figures on the extent of female perpetrated physical violence cannot be given, at present, due to the silence around the subject, he argues that it is higher than is reflected in formal statistics.

Furthermore, results from the National Institute for Justice NVAW (2009) Survey established that very few victims, both male and female, reported serious or life threatening experiences of intimate partner violence. The majority of physical assaults reported consisted of minor pushing; grabbing, shoving and at times slapping and hitting. The researchers found out that very few participants reported incidents where an intimate had aimed at them with an object which could potentially hurt them, kicked them, severely beat them or threatened them with a weapon. An even smaller percentage reported that at some point, they had been in a situation where an intimate partner had actually used the weapon on them.

Intimate partner stalking

The NVAW (2009) survey also brought forward discourse about stalking as one of the tactics that could be used in an abusive relationship. The survey has defined stalking as actions from the perpetrator that instils a high level of fear on the victim's part. In this light the researchers found out that amongst women, 4.8 percent reported being stalked by a current and/or former intimate partner. The comparable figure for men was 0.6 percent. In the 12 months preceding the survey, 0.5 percent of women and 0.2 percent of the men had been stalked by an intimate partner. These figures evidently show that more women are victims of stalking from male partners whilst more men are perpetrators.

Whilst it could be that men are simply perpetrators of stalking, a suggestion by McFarlane (1999) gives an alternative view to this conclusion. The author suggests that due to the traditional unwritten assignment of responsibilities wherein the man is seen as the one responsible for initiating an intimate relationship, more men are more likely to cross the line in their quest to initiate dialogue or reconcile themselves to former partners. Without condoning stalking, McFarlane (1999) cites that due to the frustration that results when the man's appeal is not heeded by the woman, they may resort to extreme measures which may instil great fear in the woman and thus be classified as stalking.

Whilst McFarlane (1999) gives quite a reasonable argument, the current researcher is of the opinion that with evolvement of culture, more and more women are free to express their feelings and to initiate dialogue in a bid to reconcile intimate relationships. Thus, McFarlane's (1999) attempt to portray the man as a victim of culture and traditional role assignments falls short of reality and appears to be set in an archaic world where women are passive and men are strong and dominate intimate relationships.

Intimate partner rape

The Human Rights Watch (2007) notes with concern, that not all countries recognize rape in a marriage as a crime. In countries like Afghanistan, Bahamas, Zambia and Nigeria it is not yet recognized that rape can occur within an intimate relationship. The current researcher notes that such trends show slow progress in the global movement of the recognition of intimate partner violence as a real problem.

A 2010 study compiled by the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) established that South Africa has the highest number of rapes per capita in the world. This finding is augmented by the United Nations Office on Crimes and Drugs report for

the period 1998–2000. The WCC and WSCF (2010) study found out that in every four men, one man admits to being a victim of rape and one in twenty admitted having raped someone in the past year. One in ten men admitted that they had been victims of rape where the perpetrator was another man. It was further noted that, it is estimated that every 26 seconds a woman is raped in South Africa. Such statistics are a great cause for concern in terms of the progress of the global feminist movement and the fight against intimate partner violence.

Further, in San Francisco, a study of 390 women, established that 8 percent of those women were survivors of marital rape (Black, 2011). A separate study conducted in Boston, with 323 previously married or cohabitating women (Walby and Myhill, 2004) found that 10 (ten) percent of the women were survivors of intimate partner rape. Furthermore, the NVAW Survey (2009) established that 7.7 percent of women in the United States of America have been raped by an intimate partner at some time in their lifetime. This is in tally with the findings of the community based studies in San Francisco and Boston.

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) is a survey which is conducted annually by the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics for the purposes of generating year to year estimates for rape and sexual assault both for men and for women. The 2008–09 NCVS data found that the annual average rate of sexual assault and rape amongst female intimate partners aged 12 years and above was 1 person per 1,000. This estimate is however a bit lower than the one generated by the NVAW (2009) survey for the same year which is 3.2 per 1,000 women aged 18 years and older as mentioned in this study.

Economic control and material deprivation

Denial of access to food, warmth and sleep can be part of the psychological violence typical of some intimate relationships. Recently Amnesty International (2004) acknowledged sleep deprivation as a form of torture. This gives a legal ground for the categorization of sleep deprivation as a form of abuse even in intimate relationships. Pence and Paymar (1993) have cited that deliberate material deprivation constitutes financial abuse in various international definitions of domestic violence.

Specifically, Pence and Paymar (1993) define financial abuse as the deliberate unfair distribution and control of income between intimate partners. Financial abuse is different from poverty wherein both partners do not have enough financial resources for one reason or the other. Financial abuse mostly occurs when women with wealthy partners, as well as those from average or low income backgrounds, are subjected to deliberate economic deprivation.

Another rampant manifestation of financial abuse, according to Pence and Paymar (1993), occurs where women work, get government grants or have their own independent source of income yet all this money is taken by their partners using violence, threats or otherwise. Pence and Paymar (1993) also note that perpetrators of violence may cause women to lose their jobs through harassment in the workplace so as to make the women dependent on them. No formal statistics on economic control and deprivation could be found for the purposes of this study.

Coercion and control

Coercion and control refer primarily to actions by the perpetrator which do not involve the victim's consent and include exerting power and subverting the victim's will (Kirkwood; 1993). Furthermore, examples such as a woman who is mandated to seek permission from the man before she can exit the house or one who is not allowed to interact with anyone outside the house without the man accompanying her have been cited. This may include issues like women's cell phones being monitored, their letters in the mail opened or in extreme cases they may even find themselves being locked in the house literally. There are several other forms of control and some of the most common features between them are that they limit the mobility and autonomy of the victim and deprive her of the freedom to associate.

Psychological/emotional abuse

Mind games can be very influential and are indeed very rampant in perpetrator's attempts to further emotional or psychological violence (Kirkwood; 1993). When the perpetrator is said to be playing mind games, the perpetrator may attempt to convince the victim that the abuse is their fault.

The Institute of Security Studies' (ISS) 1999 research project in South Africa found that 90% of the female participants had been victims of emotional abuse. Most of them reported that being humiliated in front of people was the most rampant manifestation of emotional abuse. Emotional abuse was mentioned by at least 63 percent of the participants either on its own or in conjunction with other forms of abuse.

Kirkwood (1993) goes on to mention that though psychological abuse can be a form of abuse on its own, it can also result from other forms of abuse since abuse in general is psychologically distressing. Thus victims may develop anxiety disorders, eating and sleeping disorders and even depression. The writer further offers a typology of strategies of psychological abuse which he argues are the cornerstone of psychological abuse. These six are;

- Threats

- Degradation
- Objectification
- Deprivation
- An overburden of responsibility and
- A distortion of reality aimed at negatively affecting the confidence and belief system of the victim.

Mullender (1996) comment that these strategies may not be used in isolation and may have some other lying implications such as; sexual and physical abuse being often accompanied by psychological abuse. The effect may be that, apart from dominating the victim mentally, the perpetrator may also instil fear into the victim. Once the fear of further attacks is established, the perpetrator may merely resort to threats, gestures and glares to maintain compliance on the victim's part. Fear triggering behaviour such as shouting, prolonged silence, hitting the walls, destroying property and injuring pets or children may as well accompany the stares and glares. This is noted to be a double infliction of the torture of violence by making the victim to watch the perpetrator victimizing other objects with the clear implication that if the victim does not comply to the demands of the perpetrator, she will be next. Thus victims will live in constant fear and terror for their very lives (Mullender, 1996:23–4)

Nonetheless, one could highlight that this may be different and yet similar to experiences of intimate partner violence to those of war strategies of brainwashing of political prisoners and the torture of conflict hostages. The latter groups may both and similarly be 'stripped of all freedoms and deprived of sleep, never knowing when the next beating will be' (pg. 25) just like victims of intimate partner psychological violence.

Pence and Paymar (1993) have argued that although intimate partner violence has various manifestations, it is the psychological violence which works as a foundation and keeps all the other forms in place. Additionally, all other forms of violence may exist unchallenged by victims because of the psychological threats which the victim is exposed to and the emotional abuse which contextualises all of this.

The authors further argue that, consequently, once violence is initiated in a relationship, the perpetrator may resort to threats of violence most of the time without the actuality of such violence. However, the victim's psychological state of mind will force them to live in fear as desired by the perpetrator even in the absence of actual force. Thus whilst the perpetrator may initially have to

rely on the actuality of violence through physical assault and deprivation of certain rights, with time, the threat of the use of such violence tends to work just as much as the use of the violence would. This highlights the influence of psychological torture as a form of violence. Whether in the absence of the actuality of violence, such coercive and controlling psychological behaviours can be perceivable as violence 'in their own right' and this can be a matter of continuing definitional debate.

The role of psychological violence versus actual violence was a crucial point in this research. If it could be accepted that psychological violence accounts for why victims do not report intimate partner violence then economic dependency could be said to be influential in explaining non-reporting of violence

2.3 History of intimate partner violence

Whilst intimate partner violence is contemporarily clearly recognized as a social and international problem, Dobash and Dobash (2000) highlight that slightly over 30 years ago no public attention was given to intimate partner violence. This was due to the fact that violence in intimate relationships has been regarded as a familial issue and all solutions to it may still be restricted to the level of the family without any government intervention. In the words of Dobash and Dobash (2000), "...the words 'violence' and 'problem' were rarely used in the same sentence" (pg.53). However, according to the Canadian Bar Association (undated), Intimate Partner Violence is the threatened, attempted or completed physical or sexual violence or emotional abuse by a current or former intimate partner. This includes a spouse, an ex-spouse, a current or former boyfriend/girlfriend or a dating partner.

It is notable that several explanations have been offered by different authors on how various important trends contribute to a growing recognition and acceptance that intimate partner violence is indeed a problem to be dealt with socially and/or by means of governmental intervention.

The following part of this chapter will discuss such trends and how they contributed to the development of intimate partner violence's recognition as a problem necessitating international and/or governmental intervention.

Invention of medical cures for biologically infectious diseases

The first available explanation for the growing recognition of intimate partner violence as an area of wider social concern is offered by Dobash and Dobash (2000). They mention that as the United States of America realized successes in curing various biologically infectious diseases around the

midst of the 20th Century, homicide and suicide rose as the major causes of death. Having minimized deaths from biologically infectious diseases, the government then realized in 1965 that homicide and suicide were among the top 15 leading causes of deaths in the United States. According to Dobash and Dobash (2000) this is the point where intimate partner violence gained more relevance since more and more homicides and suicides were linked to the occurrence of intimate partner violence within relationships. Thus, in an effort to protect the safety of the wider society and also lower mortality rates, the government dedicated more focus to intimate partner violence and measures were began to be put in place to lower intimate partner violence in a bid to lower mortality.

Increase in homicide rates amongst minority groups

Lemon (2006) offers a different explanation on how intimate partner violence gained relevance within legal, academic, political and social spheres. Lemon (2006) mentions that, during the 1980s, certain sections of the population such as youths and members of minority groups became more vulnerable to homicide and the risk of suicide amongst such groups had risen to epidemic heights. Amongst adolescents and young adults (15 to 24 years of age) suicide rates tripled between 1950 and 1990. Homicide rates among 15- to 19-year-old males similarly rose from 1985 to 1991 with an astonishing 154 percent. Compared to the rates of the past 20 years, for the same age group, this was a dramatic rise.

According to Lemon (2006), these increases were particularly acute amongst young African Americans where intimate partner violence was also reported to be acute. The result was that such trends raised concerns within the political sphere along the lines of the responsibility of the government towards these minority groups. As such, the resultant pressure on government provoked calls for better solutions other than regarding intimate partner violence as a familial problem.

Acceptance of behavioural factors in preventing and curing diseases

Lemon (2006) further argues that another important development which propped intimate partner violence and gave it more relevance was the fact that it became increasingly acceptable within public health circles that behavioural factors had a key role in the curing and/or prevention of diseases. Behaviour can be defined as the range of actions and mannerisms made by organisms, systems, or artificial entities in conjunction with their environment (Gaber; 2010).

In this study, as such, reporting behaviour has been used to refer to the decisions and resultant actions taken (precisely by victims of intimate partner violence) with regards to giving a formal account of their experiences of Intimate Partner Violence. This may imply referral to actions such as the decision to seek help, opening of court or police cases, dropping of charges, withdrawal and any other decisions that victims made with regards to their experience of Intimate Partner Violence.

Nevertheless, successes in the curing of diseases such as stroke and heart disease using behaviour modifications encouraged the public health community as well as government and other stakeholders to realize that the same results could be achieved for the behavioural problems underlying interpersonal violence. This propelled the recognition of intimate partner violence as an area which could be tackled by government in the same manner.

The Surgeon General's Healthy People Report of 1979

The above mentioned trends and developments led to the publication of several landmark reports that highlighted the social significance of violence. In 1979, a report by the Surgeon General entitled 'Healthy People' documented the successes and gains on how to control stress and violent behaviour. This was an effort to improve the health and quality of life of children women and young adults. Healthy People (1979) report put an emphasis on the fact communities should not side-line the consequences of violent behaviour. The goals for prevention of violence documented in this report were translated into measurable objectives in a document named "Promoting Health/Preventing Disease: Objectives for the nation".

These objectives suggested significant reductions by 1990 in:

- The total number of injuries, abuse and deaths of children
- The rate of homicide amongst the 15 to 24 age range for black males
- Suicide rates of 15 to 24 year olds
- Total number of handguns owned privately by individuals and
- Substantial improvements in the authenticity and reliability of statistics about child abuse and inter-familial violence.

With the publication of this report and the subsequent implementation of its contents came wider societal focus on intimate partner violence.

The Secretary's Task Force Reports (1985 and 1989)

In 1985, the Secretary's Task Force on Black and Minority Health Report identified that one of the major reasons why there was a huge gap between the number of deaths recorded for African Americans (as well as other minorities) and those recorded for non-Hispanic whites was the high rate of homicide amongst the former groups. This was linked to intimate partner violence since, as mentioned before, most homicides included partners in intimate relationships. It served as a major step to the recognition of intimate partner violence as an area requiring major focus.

Further to this, the report of the Secretary's Task Force On Youth Suicide (1989) provided an extensive analysis of the levels of awareness about youth suicide in the country. In a bid to curb the increases in suicide that had occurred over the past three decades, the report also suggested a course of action that has a major focus on intimate partner violence and a more specific emphasis on the need for a multi-sectorial approach to combat intimate partner violence.

2.4 Prevalence of intimate partner violence internationally

In 2009, the National Institute for Justice conducted a nationwide study of the United States of America, termed the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) focusing on both the prevalence and incidence of intimate partner violence. For the purposes of that study, the National Institute for Justice defined prevalence as the percentage of people within a demographic group who had been victimized within a specific period, such as a lifetime or in the 12 months preceding the survey.

In the same study, incidence was defined as the total number of separate occurrences or incidents of violence against a person within a specified period. It was expressed as a victimization rate. The researchers arrived at this rate by dividing the total victimizations committed against a person by the number of persons in the demographic group to which the person is from and expressing the rate in terms of a standard population base (for example 1,000).

The National Institute for Justice used a definition of rape that included attempted and/or completed forced vaginal, anal and oral sex and established that 0.2 percent of surveyed women reported being raped by a partner in the 12 months preceding the survey. Further to this, 7.7 percent of the female participants and 0.3 percent of the male participants reported being raped by a former or current intimate partner at some point in their lifetime. Based on United States census estimates of the number of women aged 18 years and older in the country at the time, an estimated 201,394 women were forcibly raped by an intimate partner in the 12 months preceding

the survey. This indicate the gravity of intimate violence and how it can be under reported by the victims

Prevalence of intimate partner violence among same-sex cohabitants

Research on violence in same-sex relationships in the United State of America has arguably not been so extensive. It has been limited to unrepresentative small samples of same sex couples as done by Owen and Burke (2004) and Messinger (2011). Results from both these studies suggest that same-sex couples are about as violent as heterosexual couples.

The NVAW (2009) Survey is one major scale survey which can be used reliably for prevalence of abuse amongst same sex partners. The data from the survey provides a baseline which could enable a comparison of victimization rates between the genders in same sex intimate relationships.

It should be noted that the researchers who conducted the NVAW (2009) survey did not ask the respondents about their sexual orientation. This is a limitation when considering the generalisation of its findings to same sex couples. However, this limitation can be countered by the fact that the interviewers asked respondents on whether they had ever at some point lived with a same-sex partner as part of a couple. As such, on the grounds of technicalities, it may be argued that despite the absence of the direct question on the sexuality of the respondents, the researchers addressed same sex couples. Thus it is possible to use the survey to view rates of intimate partner violence amongst same sex couples and perhaps to do comparisons of victimization rates between individuals with a history of same-sex cohabitation and those with a history of opposite-sex cohabitation.

The NVAW (2009) survey established that at least one percent (1%) of the female respondents and at least 0.8 percent of the male respondents confirmed that they had been part of a same sex couple in the past. 90 percent of the female interviewees and 86 percent of the men reported marrying/ living with an opposite-sex partner and never with a same-sex partner.

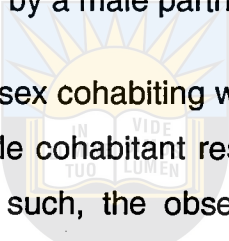
It was established, through the NVAW survey that same-sex cohabitants reported significantly higher incidences of intimate partner violence than did opposite-sex cohabitants. 39.2 percent of the same-sex female cohabitants reported that at some point in their lifetime, an intimate partner had physically assaulted, stalked and/or raped them. Opposite sex female cohabitants reported a much lower (21.7) percentage in the same category of physical assault, rape and stalking. Among men, same sex respondents also reported a higher victimization rate (23.1%) than opposite sex

cohabitants (7.4%).

Whilst these findings, on the surface, may suggest to one that both male and female same-sex couples experience more intimate partner violence than do opposite-sex couples, there was another finding which made this conclusion impossible. When the researchers dissected the victim-perpetrator distribution by gender, an important twist to the previous conclusion was noted. The distribution of victims and perpetrators by gender, established that of the 39.2 percent same sex cohabitants who had reported being victimized by an intimate partner at some point in their lives, 30.4 percent had been victimized by a male partner in a previous relationship and only 8.8 percent had been victimized by a female partner.

Given these percentages, the researcher notes that, female cohabitants in the study were three times more likely to report being victimized by a male partner than by a female partner.

As noted above, 21.7 percent of opposite-sex cohabiting women reported being abused by a man whilst only 8.8 percent of same sex female cohabitant respondents reported that they had been victimized by a female partner. It is as such, the observation of the current researcher that opposite sex cohabitants were more than twice likely to be victimized by a male partner than were same sex female cohabitants.

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In the same survey, men reported similar patterns of prevalence. 0.8 percent of men reported having been part of a same sex couple in the past. Of these, 15.4 percent reported having been victimized by a male partner whilst only 10.8 had been victimized by a woman in a past relationship. These findings suggest that intimate partner violence is perpetrated mostly by men, against both their male and female partners whichever is applicable.

Prevalence of intimate partner violence amongst physically disabled women

Disabled women have been noted through international research (Young et al., 1997; Cockram, 2003) to be high risk targets for victimization more than non-disabled women. A possible explanation for this suggestion is the presence, in many societies, of attitudes and prejudices which act as barriers and serve to discriminate and mentally disable these women. Consequently, they may not be able to access similar services and get the same degree of protection from the law compared to their non-disabled counterpart's access.

Radford et al. (2008) have noted that, despite the presence of social stigma and prejudicial attitudes, the absence of accessible buildings and easy-to-use communication or transport

systems perpetuate the discrimination of such women and marginalize their lived experiences.

Radford et al. (2008) further noted that professionals in the helping industry wrongfully assume that since most physically disabled women are dependent on their partners, they themselves may not be employed. Further, these women would rather be in a relationship with the partner, regardless of the abuse. This argument is an economic argument which elevates the women's financial needs over their general welfare and indicates gross marginalization of these women's lived experiences. It denotes an extremely patronising system wherein disabled women are regarded as second class citizens and decisions are made on their behalf. It is as if physical disability is synonymous with mental derangement.

Radford et al, (2008) notes that the dependence of disabled women on their none or less disabled partners predisposes them to violence. These none or less disabled partners may, as a means of exerting their power and dominance over disabled women, take away from them mobility aids such as wheelchairs. Thus, the disabled woman's source of independence is withdrawn through this act and not only do they have to be more dependent on the perpetrator, but now they may also be unable to travel to report abuse. Thus help seeking may be suspended for these women when their mobility aids are withdrawn purposefully. Further, none or less disabled partners may also mentally humiliate disabled women by employing common prejudices as well as patriarchal ideologies in a bid to convince the disabled victims that no one will ever believe them if they choose to report the violence.

Another method of violence commonly used against disabled women is the withholding of food, medication, and/or essential assistance (Erwin, 2005). Most disabled women depend on their partners to give them medication and to even take them to the toilet. Thus when the partner deliberately withholds these services, it may make the latter's life very uncomfortable with the result that they give in to the abuse so as to secure the assistance of the perpetrator.

Perpetrators may even appeal to social prejudices about disabilities such as mental illness in order for them to perpetuate violence and to discourage any intervention in the event that a mentally disabled victim has sought help. This derives from the fact that in some communities' mental illness carries a particular stigma, and victims with such conditions find it hard for them to be believed if ever they report abuse. Thus the perpetrators take advantage of these prejudices to escape justice (Siddiqui and Patel, 2003).

2.5 Enactment of international legislation

With the progress in public health efforts to mitigate and curb intimate partner violence in the United States, as noted earlier in this chapter, the topic garnered attention abroad. The attention garnered abroad enabled violence to be listed as an item on the agenda in international meetings such as at the 1996 World Health Assembly when resolution WHA49.25 was adopted signifying the formal recognition of violence as “a leading worldwide public health problem” (WHA49.25; 1996).

The resolution mandated the World Health Organization (WHO) to launch public health activities to:

- Document and distinguish the problem of violence
- Gauge the effectiveness of programs, with specific attention to women and children as well as community-based initiatives, and
- Support activities to deal with violence at the country and international level.

In 2000, the WHO formed the Department of Injuries and Violence Prevention with the purpose of reducing the frequency of unintentional injury and violence on a global scale and to facilitate public health action. The WHO's World Report on Violence and Health, published in 2002 was used internationally as a baseline for increased public health action towards preventing violence. With that background, the study will now dwell on the distribution of intimate partner violence by analysing the nature and extent of intimate partner violence.

2.6 Nature and extent of intimate partner violence

In a ten (10) country study on women's health and domestic violence conducted by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2011, between 15% and 71% of women reported physical or sexual violence by a husband or partner. Between 7 and 48 % of girls and young women aged 10-24 years they reported their first sexual encounter as coerced by a boyfriend that is, 28% in Tanzania, 40% in South Africa. Between 4% and 12% of women reported being physically abused during pregnancy whilst about 5,000 women were murdered by intimate partners each year worldwide.

The figures above show that intimate partner violence is a heated theoretical debate that has practical ramifications and poses a huge risk to the safety of the vulnerable in society who are likely victims whenever they are involved in an intimate relationship with another individual. The figures also show that women are by far the majority of victims' in as far as intimate partner

violence is concerned. The fact that they are historically disadvantaged coupled by the current power imbalances against them heighten the problem and gives heed for more attention to be given to their plight. In this study the term victim can be defined as any individual, who is harmed, killed or suffers as a result of an accidental or intentional act or situation (The Free Dictionary Online). Furthermore, the term victim has been used to refer to those individuals who suffer as a result of Intimate Partner Violence.

Whilst the above statistics above are a general overview of the situation in terms of intimate partner violence, the section below has focused on the situation of women in violent relationships specifically in South Africa.

2.6.1 Nature and extent of intimate partner violence in South Africa

With the current high levels of general crime in South Africa (SAPS, 2008), it comes as no wonder that intimate partner violence prevalence may be high. One can note, though regrettably so, that the attention, finances and research dedicated to intimate partner violence are shockingly and may not tally with the magnitude of the problem on the ground. Erez (2002) allude that this can be attributed to the traditional orientation of intimate partner violence as a household problem that does not warrant external intervention.

Mesatywa (2009) cites that in a study of the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and Limpopo, violence in partner relationships was rife amongst African women. Jewkes, Penn-kekana, Levin, Ratsaka & Schrieber (1999:20) confirm that violence against women is indeed a major problem in South Africa. It is estimated that one out of every six women in South Africa experiences physical violence from her male partner. However, though details on the nature of abuse are scantily available, Camerer & Kotze, (1998) cite that grievous acts of violence are usually recorded whereas instances of smaller magnitude are not the given serious attention that they deserve. Thus they suggest that the rate of victimization should be, in reality, higher than one in every six women.

Several findings has been highlighted from various studies in South Africa on intimate partner violence. The section below, has discussed some of the findings and these may be associated the findings on this study at a later stage.

Distribution of victims by geographical location

Vetten and Schneider (2006) conducted a study for the Centre for the Study of Violence and

Reconciliation titled "Going somewhere slowly? A comparison of the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act (no. 116 of 1998) in an urban and semi-urban site" in Alberton and Temba just outside Johannesburg. The study established that of the 2208 applications for protection orders under the Domestic Violence Act captured by the Department of Justice in 2006, 1537 were from the urban area Alberton and 671 from the rural area Temba. The suggestion from these findings is that occurrence of intimate partner violence is higher in urban areas in South Africa rather than in rural areas since a higher number was recorded in urban Alberton than rural Temba.

However, in a separate unrelated publication, Krishnan, Satya, Ches, Hilbert, and van Leeuwen (2001) argue contrary to this suggestion. They noted that crucial factor in this discussion is the availability of reporting options for women in rural areas. Most rural areas, according to writers, may have low reported incidents of intimate partner violence simply because the victims do not have direct access to the police or courts. The nearest police station could be miles away from a rural settlement and this in turn disincentives the victims from reporting and consequently the areas record low rates.

Human Rights Watch (2001) established that in the Southern parts of South Africa, African women in violent partner relationships faced considerable challenges in securing access to basic social and legal services as a result of lack of transport and telecommunication services. In addition, these women had to travel long distances in order for them to get to the police and/or magistrate's offices.

Further to this, contrary to the formal statistics on intimate partner violence, Krishnan et al (2001) and Mesatywa (2012) argue that in actuality, due to the influence of culture and patriarchal attitudes, women in rural areas experience higher violence rates than their urban counter parts.

Distribution of victims by gender

Vetten and Schneider (2006) also attest that the total number of applications from women was 1828 (1307 from Alberton; 521 from Temba) and from men: 379 (230 from Alberton and 149 from Temba).

These figures on the gender distribution of victims have highlighted that more and more women are falling victims to violence within relationships as compared to men. Such a realisation gives way for Catalano's (2006) description of intimate partner violence as a gender crime with an assertion that it has slowly become a gender crime with men as the perpetrators and women as the victims. However, Saunders (2002) believes that more men are also falling victims to intimate

partner violence than is reflected by the formal statistics. In addition, due to fear of being ridiculed men rarely report abuse yet violence against men is a problem of equal magnitude as violence against women in intimate relationships.

Saunders (2002) further argues that, whilst physical violence does not necessarily dominate the manifestation of violence against men by women, verbal threats, emotional and sexual related violence is significantly on the rise. More and more men may be threatened by their intimate female partners with 'fake rape' if some of the men do not comply with certain demands the women has. Furthermore, withdrawal of conjugal rights may be used by most women as means of gaining power and coercion and this may culminate to violence against men (Saunders, 2002).

Distribution of victims by age

Another interesting finding from the study by Vetten and Schneider (2006) is that applicants in Temba, the rural area, tended to be older than applicants in Alberton, the urban study area. The median age for Temba applicants was 39 years and the median age for Alberton applicants was 35 years. On the surface, the age difference between urban and rural applicants (with rural applicants being older) seems to suggest a decline in the occurrence of intimate partner violence in older urban dwellers and less incidence of intimate partner violence in younger rural dwellers.

Whilst both suggestions are reasonable given, the findings of the study cannot ignore the fact that other factors could have been at play as well. For instance, lack of knowledge on the rights and definitions of abuse could have contributed in the low number of younger reporters in rural areas as suggested by Felson and Pare` (2005) that lack of information deters reporting in rural areas. The authors argue that most women at a younger age in rural areas may not be well aware of their rights and may not be capacitated to label violence when it occurs against them. Some of the abusive actions may be considered as 'normal' and it is only at an older age that they may realize what rights they have and what steps they may have taken if such rights were violated.

The younger median age for urban applicants could merely be a reflection of population demographics, that is, more and more older people may be moving away from urban areas due to resource competition and lack of employment opportunities (STATSSA, 2012).

Rates of employment amongst perpetrators and victims

Vetten and Schneider (2006) also established that nearly one in two Temba applicants were unemployed compared to one in four in Alberton that were in an urban site. Further to this,

respondents were found to be more likely to be employed compared to the applicants though there was a higher rate of unemployed respondents in Temba (38%) compared to Alberton (18%). However, according to the Free Dictionary Online, a perpetrator is someone who may be responsible for a crime unless where otherwise stated in this study, 'perpetrator' has been used to refer to individuals responsible for committing intimate partner violence.

Therefore, the implication of these findings suggests that employed victims of intimate partner violence were more likely to seek protection orders than unemployed victims especially in urban areas. Recognizing this implication fully, the study did not also dismiss the likelihood that the high rate of unemployed applicants in the rural area, Temba, could have been potentially a reflection of the labour force structure of the rural site. According to STATSSA (2012) the general labour force in rural South Africa consists of more men than women. Thus it could not necessarily be the influence of employment but merely a reflection of employment demographics.

The second realisation that respondents, that is perpetrators, were found to be more likely to be employed than applicants (victims) was also central to the study. It raises an important question along the lines of whether an employed perpetrator is incentivised by the victim's status of an unemployed individual to continue with abuse. This question hinges around the role which unemployment plays on both sides, that is, the perpetrator and the victim. The current researcher sought to investigate this question with specific focus on the victim and their world of experience, frames of reference and how they relate to the employed perpetrator.

Distribution of violence by race

Mesatywa (2009) reported on the investigation of the experiences, perceptions and attitudes towards domestic violence among Coloured and African farm workers on selected farms in the Western Cape. The findings of the study suggest that amongst both Coloured and African women on the farms studied, domestic violence was rampant. Artz (1999) suggest that the high prevalence of intimate partner violence on these farms could be directly linked to easy access to liquor on the farms, unequal wages between the sexes, unfavourable working conditions which cause stress and overcrowded housing and living conditions.

Mathews & Abrahams (2001) and Parenzee, Artz & Moulton (2001) cite that there is lack of effectiveness in the process of implementing the Prevention of Domestic Violence Act, No. 116 of 1998 and lack of police assistance. There may also be general prejudices toward the victims of violence in partner relationships that may be of barrier to the effective eradication of intimate partner violence in South Africa.

Rates of reporting of abuse

Jewkes et al (1999), in the study conducted in the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and Limpopo, also established that there was general under-reporting of abuse in South Africa. The study identified amongst the reasons for under-reporting that some women who regarded abuse as an issue for the home, were afraid of embarrassing their husbands and some even viewed their abusive experiences as “normal”.

Further to this, Mesatywa (2009) cites that the Medical Research Council (MRC, 2008) has established that only one in every nine women reported being raped. This suggests that reasons exist for the underreporting of violent behaviour and the current researcher investigated the role of economic dependency in this plethora of factors. This study defined dependency as “the state of relying on or being controlled by someone or something else”. Synonyms that relate to dependency such as helplessness, reliance, subordination and contingency may be used to highlight the state of needing help from something as well.

Deducing from these two definitions, the study used the term economic dependency to refer to the state of relying on another person for the supply of economic resources which in more specific terms refers to money, food and other basic needs which are material by nature. Noteworthy is also the fact that the term has been used interchangeably with the term financial dependency in the study.

However, Mesatywa (2009), attests that a study conducted in the Western Cape (Bellville and Paarl) by Mathews and Abrahams in 2001 has indicated an overall increase of 37.6% in the number of women applying for protection orders between 1999 and 2000. This study established that the most common forms of violence reported by women were physical and psychological abuse because an average of 81% of women experienced both these forms of abuse.

Whilst it was given that Jewkes et al (1999) and Mesatywa (2011) had different outcomes regarding the reporting of abuse, the researcher hoped to find which pattern of reporting would tally with the findings of the study area. Thus both authors’ contributions were fundamental following collection of data in the current study.

Conclusively, it was evident from the available literature that violence was a problem of great magnitude in South Africa. It can also be noted that women were mostly the victims with men being the perpetrators. Violence was evidently more rampant in low socio-economic status areas and despite all these observations, one cannot ignore the overarching concern that more research

into the perceptions and experiences of victims of intimate partner violence needs to be done in South Africa.

2.7 Risk factors associated with intimate partner violence

Risk factors refer to attributes associated with an increased likelihood that problem behaviour in this instance, intimate partner violence, will occur. Important to note however is that the presence of a risk factor does not necessarily mean that the behaviour will definitely occur, only that the odds of it occurring are higher.

According to the National Institute for Justice NVAW Survey (2009), extensive research shows that intimate partner violence is more likely to occur in;

- Unmarried or cohabiting relationships
- Couples of a minority decent
- Couples with low income women
- Couples with none or less educated women
- Wider educational, income or occupational status disparities between partners



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Other high risk factors are explained in the following section of the chapter.

2.7.1 Insecure immigration status as a risk factor to intimate partner violence amongst women

Developed nations like the United Kingdom (UK) are more likely to experience influxes of foreign immigrants. With this comes the likelihood of women migrating into such countries illegally and without proper documents in a bid to seek jobs. UK based activist organizations like the Southall Black Sisters (SBS) and other women's groups such as Imkaan have been actively involved in campaigns against the abuse of women with insecure immigration status. Yet, despite all the activism, the lived experiences of these women are continually excluded from legislation and receive very little public attention (Southall Black Sisters, 2006). Furthermore, the status of these women as illegal migrants makes them reluctant to seek help and the implicit expressions by government and other officials that illegal immigrants are a burden to the economy does not make it any better for these women.

Therefore, women who live in foreign countries without proper documentation may always live in the fear of deportation.

Yet, because they are war or economic refugees, they may evade the option of going back to their countries of origin at every cost. One of these costs is unfortunately their safety since they are likely to end up in traps of abusive relationships to either indigenous citizens of the particular country and/or foreign nationals with appropriate immigration documents. Since these women are less likely to secure employment or conduct public business for the fear of deportation, they may settle in such relationships despite the abuse.

Human Rights Watch (2007) estimates that South Africa harbours between five to eight million illegal immigrants. An average 34 percent of these are women. In 2010, 7,000 South Africans were reported as having ended up in 'fake marriages' with foreigners (Independent Online; 22 July 2010). Though no research has been conducted into the circumstances of partners in these 'fake marriages', the illegal foreign national may be at a disadvantage since the relationship is built on the indigenous partner's willingness to marry the former. Thus there may be a definite power imbalance from the start and this increases the likelihood of exploitation and violence.

Women in such relationships may find themselves trapped since some of them cannot access help. The Human Rights Watch (2007) notes that the South African government's main tool for tackling illegal foreigners is deportation. Thus, some of these women cannot seek official help through the police for fear of deportation when it is realized that they do not have proper documents.

A cross-European research termed the Daphne 11 Project (2005), attests that in the UK, there is a code of law which denies illegal immigrants access to welfare known as the "fortress Europe" immigration rules. These rules are meant to discourage illegal immigration but presently they have the effect of making illegal women who are victims of violence vulnerable to more abuse. Practically it means that these women cannot access shelters, police or social workers without risking their stay in the country. As such, perpetrators can manipulate women's insecure immigration status as a strategy of power and control.

2.7.2 Prevalence of intimate partner violence amongst young women

Southall Black Sisters, (2006) note that there is little being done through public policy for women below the legal age of majority who are experiencing intimate partner violence despite the heavy presence of proof that more and more of these women are falling victim to abuse.

One factor which compounds help seeking for this particular group is the traditional definition of intimate partner violence as only occurring between married couples. Walby and Myhill (2004)

note that the traditional name 'domestic violence' puts across the assumption that in order for violence to be recognized between intimates there has to be a domestic element to it such as a house or marriage. This makes it hard for younger women in intimate relationships to name their experiences as intimate partner violence and to report them as such.

Though it is clear that there is not much reliable evidence of prevalence of violence amongst young couples who are not yet married, the British Crime Survey (2001) found out that from the ages of 16 going upwards, younger women were more likely than younger men to experience some form of intimate partner violence.

Having looked at these various groups, this study will now shift the focus of this chapter to the various forms of violence in intimate relationships and how prevalent they are both locally and internationally.

2.7.3 Witnessing violence in family of origin

The National Institute for Justice's NVAW Survey (2009) alludes that the chances of an individual becoming either a victim or perpetrator of intimate partner abuse increase when the individual witnesses violence in their family of origin. The researchers established that, this finding had a connection to the tenets of the learning theory which supposes that behaviours are learned from significant people in one's life. As such, through exposure to violence one may learn to adapt to resorting to violence when attempting to solve interpersonal conflict.

On the other hand, the NVAW Survey (2009) mentioned that an individual's conception of right and wrong behaviour, including the reactions to such behaviour, are moulded through their experiences in early life. As such, exposure to violence, more especially unreported violence may also cause an individual to adopt the concept that violence in relationships is 'normal'. The individual may thus develop victim mentalities such as silence and submissiveness in the face of violence thus grooming them to be victims at a later stage in their lives.

2.7.4 Power imbalances in a relationship

In addition, to early exposure to violence, the National Institute for Justice (2009) found that, in couples where the husband, boyfriend or generally the male partner has more power, physical assault is higher. Again, wife assault is more common in families where power is concentrated in the hands of the husband or male partner and where the husband makes most of the decisions regarding family finances and strictly controls when and where his wife or female partner goes. When all power is concentrated in the hands of one partner, it is easy for that partner to

perpetuate violence since they will be engaged in a relationship with a weaker party. Fergusson et al (2005) argue that actually the intentional acquiring of more power in a relationship by one partner is in itself a form of violence since it weakens the other partner and does so intentionally. Though it sets the stage for the easy perpetration of other forms of violence, Fergusson et al (2005) are of the opinion that it can be argued as a psychological/emotional form of violence.

Of major importance to this study was the assertion that in relationships with more financial imbalance violence is rampant. This assertion highlighted the crust of this study and was a focal point for the research.

2.7.5 Physical disability

Although there is no empirical research to support the suggestion that physical disability is a risk factor, Radford et al (2008) cite that research suggests that persons with a disability are at greater risk of violence. This is attributed to the relatively high degree of dependency they have on other people for their movement and at times finances if they are not employed. Even where they receive government support through grants, physically disabled people may rely on other people for access to such money since they might not be able to go to the bank to withdraw the money themselves. They struggle to bath and/or move themselves to toilets as such they are at a higher risk of being victimized. They may consequently take in all such abuse for fear of negative possibilities if the help of the perpetrator is withdrawn.

2.7.6 Divorce/separation

The 2009 National Violence Against Women survey found that amongst the married female respondents who were separated from their husbands, the likelihood of reporting being raped, physically assaulted, and/or stalked by the latter was 20 percent which was four times higher than amongst those who still lived with their husbands who had a rate of 5.4 percent.

Similarly, previously married male respondents who were separated from their wives were found to have a 7 percent rate of violence prevalence whilst men who still lived with their wives had a prevalence rate of 2.4 percent.

findings suggest that the termination of a relationship poses an increased risk of intimate partner violence for both women and men. However, it should be noted that the survey data does not indicate whether the violence started before, after or at the time the couple separated. Thus, it is unclear whether the separation triggered the violence or the violence triggered the separation.

The current researcher hopes to analyse the findings of the current study against the backdrop of the suggestions of the various authors on the risk factors. Interesting to take into account was the National Institute for Justice's (2009) contribution regarding the role of financial control as a risk factor since it was in line with the focus of the study. In the context of this study, the Institute's contribution suggested that women in the study area who did not have financial control within their relationships experienced more intimate partner violence rates than those who had more control. The findings of the current study were analysed in the context of that suggestion.

2.8 Consequences of intimate partner violence

Whilst intimate partner violence arguably has effects both on the perpetrator and the victim, the researcher focused more on the consequences of intimate partner violence on the victim. This decision was taken on the basis that the consequences of intimate partner violence on the perpetrator fell beyond the scope of the study. The most visible and arguably increasing consequence of intimate partner violence is how it damages the physical being of the victim more so when the violence is physical. Thus the first consequences hereunder discussed are the physical effects of intimate partner violence.

2.8.1. Physical harm and deaths

Violence, especially when it is physical by nature, usually results in burns, scars and eventually death of the victim or perpetrator in some cases. In the United States in 2001, the Bureau for Statistics recorded homicide within intimate relationships as one of the ten major reasons for deaths. Within South Africa, physical violence in intimate relationships is arguably an issue of great magnitude. Burns, scars, bites and deaths are increasing both in terms of severity and frequency (SAPS;2008). According to People Opposing Women Abuse (2009) one in every six women who die in Gauteng are killed by an intimate partner.

Deaths linked to intimate partner violence may be mentioned in three forms. As such, the researcher hereunder discusses each of the forms separately.

2.8.2. Homicide

The first form of deaths that may be linked to intimate violence are homicides. A homicide can broadly be defined as the killing of a human being by another human being (SAPS;2008). Femicide, the killing of women, is more rampant in the manifestation of homicides in South Africa (SAPS; 2008). According to the latter source, the excessive consumption of liquor and intake of illegal substances are linked to most homicides in intimate relationships. Most perpetrators reportedly kill their victims whilst under the influence of an intoxicating substance. It is further

evidenced that the majority of homicides are reportedly committed at home with a gun and/or another weapon.

2.8.3. Suicide

The second form of deaths related to intimate partner violence is suicide by the victim. Suicide is defined by the United States National Library of Medicine (USNLM; 2012) as the act of taking one's life on purpose. These types of deaths are common amongst victims of intimate partner violence and are usually related to feelings of helplessness and/or self-blame as well as an absence of hope for any future changes in the victim's circumstances (UNSLM; 2012). Though some perpetrators have been reported to commit suicide due to feelings of frustration and regret (Logan; 2008), victims are mostly prone to commit suicide due to the violence they are exposed to.

2.8.4. Homicide-suicide

A homicide-suicide is a homicide followed by a suicide (Logan; 2008). It is an act where a person, for instance, kills one or more individuals and then commits suicide shortly thereafter.

This is the last form of deaths linked to intimate partner violence. It can be committed by either the victim or the perpetrator though victims are more likely to commit such acts (Logan; 2008). This is usually committed as an act of acclaimed revenge by the victims.

Chowdhury (2009) mentions that since women, who are ideally victims of intimate partner violence, usually have unrestricted access to the kitchen, they may seek to bring an end to the abuse through poisoning the food to be consumed by both them and the perpetrator and, unfortunately in some cases, their children. This trend was rampant in Bothaville, the area under study. A typical example to substantiate this claim is the media report by the Vista of 15 October 2013 where a woman poisoned herself, her husband and their three children in a bid to "bring her misery to an end". In the informal settlements of Western Cape, the practice of burning down of the residential shack whilst the whole family, including the perpetrator, are inside, then taking one's life thereafter was noted as increasingly rampant (Independent Online; 11 July 2013). Thus, death is a definite, yet unfortunate, result of intimate partner violence.

2.8.5. Self-blame

Self-blame is a clear manifestation of the psychological effects of any form of abuse on the victim. According to Bennice et al (2001), most perpetrators develop a mind-set framework wherein they justify their acts of abuse and usually express such ideas to the victim during the process of perpetrating the abuse. For instance, a perpetrator who believes that the victim makes them angry

thus inciting the perpetrator to initiate abusive behaviour communicates this to the victim causing the victim to believe this due to constant exposure to the excuses and the frequency of the abuse. Further to this, Bennice et al (2001) argue that the victim who is still in love with the perpetrator may not want to believe that the perpetrator is bad or is a criminal. Thus they may believe the perpetrator because the excuse that the perpetrator's abuse is a mere reaction to the victim's actions shifts the blame from the perpetrator and places it on the victim. As such, the victim lives with the hope that the person they love is not wrong and it is upon them to change their behaviour in order for the perpetrator to also change; a hope which seldom comes true.

The result rather is a cycle in which the victim blames themselves for the actions of the perpetrator and holds on to a false hope of a radical change in behaviour.

Barnett et al (1996) also mention that the victim may further blame themselves by thinking that they are the ones responsible for choosing the abusive partner. By doubting their capability to choose, the victim will stay in the relationship supposing that if they decide to leave, they might go on and make an even worse choice for a partner.

Mesatwya (2009) cites Melbin et al (2003) who argue that some women can find themselves in situations where they have to defend themselves against societies that justify violence. Thus against the weight of the perpetrator and the society, the woman may eventually begin to doubt herself and also start blaming herself for being unconventional by considering leaving the relationship whereas the society and her partner support that she should stay.

Roberts (2002; as cited by Mesatywa 2009) states that some women may use psychological defence mechanisms such as denial, identification with the abuser, and rationalisation of the abuse. These mechanisms are employed as coping strategies but may work towards rationalising of the abuse and development of a self-blame attitude by the victim. Denial for example may be used to help the woman to believe that the abuse is not as bad as it is portrayed, trivialise or try to "forget" the abusive episodes. With such a mental framework, it is no wonder that with time, the woman may start to blame herself whenever she considers leaving the abusive relationship. Given that she has convinced herself that the abuse is trivial, her decision to leave the relationship is met with an opposing thought that she is self-destructive and is intent on leaving a good relationship thus she is a bad wife or a bad person.

2.8.6. Conspiracy of silence

Whilst authors like Ingram (2007) and Zink (2004) refer to the silence by individual victims of intimate partner violence, Savery (2012) describes the silence in a wider context; a concept known

as a conspiracy of silence. This refers to non-action which is a product of a subtle acceptance of violence as part of a society's cultural norms and a corresponding demand for loyalty to the culture by not speaking against the violence. Such non-action is usually held at societal level and has a strong grip on individual families in that particular society. Thus, whilst society may be aware of the presence and prevalence of violence amongst their members, loyalty to their so called norms enforces a silence and condemns speaking against it.

Fear of exposing their partners to public embarrassment through incarceration and the associated possible embarrassment on the extended family of the victim may also enhance the continuation of the conspiracy of silence. According to Savery (2012), in most African societies, the extended family of the woman takes pride when she is 'happily married'. It is considered an embarrassment to the family when the couple start dragging each other to court or publicly disputing. The parents of the woman usually feel like a break up in their child's marriage has a bad reflection on their parenting style; like they failed to raise a child to become a good wife. As such, most members of the extended family are typically involved in protecting the image of the family through the conspiracy of silence by reassuring the woman that all relationships are like that, they all went through similar experiences and made it through, men are like that and she should stay notwithstanding the abuse. Most victims may eventually give in to this pressure and become part of the conspiracy of silence around intimate partner violence in their own lives.

The conspiracy of silence may also result from the social conceptions of children needing their father and a woman needing a male partner in her life (Savery;2012). Whilst such conceptions bear a significant degree of truth in everyday life, the use of the word 'needing' becomes careless the moment such a need is kept in place regardless of the violent nature of the relationship between the father and the children or the wife and the husband. This can also be overridden by the need for safety and the best interests of the children. When the need for a male figure in the family is upheld against the safety of the other members like where the male is violent, then such a need is self-defeating in that the father figure who is abusive no longer serves the fatherly duties for which such a need was established initially.

2.8.7. Effects on children

Research has shown that the majority of intimate partner violence perpetrators were exposed to intimate partner violence themselves when they were still young (National Institute for Justice; 2009). Although research has not been conducted to confirm the assertion that physical violence has the most likely effects on children, Logan (2008) puts forward an argument to that effect. The author argues that whilst other subtle forms of violence like economic abuse may go unnoticed by

the children, physical violence is highly likely to be emulated by the children since it is more open and easily noticeable. He does not however dismiss or belittle the effect of all the other forms of abuse such as verbal or emotional abuse.

The effects of intimate partner violence on children are long term though not insignificant. Research by the Medical Research Council (2008) has established that due to long exposure and the fact that the parents serve as role models and a source of moral authority to the children, the behaviour is more engraved than where the children would learn it from other, perhaps less influential, sources.

The discussion on the effects of violence on children concludes the section on the effects of violence. Central to the experiences and perceptions of victims of intimate partner violence is their use of help facilities such as hospitals and the police. It reflects, to a greater extent, the level of trust the victims have in the ability of help systems to provide assistance for them. As such, the researcher will now focus on the available literature regarding the use of medical services and the police by victims of violence in intimate relationships in the sections below.

2.9. Victims' use of help services

There are various kinds of assistance that could be offered to victims of intimate partner relationships and the following can be mentioned:

2.9.1. Use of medical facilities

Whether or not a victim uses medical facilities is a product of factors such as severity of the abuse, the availability of the facilities and inevitably, the victim's choice. The National Institute for Justice Navw (2009) survey established that approximately one-third (31 percent) of the women who sustained injuries from an episode of violence in the 12 months preceding the study received some type of medical care ranging from an ambulance/paramedic service, care in a hospital emergency facility and physical therapy. The survey established that injured women and men had similar rates and mostly similar types of medical care. This suggested, to the current researcher, that injuries sustained by women and men were likely similar in severity.

Some respondents reported to have received more than one type of medical care such as hospitalization as well as outpatient physical therapy whereas others received a specific type of medical care more than once (e.g. 10 physiotherapy sessions). As a result of such cases, the annual number of medical treatments provided to victims of intimate partner violence exceeds the annual number of intimate partner victimizations that resulted in treatment.

Within South Africa, statistics on the use of medical services by victims of intimate partner violence is not readily available. The researcher could not find any available or reliable source for such statistics. However, Vetten and Schneider (2006) highlight the fact that victims of violence in intimate relationships in Temba, South Africa, reported that they used medical facilities only for serious life threatening conditions. The less serious injuries such as eye damage or twisted ankles were reported to be dealt with at home and/or left to heal off.

The researcher is of the view that there should be a connection between the non-use of medical facilities for those injuries viewed as less serious by victims and certain attributes of the conspiracy of silence such as the fear of family embarrassment as cited by Savery (2012). The victims evidently try as much as they can to preserve the appearance of a functional family so as to avoid the perceived embarrassment on the family.

The following part of the research will now look at the justice system and how victims of intimate partner violence experience it including the steps followed after reporting of a complaint regarding intimate partner violence. This discussion will be intertwined with a critical analysis of the justice system using the available literature on how victims experience it.

2.10. Victims' involvement with the justice system

The core of the study had much to do with the victim's decision to report abuse with a full view of her/his economic position in relation to the perpetrator. At this juncture however, attention will be given to general reporting behaviours of victims regardless of their financial position.

The National Institute for Justice National Violence Against Women (2009) study found out that less than one-fifth (17.2 percent) of the women raped by an intimate said their most recent rape was reported to the police. The vast majority of the reported rapes were reported within 24 hours. Interestingly, most of the reports were made by the victim, rather than a friend, relative, or other third party.

Furthermore, the survey found that female respondents who were physically assaulted by an intimate were nearly twice as much more likely than their male counterparts to report their victimization to the police (26.7 percent and 13.5 percent, respectively). The same trend was noted for intimate partner stalking where 51.9 percent of women reported that they reported to the police whereas only 36.2 percent of men reported the same. As with reports of intimate partner rape, most of the physical assault and stalking reports were made within 24 hours of the incident, and most were made by the victim.

These findings shed more light on the study. Firstly, the finding that less than one fifth of victims report rape to the police was alarming in light of the international statistics on the prevalence of rape which show that rape is highly rampant. Interesting to note again was that the victims themselves do the reporting and within 24 hours. This indicated a relative degree of assertiveness and high awareness of rights amongst the victims though the percentage of reporting was low. For the purposes of the study, these findings implied that self-reporting of rape is common amongst victims and were useful during analysis of the findings of the study.

The second finding that male respondents reported physical assault less frequently than their female counterparts was also of significant bearing to this study. It could be linked to the earlier discussion on male victims of violence who are embarrassed to report violence as cited by Saunders (2002) quoted earlier on in this chapter.

Police response to reports of intimate partner violence

Findings of a 2008 study by the Medical Research Council confirm that the majority of reports of intimate partner violence made to the police were followed by an officer conducting a face-to-face interview with the victim (taking a statement). The survey found no evidence of differential treatment of the reporters based on their gender by the police.

However, there is some evidence that police responded differently to women than men who are physically assaulted by an intimate (Chrisler and McCreary; 2010). This evidence was on the basis of the action taken by police officials after receiving a report of alleged violence. A comparison of police responses to reports of physical assault committed against women and men by intimates showed that police were significantly more likely to take a statement and to arrest or detain the perpetrator if the victim was female.

Although it was unclear from the survey data why police responded differently to reports of physical assaults involving female than male victims, one cannot dismiss the suggestion by Chrisler and McCreary (2010) that the police do so because physical assaults committed against women tend to be more chronic and more injurious. This is a debatable suggestion and was viewed in the context of the findings of the current study during data analysis.

As noted above, whether the victim reports abuse or not is also a product of their own personal choice. The researcher as such will, at this point, delve into the literature on why victims choose to not report violence in intimate relationships including some inferences by authors regarding non-reporting.

2.11. Reasons for not reporting victimization to the police

Since the study investigated mainly the role of economic dependency in determining reporting behaviours, the following section was of central importance to the study. The section dealt mainly with the literature on why victims of intimate partner violence chose not to report the abuse they encounter. It thus brought to light the place of economic dependency in the pool of reasons for non-reporting.

2.11.1. Fear of retaliation

When asked why they chose not to report their victimization to the police, approximately one-fifth (21.2 percent) of the female rape victims in the National Institute for Justice National Violence Against Women (2009) study reported that they were afraid their attacker would retaliate. This retaliation was mainly feared in terms of more severe abuse after the perpetrator is released from the custody of the police. Most victims reported that the police would not do anything to protect them from such retaliation.

2.11.2. Lack of trust in the justice system

In the South African Crime Quarterly of the third quarter of 2011, Lillian Artz pointed out that physical assault victims reported that they did not think the police could do anything about their victimization.

The 2009 National Institute for Justice National Violence Against Women survey established that 61.5 percent of the women and 45 percent of the men said the police would not have believed them. These findings suggested to the researcher that many victims of intimate partner violence, men and women alike, did not consider the justice system as a viable or appropriate intervention at the time of their victimization.

2.11.3. Fear of the perpetrator getting arrested

Approximately one-third (31.2 percent) of the women and one-quarter of the men in a 2010 study by Gender Links and the South African Medical Research Council (SAMRC) said they did not want the police or courts involved because they did not want the perpetrator arrested but just scared off. Amongst the reasons for this decision most of the respondents (both male and female) cited that they still loved their partner, were afraid that their children would not have a complete family and they were afraid for their financial future if the perpetrator would be incarcerated. Notably the reason that it was a minor or one time incident was reported from the male participants only.

The fear of financial vulnerability cited by the respondents in this survey underscored a very important point in the context of this research. Since the researcher was studying the role of economic dependency on the victim's reporting decisions, it was interesting to compare the findings of the current study with the findings of the 2010 study by Gender Links and SAMRC as cited above.

2.11.4. Dependency on the perpetrator

Besides specific financial dependency, which was of central importance to the current researcher, there was also general dependency more especially if the victim is physically challenged. Radford et al (2005) argue that disabled women experiencing domestic violence may be particularly isolated since they might not have independent access to means of communication such as a telephone thus hindering their reporting patterns.

Women from some minority ethnic communities are hindered by language from accessing help. This is mainly the situation where the authorities rendering services use a language such as Afrikaans or English whereas the victim cannot speak the language. These women also do not have independent access to facilities for helping them outside of their small communities of origin and in these communities cultural values often prevent them from reporting to or seeking help from outsiders (Nisaa Institute for Women's Development; 2004).

2.11.5. Lack of knowledge

Some women do not report abuse because they lack knowledge regarding the need for violence to be reported as well as what support structures are available for them after they report the perpetrator. One-fifth (20.3 percent) of the female respondents who had been victims of rape in the National Institute for Justice National Violence Against Women (2009) survey reported that the rape was a one-time or minor incident whilst 16 percent reported they were too ashamed or wanted to keep the incident private. This highlights lack of knowledge on the rights of the victims since even a one-time rape still counts as a violation of the victim's rights and can be reported. Furthermore, the victims' attempt to keep rape as a private issue goes back to the conspiracy of silence referred to earlier in this chapter and reflects gross lack of knowledge on rights and support structures for victims.

In the United Kingdom, intimate partner violence was only recognized as a crime by the police in 1990 (British Crime Survey; 2009). Despite publicity campaigns by different stakeholders to raise awareness, some victims still do not consider domestic violence as a police matter. Most of the victims think that it has to be very serious violence to warrant police involvement. Others may be

deterred from reporting by remorseful apologies and promises that 'it won't happen again', or be persuaded that it was somehow their fault.

Yet other victims may again be discouraged by fear or threats of 'consequences' if they do report. The British Crime Survey of 2001 established that close to 45 per cent of the female respondents did not report violence to the police because they supposed it would be considered as too trivial by the police. Another 38 per cent reported that they considered it a private family matter and did not regard it as fit to be reported to the police. 7 per cent did not report because they did not want further humiliation and 13 per cent regarded reporting to the police as a trigger for further violence. All of these findings highlight a lack of knowledge on the available help structures for victims.

2.11.6. Fear of differential treatment by the police

Research findings have shown indications of differential treatment of victims by police officials for those victims who constantly report being abused (McShane and Williams III; 2013). Police officials are reported to delay taking action and in some instances take no action for such victims. Some victims have reported being asked why they 'won't just leave the relationship if it is not working'. There are also reports of negative treatment of those victims who have previously reported abuse and dropped the charges before prosecution for one reason or the other.

Information from the National Institute for Justice's 2009 National Violence Against Women survey shows that prosecution rates for violence perpetrated against women by intimates are very low. Only 7.5 percent of the female respondents who had been raped by an intimate at some point, 7.3 percent who had been physically assaulted by an intimate, and 14.6 percent who had been once stalked by an intimate reported that the perpetrator had been prosecuted criminally.

According to the same survey, less than half of the perpetrators prosecuted were convicted of a crime. For male respondents in the survey, only 1.1 percent who had been physically assaulted reported that the attacker was criminally prosecuted.

As such, the victims will be deterred from reporting by the fear of frequenting the police station with the same problem and eventually receiving negative reception from the police.

2.11.7. Inability to name the violence

Several victims may be unaware that what is happening to them counts as domestic violence (Walby and Allen, 2004). Radford and Kelly (1990) have argued that naming domestic violence is the initial step to reporting. Without the ability to recognize that violence is occurring, the ability to report is non-existent. Naming in itself has several steps according to the latter authors.

The first step in naming abuse involves recognising that what is happening is unacceptable. Whether this is recognised will be influenced by many things, including what actually happened, how family life was experienced in childhood and how it is represented in influential cultural portrayals of 'family life', whether by the media or other influential sources of shaping societal views.

The second step involves naming the behaviour as violent. Whilst this may seem straightforward and may sometimes be it is not always the case. It is common that a 'push' a 'shove' or even a 'slap' may be dismissed as accidental or playful whilst in actuality it is a form of violence or otherwise signifies the onset of violence. Radford and Kelly (1990) found that what triggered a recognition of the behaviour as violent was different for different women. For some women being seriously physically injured and thus being in need of medical treatment made them realize that violence was occurring whilst for others the presence of a third party enabled them to view the incident through the eyes of another and see it as violence. Some women even used the impact of an action on their children as the trigger for them naming it as violent.

At this stage, one can see that the difficulties associated with naming one's experiences as constituting victimization are an important, yet overlooked, reason for the reluctance to name or report violence by many victims. Important to note here is the observation by Radford and Kelly (1990) that whilst listening to women's accounts of violence, it came to light that there were various subtle violations, with potential long term negative effects which were not reported purposefully but were mentioned in passing whilst describing what the victim thought was the main violation of their rights. Even in instances where the victim had been seriously injured physically, there were tendencies of minimising and downplaying the violence, perhaps by accepting it was serious, but downplaying it by citing that it was not frequent. Barron (1990) argued that, on average, a victim would experience 35 incidents of victimization before making a report.

Research on perpetrators conducted by Hearn in 1998 showed that the majority of them held tunnel-view/ narrow definitions of violence. Most perpetrators largely restricted violence to punching with fists or using weapons. Hearn (1998) also found that denying or minimising the violence was a common strategy adopted even by convicted perpetrators and it seems likely that they would attempt to persuade their victims/ partners to their point of view thus compromising the victim's ability to name the violence.

According to Walby and Allen (2004) women who had experienced repeated victimisation were more likely to identify their experiences as domestic violence than those who had experienced it only once. As a result, identifying behaviour as violent was found to be a daunting task for the

victims experiencing it. Due to the continuing stigma associated with domestic violence, discussing abuse with family or friends was also found to be largely held as embarrassing by the victims. Further reluctance stemmed from the fact that naming the violence, even to friends and family, carried with it an imperative to do something which is a result the victims do not ideally want for fear of embarrassing the family or risking future financial vulnerability. The British Crime Survey (BCS) of 2001 found that 31 per cent of women victimised by domestic violence had told no-one.

2.11.8. Self-blame

Whilst self-blame has been discussed as an effect of intimate violence, it is arguably also a reason for non-reporting of violence. Bennice et al (2001), cite that for many women who believe they are at fault, reporting domestic violence may feel like a betrayal. They may feel that they are selling out their partners to the police thus blinding themselves to the fact that the actual betrayal was the perpetrators' initial decision to use violence. Some women may simply want the violence to be stopped, rather than their partner or family member to be labelled and dealt with as a criminal.

2.11.9. Conflict of loyalties

Closely linked to the idea of selling out is the dilemma of victims who live in highly racial areas. Baron (1990) notes that in some highly racial zones in the United States, the severe conflict of loyalties facing some ethnic minority and mostly African-American women with respect to help-seeking mitigates them from seeking help. This conflict of loyalties is a result of differences in race between the race of the community the victim belongs to and the race of the helping authorities such as the police. Where the victim belongs to an African-American community and the police are majorly white, the latter are labelled as belonging to a 'racist institution' and consequently reporting to them is seen as betraying the minority group to which the victim belongs.

Barron (1990) adds that in some instances, the victim will be aware of the reality that the white police officials discriminate on the basis of race and reporting a fellow African-American to them, regardless of his crime, will be deliberately exposing the perpetrator and at times the victim herself to racism. This can be a further deterrent to reporting violence.

2.12. Criminal prosecution

After reporting the abuse to the police, the decision to continue with the prosecution of the case formed a greater part of the scope of this research. It is at this stage that those victims who rationalize the abuse or feare financial vulnerability in the absence of the perpetrator seem to back out of the criminal justice system by dropping charges.

For those victims who drop cases before prosecution, Schlesinger (2012) comments that repetition of the abuse is highly likely. This is likely so because when the victim drops the charges before prosecution, the perpetrator may likely get the idea that the victim is not bold or serious enough to see the case through to the end. The perpetrator may then repeat the abuse in the knowledge that there is a possibility of the victim dropping the case again the next time the perpetrator abuses her.

Furthermore, Schlesinger (2012) notes that where cases are dropped and the victim attempts to use reporting as a threat to deter future abuse, perpetrator's initially comply though with time they detect the victim's bluff and continue with the abuse in the knowledge that the victim will merely threaten and not have them prosecuted.

This far in the chapter, it is observable that intimate partner violence is not a gender neutral crime. It appears that even formal statistics have created a clear cut line between the perpetrators and the victims both in theory and in practice. This has several impacts on how society perceives intimate partner violence and has the potential to create a grey area for male victims of violence. The researcher will now focus on intimate partner violence as a gender crime in the section below.

2.13. Intimate partner violence as gender violence

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Catalano (2006) gives an extensive discussion on the growing division in the distribution of victims and perpetrators of intimate partner violence. Catalano (2006) argues that despite the variability in the types and forms of domestic violence in different cultures, the gendered nature of domestic violence is a common and clear pattern across the divide.

The gendered nature of domestic violence refers to the fact that its perpetrators are overwhelmingly men and its victims mostly women and children. This has led to the recognition of intimate partner violence as a form of 'gender violence' by the United Nations. Gender violence can be defined as: violence involving men and women, in which the female is usually the victim and which arises from unequal power relations between men and women (UNIFEM, undated). Again, in international discourse, intimate partner violence is recognised as an international 'major public health and human rights problem' (World Health Organisation 2005).

The concept of gender violence is rooted in the arguably culturally universal subordinate gender status of women. It is manifested through the laws, moral values, beliefs, norms and social institutions which govern, regulate and legitimise such subordinate roles and in so doing support the perpetuation of this violence.

According to the United Nations Population Fund (undated), gender violence is a broad human rights concept which "...encompasses a wide range of human rights violations, including sexual abuse of children, rape, domestic violence, sexual assault and harassment, trafficking of women and girls and several harmful traditional practices. . . . Violence against women has been called 'the most pervasive yet least recognized human rights abuse in the world'".

Mathur (2004) argues that recognizing that gender violence has its roots in male dominated and patriarchal cultures is crucial since it puts the spotlight on the wider culture and allows for a critical view to the wider culture with an eye towards suggesting specific changes and/or strategies for bringing justice and aligning the culture with modern legislation. Mathur (2004) argues that strategies to reduce and prevent intimate partner violence may fail to realise their potential due to the counter influence of the culture of a community. Thus the spotlight has to be put on the culture and how to change it for the better with the end result that in male dominant cultures, intimate partner violence legislation must include changes to the wider culture besides the specific strategies for prevention.

Venessa and McManimon (2011) give a similar discussion of intimate partner violence. Their focus however is on putting across the proposition that intimate partner violence is a form of hate crime. The authors make certain inferences which were interesting to note as discussed below by the current researcher.

2.14. Intimate partner violence as hate crime

Venessa and McManimon (2011) raise a very interesting comparison between hate crimes in general and intimate partner violence with the intended effect of arguing that intimate partner violence is a hate crime. The authors draw this comparison from the use of the strategies of power and violent control in both intimate partner violence and hate crimes such as ethnic or racial discrimination. According to them, there are parallels between intimate partner abuse and the ways through which the powerful groups in society abuse their power to commit hate crimes against less powerful groups like for instance homophobic violence. This similarity derives from the fact that with hate crimes, powerful individuals abuse societal and/or cultural prejudices and stereotypes to deny, minimise, justify or excuse their use of violence against the less powerful and vulnerable individuals from minority social groups. In the same light, with domestic violence, drawing from their sexist attitudes and taking advantage of societal gender stereotypes and prejudices, perpetrators justify and minimize the use of violence against victims. Thus on that basis, the authors argue that intimate partner violence is a form of hate crime.

Venessa and McManimon (2011) also highlight the importance of the fact that interpersonal relationships in any context are not illuminated or isolated from the dominant power structures, sexist beliefs and any forms of discrimination present in the wider society which contextualises such interpersonal relationships.

2.15. Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted some of the discourses on the perceptions and experiences of victims of intimate partner violence. This has been coupled by various debates such as the discussion into the various perspectives on the history of intimate partner violence and on how it gained recognition as a field of study in the medical as well as social sciences. It has been established that factors such as scientific developments in the cure of physical ailments gave space for more focus to be given to intimate partner violence since it remained as a highly ranked cause of death.

The research went on to focus on the prevalence of intimate partner violence in South Africa, internationally as well as amongst certain groups such as disabled people, young women and same sex relationships. What stood out from that discussion is the fact that women are mostly vulnerable to being victims than men. From the discussion on the consequences of intimate partner violence, it was established that the psychological effects and financial vulnerability of intimate partner violence far outweigh all other effects since they can potentially deter help seeking amongst victims.

Notably, there may be minimal literature on the development of intimate partner violence as an area of political and national focus in South Africa aside from the introduction of pieces of legislation in response to the international recognition of intimate partner violence outside South Africa. This will be a focal area in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3:

Theoretical perspectives and Legal framework to intimate partner violence

3.1. Introduction

The legislative environment surrounding intimate partner violence in any society is of major importance because it informs an outsider about the nature of support and the attitude of the given society towards intimate partner violence victims, assuming that laws generally reflect a society's values.

It is therefore positive to note that according to Doctors Without Borders (2005) in Africa as a whole, only South Africa has enacted all relevant laws to the UN Convention to Eliminate all Forms of Violence Against Women. Locally, South Africa has passed laws protecting women from violence including the Domestic Violence Act of 1998 and the Children's Act 38 of 2005.

However, before delving into the issues of legality surrounding intimate partner violence, the following chapter will look at two theories namely the Resource Theory as well as the Learned Helplessness Theory. The researcher chose these two theories primarily because they represented two conflicting explanations for why victims of intimate partner violence stay in abusive relationships. Whilst Goode (1971) argues that fear of financial vulnerability explained why victims did not leave or report violent relationships, Seligman (1965) on the other hand argues that victims were not compounded from leaving these relationships by some material obstruction such as fear of financial vulnerability but merely because they learnt to be helpless as a result of the tactics employed by the abuser.

The contrast between the views of these two theorists was desirable in this study because it enabled the researcher to juxtapose tenets from both theories alongside the findings of the study during data analysis and to ascertain which theory would help explain the relationship between reporting of intimate partner violence and economic dependency better.

Following the discussion of the theories in this chapter, a two tier approach will be utilised to analyse legislation around intimate partner violence. In the first tier, the researcher examined international legislation. This was given priority attention since the international legal environment in most cases may inform the crafting of national legislation in various states.

In the second tier, the researcher examined the national legislation on intimate partner violence. This discussion logically followed the discussion on international legislation on the basis that South

Africa is a signatory to most relevant international treaties regarding intimate partner violence and has its own national legislation on intimate partner violence as well.

Consistent with the information given above, the following section will look at the theoretical perspectives which underpinned the study.

3.2. The Resource Theory

The Resource theory was propounded by Goode (1917-2003). The theory claims that all social systems, including the family, are based on the threat or actuality of the use of force. As such, one's status within the system is proportional to the level of resources (social, personal or economic) at their disposal. Because of this, Goode (1971) argued that, the more resources an individual can command within the family system, the more control that individual can master and the less force they have to use.

Goode's assertion had a lot of bearing on the study. It implied that, firstly, the position of financially dependent women in Bothaville within the family system would be inferior to that of their working male counterparts. The inferiority implied here, precisely in the context of Goode's (1971) theory, would have been in terms of control and status. This leads to the second implication of vulnerability since lack of control and an inferior status imply a vulnerable position; a point which Goode dwells on in detail on the second aspect of the Resource theory explained hereunder.

The second tenet of Goode's theory is that women who are most dependent on their spouses for resources and/or financial well-being like housewives, women with handicaps or unemployed women are vulnerable and always fear the increased financial burden if they leave their marriages. Their dependency and the corresponding fear, Goode (1971) argues, heightens the moment children are introduced into the picture and more so when they are the primary caregivers to the children. Goode (1971) goes further to argue that consequently these women have fewer options and even fewer or no resources to aid them in changing their spouse's behaviour or considering the prospects of negotiating life on their own.

Since the study has investigated financially dependent women Goode's (1971) suggestion that these women may be more vulnerable and afraid of increased financial burdens if they left their partners was of central importance.

The third aspect of Goode's theory is twofold and may have a face value similar to the first tenet of Goode's (1971) theory as given above. As per, the first tenet, discussed above, Goode (1971) proposes firstly that the decision making power afforded to any individual within a relationship is based on the value of the resources that the individual brings into the relationship.

Further, Goode (1971) goes along to argue that the more resources a person has, in the family system, the less force that person may use in an open manner since that person already has power based on the resources. According to the theorist violence occurs when there is a struggle for power as a result of a lack of resources. This has been explained mainly in the context that men are accustomed to being providers of resources and when they cannot do so they become frustrated emotionally. Consequently, frustration may cause them to react with a desperate attempt at reassertion of authority with violence since they will not have financial power to master more control. This may then include coercion and threats, intimidation, emotional abuse, economic abuse and isolation.

This concept of Goode's theory was been of particular interest mainly because of the practical implications it had on the study. Firstly, it implied that poor families tend to have more cases of intimate partner violence. The current researcher was been specifically interested in seeking the truthfulness of the assertion for the study group.

Secondly, this tenet of the theory implied that men had an unquenchable desire to exert control and if not by financial means then they may exert control using physical violence. Whilst the testing of this implication was, in the study, limited by the non-involvement of perpetrators of abuse, the researcher was afforded ample opportunity to gain some sort of insight on this aspect from the views of the victims.

Lastly, still in line with the third tenet of the Resource theory, another implication noted by the research was the use of 'open manner' whilst referring to the use of violence in relationships where resources are scarce. As highlighted above, Goode (1971) propounds that relationships where resources are scarce tend to experience violence in an 'open manner'. Although there is lack of clarity on the definition of the term 'open manner', it was assumed here, and reasonably so, that the term referred to physical violence. This assumption stemmed from the fact that physical violence is more overt and less subtle than other forms of violence such as emotional abuse. As such, Goode (1971) was understood to have implied that the manifestation of violence varies with poorer intimate partners experiencing more physical violence than middle class and upper class individuals.

The theory lastly, argues about the effects of financial power balances on the incidence of intimate partner violence. Here, it states that relationships in which financial power is shared resort to violence less often than those where the financial power is concentrated in the hands of one partner. Furthermore, such couples where financial power is shared may experience lower incidences of conflict and when conflict does arise, it may be less likely to resort to violence.

Additionally, if one spouse desires control and power in the relationship, the spouse may resort to abuse.

3.3. The Learned Helplessness Theory

The theory of Learned helplessness was propounded by Seligman (1965) in 1965. The theorist studied the reactions of dogs to light electrical shock waves. With a team of other scientists, Seligman (1965) first exposed one set of animals to a series of shockwaves without the possibility of escape. Thereafter, the same animals were exposed to the same electrical shockwaves but with the option of jumping over a low fence to a cubicle where the floor did not have electrical shockwaves. It was then discovered that the animals just simply lay down as if they had gotten accustomed to the fact that they could not escape the shocks from the previous exposure which had no option to escape. Another set of animals, not exposed to the first instance of shockwaves with no escape were put in the second experiment, that is exposure to shockwaves with the option of jumping over to an adjacent cubicle. It was noted that these dogs quickly jumped over to the other cubicle once the shock waves were executed on them. This showed that their ability to escape was still active and they had not learnt any form of helplessness.

From the experiments above as well as subsequent experiments to verify the findings of the first set of experiments, Seligman (1965) came up with the theory of learned helplessness. Precisely put, learned helplessness is a mental state in which an individual exposed to prolonged negative stimuli becomes mentally unable and literally unwilling to avoid subsequent exposure to such stimuli. It is linked to the faulty mentality that the individual is unable to escape the stimuli since previous attempts to escape were rendered fruitless. The resultant perceived lack of control over the progression and outcome of one's own circumstances then explains the lack of effort to escape by the individual.

The individual at high risk of learning helplessness typically attributes their failure to overcome the circumstances surrounding them to one of three reasons (Seligman; 1965). As such, three categories, otherwise known as attributions can be construed of. These are internal, stable and global attributions.

An internal attribution assigns the fault for the failure as something to do with the concerned individual as opposed to something in the external world. For instance, a student who believes he performed bad in a test at school because he is dull is showing an example of an internal attribution. This is so because the student attributes the failure to himself and his perceived academic dullness. Thus, such a student may believe himself to be dull thus becoming helpless in

the face of subsequent tests. This is different to where the student assigns an external attribution that is for instance saying the test was difficult.

The second type of attribution likely to create learned helplessness is the stable attribution. Here the student in the example above would also qualify as having a stable attribution. The attribution is taken to be stable because it is not variable. By assuming that he is stupid, the student assumes a stance about himself which is stable over time and across situations. This is different from where the student believes he failed because he was not well prepared for that particular test.

The third and last type of attribution is the global attribution. In the example of the student given above, the belief that the student is dull, applies not specifically to the test in question but to all other classes as well. Thus the student's attitude will globally inform his approach to all other classes. This is different from a situation where the student believes he failed because he struggles in that specific subject.

All tenets of the theory of Learned Helplessness were included in data analysis as with those of the Resource Theory given above.

The following part of the chapter will look at international legislation governing intimate partner violence as outlined in the introduction of this chapter.

3.4. International legislation

One of the most relevant international pieces of legislation in terms of intimate partner violence is the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). It informs how most countries have crafted their legislation with regards to intimate partner violence and serves as an international blueprint and baseline for standardization of legislation regarding intimate partner violence.

The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

This international treaty was adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 1979 at the General Assembly of the UN. On 3 September 1981, the treaty came into action. The CEDAW established the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women which is the specialized body of the United Nations responsible for overseeing the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

This committee was formed as outlined in Article 17 of the CEDAW together with the purpose, rules and operating procedures of the committee. Regularly, the committee holds sessions to ensure that the signatories to the treaty are following the rules and provisions of the treaty. Due to

an increase in the attention given to women's rights, the sessions and duties of the committee have increased.

The researcher will, at this juncture, give focus to the contents of the CEDAW.

Contents of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

The CEDAW is made up of a preamble followed by 30 articles. Generally, it stipulates what can be regarded as discrimination against women and provides for an action plan for national action in individual states to end such discrimination.

According to the Convention, discrimination against women is "...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."

This definition outlines various important concepts. It widens the definition of discrimination to various spheres, that is, political, economic, social, cultural and civil. By so doing, the definition is enabling because it challenges traditional practices which discriminated against women in spheres such as agriculture and/or mining and thus enables women to challenge such practices and claim their equal involvement on the basis of the legal provisions of the Convention.

For states, ratifying the Convention means they commit to undertake stipulated measures to eliminate discrimination against women in its entirety. The articles of the CEDAW are as follows;

Article 3: Equality

Firstly, Article 3 of the Convention determines that states should incorporate within their legislation the principle of equality of men and women. This refers to the removal of all constitutional discrimination such as the assignment of quotas for women which are less than the quotas for men. This article stipulates that, where necessary, tribunals and other relevant institutions should be set up and sanctions put in place to enable the realization of the equality of both sexes. The associated implication is equality between both sexes which, according to the Convention, should be reflected in all legislation for signatory countries.

Article 4: Enactment of temporary measures

Article 4 of the Convention obligates signatory states to put in place temporary measures such as Affirmative Action in order to address the historical imbalances in the distribution of power and opportunities between men and women. This is based on the assumption that the crafting of new legislation and the eventual realization of the fruits of such legislation usually takes a long time. Thus measures of a temporary nature must be put in place whilst legislation is being crafted and implemented.

Article 5: Abolition of discriminatory customs

Article 5 calls for states to effect the abolition of customary and stereotypic practices which promote inequality between men and women. This is linked to the obligation to educate families in order to have an understanding of the role of women in society and the importance of maternity and sharing of responsibilities within the home. This call is based on the realization that most violence in intimate relationships is based on cultural perceptions and stereotypes which directly or otherwise promote the oppression of women as discussed in the previous chapter of this research.

Article 6: Elimination of trafficking and exploitation through prostitution

At a pragmatic level, Article 6 of the convention calls upon states to champion the elimination of exploitation of women through trafficking and prostitution. Not much discussion will be given concerning this article since it is of peripheral relevance to this study.

Article 7: Equal access

Through Article 7, the Convention ensures equal access for both men and women, and thus providing the basis for the realization of equality of the genders. The article calls for equal access to be provided for opportunities in the economic, political and public spheres. A central issue which the Convention tackles is the right to vote and to stand for election which was traditionally structurally restricted for women. Though most states did not have explicit laws denying women the right to stand for election in politics, structures and in some instances the absence thereof, helped perpetuate a situation of political non-representation for women.

Article 8: Representation in international organizations

Article 8 enforces that women have the right to be represented in International organizations. The Convention confirms the reproductive rights of women through Article 9. Freeman, Rudolf and Chinkin (2012) argue that the CEDAW is currently the only international human rights treaty which confirms the reproductive rights of women. The Convention enforces women's rights to their

nationality. It refers to the fact that women have the right to get, retain or change their nationality including the nationality of their children.

Articles 10-12: Education, employment and health

In terms of education, employment and health, Articles 10, 11 and 12 call upon the parties to the convention to initiate all appropriate measures to ensure that women have the same level of access in education, employment and health services as men. These measures include the establishment of social services to support women combining family and work responsibilities, reviewing of educational curricula and access to paid leave as well as nutrition during pregnancy.

Articles 13-15: Rights and contractual capacity of women

Articles 13, 14 and 15 deals with economic, social and cultural rights of rural women as well as the legal and contractual capacity of women. Article 13 reiterates that women have the right to access social support when they are retired, sick or invalid as well as to access bank loans which men can access. Article 14 calls for member states to recognize that rural women have special circumstances in terms of their living circumstances and their access to services available for urban women. In this light, the Convention calls for states to support their access to technology, credit facilities and equal treatment in issues of land and resettlement schemes.

Article 16: Family and Marriage

Article 16 appears to be more relevant to this study than the other articles. It reiterates women's rights in terms of Family and Marriage. The article firstly recognizes women's right to enter into consensual marriage and to be able to choose a spouse. Within the marriage and after its dissolution, the woman's right to equal rights and responsibilities is also further emphasized by this article.

Article 16 also provides that women have the right to choose freely the number of and space in between children. As noted in the previous chapter, intimate partner violence is also manifested through disempowering women in terms of their reproductive rights. It is thus interesting to note that the CEDAW provides for their protection.

According to Article 16, women have the right to access information regarding how to make family planning decisions. This calls upon states to educate women on the availability of contraception as well as medical operations which aid the woman to take informed family planning decisions. It includes a corresponding call to make available such material as is necessary for women to control their reproductive cycles in the form of hospitals, clinics or mobile clinics as may be

applicable. The availability of such facilities ensure that women can make birth control decisions and then access pills and equipment to act on their decisions.

In terms of Article 16, women have equal rights and responsibilities regarding guardianship and/or the adoption of children. This applies to any instance where a decision has to be made such as the guardianship of a child after the dissolution of a marriage. This Article provides a step away from the traditional/cultural view that the child belongs to the father and/or his family.

Lastly, Article 16 provides that all women have equal rights in terms of the ownership and/or disposition of family property. As will be discussed below, most African societies assign the property which accumulated within the time a woman was married to a man, to the family of the man or to the eldest son. However, this article provides for the rights of women to access such property.

Articles 17-30: Administration of the CEDAW

Articles 17 to 27 cover the establishment, functions and administration of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Article 28 prohibits states from enacting laws contrary to the provisions of the Convention once they ratify the Convention. Articles 29 and 30 cover the arbitration of disputes and the stewardship of the text of the Convention.

The parties to the Convention agreed to be legally bound to put its provisions into practice. This includes the submission of progress reports at least every four years detailing measures the countries have taken to comply with their treaty obligations.

Having dealt with the contents of the CEDAW, the researcher will now switch the focus of this chapter to the criticism levied against the CEDAW from a variety of sources.

Criticism of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

Whilst the CEDAW provides a comprehensive and informed approach to tackling intimate partner violence, it has not gone without any criticism. Notably, the Convention is aimed at tackling violence against women, most of which is grounded in cultural stereotypes and prejudices. Thus the provisions of the Convention had to be attacks on specific cultures and practices promoting inequality. This clash of cultures has been the major source of criticism for the Convention. The following part will look at the various criticisms levied against the CEDAW.

Critique on promotion of Western-styled feminism

The Convention has been criticized for promoting Western-styled feminism. This criticism comes mainly from a 2000 report by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in which the latter criticized certain developments in Belarus which were cited as perpetuating the traditional/backward perceptions of women. According to Sommers (2011) the 2000 report mentioned that, "the Committee is concerned by the continuing prevalence of sex-role stereotypes and by the reintroduction of such symbols as a Mothers' Day and a Mothers' Award, which it sees as encouraging women's traditional roles."

In light of this comment, Sommers (2011) cites that the Committee showed obvious efforts to champion the Western "career woman" concept as the valid idealization of a woman and in the same breath undermining the "mother" concept of a woman. Sommers (2011) further argues that both roles of a woman are equally important with further emphasis that in most African societies most women are mothers. Thus, he views the comment by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women as an attempt to undermine non-Western ideas of feminism and to further dictate to member states how they should conceptualize feminism.

This criticism is highlighted more especially in the context of Belarus where no direct violations of women's rights were being practiced and yet the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women made a direct attempt to impose Western values on the Belarus government.

The above criticism brings to light the inherent challenges whereby a treaty is signed across continents but encompasses countries with different cultures. The question of how legal agreements can be coined and matched to suit the different cultures is always crucial and problematic (Sommers; 2011). Thus, the CEDAW has received criticism in terms of failing to overcome the barriers of culture and rather trying to perpetuate one culture over other cultures.

3.5. South African legislation on intimate partner violence

As a party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), South Africa is obligated to work towards the elimination of gender violence and discrimination. South Africa is also a party to other regional charters such as the Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa otherwise known as the Maputo Protocol.

As such, the South African Bill of Rights protects women's rights to gender equality and to bodily and psychological integrity. The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 as well is an instrumental piece of legislation when discussing intimate partner violence within a South African context. It has certain provisions and stipulates various guidelines in terms of intimate partner violence.

It can therefore be argued, that South Africa has both international and constitutional obligations to eradicate violence against women and to create effective legal mechanisms to protect women who experience domestic violence. These obligations are acknowledged in the preamble of the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, which aims to provide speedy, effective and accessible legal relief to a very wide range of complainants.

The following section will provide a synthesis of the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 with a focus on its provisions and how it protects the rights of women especially those experiencing intimate partner violence.

The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998

The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 was enacted as a legislative response to the high incidence of domestic violence in South Africa with a focus on protecting victims by making provision for the issuing of protection orders. The Act stemmed from the recognition that domestic violence is not a private matter but rather it is a serious crime against society. The Act further aimed to give greater protection to victims through broadening of the definition of domestic violence to include not only married women and children, but unmarried women who are involved in relationships or cohabitating, individuals in same-sex relationships, parents who live in fear of their children and people sharing the same living space (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development; undated).

Under the Act, sexual abuse was defined as comprising of any behaviour that abuses, humiliates, degrades or violates the sexuality of a person whilst emotional and psychological abuse are defined as behaviour which includes repeated insults and/or threats, obsessive possessiveness, name-calling and jealousy in the context of an intimate relationship. The Act also broadened the definition of abuse to include economic abuse which it defined as the unreasonable refusal to share money or selling or giving away household property, harassment, damage to property, intimidation, stalking and entering a person's home without their consent. Attention will now be given to the contents of the Act.

Contents of the Act

The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 defined abuse and discrimination, as illustrated above. It went further to specify measures as well as the stakeholders involved in intimate partner violence matters as well as their roles. The Act made it a legal duty for the South African Police Service to help victims of violence. This includes helping them to find suitable accommodation and medical help. In addition, they must explain the victims' rights to him or her (either by handing them a

notice in their language of choice or through verbal explanation) and explain how to get a protection order.

Duties of the Clerk of the court

In terms of the Act, applications for protection orders are done at the local magistrate's office. Here, the abused person meets with a specific person, the Clerk of the Court, who is assigned with the initial task of helping the abused to complete an affidavit. In terms of Section 4(2)(a) and (b) of the Act, the clerk also has to explain to the reporter (victim in this study) what support mechanisms are available for them, such as state lawyers if they do not have legal representation.

Issuing of an interim protection order

After completion, the affidavit then goes to a magistrate (or a judge in the High Court), who will consider the matter and may request further verbal evidence or that another affidavit be done addressing certain aspects of interest to the Court.

According to Section 5(2)(a) and (b) of the Act, upon being satisfied that there is a problem, the magistrate will then issue an initial protection order. This initial protection order is an interim order which is temporary and has a return date. What this means is that the respondent is given the chance to state his or her side of the story to the court and to reply to the allegations in the affidavit. In the meantime, the applicant is given protection, as the respondent must obey the interim protection order.

Issuing of the final protection order

If the papers notifying the respondent of an application for a protection order against them were properly delivered to the respondent and yet they do not come to court on the return date, Section 6(1)(a) and (b) of the Act, provides that the court may issue a final protection order. Alternatively if, despite the respondent's presence in court, the Court finds their behaviour unacceptable, then the temporary order can be made a final protection order.

Ideally, the respondent is given at least 10 days to reply to the interim protection order. In the event that the respondent is ready to come to court earlier, they can then give notice of an earlier day for the matter to be heard. On the date of the court/return date, the Court considers the matter and based on the evidence submitted before the court, the interim protection order is either affirmed or another order is made which best suits the situation.

Once a final order has been made, it remains in force until it the Court sets it aside. The respondent has the right to appeal against the order.

Powers and duties of the police

Arresting suspected perpetrator without a warrant of arrest

Under Section 3 of the Act, provision is made for a police officer to arrest any person suspected of having committed an act of domestic violence without a warrant of arrest. The police officer is also given the power to seize any weapons from the premises and/or in the possession of such persons under Section 9(1) of the Act. The police officer can also make an application for a protection order on behalf of the victim (with their written consent) unless the victim is a minor, mentally retarded or unconscious.

Breach of a protection order

Under the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, Section 8(1)(a)(b) and 2, a protection order or temporary protection order is also issued together with a warrant for arrest. The latter is issued on a suspended basis. The Act specifies that when a warrant for arrest is issued under the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, it will remain suspended for as long as the respondent complies with the protection order.

If, however they do not comply with the order, Section 8(4)(b) provides that the applicant can go to the police and hand them an affidavit stating that the order has been broken together with the original warrant for arrest issued with the protection order. Depending on the seriousness of the breach, the police may keep the complainant in protective custody whilst effecting the arrest of the respondent. This provision avoids delays between the violation of the order and the arresting of the respondent which may be caused by the administrative work of issuing a warrant for arrest. Thus, arrest is done immediately since the court already granted a warrant of arrest together with the order.

However, if it is the conviction of the police officer that the breach is not life threatening, provision is made for the police to give the respondent notice to appear in court on a later date instead of arresting them immediately.

Variation of a protection order

Under Section 10(1) of the Act, either the complainant or the respondent may give written notice to the other party indicating their intention to apply to court to vary the protection order, or to have it set aside. The court will do this only if good reasons are shown for the change.

The Act allows for both parties to have legal assistance and also to be supported by not more than three persons each under Section 11. No other persons are allowed to attend the court hearing other than the legal representative and the three people identified in Section 11. The Act also provides that the identity of the complainant and respondent may not be published unnecessarily and without the prior consent of both parties.

In an event where one of the parties involved (either the complainant or the respondent) does not have money to pay for the service of the documents, the State is obligated to provide financial assistance. Alternatively, the Court can order the other party to pay the costs of the other party if the former party has acted unreasonably.

Disobeying a protection order is a crime, and the offender can be sentenced to imprisonment of up to five years. Many of the acts that constitute domestic violence are also criminal offences, and the abuser can be charged with a criminal offence even if a protection order has already been granted.

However, the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 as well has not gone without criticism. The current researcher will focus on the various criticisms against the Act in the section below.

3.6. Criticism

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Despite general praise for the contents of the Act, several areas of concern can still be noted with regards to the applicability and extent of the Law. The following part will look at the available criticism regarding the Act by academic, political and social commentators and writers.

The plight of rural women

One particular area of concern with the Act as discussed in much detail by Bonthuys and Albertyn (2007) is the usefulness of the piece of legislation in protecting rural women and women who live under customary law from domestic violence.

Notably, the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 can only be enforced in Magistrates' Courts or Family Courts. There is no provision for traditional courts to issue protection orders yet there are over 1 500 customary courts operating in South Africa (South African Law Commission; 2008) and an overwhelming number of people who rely on customary law.

Various factors such as distance, language and money may limit the level to which rural women have access to Magistrates' and Family Courts. In 2002 Statistics South Africa estimated that approximately 15.5 million South Africans, representing 36% of the then total population, lived as tribal villages in rural areas. A majority of these people (55%) are women.

These women live under inhibiting social and economic conditions and this arguably contributes to their vulnerability to domestic violence. These conditions might as well arrest their ability to escape it. Amongst the unfavorable conditions in rural areas, Budlender (2002) shows that the rate of illiteracy amongst dwellers of rural areas is comparatively higher than amongst their urban counterparts. Further to this, Budlender (2002) argues that the distribution of literate persons favors men both in rural and in urban areas. Amongst the vast differences between urban and rural women is the fact that rural women are more likely to be engaged in physical labor tasks such as collecting firewood and fetching water from an outside source such as a borehole than urban women. Rural women are further more likely to give birth in a private home whilst urban women might access hospitals.

Thus rural women do not have the luxury of accessing the infrastructure and facilities available for urban women in urban areas. Despite the infrastructure which facilitates possible access to day to day life such as medical facilities, rural women may lack access to courts and places of safety/shelters as well as various other services provided by NGO's working with victims of domestic violence. Furthermore, some of the rural women may not own their homes and this may create a situation whereby some may be unable to protect themselves and may fear eviction by their abusive spouses. Additionally, there is evidence that police in some cases of intimate violence may be reluctant to evict male perpetrators from homes which they own as submitted by Westendorp and Wolleswinkel (2005).

With an increase in rural-urban migration, the care of the children as well as general upkeep of the home is a task which is relegated to women since men most of the times are the ones who migrate to urban areas in search of employment. Some of the women in the rural areas may also become dependent on the salary of the husband as there are fewer opportunities for paid labor in most of these rural areas. Westendorp and Wolleswinkel (2005) note that most of these salaries are not even sent to the wife personally but to a male member of the family such as an uncle or the first son of the husband. There is a possibility of a leakage at this stage since the person receiving the money may choose not to give it to the wife or to give her only a certain percentage. Whichever way this goes, the financial capability of rural women to make decisions on reporting violence is severely crippled mostly by their dependency on their husbands.

African people in semi-rural areas

On top of rural dwellers, African people in semi-rural and at times even urban areas have been reported (Westendorp and Wolleswinkel; 2005) to be adhering to customary law to a significant extent. Women's lack of access to property and the succession laws of customary law have the

effect of entrapping them within a cycle of abuse wherein their ability to escape is greatly compromised. The customary laws of custody may also serve to further complicate their predicament by introducing another variable from which they cannot detach themselves; children. Given that, under customary law, some may not be allowed by their in-laws to leave with their children when they choose to escape violent relationships, women's decisions to escape violence may become generally compromised and undermined.

Furthermore, high incidences of cohabitation, social attitudes against women in cohabitating relationships may also isolate them from help sources and disable their ability to escape these relationships regardless of the conditions thereof.

Nevertheless, African people may resolve their disputes in terms of customary law which may not be recognized by the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998. This further may conflict at most junctures with the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 and the applicability and influence of the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 may become questionable. This problem is notable especially in light of article 14(1) of CEDAW which obligates signatory state parties to 'take into account the particular problems faced by rural women' and 'to ensure the application of the provisions of the Convention to women in rural areas.'

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, the research focus was to give an overview of the legislative environment surrounding intimate partner violence. This was done through analysing international, national and customary law provisions for victims of intimate partner violence.

The analysis of legislation regarding intimate partner violence has presented various findings which are of crucial importance to this study. Whilst international legislation is key to the formation of national legislation on intimate partner violence, the applicability of international legislation and its compatibility with the cultures of local people may seem to be controversial. Although CEDAW is in place, various incidences of violence against women still prevail with minimal response from the custodians of the treaty. This calls to question the applicability of the treaty in terms of financially vulnerable and economically dependent women circumstances. Further, the CEDAW may not have done much to either empower or liberate them from their predicament. Its status as an international treaty seems to make it distant and in a way irrelevant to the lives of the ordinary women facing abuse in their daily lives as highlighted in this chapter.

The analysis of the CEDAW also indicated the issue of the different conceptions of what constitutes violence and how impractical it is to reconcile all versions without making substantial

compromises. In order to avoid such compromises, one has to run the risk of stepping over the autonomy of sovereign party states. The CEDAW chose the latter path and has received criticism along the lines of being dominated by Western states. This not only tarnishes the treaty but affects its acceptability and the extent to which its provisions may affect the lives of various non-Western states.

As a signatory to the CEDAW, South Africa has enacted the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 which saw the introduction of protection orders. This development was key to protecting victims of intimate partner violence since its introduction into law. Though the Act is the key piece of legislation in protecting victims of intimate partner violence, it may not have been adequate in protecting the rights of rural women who some may be chiefly under customary law.

One detects, through the discussion in this chapter, that whilst attention is being given to the development of legislation primarily for implementation in urban areas, there may be a deliberate lack of equal attention for women in rural areas. This is tied to the precarious conditions in rural areas, the lack of access of these women to urban facilities and may place them at a high risk of being victimized with no way out. The existence of two codes of law, which at most junctures conflict as seen in the bi-existence of customary and common law is a great challenge in practice. In the absence of the merging of those two codes or an abolishment of one of them, the dilemma in which women presently find themselves may most likely continue. The dilemma of balancing between being a submissive wife as required by customary law and protecting their rights under common law is an inescapable reality of the bi-existence of two contradicting codes of law. When one factor is the husband's subtle punitive powers referred to under customary law, the woman's decision of which code of law to follow is made even more complex.

This research is of the conviction that a substantial effort to justice has been administered to the legislative environment surrounding intimate partner violence. Focus will now be given to the methodology of the research including the pragmatic aspects of the study in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the research discussed the pragmatic aspects of the current study and that have included, but not limited to, the research design, research methodology, sampling procedure, data collection tools, data analysis methods, the limitations of the study and ethical considerations.

The research has also discussed the objectives of this study as well as the anticipated values of the study.

4.2. Research design

A research design can be defined as a plan which explains all aspects of a given proposed research. It starts from the conceptualization of the problem right to the distribution of the findings of a study (Lewis-Beck, Bryman and Liao; 2004). The research made use of an exploratory study using the qualitative method. What informed the research choice was the need to gain new insight into the theme under study and to inform priority listing for future studies.

DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) define qualitative research as a method of research which seeks to establish an in depth understanding of a phenomenon. Whilst the line between quantitative and qualitative research is not so bold, generally qualitative research does not translate findings into figures and numbers but uses narration as a means of presenting aspects of the world into concepts and themes.

DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) further add that, qualitative research generally has, as its purpose, the description of social phenomena in terms of the meaning which the participants of the study ascribe to their experiences. It seeks to reconstruct and interpret the findings of a study in line with the meaning which the participants of a study assign to the phenomenon being studied.

4.2.1. Justification for the design

A qualitative research approach was best suited to achieve the objectives of this study.

The objectives of the research were:

- To explore the perceptions of financially dependent victims of Intimate Partner Violence
- To find out the reporting behaviours of victims of Intimate Partner Violence
- To investigate the coping strategies of victims of Intimate Partner Violence

- To examine the availability of support structures to victims of Intimate Partner Violence in Bothaville

The research aimed to explore and gain an understanding of the lived experiences of victims of intimate partner violence in Bothaville. Qualitative research as such prioritised their lived experiences and preserved much of the meaning they attached to these experiences.

According to McRoy, Flanzer and Ziotnik (2012), the first attribute that sets qualitative research apart is that qualitative researchers mostly collect data in the natural setting where the participants experience the issue or problem under study. McRoy et al (2012) refer to this aspect as the interpretive or naturalist paradigm because it embodies the fact that the research seeks to understand a phenomenon in a real world setting where the likelihood of manipulation of the phenomenon under study is minimized.

This study was conducted in Bothaville where the participants of the study reside. This made it more suitable for the study since one of the objectives of the study was to explore in depth, the experiences of the victims of intimate partner violence. In this regard, a naturalist paradigm allowed for the researcher to gather in depth details as well as to allow the participants to be relaxed in the interview setting as they were not exposed to a laboratory environment or any other foreign environment which would potentially unsettle them and negatively affect their ability to respond.

McRoy et al (2012) mention that in qualitative research, the researcher becomes the primary instrument of data collection. This is also tied to the fact that qualitative research expands beyond interviews to gather data such as reactions, observations and other aspects of the interview which are not regarded as central in quantitative research. The gathering of this information enables the researcher the opportunity to attach meaning and a context to the findings of a study (McRoy et al; 2012). Given that the study was examining a complex phenomenon which cannot be separated from feelings and emotions, it was more suitable to use qualitative than quantitative research since the former allowed the researcher the opportunity to use observations to collect data.

Lastly McRoy et al (2012) mention that qualitative researchers have a peculiar interest in meaning and attempt to attach meaning to the findings of a study. This characterises the process of data collection and analysis in qualitative research. Focus is assigned both to the response as well as the attached meaning of the participant's experience.

In this study, particular interest was on the frames of reference of the participants and what meaning they assigned to their experiences. The participants were given the space to talk about their realities, emotions as well as opinions. It was also another element which came as a benefit of using the qualitative research method.

Qualitative research was also beneficial to this study because it gave the research the opportunity to comprehend the subject under study holistically. This in turn allowed that the interpretation be from the perspective of the participants rather than from theory. Qualitative research also dissociates itself from the approach of quantitative researchers who may be generally interested in aspects such as determination, causality, generalization and prediction of findings. Rather, qualitative research tends to have more interest in understanding of the responses of human beings to a situation (Golafshani; 2003). By its very own structure, qualitative research is ideographic because it seeks to assign meaning and to contain the pragmatic aspects of the day to day experiences of the participants (Warwick; 2012).

A qualitative research method was also more relevant to the study because it allowed the researcher to concentrate on the qualities of human behaviour. This would have been impossible under a quantitative research paradigm. It was important to concentrate on the qualities of human behaviour in this study because it allowed the researcher to gain an insight into the social lives of the participants. The study also focused on qualities such as resilience, frustration, fear and vulnerability in the context of how they related to the study topic. The lack of restrictions when it came to such aspects of data collection is another attribute of qualitative research which richly benefited this study.

4.3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

It is generally uncomfortable to disclose information to an unknown individual, more so to be interviewed and subjected to the rigorous processes of empirical research (Glicken; 2003). Consequently, research participants tend to resist being interviewed, provide inaccurate information or deliberately misinform the interviewer.

As such, this necessitated a need to strike a balance between the empirical goal to collect information and the rights of the participants providing the information. In that manner, certain ethical considerations had to be observed by the researcher so as to maximise the accuracy of the information gathered without infringing on any of the rights of the participants. Ethical considerations refer to rules of conduct which a researcher had to adhere as set out as a code or set of principles (Glicken; 2003). The following part of the study has focused into the ethical considerations which were taken into consideration by the research

4.4. Ethical considerations

The study got approved and a Clearance Certificate by the Ethics Committee of the University of Fort Hare (**ANNEXURE E**) which enabled the researcher to continue with the study. The following part will deal with ethical principles.

4.4.1. Ethical principles

Whilst they are various ethical principles, the current research found out that the current study was mainly influenced by these two principles:

- **Confidentiality**

The principle of confidentiality refers to the security of the information provided to the researcher by the participants including safeguarding the identities of the participants (Babbie; 2012). The researcher had to exercise extreme caution with regards to confidentiality since the participants being examined by the study were particularly sensitive. Given the permission of the use of an audio recording device by the participants during the interviews, most of them initially became reluctant and required reassurance that the information they provided would not be published together with their identities. This called upon the researcher to constantly reassure the participants that extreme caution would be taken in the handling of the information and that their responses would be recorded against aliases and pseudonyms will be used and not their real names. Most of the participants also expressed concern about their voices being identified by people even when an alias has been used. The researcher had to assure them that the information recorded on the device would be transcribed by the researcher to transcripts rather than the audio files for data analyses. This seemed to have been sufficient for most of the participants as they thereafter willingly and freely participated in the interviews.

- **Consent**

The researcher explained to the participants that they had the right to drop out of the study at any point and without any explanation. Eckstein (2003) explains that informed consent refers to the knowledge by the participant that they are not bound by any form of contract to remain in the study and that no consequences would accompany their decision to drop out should they decide at any point to do so. The researcher found that this principle was closely related to the principle of confidentiality in this study. It was made clear to the participants that should they feel uncomfortable due to the presence of a recording device, they had the right to drop out without being asked any questions.

4.4.2. Ethical guidelines for research

Besides the above mentioned two principles which were fundamental to the study, the researcher also conformed to the following ethical guidelines which underpinned the research in general:

- In line with the ethical requirements of research, the researcher consulted with relevant authorities before the study was initiated in order to gain permission from the University in the form of a clearance certificate as highlighted above.
- In order to gain access to the study area, the researcher consulted the local Municipality and in turn all the councillors were made aware of the presence of the researcher within their political domain and the intentions of the study were clearly explained to them.

The researcher gained access to the participants of the study by means of the social auxiliary worker responsible for the Support Group at Child Welfare South Africa: Kgotsong. The social auxiliary worker introduced the researcher to the members of the group and this assisted with the building of a trusting relationship which was key in a sensitive topic. Thereafter, the researcher carried on with the process of gathering data. Chapman (2012) is of the opinion that being introduced to the participants of a study by a figure or individual who is well known to them is beneficial to a study since it establishes a certain level of trust which would be absent if the researcher would have approached the participants on his/her own. The views of Chapman (2012) were proved to be true as the participants were more at ease and relaxed to engage with the researcher and much of this can be attributed to the use of an intermediary

The researcher also sought the informed consent of the participants and adhered to the principles of confidentiality and anonymity. According to Babbie (2013) obtaining informed consent implies that the researcher explains the aim, procedures, dangers, pros and cons of the study to the participants individually.

Babbie (2013) further mentions that the most fundamental principle for ethical acceptability is informed consent. This entailed that the participants had to be informed of the nature and purpose of the research, its risks and benefits and participated without coercion. The participants were given a consent form to sign and they were informed that they were free to withdraw from the research when they felt like. A copy of the consent form is attached as **Annexure B**.

Before delving into the procedure the researcher used for the study, it was deemed necessary that the researcher looks into the dynamics of the area which was studied so as to help contextualize the rest of the chapter. This will be done hereunder.

4.4.3. Research Domain

Bothaville is an agriculture based town located near the Vaal River in the Lejweleputswa District Municipality of the Free State province in South Africa. The main agricultural activity around the town is maize farming. The town is about 60 km from the Vaal in an Easterly direction. Vast maize-lands surround the town as it is part of the maize triangle responsible for supplying between 40-45 percent of South Africa's maize (Nala Municipality; 2011). Sheep rearing as well as the production of sunflower, wheat and peanuts also characterise the town's agricultural activities.

As a result of these dynamics, the town has a migrant labour economic system wherein people have permanent homes in Kgotsong, which is the only township in Bothaville. Seasonally they go to stay at the farms up until the harvesting time is over or their contract is terminated. They then return home to Kgotsong and wait till the next planting season. This characterises most male labour. Women are usually given the task of looking after the children and elderly people in the meantime men are expected to work at the farms. For those women who decide to go out and work, options are limited to kitchen and house helpers, professions which, by virtue of their nature, which do not take as much people as farm work. This may be due to the fact that one house does not need as much house helpers compared to farm labourers. Add to this, the disparity between the salaries of male and female workers is in favour of the former.

According to a publication of the local municipality in 2013, the town has an approximated population of 80,000 residents. There are nearly 30,000 families, 3 clinics and 1 hospital. Approximately 53 percent of the town's population are women. SeSotho and Afrikaans are the two most commonly used languages outside the professional environment where English is accepted as universal.

It was this area which was used as a domain from which the population for the study was drawn. The concept of the population is explained below.

4.4.4. Population

Babbie (2013) defines a population as the theoretically specified aggregation of study elements from which the sample is actually selected. She also further adds that it is the totality of organisation units, persons, events, case records or other sampling units with which the research problem is concerned. De Vos and Van Schaik (2002) define a population as a set of entities where all the measurements of interest to the researcher are represented. Further to that they add that a population can be perceived as the total number of possible units or elements that are included in the study. The population for this study were victims of intimate partner violence in Bothaville. Furthermore, one has to point out that, in empirical research, it is most often impossible for one to study every individual unit in the population as it would be practically impossible to

access every member of a community with 80,000 people such as Bothaville. Time and other resources would also limit the possibility of interviewing every individual member of such a population.

The practical difficulties of conducting research on all the units of a given population bring about the necessity of choosing a sample. According to Chumney and Simpson (2006) a sample is a subset of measurements drawn from the population under study. Chumney and Simpson (2006) go on to mention that a sample that is too large is often unwieldy and one that is too small is often unrepresentative. Aspects relating to the sample are dealt with below.

4.5. Sampling procedure

A sampling procedure defines the rules that specify how the researcher determines the specific units which will comprise the sample (Babbie; 2013). Further sampling can be described as the process of taking a portion of a population as a representatives of that population. As such, a sample is drawn from amongst the members of the population.

What necessitates sampling, as highlighted above, is the size of a population and the consequent impracticality and prohibitive costs of testing each member of any population (De Vos and Van Schaik; 2002).



For the purposes of the study, the research made use of the relational outcropping method of sampling to select members of the first sample. Members of the second sample were selected through purposive sampling.

Lee (1999) mentions that relational outcropping is based on the concept that the ability to compose a sufficient enough sample for a certain population group depends on the group being geographically segregated in some way. In this case, the researcher then took an advantage of such a congregation of the group and drew a sample from the members thereof. Chu (2013) refers to relational outcropping as the process wherein a researcher locate the study where the action is; when researching on rare or deviant groups or on sensitive topics.

Relational outcropping was very beneficial to the study because it allowed the researcher to gain easy access to a rare population of participants. Given the sensitivity of the topic the research study, the use of relational outcropping allowed the researcher to gain access to the participants in a centralized location and to gather data which was readily available. This had positive impact on the progression of the study as well as the costs for carrying out the study.

Whilst there is no guarantee that samples selected using relational sampling are representative of the wider population of interest to the researcher, one can also argue that the opposite may be true. Chu (2013) cites that a common argument is that relational outcropping inherently excludes isolated individuals who, for one reason or the other, do not access facilities where certain groups congregate. These include poor people and social outcasts who have not been absorbed into the mainstream for one reason or the other. The researcher was aware of that limitation. Thus whilst the argument by Chu (2013) was considered in its entirety, the researcher considered the possible hindrances of the alternative paths implied by the argument in light of the group which the study was focused on and found enough justification to use relational outcropping.

Having looked at the procedure which was employed to select the samples, the researcher will now focus on the specifics of the samples below.

Unit of Analysis (sample size)

The sample was selected from a sampling frame. Chumney and Simpson (2006) define a sampling frame as a list of the items, events, units or individuals forming a population from which a sample is taken. The sampling frame for this study comprised of all victims of intimate partner violence in Bothaville enrolled in the support groups at Child Welfare South Africa, Kgotsong.

This demarcation between employed and unemployed victims was made so as to isolate the effects of personal choices and preferences from the effects of economic dependency. The researcher noted that whilst studying twenty random individual participants who are victims of intimate partner violence would have been sufficient for the study project one had to select eight (8) social service practitioners working with victims of intimate partner violence in their various professional and leadership capacities in Bothaville. These eight (8) constituted the second sample. The choice for the sample size was mainly based on the need for accuracy, validity and credibility required by the research and the degree of variation in the sample (Babbie, 2007).

4.6. Research instrument

Kielhofner (2006) defines a research instrument as any tool that is used for collecting data for the purpose of reaching certain conclusions on a phenomenon under investigation.

The study used an interview guide that was constructed by the researcher to administer in-depth individual interviews. Unstructured and non- directive questions were compiled and formed part of the interview guide. The purpose of the guide was to guide both the researcher as well as the participants within the context of an interview. The researcher also used an audio recorder to record the interviews and prior to its use permission was sought from the participants as

mentioned above. The interviews were audio recorded in seSotho and later transcribed and translated into English.

The interview schedule had themes and probing questions which served to guide the researcher to go into in depth data collection. The themes which were contained in the interview schedules were as follows;

- a) Personal Details
- b) Perceptions of victims of Intimate Partner Violence
- c) Reporting Behaviours
- d) Coping Strategies
- e) Support Structures



Data collection methods

The data collection process was exploratory. This means that the research used exploratory means such as asking questions, listening and expressing empathy (Punch; 2013). Data was gathered through in-depth interviews for the sample of victims of intimate partner violence whilst a focus group discussion was used for the sample of the professionals working with the victims.

All interviews were recorded and Klenke (2008) argues that transcripts of recorded interviews give a detailed version of conversation and eliminate the temptation for researchers to annihilate the “unwanted” components of the interview such as data which goes against the researcher’s hypothesis. The researcher attached samples of the transcripts as **(ANNEXURE C)**.

Klenke (2008) also mentions that an important aspect of in-depth interviews is the inherent opportunity for the researcher to gain more information on the participants’ personal experiences, views and behaviour. The researcher conducted face to face interviews with the victims of intimate partner violence and as a result managed to probe for more data.

4.7. Data analysis

Flick (2014) characterises data analysis as the process whereby the researcher attempts to bring structure, order and meaning to a mass of data collected. This can be done through various means though the eventual goal is that some sort of meaning should be assigned to the various responses of the participants. The data collected in the study was analysed using the thematic

approach. The researcher triangulated the findings from the first sample with those of the second sample to ascertain major and minor themes.

The first step involved the researcher reducing volumes of raw information collected from the participants through separating the significant from the trivial and non-frequent responses. From this process the researcher was able to identify recurring and significant patterns in the responses collected from the participants. This led to the construction of a framework for deciphering the essence of what the data collected was saying overall. These recurring similar responses were grouped into themes in order to give structure and meaning to the mass of collected data.

Guest, Macqueen and Namey (2011) refer to the process illustrated above as content thematic analysis. They further mention that it includes the compressing of many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (pg. 213).

The researcher first transcribed the audio recordings onto paper and thereafter followed the eight steps of data analysis as proposed by Tesch (Creswell, 2009: 186) to analyse the data. These steps are illustrated below;

- **Planning**

The researcher planned with a view of making sense of the raw data gathered during data collection. Planning was achieved through reading all the transcripts carefully and in the process jotting down some ideas which came to mind in line with the topic.

- **Examination**

The researcher examined in detail a sample of the transcripts. This process involved picking up a random transcript from one interview from the pile of transcripts and reading it, asking questions about it whilst writing thoughts on the margin. The emphasis on this stage, according to Tesch (Creswell, 2009) is to focus, not on the substance but the underlying meaning of the information.

- **Listing**

Whilst conducting the first two steps, the researcher also listed topics emanating from the data. Where topics shared similarities they were grouped together and put into columns arrayed as "major topics", "unique topics" and "left over's".

- **Abbreviating**

Having compiled the list in the step above, the researcher re-examined the data. The aim of re-examination at this stage was to abbreviate each topic as a code and writing the codes next to the appropriate segments of the texts. Preliminary organizing schemes were employed to see if the new categories and codes emerged.

- **Description**

The researcher found the most descriptive wording for the topic and turned them into categories. The total list of categories was reduced by grouping related topics together and lines were drawn between categories to show interrelationships.

The coding strategy used here involved generating categories, themes and patterns. Text data was organized into categories and these categories were labelled with a term in the vernacular language of the participants, that is, seSotho. Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011) refer to such a vernacular label an “in vivo term”.

After deciding on the final abbreviation for each category, the researcher arranged the codes in alphabetical order. The researcher used the coding to generate a number of themes. These themes were the ones that constituted the major findings in the study and formed separate headings in the findings section (Miles, Hubberman and Saldana, 2013).

- **Preliminary analysis**

At this stage, some sort of order and meaning was apparent in the data gathered in the research study. The researcher thus did a preliminary analysis of data material belonging to each category.

- **Reporting**

After being satisfied by the results of the preliminary analysis, the researcher proceeded to report the results of research. This was done by means of the findings of the study documented in the next chapter. Tesch (Creswell, 2009) mentions that the qualitative researcher concedes that bias and error may influence the process of data interpretation and as such the researcher took steps to correct this by ensuring that evidence for the analytical findings exists in the data and that different interpretation of the data could be reconciled. By so doing, the research conclusions were grounded in the real-world patterns that emerged from the research findings. It was therefore crucial for the researcher to document the process of analysis thoroughly so that the logic of the analysis could be tracked even by an independent observer.

Method of Data verification

Data verification is concerned about the reliability and validity of research findings. Creswell (2009) 'terms' it qualitative validity and explains that it is a process whereby the researcher checks the accuracy of the findings of a study by employing certain procedures.

In this study, the researcher employed both constructive and post hoc methods of verification. Constructive verification refers to those methods of verification employed in the process of data collection whilst post hoc methods refer to methods used after the process (Creswell, 2009). As such, constructive verification included the use of the tape recorder to verify the accuracy of the transcript as well as the use of an audit trail to keep track of how decisions were made including the rationale behind such decisions in line with empirical research standards.

Post hoc verification was done during the preliminary analysis when the researcher went through the findings to determine the extent to which the interpretations of the researcher tallied with the data gathered during the study.

The four facets of trustworthiness or data verification which were most important in the study were as follows:

Truth-value

The truth-value paradigm is the first facet of qualitative validity which was crucial in this study both during collection and after the findings were obtained. The concept of truth-value concerned itself with the extent to which the researcher has established confidence in the truth of the findings of the study in relation to the context in which the study was undertaken (Creswell; 2009).

Creswell (2009) mentions that in qualitative research truth value is usually obtained from the unfolding of human experiences as they are lived and perceived by the participants of a given study. Creswell (2009) further adds that it is the task of the researcher to represent those multiple realities in a comprehensive format and yet preserving the accuracy of the individual versions of the social realities of the participants. This implies that qualitative research bases its credibility partly on the ability of the researcher to accurately describe and interpret the accounts of the participants to the extent where a synchronised meaningful version of the accounts exists and yet the individual accounts do not lose their original truth or meaning.

For the purpose of this research, the researcher used various interviewing techniques such as reflection, probing and follow up questions during the interviews so as to establish the meaning of the participants' responses beyond the face value thereof. As another measure, the researcher

also engaged with the research participants for an average of thirty to forty minutes at one seating. This was long enough to allow the researcher to gather as much data as was needed and yet short enough to retain the concentration of the participants. Concentration was important in the study because the likelihood of inaccurate and false responses were likely to rise with lower levels of concentration (Miles et al; 2013). The use of prolonged engagement also assisted the researcher to detect response sets where the participants consistently either agreed or disagreed with the questions.

Applicability

The second criterion of trustworthiness which was important in the study was the applicability of the findings of the study. Creswell (2009) describes applicability as the degree to which the findings of a given study can be transferred from the group which the researcher conducted to the study of another group without losing accuracy. Creswell (2009) further explains that applicability can be viewed as the extent to which findings can be applied to another context and setting or with other groups. It is the ability to generalize from the sample to larger populations. According to Creswell (2009) applicability is attained through the strategy of transferability and is the responsibility of the person wanting to transfer the findings to another situation or population rather than of the researcher of the original study. The research hence presented sufficient descriptive data to allow other researchers to draw certain parameters which would allow or disallow applicability and comparison by such researchers.

Consistency

The third criterion of trustworthiness was concerned with the consistency of the data. This refers to the percentage of probability of the findings being consistent if the inquiry was to be replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context (Creswell; 2009). Consistency is expressed in terms of dependability.

For the study to qualify for consistency, the research adequately described the condition of the study area, the exact methods of sampling, data gathering, data analysis and interpretation used in the study. Such dense description of methods provided information as to how repeatable the study was and has provided future researchers with details of the uniqueness of the participants as well as the situation in the study area at the time of the study being carried out.

Neutrality

This was the last criterion of trustworthiness. Creswell (2009) defines it as the degree to which findings are independent of any biases on the researcher's part. This implied that the findings

were a function solely of the participants' responses and conditions of the research and not of other motivations, biases and perspectives.

De Vos and Van Schaik (2002) provides an alternative view to the concept of neutrality. They argue that apart from the researcher being neutral, neutrality should also concern itself with the non-biasness of the data. Throughout the study, the researcher maintained neutrality and allowed the study to unfold on its own without any preconceived ideas on the topic influencing the progression of the study.

4.8. Limitations

The research noted various limitations to the study. These were multi-faceted and emerged at various stages in the study. Some of the notable limitations of the study were as follows:

- Due to the sensitivity of the topic, it was impossible for the researcher to conduct a pilot test of the interview schedule. This made the research process, especially data collection, very strenuous. If a pilot study would have been carried out, the researcher could have had the chance to refine and adjust the questions and thus potentially lessen the work during data collection. Without a pilot study, the researcher found out that the first interviews on both samples took a long time to conclude as the researcher had to refine questions and probe more often.
- Participants were initially reluctant to cooperate with the researcher due to the privacy of the information sought in the interviews. This was further complicated by the absence of a pilot study as explained above.
- The interviews had to be aligned with the schedule of the social auxiliary worker conducting the support groups at Child Welfare since she was responsible for providing counselling services to the participants after the interviews. As such, the researcher had to facilitate the transportation of the social auxiliary worker to the homes of the participants. This came at an extra cost to the researcher both in terms of time and money. In terms of time, the researcher had to await the social auxiliary worker to avail herself before carrying out an interview. The intermediary was usually busy and this cost the researcher a lot of time. In terms of money, transporting an extra individual meant paying out more money and this made the study expensive.

4.9. Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has explored the methods used for the collection of data in the study. The study took an exploratory approach with the use of in depth interviews with semi structured interview guides. The study was based in Bothaville in the Free State Province of South

Africa and 20 women who were victims of intimate partner violence were involved in the study as the first sample. These participants were interviewed by means of one on one interviews whilst a second sample, constituting eight (8) professionals and leaders working with victims of intimate partner violence was interviewed by means of a once off focus group discussion.

The chapter also highlighted the various ethical principles which were of significance in the study including confidentiality and consent. The study also had limitations which were highlighted in the chapter. Conclusively, the chapter was aimed at explaining the practical aspects of the study in greater detail and this was achieved by the means laid out above. The following chapter deals with interpretation of findings and data analysis.



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CHAPTER FIVE

Presentation of findings and data analysis

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the themes that emerged from the process of data analysis following the collection of information from the participants in the study. Twenty participants in this study were victims of intimate partner violence whilst eight were various officials working with the victims in their various leadership and professional capacities. The major themes of the study were

- Personal details of the participants
- Perceptions of victims of Intimate Partner Violence
- Reporting Behaviours
- Coping Strategies and
- Support Structures



The main sample, victims of intimate partner violence was interviewed through one-on-one in-depth interviews whilst the sample for the social service providers was interviewed through a one off focus group discussion in line with the same themes outlined above. This aided the researcher to triangulate the findings of each of the samples and ascertain the validity of both sets of opinions.

The structure of this chapter is such that the main themes from the interview schedules formed the five major components of this chapter and sub themes related to these themes will be discussed under the respective main themes. The researcher has adopted a two-tier approach where the findings from both samples were discussed simultaneously and contrasted or compared as may be applicable. As such, for every theme, the research discussed the relevant findings from both samples. Important to note is that the names of the participants used in this chapter are pseudonyms for the purposes of reference only. This has been done in the interest of protecting the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants as per the confidentiality agreement entered into between the researcher and the participants individually.

The sample for the social service providers' focus group interviewees used their titles and office portfolios in the study. The portfolios were important in that they directly linked the focus group participants to the work they were involved in and as such contextualized their responses in line with their expertise.

5.2.1 Theme one: Personal details of the participants

Discussion

The twenty participants in the individual interviews were asked to give their personal details. These are shown, in the form of pseudonyms in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Personal details of the participants for sample A

No	Pseudonym	Age	Place of residence	Gender	Dependents	Type of marriage	Source of income
1	Lerato	27	Naledi	F	5	Customary	None
2	Refilwe	34	Ditshehlong Section	F	4	Cohabiting	None
3	Basetsana	35	Naledi Section	F	3	Customary marriage but on separation	None
4	Magauta	33	Naledi Section	F	2	Court signed	None
5	Gabohele	34	Naledi Section	F	3	Court signed	None
6	Mmatlale	35	Naledi Section	F	3	Previously cohabiting; now on separation	None
7	Mmiki	26	Ditshehlong	F	0	Cohabiting	None
8	Mpolai	39	Mpumalanga Section	F	2	Customary but on separation	None
9	Masenyane	26	Ditshehlong Section	F	0	Cohabitation	None
10	Mapata	39	Phumasibethane Section	F	3	Court signed	None
11	Modiehi	41	Meyerhof	F	3	Customary	Employed
12	Palesa	34	Meyerhof	F	2	Court signed	Employed
13	Dieketseng	27	Naledi Section	F	4	Cohabitation	Self employed
14	Tseleng	30	Mpumalanga Section	F	0	Court signed but on separation	Self employed
15	Dirontsho	35	Meyerhof	F	5	Court signed	Employed
16	Maditaba	25	Naledi Section	F	0	Court signed but on separation	Employed
17	Kelebogile	43	Meyerhof	F	5	Court signed	Employed
18	Mmokgo	42	Phumasibethane Section	F	4	Previously cohabiting; now on separation	Employed
19	Matshidiso	44	Mpumalanga Section	F	4	Cohabitation	Employed
20	Motlalepule	32	Meyerhof	F	5	Customary	Employed

Table 2 above shows the biographic information of the participants of Sample A. Using these details, the research has constructed an abstract demographic picture of the participants as follows:

Gender

All the participants were females and this came due to the fact that the sampling frame from which the participants were chosen was made up entirely of females. This was also possibly attributable

to the general difference in physique between women and men as per Braiker's (2006) contribution that in most relationships the man is physically more powerful than the woman thus setting him up to physically abuse her.

Catalano (2006) and Gorard (2003) comment on the gendered nature of intimate partner violence is left to speculation. An alternative explanation could be the contribution of Saunders (2002) that male victims of intimate partner violence are shy to come forward and seek help for fear of ridicule and possible embarrassment (Kelly and Johnson, 2008).

Age

The table reflects that the age range of the participants was from 25 to 44 years. Most of the participants fell in the 25 to 35 age range and only four (4) were above forty (40) years of age.

In this study, the broad scope of the age range of the participants allowed the researcher access to diverse perspectives. This was so because participants with diverse ages had varying lengths of time of exposure to victimization and their experiences at different stages of the cycle of victimization were different. It was observed that the nature of victimization was the same across all age ranges whilst the responses to victimization differed for young and older victims. Younger victims of violence were noted to be less likely to report the perpetrators than were older victims. Younger victims were classified as falling below 35 years of age whilst older victims were defined as those victims above 35. Krishnan, Hilbert and van Leeuwen (2001) argue that for younger victims children are still a major responsibility thus lessening the likelihood of the victim leaving the perpetrator. They further argue that older children can either fend for themselves and even take care of the victim if she leaves the perpetrator. as such, the age of the children was cited as a strong determinant.

Geographic location

All the participants were from Bothaville. However, the majority of the participants were from the various sections of Kgotsong the local township of Bothaville such as Mpumalanga, Ditshehlong and Naledi. Only 5 of the participants were from Meyerhof, which is a residential area in Bothaville town. The advantage of the spatial location of the participants though, was that it directly meant the participants had varied socio-economic backgrounds and as such varied cultural and value systems within those groups from which they originated.

The research discovered that the cultural systems of the individual participants, stemming from the group from which they ne, had a great bearing on how they handled violence within a lationship. All 5 of the participants from Meyerhof tended to be more individualistic and sought

less outside support than those from the township. In a discussion on the influence of capitalism on the structure of the African communal society, Mulrony (2006) highlights that in suburban settings the society loses its communal and close ties nature and assumes a more fragmented and Western-like form. The result is that families exist as separate entities rather than a communal society thus discouraging help seeking from fellow community members. Individualism and secretism as such engulf families under such conditions. This perhaps explains the trends observed by the researcher from participants from suburban and township environments.

Dependents

In terms of who the participants stayed with at the time of the study, the researcher noted that whilst most of the participants had children, there were some who did not have children. These amounted to 20 percent of the sample. Most of the participants also had other dependents in the form of extended family members.

The researcher observed that the relationship between the participant and the dependent family member(s) as well as the age of the dependents were central to the participants' decision to report or not report abuse. Dependents who were from the family of the participant such as her sisters and/or mother were associated with less likelihood to report abuse. Dependents such as the sister of the perpetrator and/or his mother were peripheral to reporting decisions since the participants were aware of the fact that if the perpetrator were to be arrested, these individuals would not form part of the participants' burden of responsibility.

Some of the participants said:

"I am worried about my children mostly. I know at times he beats me but what will happen to my children should he get arrested?"

"I want my children to have a decent life so for their sake only I will stay".

These responses may indicate that some of the participants worry about the future of their close dependents such as children and this influence reporting decisions.

Source of income

A crucial aspect of the participants' biographical data in the study was their sources of income. As tabulated above, there was an even distribution between employed and unemployed participants. This was strategically done to allow for isolating the results of personal choices from the impacts of dependency as well as to allow for some sort of contrasting between the two groups.

Whilst all participants (20) stated that they had access to child support grants for their children, the researcher did not consider the grants as an independent source of income for the participants in their own being since it was money meant for the children. Further to this, much as the participants indicated a level of reliance on the grants for their own personal needs, and not just the needs of their children, the grants could still not be viewed as sustainable and significant enough sources of income to warrant consideration as possible potential that could influence decisions of how to handle intimate partner violence.

The research noted that non reporting of victimization was characterstic of both employed and unemployed victims of abuse.The disparities between the income levels of the victims and those of the perpetrators helped to explain why the victims could not report the perpetrators even where the victims had some sort of income. The victims could not sustain themselves on their own wages since the perpetrators contributed more towards the household income than the victims themselves.

Participants remarked:

“.....then it would mean I will have to take my children from their current schools into public schools and perhaps I would move from where I am staying now back to the township”.

“You see all those changes will affect me and my children negatively because on my own salary I cannot afford the type of life we have now with him”.

The response quoted above shows that the victims were not entirely afraid of absolute financial vulnerability but even relative financial vulnerability was considered as a deterrent. Further, the possibility of losing the income of the perpetrator overshadowed the fact that they had their own wages.

Table 3: Personal Identification details for participants for sample B

NAME	GENDER	AGE	POSITION/PROFFESIONAL CAPACITY	YEARS OF EXPERIENCE
Magdalene	F	48	Social worker Free State Care in Action: Bothaville	7 years, 7 months
Rev. Matikoane	M	68	Pastor: Methodist Church	23 years
Keneuwe	F	31	Police Officer: Victim Empowerment Programme	6 years, 2 months
Kagiso	M	60	Magistrate: Bothaville	9 years
Tumelo	M	49	Prosecutor: Bothaville	8 years
Thapelo	M	43	Councillor Bothaville	2 years

Puleng	F	31	Community Development Officer: Dr. Maile Development Centre	5 years
Teboho	M	45	Court Manager Bothaville	4 years 6 months

The members of the second sample gave their details as tabulated above. The following dynamics were observed:

Gender

The table above shows that 5 of the participants were males and 3 were females. The research highlight the gender of the participants because it helps to contextualize their responses during data analysis.

The researcher observed that they were evident salient traits of the influence of gender on the responses of the participants in this sample. One participants for instance was staunch on the belief that men had chastising powers over their wives. According to his account it has always been like that and it is the African way of life. This showed the researcher that even amongst leaders and social practitioners they might be influences of culture and/or prejudicial views.

Wendt and Zannettino (2001) are of the view that social service practitioners need to be constantly debriefed and should attend regular supervision sessions to minimize the influence of their own perceptions on the quality of services they render. Walby and Myhill (2004) has evidence to suggest that some male police officials treated female victims with less urgency and were taken for granted and may feel rejected in those circumstances.

Age and experience

All the individual participants in this sample were above 30 years of age with experience ranging from 2 years to 23 years at the upper maximum. The experience of the participants added to the fact of the credibility of their responses.

Given that the research had one focus group discussion with all of the participants, the varying levels of expertise assisted the researcher to gain varied perspectives and to contextualize the problem within the context of its history in the study area. The participants with higher years of experience helped with such details.

One participant uttered:

“When I started working as a junior pastor, it used to be that African men were afraid to even think about beating their partners because the way the criminal justice treated you was unthinkable, you just couldn’t risk getting arrested.”

The response of the pastor quoted above gave the researcher a slight idea of the problem of intimate partner violence in the context of the area of Bothaville.

Ingram (2007) reported that amongst Latino women help seeking was deterred by the fear that their partners would be ill treated by police officials on racial grounds. This was in line with the response of the pastor quoted above.

5.3. Theme two: Perceptions of victims of intimate partner violence

Subtheme	Categories
Causes of intimate partner violence	• Alcohol consumption • Frequency of abuse • Infidelity • Patriarchy • Anger • Financial power imbalances • Non reporting of violence • Economic dependency • Lack of support for victims • Culture • Children

Table 4: Sub-themes and categories for causes of violence

Table 4 presents a summary of the theme on what causes partners to resort to the use of violence against their partners. The following are the responses:

- **Alcohol consumption**

14 out of 20 (70%) of the individual participants cited alcohol as being involved in over 50 percent of their incidences of intimate partner violence, 3 out of 20 (15%) cited alcohol consumption as being involved in all incidences of their experience of intimate partner violence whilst the rest (15%) reported that their partners did not drink and alcohol consumption was therefore not involved at all. According to focus group, whilst alcohol consumption could not be unilaterally

fingered as being a factor in all cases of intimate partner violence, its contribution was significant enough as to warrant the status of a high risk factor. The focus group shared the same sentiments as the 14 participants mentioned above and some reported that close to 80 percent of the intimate partner violence cases they dealt with involved a drunken person.

Some of the participants reported:

"I do not remember the last time he beat me whilst he was sober. Actually we have never had a fight whilst he was sober because every time he drinks is when he starts fighting me" .

"Weekends had the highest turnout of reports of violence in my relationship and during weekends my partner is usually drunk".

"My partner usually become violent when drunk and we end up fighting and he would use violence on me".

"I know that deep inside him there is still the guy I fell in love with. I think it's the alcohol that is responsible for his behaviour otherwise it wouldn't happen every time he is drunk."

Morse (2007) attest that perpetrators of violence whilst alcohol consumption was a genuine cause of violent behaviour in a minority of the participants, for the majority, alcohol consumption was merely an excuse for the perpetrator's actions done with a sober mind. Morse (2007) state that, whilst violent drunk behaviour can be unrelated to a specific event in the recent past, in the majority of instances the influence of alcohol could be 'used' as a cover to address certain specific events in the recent past. Here, Morse (2007) observes that most perpetrators avoid conflict and do not reply to any questions or insults during the course of the week when they are sober and on weekends, but when drunk, they air out their views on all the issues which happened during the week through unorthodox means including the use of violence. Thus having been drunk could be perceived as a mere excuse for handling interpersonal conflict through coercive means.

Agosi (2001) cites that it is a common feature for victims of intimate partner violence to excuse their partner's behaviour and to shift responsibility from the partner to an external factor such as alcohol. Whilst this could be a product of the affectionate bond between the victim and the perpetrator, the author warns that great caution should be taken because individuals with the Stockholm Syndrome displayed exactly the same trait. The Stockholm syndrome occurs where victims begin to sympathise with their abusers. Thus whilst excusing the perpetrator could be a product of love, it could also be evidence of the Stockholm Syndrome.

- **Infidelity**

Whilst all the individual participants (100%) indicated a suspicion that their partners had previously been involved or were at the time of the study having an extra marital affair, the majority did not think that these extra marital affairs were in any way related to the violence. However, 3 individual participants were adamant that their partners' cheating had direct links to the use of violence. The common sentiment amongst these three was that their partners had less and less regard for them as a result of the affairs. Focus group confirmed that infidelity had some links to intimate partner violence. One focus group mentioned that the church took disciplinary measures against married members who were unfaithful in their marriages, he also mentioned that such measures did not seem to do much to lessen the growth of the phenomena of infidelity even within the church. Others stated that there were definite links between infidelity and intimate partner violence, such instances of infidelity strains trust, which is the basis upon which any relationship is built.

Some of the participants uttered:

"He does not love me anymore. I usually ask him to tell me if he wants me gone rather than just treat me like his slave. He had a child with that woman whilst we were still married and I forgave him because I love him. I think they are still together because he calls her and they meet".

"They have been seen in town together with a girlfriend and at times he does not sleep at home on weekends".

"Now when I ask him where he was or I ask him about my needs as a woman, he starts shouting and beating me. We are living like brother and sister right now and I know it's because he sleeps with that woman."

Armstrong, Brainbridge and Firestone's (2010), using the Learned Helplessness theory, hypothesize that the victims of intimate partner violence believe themselves to have some faults which cause their partners to cheat on them. Following this line of reasoning, the victims then give up on trying to report or leave their partners since to them the problem lays with them and any subsequent efforts to establish other relationships would yield the same results. Staying in the relationship would then appear to be the only option for the victim who perceives herself to be faulty. This would be in line with the internal attribution; a basic concept of the Learned Helplessness theory. However, the Resource Theory hypothesize that the abusers of the participants may have more power because they have more control of the resources in the relationships this may indirectly give them the allowance to abuse such power by cheating (Armstrong, et al, 2010) .

- **Patriarchy**

Both all individual participants and focus group members from both samples claimed that patriarchal attitudes gave perpetrators the idea that they were entitled to certain powers including the power to chastise the woman through violence.

Some of the participants said:

“The misallocation and misuse of power within the context of male privilege causes intimate partner violence. The idea of male privilege is both on a personal and a societal level. It is also accompanied by the idea that women are second class citizens and that men have such rights as to warrant them the power to beat women”.

“Male domination is prevalent in my community”.

“Our male partners has power and authority over us as women and this is encouraged by our society hence abuse is continuous”.

Wendt and Zannettino (2001) highlight the issue of patriarchy within the context of discriminatory and prejudicial attitudes perpetuated by society. This places intimate partner violence within the context of the power imbalances between men and women in present day society. Furthermore, Intimate partner violence, in this light is an extension of such inequalities and its perpetuation is an extension of the generic perpetuation of abuse against women in society (Wendt and Zannettino, 2001). However not all intimate partner violence can be seen in the context of such inequalities since the ultimate responsibility for violence is on the individual perpetrating the violence not the society upholding the patriarchal views.

- **Anger**

15 of the individual participants believed that anger could be cited as a cause, facilitator and a product of the violence, the rest (5 participants) were of the view that anger was only a facilitator of the violence and not a cause in itself. The focus group members claimed that some of the partners become more violent because of lack of anger control issues.

Participants reported:

“He is not an angry person no he is not. He is actually soft spoken most of the time. When we are not fighting, he is very caring and does not show any signs that he could be as violent as he gets when we fight”.

"He gets very angry when he is beating me and the longer the violence the angrier he gets. At times he scares me."

"He does not want to accept that he has to seek help because of his anger. We can start off a conversation well but if I do not agree with him, he becomes frustrated and tries to use threats to get me to agree with him. If I insist on my point, he starts shouting and the conversation is all of a sudden an argument. He reminds me he is the father of the house and that they cannot be two husbands in the house. I usually tell him that I am standing by my view after which he starts being violent by banging on walls and doors before advancing on to hit me".

Turner and Stets (2005) cite that anger is a secondary emotion borne out of primary emotions such as fear and frustration. The authors mention that anger has majorly two forms of manifestation. The first instance of anger is when individuals feel intensely afraid, attacked, disrespected or pressured and owing to the intensity of the feelings, they interpret those emotions as anger. Whilst people may, under these circumstances, act in a way an angry person would normally act; the feelings motivating their actions are not anger but merely the primary emotions at the base of anger.

The second instance of anger as according to Turner and Stets (2005) includes the maturation of a primary feeling such as frustration or fear to become anger. In this instance, one progresses from feeling afraid or disrespected to feeling angry either instantaneously or over some time.

Turner and Stets (2005) make an interesting contribution regarding the time lapse within which the primary emotion matures to become anger. Here, the authors argue that there is a significant percentage of human choice involved in that time lapse. The aspect of choice relates to choosing whether or not to allow the primary emotion to become anger, choosing the intensity of the anger and finally choosing how to express the anger. The authors add that it is not easy to recognize when these choices are made since most of them are subconscious choices thus involvement of the individual is rather passive than active. A great deal of the material the subconscious mind relies on in deciding in such instances is material gained from how the person, in his conscious mind, solves interpersonal conflict. Thus if one tends to use violence more often, or exposes themselves to violence in its many forms, they are likely setting themselves up to subconsciously default to violence in such cases where they are confronted with a primary emotion which can mature to become anger.

The contribution of Turner and Stets (2005) is of paramount importance here. Of primary importance at this stage is the fact that Turner and Stets' (2005) point assigns responsibility for the perpetrator's actions on the perpetrator and dismisses the possibility of the individual blaming

anger for their actions. This is achieved by the authors at the stage where they point out the aspect of choice. Whilst in some cases such choice could be sudden and subconscious, as pointed out by the authors, the narration of the development of a typical episode of violence by the participants in this study showed that the perpetrator had considerable time to plot the violence and thus implying enough time to choose to retract from the violence. The choice to proceed with the violence as such gives grounds to ascertain that, in spite of the anger, the perpetrator can be held accountable for their actions. This however does not go to disprove the opinions of the participants that anger was a cause of violence in their experiences. In actuality, Turner and Stets' (2005) contribution reaffirms the views of the participants. It shows that whilst the individual (perpetrator) could have acted under the influence of anger, the decision to do so was entirely a product of their choosing and all responsibility can justifiably be assigned to them.

A second crucial point brought out by Turner and Stets (2005) is the aspect of how relying on violence to solve interpersonal conflict time and again influences the individual's subconscious train of thought. If the authors' view will be held true here, then anger can also be identified as a product of violence in as much as it is a cause. The implication is that, the more one is violent, the more violent they become. This is in line with some of the views of the participants in the study.

- **Financial power imbalances**

An imbalance in the control of financial resources was identified also as another major cause of intimate partner violence. All the participants (20 or 100%) reported that they earned less than their partners with no control over their partner's finances. Whilst all the participants, in this study confirmed having no control over their partners' finances, 4 of the participants indicated that they had an idea of how their partners spent the money and 7 of the participants indicated that their input was considered, more than 50 percent of the time, with regards to how the money was spent. However, most of the employed victims of intimate partner violence reported that having their own incomes, though lower than those of the perpetrators, enabled them psychologically and gave them some sense of control over their lives. Interesting to note that, these participants (the 10 employed) displayed the same reluctance to report abusive relationships as those who were not employed at all. The focus group confirmed that economic dependency, unemployment are amongst issues that contribute to vulnerability of these women to violence.

Participants uttered:

"He can decide not to buy anything in the house on purpose".

“He eats from work and waits till we run out of a basic need such as cooking oil. I used to improvise by borrowing from my family and the neighbours to avoid going to beg him, but with time, I became embarrassed to constantly bother people when my husband is working. Now I find that it is better to just not fight with him because he can eat at work and just come home and sleep for even a whole month till I apologize or till I do something he has said I should do. It’s pointless fighting it.”

“When you are poor and earn little money or have nothing at all its best for me to endure the abuse for the sake of my children, to have shelter and some food”.

“It is a high risk factor on its own that one partner works and controls all the money in the house. It is worse when that partner goes ahead to intentionally deny the other partner any part in the decision making process regarding what the money will be used for”.

McMaster (2014) argue that violence could be extremely gruesome even where the victim had some sort of income as long as the perpetrator had the assurance that the victim would stay or come back to him for financial support after the violence. Wendt and Zannettino (2014) mention that victims who stay no matter what, portray a picture of desperation to the perpetrator and give him the safety of mind and the power to continue with the violence with the assurance that no consequences will accompany their actions. This incentivizes the perpetrator to continue the violence more than how much money the victim has. If the perpetrator has the assurance, due to the absence of consequences following their actions that he will go unpunished then most likely he will continue the violence regardless of incomes.

- ***Non reporting of violence***

Individual participants (20) all seemed to excuse non reporting by citing that, due to other factors in play, even where violence was reported, it did not mean that it would end or the perpetrator would be incarcerated. It was interesting to note that, whilst none of the participants denied that the perpetuation of violence was supported by non-reporting, they all found it important to point out that even reporting did not end violence all together which seemed to be an effort to defend or explain their situations. The views of the individual participants were somewhat different from those of the focus group members as they were outright confident that if violence went unreported, the perpetrator would not have any reason to stop.

Participants reported:

"I think non-reporting of violence contributes to keeping violence in place. However you will see that even when you report the violence because of the attitude of the police and even your own family members, it might not end"

"The victim actually colludes in crime with the perpetrator when she obstructs justice by concealing abuse. It's just like a witness to a murder or a robbery who decides to keep quiet or to be dishonest to the police regarding what they saw."

The discussion established that, technically, one could draw a line between help seeking and reporting in terms of the connotation associated with the two words. Reporting was agreed upon as referring to approaching the police or any other individual such as one's lawyers for the purposes of initiating legal proceedings against the perpetrator whilst help seeking was taken to mean approaching family members and any other support systems with the intention of seeking redemptive support such as counselling or behaviour modification. This distinction was important to note at this stage, though its application to the study will be done later in the chapter.

Proponents of the Resource Theory would rather argue that, consistent with the second tenet of the theory, the victims of intimate partner violence do not report their partners as a result of their dependency on the partners for financial support. In this context then; non-reporting of intimate partner violence becomes an effect of economic dependency other than a factor supporting the violence (Walby and Myhill ,2004).

- **Economic dependency**

All individual participants remarked that economic dependency perpetuated intimate partner violence. To them financial imbalance was synonymous with financial dependency. The focus group members reiterated that when participants are poor or have no source of income it is difficult for them to leave an abusive relationship.

Participants said:

"How do you report the person when you will need him tomorrow to buy food? Like me for example, I do not have parents and I am the oldest in my family. That is a burden I have besides my own children. I would rather stay and solve the problem with my partner than create more problems for the rest of the family."

"If I report him to the police he may get arrested and who will pay for my children's fees and buy food for us?"

Odhiambo (2010) mentions that African societies are more communalistic than individualistic. This, according to the author, implies that one considers the needs of others first before their own needs in the typical African society. This relates, especially to situations where the individual's interest clash with those of the family. However Odhiambo (2010) also cites the selective application of this rule mentioning that it is usually held true for the interests of minority groups such as women and children. As such, rather than being a principle of African societies, this becomes yet another extension of male dominance and chauvinism.

- **Lack of support for victims**

Twenty participants from the individual interviews alluded to the fact that victims of intimate partner violence lacked support and this encouraged perpetrators to continue abusing them because the victims were an isolated group. Social workers offered professional and legal support and yet victims lacked financial support. As such, without financial support the victims were less likely to report victimization because they would not be able to sustain themselves and their dependents on legal support but rather on financial support which was absent.

According to Kervin and Obinna (2013 in Conway et al), the presence of support is an important function of the extent as well as the frequency of abuse. The authors further assert that support is synonymous with options and once a victim has other options to which she can go and the perpetrator is aware of the fact that they do not monopolize the victim's all, then abuse is often likely less frequent or even absent.

Kervin and Obinna (2013) cite that most African men are embarrassed of being taken to members of the extended family for counselling. According to the authors, manhood in the African sense has to do with being able to manage the affairs of one's own family. Thus where the perpetrator constantly has to appear before the aunts and uncles of the family, the impression is that the perpetrator is not man enough to manage his own household. The availability of family to support the victim and call the perpetrator to order may thus potentially restrain the perpetrator since the prospect of being called by an external family member to discuss one's own family is an embarrassing one.

Theoretical perspectives on how lack of support for victims supports violence

The fact that reporting frequencies were lower regardless of the presence of support could be taken as an indication of Learned Helplessness by a proponent of the Learned Helplessness theory. Here, it could be said that despite the availability of an escape option, through social and professional support, the victims had given up on trying and rendered themselves helpless.

However, a proponent of the Resource theory would argue in terms of the nature of support availed to the victim. Because the victims were only offered emotional and social support in abundance without financial support, they did not report the violence on the basis that in the struggle for control, existent in all social systems, control of financial powers ultimately trumps control of all other facets of power. As such, an interpretation of the Resource theory would be to say the victims were not getting the right kind of support necessary to stimulate reporting behaviours.

- **Culture**

As alluded to earlier on, closely related to the issue of personal versus family interests was the topic of culture. The study established that certain elements of the seSotho culture supported violence in intimate relationships.

17 members of the first sample reported that in their experience, culture played a very important part in supporting abuse in relationships. Families were reported to be the immediate visible agents of culture whilst the society was identified as the silent yet still powerful agent of culture. Cultural tenets such as family pride, children, value of marriage and the socialized idea of marriage were the major weapons used in this regard.

Participants said:

“My mother’s sister is still alive and she is the person I always go to when I have problems”.

“ My mother encourages me to resolve issues with my husband because our children need us”.

“ Besides, there is no marriage that does not have problems and having problems in yours does not mean you should shout it all over.”

Some of these responses highlighted the issue of the socialized idea that all marriages are like that, referring to violence. This aspect of culture is used both to comfort the victim as well as to discourage her from acting against the violence (Odhiambo; 2010).

Three members of the first sample, who lived in Meyerhof, which is located in town, reported that their marriages were rather detached from the influence of culture (that is the seSotho culture) as they stayed in a predominantly white neighbourhood. Gil and Drewes (2006) argue that the binding effect of culture is a product of both one’s cultural group and physical proximity to people with the same cultural values. This may explain why the participants reported being detached from the effects of culture in how they handle issues such as violence.

- **Children**

The study established that the presence of children alone was a factor which limited the ability of the victim to choose to report an abusive relationship thus supporting the perpetuation of violence. The number of children the couple had was also identified as a factor and the relationship thereof was inverse, that is, the greater the number of children, the less the likelihood of leaving a relationship regardless of the abuse. It was also reported that the incidence of violence increased with the number of children a couple had. Where a victim had children from a previous marriage, most victims felt like the perpetrator was doing them a favour and as such reporting them would be a sign of ungratefulness.

The views of the members of the two samples involved in the study represented two different facets to the issue of how the presence of children related to violence. The members of the first sample related the issue to the loss of the bond with one's children given that their culture considered the children as belonging to the father. The participants from this sample, highlighted that if being with their children meant being in this relationship, then they would stay for the sake of their children because leaving would mean leaving the children behind.

The members of the second sample were predominantly of the idea that the socialized idea of the ideal marriage as having both parents made the victims to sacrifice their safety for the sake of fulfilling society's unspoken needs.

Participants uttered:

"it is true that when both parents are together they share the burden of parenting and they can mould children more effectively than a parent acting in isolation".

"This is true tat children should be raised by both parentsif the marriage union is functional and the partners complement each other, so I have to endure the abuse".

"When people prioritize the union of both partners regardless of the function of this union then it ceases to serve its function and actually becomes dysfunctional even for the children who witness family violence".

Overall, both samples agreed on the finding that, for both reasons, children were a factor which generally made it hard for the victim to stop the cycle of violence (Odhiambo,2010).

5.4. Theme Three: Effects of violence

Subthemes	Categories
Effects of violence	• Physical harm • Psychological/Emotional effects • Effects on children • Forms of violence

Table 5: Sub-theme and categories for effects of violence

Table 5 above gives a summary of the sub-theme and categories on the theme of the effects of violence. The participants’ responses on the theme were as follows;

- **Physical harm**

The participants from the first sample reported that in their experience, the physical effects of violence were a product of all episodes of violence. Whilst 15 of the participants from this sample reported that they had received only minor injuries, that is, never been hospitalized as a result of the injuries from the violence, the other five reported having been hospitalized for at least one night after an episode of violence. The focus group members reported that physical harm can lead to death due to intimate partner violence.

Participants stated:

“I once tried to fight back and I can promise you that day I thought I was going to die. He became very violent more than he had ever been”.

“ He literally used anything at his disposal to attack me. I went to my parent’s place for about a month after that because I was literally afraid of him”.

“In my years of experience, I suffered physical harm include a swollen eye, bruises and twisted ankles”.

Neergaard (2008) argues that physical violence threatens the victim since it inflicts pain on the body. This tactic is used by the perpetrator to get the victim to listen to them or to act as they want.

- **Psychological/Emotional effects**

The study established that the psychological/emotional effects of violence were more disastrous than the physical effects in as much as the latter were physically visible. However, in terms of being rampant, the psychological effects were discovered to be not as rampant as the physical

effects of intimate partner violence. Only seven (7) of the participants reported that they had experienced psychological effects as a result of the violence as frequent as they had experienced the physical effects thereof.

The researcher observed that the dominant trends in the responses of the members of the first and second samples reflected two different approaches to the issue of the disastrous nature of the psychological effects of violence. The one was short term and the other long term. All the members of the first sample related the present or short term psychological effects such as stress and depression whilst members of the second sample focused mainly on the effects in the long term. The brief discussion of these two views is given below.

Participants from the first sample stated:

"I get stressed from thinking about my situation. I went to the doctor and he said I was thinking too much and I would most likely suffer from depression".

"What worries me usually is for how long this is going to last and when the next time will be. My aunt told me to let it just go and not worry myself about it because I cannot control him. I think that is the way to go. He is going to change because he started off as a good man."

"I cannot sleep at night due to depression and I suffer from nightmares".

What is mainly evident from the responses above is the notion of stress and how it was viewed as a visible psychological effect stemming from the abuse. Further, the dominant focus was on the issue of how abuse crippled the psychological ability of the victim to view their situation objectively in the long run. The focus group members also discussed how constant exposure to abuse had the potential to darken the victim's cognitive world and negatively affect their ability to see hope and alternatives. The members of this sample seemed to agree that what served to enforce such views in the victim was not only exposure to the violence itself but the constant use of verbal threats by the perpetrator. Perpetrators were said to be notorious for using verbal threats to the effect that they would worsen the violence if the victim would decide to act. This was reported to have a negative effect on the victims since they would end up believing such threats and given that they did not intend to report the violence nor leave the relationship, the prospect of worsened violence discouraged them from acting.

Neergard (2008) cites that most perpetrators have the expectation of the silent victim and when the victim does not comply they use more violence to reinstate their position. According to the author, the general difference between men and women, with men being generally physically more built and stronger, helps to explain the gendered nature of violence.

- **Effects on children**

Though no children were not directly involved in the study, those participants who had first-hand experience with children indicated that intimate partner violence had both short-term and long-term effects on children. The researcher noted similar responses from members of both samples on this subject. Effects mentioned ranged from fear of the perpetrator, inability to focus on schoolwork, quietness, anger and general rebellious behaviour.

However in terms of extent, the effects of intimate partner violence on children were reported not to be as frequent and rampant as the physical and psychological effects. Only 4 of the participants reported having observed psycho-somatic disorders on their children which could directly be linked to intimate partner violence.

Participants from the focus group reported that the younger children tended to display anger and disruption in school work whilst older children displayed anger and rebellion more often.

Participants said:

“My child suffers from nightmares and is now bedwetting ever since he ssaw the father beating me”.

“I get reports from school that my children are violent to their peers and are always involved in a fight”.

“my son screams at nght he is afraid of sleeping alone and insist he wants to sleep in my bedroom so that he can protect me from the beatings”.

Barnett, Miller-Perrin and Perrin (2010) argue that violence can breed perpetrators. Though this could be in the long run, it is a huge possibility since children learn to imitate adult behaviour and replicate such behaviour later in their lives.

- **Forms of violence**

When asked which forms of violence they had experienced as being more rampant, the participants responded as follows;The responses of all the members of the first sample seemed to agree with the idea that physical violence was more rampant than all the other forms of violence whereas members of the second sample debated the definition of rampant before discussing the issue. Their responses agreed that physical violence would seem to be more rampant because it needed no diagnosis and was easier to notice.

Participants remarked:

“The fact that one needs to consult a doctor or another professional such as a psychologist to ascertain whether or not they have an emotional and/or psychological problem is a limiting factor on its own. We can as such agree to regard physical violence as the most rampant but it has to be done with a pinch of salt”.

“I think the verbal insults are more degrading”.

“to be beaten in front of other people is humiliating and is rampant and is used by my partner to show off in front of his friends”!

Sang, LaBennett and Pulido (2012) cite that the inability to label abuse arrests the chances of one to ever reporting the abuse because they do not recognize the abuse initially. The authors argue that what victims need more than anything is information on the legal definitions of abuse so as to allow them to relate the information to their own situations.

5.5 Theme four: reporting behaviors

Subtheme	Categories
Reporting behaviours	• Severity • Frequency • Availability of Support • Timeframe for reporting • Influence of prolonged abuse on reporting behaviours • Help seeking versus reporting • How fear of financial vulnerability affected reporting behaviours • Child support grants • Level of education

Table 6 above gives a summary of the sub-theme and categories on the theme of the reporting behaviors of victims of intimate partner violence. The responses of the participants are given below:

- Severity

The study established that amongst the victims of intimate partner violence who took part in the study there was a level of physical violence beyond which they could not keep quiet. This inversely established that there was a minimal threshold which was held as the higher end of the resilience ceiling and beyond which reporting became necessary.

All individual participants reported that they have only reported serious injuries such as were worth seeking medical help for. Focus group members noted that victims would report to the police and clinics as part of the process of accessing medical services not as genuine outcries for help.

Participants reported:

"I call the police when I am afraid that my life is in danger. Like when he is too drunk at times I am afraid he will kill me".

"When we are both sober most of the time he does not threaten my life so I am not worried but if I am hurt so bad that I have to go to the hospital I have to report him because at the hospital they will need to know what happened."

Mapata indicates, in her response, that firstly, if there is no need for her to go to the hospital, she does not report an episode of violence. By saying so, she implied that the report would be more procedural than genuine since she would be doing it for in case the hospital workers asked.

The SAPS reported that they usually work with cases in partnership with the hospital since most cases came as referrals from the hospital (Sang, LaBennett and Pulido, 2012).

- **Frequency**

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The study also established that all participants (20) considered frequency of the abuse as a factor that prompted when they should report. The focus group confirmed that where abuse was less frequent, the likelihood of reporting was also low.

Some of the participants reported:

"He is only abusive during weekends when he drinks otherwise when he is not drunk he does not become abusive".

"It's just two nights and at times one night when he drinks so I do not want to frequent the police station and act as if I am the only married woman in Bothaville".

"There are many other married women facing the same problem and the police would even wonder what's wrong with me".

. Mahapatra (2008) cites that frequent abuse could serve as a wakeup call for the victim to act whilst less frequent abuse creates doubt in the mind of the victim on whether the abuse is worth reporting or not. The author mentions that less frequent abuse may also cause the victim to have some sort of hope that it will eventually come to an end.

- **Availability of Support**

Availability of support was also established to be a determinant of the decision of when to report violence. The sample of victims of intimate partner violence, that is the first sample, established two important findings in this regard. Firstly, the participants expressed concern on the feasibility of support in the long run. Secondly, the study established that the timing of the reporting of violence was tied to the duration of whatever form of support would be offered to the victim. The second findings which was established from the victims who participated in the study was the aspect of the nature of support. The study established that the nature of support offered was as important as the duration of such support. This aspect was also evident in the responses of members of the second sample as well. Support was discussed in terms of emotional and financial support. All the participants agreed that financial support had a greater bearing on decisions of when to report abuse than emotional support. Emotional support was talked of in terms of counselling, mediation and conflict resolution approaches. Whilst the necessity of such support was at no point belittled, it was established that financial support was more crucial than emotional support

The focus group mentioned that victims of partner violence can receive legal and medical help when the matter has been reported.

Participants said:

"I can decide to go stay with my family but the question is till when".

"I can't take all my children along I can't be a burden to another family when I am this old".

"The police do have facilities but for only one or two days, I have to think about the future when I act".

Hattery (2009) is of the idea that modern society has become more individualistic, probably as a result of capitalism. As such, the responsibility to care for the vulnerable groups in society has been narrowed by the day. This could help explain why extended family members do not provide an attractive alternative for some of the victims.

- **Timeframe for reporting**

When asked about the time frame within which intimate partner violence is reported, the participants responses are recorded below;

All the participants from the first sample indicated that they either reported an incident of violence immediately or never at all. Whilst members of the second sample had the same views as those of the members of the first sample, there was an indication from the focus group that it was not uncommon to find victims who used the threat of reporting as a way to keep the perpetrator at bay for as long as the physical evidence of the abuse was there. This was a survival tactic, though not so sustainable, on the part of the victims.

Participants commented:

"If I have to report to the police, I do not wait for the next day".

" I call immediately for help".

" If you report the next day, they don't take you seriously so I find it better that if I decide to report him I do so immediately ".

Menon (2008) is of the opinion that the time frame within which intimate partner violence is reported is crucial for the gathering of evidence by medical practitioners. Furthermore, the victim needs to give an exact account of the incident and the chances of the account becoming more inaccurate increase the more the time between the incident and the report grows.

- **Influence of prolonged abuse on reporting behaviours**

The study established that exposure to intimate partner violence over long periods of time led to less frequent reporting of the abuse by the victims. All 20 members of the first sample reported that comparing with when they first started experiencing intimate partner violence from their partners, their reporting trends had generally gone down. Mathsdiso said,

"In the first days, it was something altogether new. I knew he could get angry. He had once slapped me before we got married. That time I had made him angry though because I had been drinking when we had said we quit drinking. It was not serious back then because he slapped me once and then he apologized and told me he was very sorry. So when we got married and he started beating me first I went to my mother's place and he came to fetch me there. We sat down and we talked things through him and my family. The second time he did that I went straight to the police station. That time he was arrested for about three days he was there. He learnt his lesson so I went and dropped the charges and got him out. After that it still happened and I went to the police I think one more time. I was taken to the court the next day to apply for a protection order but I do not want us to live like enemies so I did not go through with the process. Now I realize we

are too old to be embarrassing ourselves going to the police so we just talk about these things and he does not do it so often unless he is too drunk and there is something on his mind."

Matshidiso's response quoted above confirms that the rate of reporting can get to a zero point with constant exposure to abuse. Factors which may support the lowering of the reporting rate included the tendency to rationalize the behaviour of the perpetrator by the victim, which was not an uncommon trend amongst most members of the first sample. This is shown above by Matshidiso's mention of how trivial she regards the abuse because of its low frequency. By doing so, the victim then justifies why she does not have to report the abuse.

Matshidiso also shows that, it is possible for victims of abuse to be affected by their socialized conception of the ideal wife into not reporting abuse. The mention of embarrassment by Matshidiso shows that fear of what society will say about the victim as a wife can work together with constant exposure to violence to lessen the reporting rate.

- **Help seeking versus reporting**

Another trend which was established by the study is the fact that victims tend to move from reporting to help seeking as abuse remains constant with time. Here, as with earlier on in this chapter, reporting is taken to refer to the initiation of legal proceedings against the perpetrator with the possibility of punitive action such as opening a case at the SAPS or contacting one's attorneys, whilst help seeking is taken to mean efforts meant to deviate from punitive action towards remedial and/or behaviour modification goals such as mediation and counselling.

Keneuwe from the SAPS reported that it is very familiar to meet a reporter of abuse who just wants the perpetrator to be *"scared off and not really arrested."* Thus even within the justice system, which had the possibility of punitive action against the perpetrator, the victims were reported to have had made attempts to negotiate the evasion of punishment on behalf of the perpetrator.

Magdalene cited that the development of a Stockholm Syndrome could be a factor in helping explain why reporting rates are lower with time whilst abuse remains constant.

The researcher noted that the lowering of reporting rates over time was true for both relatively and absolutely dependent victims who took part in the study. All 20 participants from the first sample reported having started with high reporting rates and having lowered these rates over time. The change from reporting to help seeking was true for all participants except for Dieketseng, Mapata and Refilwe who reported that their families supported the perpetrator and as such they still went to the police but just at a lower rate than when the violence started.

- **How fear of financial vulnerability affected reporting behaviours**

The study established that for the majority of the victims of intimate partner violence who took part in the study, fear of economic vulnerability, if they would choose to report the perpetrator, interfered with reporting decisions in terms of reporting intimate partner violence. 15 out of the 20 victims of intimate partner violence who took part in the study confirmed that in their experience, a major consideration was financial security. Magauta said,

"I am too old to say I will get married again or find myself a husband. How will I then live and from where will I get money? You know jobs are not easy to come by especially for a female person like me and at my age. It does not make any sense. He is my husband and we will sort our issues within the house."

Those who shared the same sentiments as Magauta above, similarly had the same fears as with her. They were also concerned about what would happen, not only to them, but to their children if they were to report the perpetrator and he would be arrested. On the balance of scales, they perceived the option of staying with the perpetrator as being more viable than the option of living.

16 of the participants reported having reported violence at some point and then consenting to the charges against the perpetrator being dropped. These included the 10 unemployed victims of intimate partner violence and six other employed victims of intimate partner violence. The participants emphasized on the aspect of having consented and not being forced to withdraw charges. The rest of the participants from the first sample reported that they had not at any point withdrawn charges against the perpetrator.

Members of the second sample reported findings similar to those of the first sample. For them however, the tie between intimate partner violence and economic dependency had much to do with the maintenance of a particular lifestyle especially for relatively dependent victims of intimate partner violence. Given that in the case of relatively dependent victims, the victim had some sort of income, which was however not enough on its own to sustain her current lifestyle, Tumelo reported that;

"At a certain level, the fear ceases to become fear of an obsolete future but fear of drastic changes which could cause significant amounts of stress on the part of the victim and her children. Like moving from town to stay in the location could be a possible outcome of reporting the perpetrator, if the perpetrator gets arrested. Whilst the victim may still afford to live thereafter, such a drastic change is undesirable. In my experience, the victim is a source of support even for her extended

family so such decisions as reporting the perpetrator, which could mean a loss of income cease to be individual and become familial decisions.”

The response of Tumelo cited in the paragraph above highlights the issue of sustenance of a particular lifestyle referred to before the paragraph in mention. It also highlights the issue of supposedly individual decisions being made with consideration of the interests of others where the interests of others may be held as superseding those of the individual.

Another important finding from the study on this theme was the aspect of change in general being an undesirable aspect of human experience for people in general. Magdalene mentioned that in her experience, change needed assistance and support without which most people stay away from even changing. She said,

“There is the general fear associated with change especially unquantified change. Such fear helps explain why, at times, people stay employed even under harsh conditions with low salaries for as long as they get something out of the job. The prospect of having to leave the job altogether without having secured an alternative form of employment is unthinkable to the majority of people. They may embark on strike action and fight with the employer but for as long as they do not have an alternative it is very hard for one to leave a job. In my experience with victims of intimate partner violence this fear of entering an unknown future discourages reporting.”

- **Child support grants**

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, all participants who had children from the first sample had access to child support grants for their children. However, all participants dismissed the possibility that they could consider reporting the perpetrator with the child support grant in view as a prospective source of financial support should the perpetrator be arrested. The participants dominantly dismissed the idea on the basis that the child support grant was too little to support them and further that it was not their money. Basetsana mentioned that,

“It’s just R310 and really that is just meat and maize meal. I cannot even buy the child clothes or enough food with that money so I cannot even talk of supporting myself and the children. It is money for the children again and I cannot say I will depend on it totally. It does help me here and there but I will make my children suffer if I would also depend wholly on it”

The researcher did not include the child support grant as an independent source of income for the participants in the study. This was owing to two reasons the first being the practical constraints of the child support grant, in terms of its adequacy, as referred to above. It was not an adequate

enough source of income to be of consideration to any of the participants in the study thus it could not be used to qualify the participants as being economically independent.

The second reason, which was the most important reason, was the legal implication of the child support grant being meant for the child and not the adult as such. This meant that one could not be justifiably considered as having an independent source of income by virtue of receiving a child support grant on behalf of a given child(ren) given that the grant was meant to supply the needs of the children and not the said individual.

- **Level of education**

The participants' degree of anxiety over their future prospects without the perpetrators were proportionally related to their levels of education. Here the researcher noted that lowly educated participants displayed the most anxiety than medium to highly educated participants. Those who did not have any qualifications expressed fear over their future financially should they decide to report the perpetrator and he be arrested.

However, it was interesting to note that, despite the varying levels of anxiety displayed by the participants according to their varying levels of education, no significant effects on their decisions of whether to report violence or not were noted for low, medium and highly educated victims. Whilst it could have made sense that participants with lower levels of anxiety (owing to their educational qualifications) would be more likely to report violence, this was not the case for the sample studied by the researcher.

The responses given by the participants were in line with the aspect of maintaining a particular lifestyle as alluded to earlier in the study. Other responses included the notion of the emotional investment in the relationship which was considered as enough of a reason to not report violence. Mmoko reported that;

"It is really about the love between your partner. When you love the person, even if you have enough money to stay on your own you try to protect your marriage because it is what matters at the end of the day."

The response of Mmoko above highlights the important issue of how love for the perpetrator played a role together with economic dependency to affect reporting behaviours. Due attention to the intricate relationship between these factors will be given later in the chapter.

5.6. Theme five: coping strategies/mechanisms

Subtheme	Categories
Emotion and appraisal focused coping mechanisms	• Services of organizations • Support groups • Crying alone • Silence • Withdrawal of conjugal rights • confrontation

Table 7: Sub theme and categories for coping strategies/mechanisms

Table 7 above gives a summary of the sub-theme and categories on the theme of coping strategies. The responses of the participants on the same theme are given below.

The study established that most of the victims of intimate partner violence who were involved in the study tended to use emotion focused and appraisal focused rather than object focused coping mechanisms. Menon (2008) defines emotion focused coping as methods of coping which are directed internally such as introspection and crying without necessarily targeting an outside object such as the perpetrator. The aim is to change one's emotional response to a situation. Menon (2008) expands the definition of emotion focused coping to include seeking emotional support from others.

Appraisal focused coping is defined by the same author as a method of coping directed at changing the way one views a given situation cognitively with an eye towards lessening stress.

The definition of an object focused coping mechanism, as according to Menon (2008) is any method which targets an outside object such as the cause of the problem or immediate others as an attempt to deal with, lessen or eliminate the problem. In this study, this would refer to targeting of the perpetrator with any kind of action, legal or otherwise or targeting of children and other family members with any such action as may be a result of the experience of the intimate partner violence.

Whilst all the victims acknowledged employing emotion focused coping through making use of the services of the organization at which they were attending support groups at the time of the interviews, certain trends were noted and these will be discussed here. The study established that 14 of the victims of intimate partner violence in the study, including Basetsana, Masenyane and Mmatlale used emotion focused coping mechanisms more than 70 per cent of the time. These

participants reported than they only retaliated or reported in incidences where their lives were in immediate danger.

The rest of the victims reported being balanced between object focused and emotion focused coping mechanisms with a leniency towards object focused than emotional based mechanism. These reported having employed mechanisms from both categories concurrently at various points in the time they had been experiencing intimate partner violence.

For the 14 members who reported using mostly emotion focused coping, nine (9) reported using crying alone and seeking emotional support from their families of origin as methods of coping with their experiences and relieving themselves of stress. Basetsana, Masenyane and Mmatlale reported having approached their families of origin for support most of the time whilst Gabohele, Mpolai and Motlalepule reported having used crying alone as a method of coping since they did not have any families of origin around Bothaville.

Of the 6 victims who reported having employed both mechanisms, Dirontsho and Maditaba reported that they use silence as well as withdrawal of conjugal rights as their ways of fighting back and coping with their situations. Modiehi and Palesa reported that they approach the perpetrator to discuss the violence the day after the incident so as to get a sense of the incident. They reported that this allows them some sort of closure and helps them cope through.

Magdalene reported that, in her experience, the distribution of victims according to coping mechanisms was skewed in favour of emotion focused coping. Though cases of victims attempting suicide were present they were however reported to be isolated.

Important to note is the finding that coping mechanisms were also found to be changing over time. At the onset of the violence, victims reported having been outright object targeted with approaches such as fighting back physically and reporting to the police. With time though, victims reported a shift towards emotion focused coping mechanisms. This was consistent with the finding on reporting behaviours noted earlier in this chapter.

Menon (2008) argues that the use of a particular coping mechanism is not just dependent on the victim as an individual but on the circumstances surrounding the victim. The personal choice of the victim on how to react to her circumstances is limited by factors such as the nature and amount of support she has and the seriousness of her circumstances. Much support can motivate an object based mechanism such as reporting the victim whilst little or no support could force the victim to resort to crying as a method of coping. The seriousness of the incident can also determine if the victim will cry by herself or report. without implying that there is a non-serious form of intimate

partner violence, there are incidences when the life of the perpetrator is in immediate danger and they have to adopt an object focused method such as reporting or retaliation whilst in some instances the victim may choose to not do so owing to the absence of an immediate threat on her life.

5.7. Theme six: support structures

Subthemes	Categories
Support structures	• Activeness of social systems • Nature of social support • Unmarried/cohabitating victims • Nature of professional support • Awareness of professional network of support • The relationship between knowledge of professional support systems and reporting behaviours

TABLE 8: Sub-theme and categories for support structures for victims

Table 8 above gives a tabulated summary of the sub theme and categories for the support structures for vtims of intimate partner violence. The responses of the participants are given below;

- **Activeness of social systems**

When asked how active their social networks were in terms of supporting them when they needed support, the participants had this to say;

With social systems being defined as families, friends, neighbours and close relatives, the study established that much of the social support for victims of intimate partner violence involved in the study was from friends, families and close relatives. In this regard 16 of the victims of intimate partner violence from the first sample reported having received most of their support from their close relatives whilst the rest received support mostly from their immediate families and at times their friends.

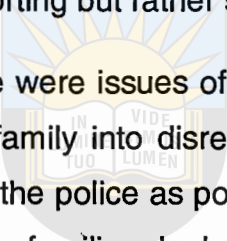
- **Nature of social support**

Regarding the nature of social support they received the victims of intimate partner violence reported that friends usually provided moral support whilst family and friends went beyond that to also provide material support and accommodation.

17 of the victims reported that they had accommodation alternatives from members of their families including food and any type of material assistance when they temporarily moved away from their homes. However, such support was reportedly not available for their children, a concern which greatly affected the victims' mobility and rendered the support as good as non-present.

With regards to the contents of emotional support from family and relatives, the victims reported a tendency towards containment than expression. Family members were reported to give such advice as would support the victim not reporting but rather solving the issue privately.

Amongst the reasons cited for such advice were issues of family pride where the family regarded reporting the perpetrator as bringing the family into disrepute. Here, it was reported that family members regarded reporting the matter to the police as potentially giving off the picture of a failed family unit. The assumption was that strong families deal with issues internally without bringing in the police and any outsiders.


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The second reason which was common was the issue of an African wife holding her family together. This was an extension of the socialized idea of the African wife. The researcher noted that most victims of intimate partner violence bore on their shoulders the responsibility of being the adult in the marriage and sacrificing themselves to appease certain facets of society. It was generally accepted that men could have errors and that women should bear the burden of preserving the family name and avoiding 'embarrassment' of the family. This was wrapped up as some sort of pride in a bid to mask the true nature of such responsibility.

Noteworthy also, was the fact that those victims who dared challenge the views of family members and went on to report, risked losing the support of the family members and thus being totally alienated. For the victim, it would mean she would lose the support of her own family in addition to the support of the family of the perpetrator which was never available to start with. For the purposes of securing the only support she had, the victim would choose not to report.

- **Unmarried/cohabitating victims**

The researcher established that cohabitating and unmarried victims of intimate partner violence had the added complication that they could not access the family of the perpetrator for support.

In some cases, like in the case of Refilwe and Mmiki, even the family of the victim refused to support the victim owing to their disapproval of her initial union to the perpetrator. It was discovered that as a way of punishing the victim for her refusal to heed the word of the family, they withdrew their support when the victim was facing abuse or any other challenges in the union. Mmiki reported that such an attitude from the family could go on for many years without retracting from the family. Refilwe added that;

"My family supports my partner most of the time I experience abuse. From the start my mother was against me staying with him because he had not paid the bridal price to them. So I have to face him alone because if I go to them, they just tell me that he is right and they told me not to be with him from the start."

Such complications added to the process of rendering the victim powerless and isolated as a result of the lack of support.



- **Nature of professional support**

The majority of victims responded by showing that they received counselling from social workers and they had the opportunity to report abuse through the SAPS. All the victims reported that they had at some point been in contact with the court for one reason or the other in line with their experiencing of intimate partner violence. Some of the victims, though in the minority, reported having utilised community development workers as well as church leaders.

- **Awareness of professional network of support**

The knowledge of professional systems of support displayed by the participants appeared to be limited to only those services they were presently utilizing at the time of the data being gathered. Whilst all the participants knew the location of the police, the court and the hospital, very few of them knew other sources of help besides those. Despite knowing about these stakeholders, the knowledge of what the stakeholders specifically offered for them was limited, especially for participants from the first sample. For instance, none of the participants from the first sample knew of the existence of a special Victim Empowerment Programme unit within the SAPS.

11 of the participants from the first sample knew about the other NGO, Free State Care in Action, by name and had a rough idea about the location of the offices of the NGO. The rest of the participants from this sample did not know about the organization and its location.

Even for the organization rendering group work support services for them at the time, Child Welfare SA, the participants were not aware of the scope of other services offered by the organization in terms of victims of intimate partner violence as well as the operating hours of the organization. Mmiki was quoted as saying;

"I do not know when they open and close offices but I think they close at 5pm I am not so sure though."

The response of Mmiki quoted above reflected the overall degree of knowledge on the specifics of the stakeholders rendering services to the participants of the first sample.

- **The relationship between knowledge of professional support systems and reporting behaviours**

All the participants, including participants from the second sample, regarded more knowledge on support systems as having the potential to encourage reporting. Teboho was of the opinion that knowledge will equip the victim with the psychological readiness to challenge the perpetrator with the full knowledge that her actions will be backed by a vast network of professionals. Mpolai added that;

".....if I had known of the existence of the Victim Empowerment Programme, I could have approached them to hear what sort of help they can offer me so that I can decide better in the future when I face abuse from him again."

Mpolai's response shows that knowledge of support systems was regarded as being of great significance in potentially enabling the victim's willingness to report violence. The possibility of more support was regarded as having the potential to give the victim more courage.

5.8. Conclusion of the chapter

The chapter above has been focused on in depth discussions of the findings of the study. These findings were discussed in three major categories namely; the experiences, reporting behaviours and support structures for victims of intimate partner violence. Various findings emerged from the study and the next chapter will provide a more precise presentation of the findings including recommendations where applicable.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses conclusions drawn from the study and the recommendations made. These conclusions and recommendations are made from the findings from both samples. They are made according to the themes and sub-themes of the study as discussed in the previous chapter. Where applicable, the researcher made recommendations in terms of policy, social work and further research. The recommendation were drawn majorly from the contributions of the participants themselves.

Overall, the researcher holds that the objectives of the study were met and research questions have been answered based on the findings of the study discussed in the previous chapter. The participants, namely the victims of intimate partner violence who took part in the individual interviews and the social service providers who participated in the focus group discussion provided the information allowing for these conclusions.

This chapter will consist of a summary of the findings of the study. Thereafter, the researcher will look into the conclusions and recommendations as per the themes and sub themes in the last chapter. The researcher would like to highlight that, as will be observed in the layout of the chapter, efforts were made to distinctly label the recommendations separately where reasonably necessary. However, where the recommendations where of such a number as did not warrant separate sub titles; in the judgement of the researcher, they were presented under a combined sub heading. The following part will deal with a summary of the findings.

6.2. Summary of findings

The study has established that the relationship between economic dependency and reporting of intimate partner violence is such that economic dependency greatly supports the existence of intimate partner violence . This summation is consistent with the experiences of the victims of intimate partner violence outlined in the previous chapter. Whilst other factors also supporting intimate partner violence were noted in the findings, economic dependency stood out on the basis that without visible means of material support the victim would not be able to survive thus necessitating that she preserves her union with the abuser regardless of the nature thereof. The study also established that with regards to the experiences of victims of intimate partner violence , physical violence was more rampant and it was so on weekends when the abusers were under the influence of alcohol. Other notable causes of violence were non reporting of abuse, culture, anger

as well as infidelity. Availability of support, intensity and frequency of abuse as well as the effects of abuse on children were identified as variables determining the timing of reporting of intimate partner violence . Most victims reported intimate partner violence either instantly or not at all and due to prolonged exposure to intimate partner violence the reporting patterns of most of the participants of the study had been negatively affected. Emotion focused and appraisal focused coping mechanisms were used more than object focused. Most victims sought company, cried or prayed in the face of violence rather than confronting the abuser or reporting him. Families were identified as the most active sources of social support dominantly whilst professional support networks were discovered to be functional overall.

6.3. Conclusions

Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusions have been reached:

6.3.1 Conclusions on the causes of intimate partner violence

6.3.1.1 Alcohol consumption

Consistent with the findings of the study discussed in the previous chapter, the following conclusions were drawn regarding alcohol consumption;

Given that the majority of the victims mentioned alcohol abuse as a factor in the occurrence of intimate partner violence in their experiences as highlighted in the previous chapter, the researcher concluded that alcohol consumption was a major cause in the occurrence of intimate partner violence. Though alcohol consumption was an absolute cause in a minority of the cases, it was identified as being a cause (both relative and absolute) in the majority of cases.

Another conclusion drawn regarding alcohol consumption was that it was tied to the frequency of abuse. As highlighted in the previous chapter, during weekends, where alcohol consumption was high, intimate partner violence was also high. The relationship between intimate partner violence and alcohol consumption was discovered to be non-coincidental but in actual fact causal. The researcher concluded from this finding that alcohol consumption, apart from being a cause of intimate partner violence, also a factor in determining the patterns of intimate partner violence on a wider scale.

Given that some victims believed that alcohol consumption was responsible for the behaviour of the perpetrator and without it the violence would simply stop, the researcher concluded that alcohol consumption complicated the circumstances of the victims and inhibited their willingness to

report given that they had the hope that the perpetrator would leave alcohol and thereby stop the violence.

Another conclusion drawn from the same finding above was that victims whose partners consumed alcohol and perpetrated violence under the influence of alcohol were a high risk group for the development of a victim mentality. These perpetrators were found to be masking their socially ill behaviour under the guise of alcohol consumption with the result that some victims ended up believing the perpetrator to be innocent and thus they would assign the responsibility of the violence to alcohol consumption. This behaviour on the part of the victims was linked to the idea of the Stockholm Syndrome since individuals with the Stockholm Syndrome are known to excuse the actions of the perpetrator and to seek solace in the never materializing hope that one day the perpetrator will change (Agosi; 2001).

Recommendations

Consistent with the conclusions drawn from the study, the recommendations that follow are made:

Recommendations for Law and Policy

The researcher is of the opinion that laws need to be enacted to control the consumption of alcohol for specific individuals after assessments by qualified professionals. This would apply to repeated offenders whose violent behaviour is qualified, by a professional such as a social worker, psychologist or psychiatrist, to be linked to their consumption of alcohol. Such pieces of legislation can be structured to include inter alia the following;

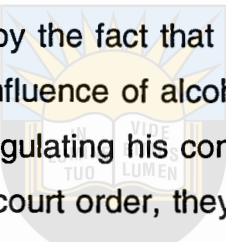
- An accused perpetrator of intimate partner violence would be assessed by a qualified and relevant professional such as a social worker to determine the extent to which alcohol consumption is a factor in their disruptive behaviour.
- The results of such an assessment would be submitted as a recommendation to a designated court of law and upon review by the court would be made an order of court.
- Such a recommendation would include a partial or total ban from the consumption of alcohol on the part of the accused or measures regulating the times, place and/or occasions on which the accused is permitted to consume alcohol together with a mandatory enrolment into a rehabilitation centre or such other resource as would support the individual to adjust to the conditions of the order.
- Where a total ban is imposed, an action plan would be put in place to work towards relaxing the conditions of the order to allow the individual to consume alcohol after they have proven

sufficient capacity to act responsibly under the influence of alcohol and/or to take in such amounts of alcohol as would allow them to act responsibly.

- The enforcement of such a law would be put in a way such that if the accused is arrested for a violence related offence under the influence of alcohol, they are held to be in contempt of the court order and may be subject to further punitive action including but not limited to the option of incarceration.

Evaluation of the recommendation

The researcher foresees the possible difficulty in terms of the implementation of such a law since the state may not, at any point in time, be able to monitor the actions of all perpetrators of intimate partner violence to ensure that they do not consume alcohol. However, the need for constant monitoring of the perpetrator is removed by the fact that the perpetrator has the knowledge that committing an act of violence under the influence of alcohol may lead to his arrest since a court order will be in place either banning or regulating his consumption of alcohol. Thus though they may consume alcohol in contempt of the court order, they are discouraged from being violent by the possibility of incarceration in the event that they get arrested and are discovered to be under the influence of alcohol.


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This recommendation would be efficient because it would be unlike previous generalist bans such as the bans in certain counties of Alabama in the USA or in other parts of Australia (Stockwell et al; 2005). These generalist bans of alcohol consumption declare certain regions to be 'dry' meaning alcohol consumption in such regions is considered to be illegal. This has negative effects on individuals who consume alcohol but are not violent or disruptive thereafter and may amount to violation of their rights. Specific bans on alcohol consumption for targeted individuals would avoid this consequence.

Secondly, this recommendation would be an action of disconnecting the relationship between alcohol consumption and violence which would have been declared as being present by the assessment of the designated professional. Thus, if an individual is declared to be socially disruptive owing to their consumption of alcohol by a qualified professional, disconnecting them from the consumption of alcohol would be most appropriate in an effort to discontinue the violence.

The recommendation is also consistent with other pieces of legislation already in place in South Africa. Regulation 14 of the Firearms Control Act of 2000 would be a perfect example to call to witness at this juncture. The Regulation stipulates that the registrar of firearms should consider inter alia following before issuing a competency certificate for any individual to own a firearm;

d) whether in the past five years the applicant has been diagnosed or treated by a medical practitioner for depression, drug, intoxicating or narcotic substance abuse, behavioural problems or emotional problems;

e) whether in the past five years the applicant has been reported to the police or social services for alleged threatened or attempted violence or other conflict in the applicant's home or elsewhere.

The provisions of (d) above regarding 'intoxicating substance abuse' and 'behavioural problems' imply that one has to desist from socially unacceptable consumption of alcohol so as to qualify to own a firearm. The other side of the coin is that this provision equals a restriction from consuming alcohol to the extent where one acts in socially deviant ways in order for one to qualify to own a firearm. Thus if such a restriction is permissible for firearms it should be held that legal precedent for restricting the intake of intoxicating substances (including alcohol) has been set. What would justify the application of the principles of that precedent here is the fact that firearms are not the only weapon available for the perpetration of violence. The fact that everyday household objects such as knives and forks may be used as weapons for violence justifies that the principles restricting individuals from consuming alcohol in excess under the Firearms Control Act of 200 be used to enact another law for the general public given that everyone has access to weapons other than firearms. If individuals owning a firearm are required to be free of excessive substance abuse and to have a good behavioural track record, then individuals with access to other weapons as well as potentially dangerous objects, should also be restricted in the same breath. Thus restricting consumption of alcohol for people with access to weapons is not a new concept and if applied to other instances (such as the proposed recommendation) would be in keeping with previous pieces of legislation.

Recommendations for Social Work

The following recommendations are made for social work;

- Social workers need to be pro-active towards alcohol abuse in the areas in which they work. This means a move away from reacting to isolated instances of violence because of alcohol abuse and a corresponding shift towards raising awareness on the need to limit the number of incidences of intimate partner violence caused by alcohol consumption.
- Social workers need to focus on holistic interventions where intimate partner violence is related to alcohol consumption. This would mean activating support systems such as the family of the accused perpetrator to enable him to be able to adjust to socially acceptable ways of solving interpersonal conflict. This is so because without support, the perpetrator's ability to cease excessive alcohol consumption may be drastically compromised.

Recommendations for further research

The following recommendations for further research are made;

- Further research needs to be done regarding the role of alcohol consumption in creating deniability for the perpetrator. Such further research will aid in clarifying the excuse strategies employed by perpetrators of intimate partner violence after an incident of violence in order to convince victims that they are either sorry or are not responsible for their behaviours.

6.3.1.2 Infidelity

Consistent with the findings of the study discussed in the previous chapter, the following conclusions were drawn regarding infidelity;

The finding that only three (3) participants out of the twenty from the first sample cited that infidelity possibly had a connection to their experience of intimate partner violence was the basis for the conclusion that infidelity was not a major cause of intimate partner violence.

However, the fact that it was not a major cause did not undermine the conclusion that it was a cause of intimate partner violence. Based on the findings of the study, the researcher concluded that infidelity affects trust and affection between intimate partners thus increasing the likelihood of violent conflict. The researcher observed that without trust conflict was bound to be more frequent in a relationship and without affection the chances of such conflict being resolved violently were higher than where partners trusted and felt affectionately for each other.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are duly submitted;

Recommendations for policy

In line with the conclusions laid out above, the researcher recommends that policies be put in place for funds to be allocated for awareness campaigns on the values of responsible fatherhood. This can be achieved through the use of community gatherings such as *Imbizos*. Such gatherings would encourage fidelity as a port of first resort for all people in intimate relationships.

These community gatherings also need to be tallied to discussions of culture since culture has a lot of stake in African marriage discussions. For instance, polygamy is generally permissible in most African cultures (Adhunga; 2014) and as such the proper and culturally acceptable ways of

polygamy need to be taught to community members so as to avoid conflicts arising from otherwise acceptable practices such as polygamy. this could be provided as a port of second resort given that partners decide to have another relationship. Thus, instead of an extra-marital affair which, as per the findings of the study, causes damage as it strains trust and affection, partners may choose to have a polygamous relationship and to conduct it according to culturally acceptable standards. The researcher is of the opinion that a hidden extra marital affair would wreck more havoc than a formalized polygamous marriage thus the recommendation.

Recommendations for social work

The researcher recommends that social workers need to be involved at the forefront of the aforementioned *Imbizos* if funds are allocated as such. As agents of social change, social workers need to be at the forefront of campaigns aimed at changing societal views. They should also be actively involved in championing acceptable cultural practices.

Social work training also needs to be tuned to be in line with such acceptable cultural practices as are widely practiced in the societies into which social workers are to work. This would promote an understanding of the reasons certain societies behave in certain ways and as such inform social work interventions to be more relevant when dealing with cultural based problems such as marriage.

Platforms should be made available for social workers practising in areas outside their taught and/or original cultural knowledge base to access education on the cultures of the population groups they intend to work with. Such platforms can be facilitated by the South African Council for Social Service Professions (SACSSP) through workshops and/or assessment entry tests. For instance a foreign trained social worker intending to practice in South Africa should be given the platform to gather general knowledge on South African cultural practices through an assessment test by the SACSSP.

Since marriage has much to do with the culture of a given people, this recommendation would equip all social workers with the appropriate knowledge to work in the specific context they are employed within. This recommendation is also consistent with practices of councils governing social work in countries such as Australia and New Zealand which provide for an entrance test focusing partly on the local culture (<http://www.aasw.asn.au/careers-study/country-assessment-guidelines>) for all foreign social workers intending to work in such countries.

Recommendations for further research

Further research needs to be done into the relationship between infidelity and the intensity of abuse. Such research will not only shed light on the said relationship but it will also help clarify the extent to which infidelity relates to intimate partner violence .

6.3.1.3. Anger

In accordance with the findings explained in the previous chapter, the following conclusions were drawn with regards to anger;

The finding that anger was identified as related to intimate partner violence in one way or the other by all of the participants informed the conclusion that anger was a major cause of intimate partner violence.

The researcher also drew the conclusion that anger was a high risk factor for the development of the Stockholm Syndrome amongst victims who believed their partners were violent majorly because of anger. This had negative effects on their potential to report abuse. This conclusion was in line with the finding that these victims tended to excuse the actions of their partners and had the belief that their partners would make a sudden change in behaviour for the better though no material indications were in place to support such beliefs. These traits were also common amongst individuals with the Stockholm Syndrome (Agosi; 2001) thus making anger a high risk factor.

It was also concluded that most perpetrators of violence were generally angry individuals whose anger motivated their actions towards the victims. This conclusion came from the finding that the victims reported episodes of unprovoked anger outbursts and angry reactions which were generally disproportionate to the incident inciting such anger where there was such an incident. These findings informed the conclusion above.

Despite the above conclusion, the researcher also concluded that perpetrators of violence could not be exonerated from their actions on the basis that they were angry individuals since they were involved in decision making up to the point where they allowed their angry tempers to control their actions. This conclusion stemmed out of the contribution of Turner and Stets (2005) with regards to the development of and the manifestation of anger as a secondary emotion. Given that the authors were of the opinion that individuals choose, actively or otherwise, to let their angry tempers overwhelm them, the responsibility for violence was found to be justifiably with the perpetrator.

Recommendations

In line with the above conclusions, the following recommendations were made;

Recommendations for policy

The researcher is of the opinion that policy interventions on intimate partner violence need to target perpetrators in as much as they target victims. This recommendation is justified by the observation that the problem being tackled is the perpetrator who is victimizing the victim. It would therefore seem more appropriate to have intervention measures designed to address the factors surrounding the perpetrator causing him to be violent.

Support structures such as Safety Houses and Shelters for abused women need to be made more available for perpetrators as well for use under voluntary and/or compulsory conditions. Supporting victims without necessarily changing the conditions where they come from could end up a fruitless venture since upon their return from temporary shelters they might be exposed to further violence.

Recommendations for social work

Social workers need to educate community members to be knowledgeable of appropriate and inappropriate manifestations of anger. This would enable community members to report or seek help on behalf of individuals who appear to be having anger control issues.

This recommendation stems from the fact that it is generally not an easy task to identify uncontrollable anger in other people without the help of a professionally trained individual. Society members may consider unhealthy anger to be normal and this may lead to a situation where an individual becomes uncontrollable whereas they could have sought help before when the anger was still mild.

Recommendations for further study

The researcher is of the opinion that further research needs to be conducted on the nature versus nurture paradigm in relation to anger. There is a need to locate the origin of anger in individuals who act violently towards their partners. This would inform interventions to be modelled according to the dominant cause of anger be it the nature of a person, that is genetics, or the nurture, that is, factors in the person's environment.

6.3.1.4 Financial Power Imbalance

Consistent with the findings of the study, the following conclusions were made;

It was concluded that for both employed and unemployed victims of intimate partner violence, imbalances in financial resource control were a significant cause of intimate partner violence. This was drawn from the finding that all the participants from the first sample mentioned fear of economic vulnerability as a reason for not reporting intimate partner violence . Dependency was also noted as being present in members of both samples regardless of their employment status.

Regardless of involvement in financial decision making within the house, it was control over finances in the house which ultimately mattered for participants of the research. Though some victims were involved in a way or the other in decision making for financial matters, the fact that they did not control such resources exposed them to the same risk as those with no involvement whatsoever in financial matters. The risk was that they did not own any financial power and could not independently control any such power thus inhibiting their potential to report abuse.

Fear of economic vulnerability was discovered to be one of the factors supporting intimate partner violence stemming from imbalances in the control of financial resources. Such fear was a result of the probability of the perpetrator being incarcerated and thus losing his ability to provide for the victim and her dependent children. The resultant potential situation, where the victim would lack financial resources and fail to support her own children, dissuaded victims from reporting intimate partner violence.

In line with the above conclusion was also the fact of the perpetrator's consciousness of the effects of anticipated economic vulnerability in inhibiting reporting. Perpetrators were found to be using withdrawal of financial support in order to bend the will of the victim. The researcher perceived such actions as representing the fact that the perpetrators were aware of the power they had over the victim through their control of the household's finances. Withdrawing such support was perceived as an act of letting the victim test what she could become exposed to should she decide to report the violence or leave the perpetrator. This evidently created greater fear on the victim's part.

The researcher also drew the conclusion that where one partner had more financial power than the other, the likelihood of such power being abused was higher than where power was equally distributed. This was linked to the causal-effect relationship between financial power imbalance and intimate partner violence . A corresponding relationship was that where such power was imbalanced in favour of one partner over the other, the probability of the party with less power

challenging the authority of the party with more power was low. Reporting probability was found to have been lower with less power.

The researcher concluded that financial power imbalance was by far the major cause of intimate partner violence amongst all other causes. This conclusion stemmed out of the finding that whilst other factors drew their power from the misjudgement of the victim, financial power imbalance presented an objectively real fear which the victim would, in her objective mind, consider before reporting abuse. Anger and alcohol consumption for instance, were found to be only valid causes where the victim misjudged that the perpetrator would revert from his actions or where the victim misjudged the allocation of the blame for the violence. Financial power imbalance however presented a real possibility in that the victim knew that she did not have any money and leaving the perpetrator would result in her suffering severe financial loss. Thus it was concluded that financial power imbalance was the greatest cause of intimate partner violence amongst all other factors.

The level of imbalance of financial resource power was a non-factor in the reporting patterns of all victims of intimate partner violence involved in the study. This conclusion stemmed from the finding that both employed and unemployed victims of intimate partner violence presented the same fear to leave their relationships despite the violence and regardless of the fact that the employed victims had some sort of income. Both groups portrayed the same reporting behaviours. This can be linked to the development of the Stockholm Syndrome as expounded by Agosi; (2001) quoted in the previous chapter. The employed victims of intimate partner violence could be seen to be developing certain ideologies which crippled their ability to decide objectively. Such ideologies include the idea that the victim will stay for her children, loves the perpetrator and the hope that the perpetrator will change. Thus, despite the victim's objective ability to independently survive on their own, they are inhibited from reporting the abuse by other factors which excuse their stay with the perpetrator. The unemployed victims were seen to be objectively afraid of being financially exposed. Thus eventually both groups seemed to be tied down despite the differences in their financial positions. More so, what was found out to be instrumental was the issue of whether or not the victim reported or left the abusive relationship more than whether or not she had income. Perpetrators were reported to be more affected by the actuality of reporting rather than the potential alone.

Recommendations for policy

In line with the above conclusions the researcher proposes that more funds be channelled towards empowering women financially so as to minimize the effects of financial dependency. This could

be achieved through projects, associations and other community wide income generating initiatives targeting women.

The recommendation above would be feasible because such other projects have been functional at various levels such as the projects launched by the Intervention With Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE) (Kim et al; 2006). Further to this, the recommendation would be relevant since it will undo one of the strongest strongholds of intimate partner violence . Far from tackling intimate partner violence in isolation, this recommendation will also tackle other generic forms of abuse against women in contemporary society (see Watts and Zimmerman; 2002 for forms of abuse against women in societies).

Whilst the transformation agenda in South Africa includes in part recognition of women as a previously disadvantaged group (Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003), the enforcement of policies to ensure their distinct benefit above previously superior groups has rather been a piece-meal endeavour. Compared to the enforcement of the Black Economic Empowerment scheme as seen through scorecards and various other compliance measures (see <http://www.bee.co.za/content/Information.aspx> for compliance requirements for BEE), the agenda of championing the entry of women into the economy has rather been silent. BEE efforts cannot be taken to be structurally meant for the direct benefit of women since men are also included in BEE target groups. This calls for the enforcement of beneficiation by gender under existing policies or else the development of new legislation to recognize the fact that whilst both genders were disadvantaged during apartheid, women have a peculiar history of oppression (see Watts and Zimmerman; 2002 on the history of women oppression) which warrants their prioritization as beneficiaries of any measures seeking to address previous injustices.

In line with the conclusion that both employed and unemployed victims did not report intimate partner violence , such income generating projects as are referred to above should be accompanied by major scale awareness campaigns on the rights of women and active efforts to empower the average woman through information to help her make informed decisions.

This recommendation would then ensure that the average woman is financially and mentally empowered. This is very crucial because, a financially empowered yet mentally weak woman would lack the full capacity to stand against abuse of her rights. It stems from the realization that eventually what makes the decision is the individual not her money though her money gives her the confidence to make radical decisions.

The researcher also considers that targeting men, who are in the majority the perpetrators, with awareness campaigns to encourage the equal distribution of financial power would help to

empower women who might not access financial support from the income generating projects referred to above. If such power is genuine and not just a mere show, it will remove the opportunity for the perpetrator to manipulate or threaten the victim with withdrawal of financial support since financial power will be equally shared.

Recommendations for Social Work

Social workers need to mobilize community members in support of victims of intimate partner violence . This, in an effort to shame the perpetrator as well as give the victim the confidence she needs in order to stand up for herself. The idea that victims are an isolated group may serve to inhibit their reporting but where they are well aware of available support structures, they may be more likely to report violence. Where societies overtly display intolerance to abuse, the need to fit in and be accepted by society members (see Sheldon; 2004 on the need for acceptance) may cause the perpetrator not to perpetrate violence even where the victim is dependent on him and is thus less likely to report. The knowledge of the fact that community members will reject him if he is abusive may act as a reason to cease abuse to the perpetrator.

Recommendations for further study

There is a need for further study to be conducted into the variations and/or dynamics of victimization amongst dependent and independent victims of intimate partner violence . This research would serve to establish the extent to which dependency on the victim's part affects intimate partner violence . Having established that both dependent and independent victims of intimate partner violence have the same reporting patterns, it is therefore necessary that further study be conducted regarding how different and/or similar the experiences of these two groups are.

6.3.2. Conclusions on the factors supporting the perpetuation of intimate partner violence

In line with the findings laid out in the previous chapter, the following conclusions were made;

6.3.2.1 Alcohol consumption

The researcher concluded that alcohol consumption supported the immediate and long term existence of violence within a relationship. Participants reported that perpetrators of violence were more violent when they were drunk and further that continued consumption of alcohol meant continued abuse. This informed the conclusion of the short term and long term effects of alcohol consumption on the existence of intimate partner violence .

Alcohol consumption was identified as inhibiting the perpetrator's ability to construct logical thoughts and decisions thus exposing victims to severe abuse in the present. Together with this conclusion was the conclusion that the ability of the perpetrator to target his partner with the violence and not any other person proved his presence of mind and justifies the assignment of responsibility for the violence to him.

The researcher also concluded that whilst, in some cases, responsibility for the extent of the violence may be shared between the perpetrator and the influence of alcohol, the overall responsibility for the use of the violence itself lied on the shoulders of the perpetrator who managed to target the victim despite the fact of his supposed inability to construct logical thoughts and decisions.

The fact that most perpetrators had the ability to recall why they were being physically abusive, as seen in their specific verbal attacks on the victims, proved their presence of mind and motivated for the conclusion that alcohol consumption could be used as an excuse for the use of violence. Had it been that the perpetrators used meaningless verbal attacks, one could have been convinced that they were totally under the influence of alcohol with the possibility of exonerating them from their actions. However, that they could make reference to events in the distant and near past such as suspicions of infidelity and other contentious issues creates the possibility that alcohol consumption could have been an excuse in the majority of cases.

Alcohol consumption was also linked to the severity of abuse, especially physical abuse, where more severe cases of abuse were seen to have included a drunken partner. This was in line with the effects of alcohol consumption on the ability of the perpetrator to make rational decisions referred to above.

Recommendations for policy

In line with the above conclusions, the following recommendations are made for policy;

- Legislation needs to be enacted in line with the recommendations for policy for alcohol consumption as a cause of intimate partner violence illustrated earlier in this chapter.

Further to such legislation, funds need to be directed at efforts to educate societies on the dangers of excessive alcohol consumption so as to create chances for the optional reduction in consumption levels amongst community members susceptible to the use of violence whilst under the influence of alcohol.

Recommendations for Social work

Social workers need to be the key role players in the dissemination of information to raise awareness on the dangers of excessive consumption of alcohol through the campaigns referred to above. This will give them a pro-active rather than a reactive approach to the problem.

Funding for social workers in their areas of operation, such as agencies and governmental departments, needs to be increased and targeted towards the development of programs to tackle alcohol consumption in its various forms. This will increase the ability of the social workers to intervene in line with the problem of alcohol consumption.

Social workers need to mobilise community members to be non-tolerant towards excessive alcohol consumption with or without the presence of violence by the individual consuming the alcohol. This recommendation would ensure that from the tavern where the perpetrator buys and drinks the alcohol, to the house where he plans to be violent, every member of society is against him.

A potential barrier to this recommendation is the fact of the economic interests of the sellers of liquor which could inspire them to turn a blind eye on the effects of the liquor on the buyer who could be the perpetrator. However, efforts to raise awareness should seek to conscientize even these sellers of liquor to be mindful of the negative effects of excessive alcohol consumption and thus to join in not tolerating such consumption of alcohol. Alternatively, where opposition persists from owners and sellers of taverns then mobilising the rest of the community to show non-tolerance towards excessive alcohol consumption could still achieve the same objectives (of lowering general consumption levels) since the excessive alcohol consumer would lack support and thus increasing the chances of him reverting from his behaviour.

Recommendations for further research

Further research needs to be done regarding the circumstances which support the development of alcohol consumption so as to allow interventions both at policy and service delivery level to be more relevant to the real issue rather than the symptoms. Identification of the circumstances supporting the development of alcohol consumption will also aid social workers rendering prevention and early intervention services to be able to identify problems before they become complicated and to intervene accordingly.

6.3.2.2 Non reporting of violence

With regards to the non-reporting of violence, the first conclusion by the researcher was that perpetrators were incentivised to continue abusing victims who did not report abuse by the thought of the absence of consequences for their actions. This was tied to the finding that victims who did not report violence could be identified as acting in cohorts with the perpetrator.

The researcher also concluded that non-reporting of violence had the potential to desensitize the victim to the fact that the abuse was a violation of her rights thus lessening her chances of reporting. This was seen in the attempts of the victims of intimate partner violence who participated in the study to justify their non-reporting and to trivialise the abuse at various stages in the study. Where the victim chose to constantly handle the violence either alone or by means of a private family arrangement, the likelihood of one day reporting it would be very low.

Recommendations for law and policies

The following recommendations are made in line with policies;

The researcher is of the opinion that legislation need to be enforced and/or re-designed to enable prosecutors to pursue cases of intimate partner violence using only evidence at their disposal regardless of the victim's decision to drop the charges. Such legislation would allow the state to become the complainant where the victim drops charges and yet evidence was initially collected to prove that the violence took place, especially if such evidence is in the form of physical marks and the victim previously issued a statement narrating the ordeal. Regardless of the daunting practicalities in terms of the state proving its case without the primary witness, that is the victim, prosecution of such cases could give victims confidence to report intimate partner violence .

In order for the above recommendation to achieve its full intended goals, it needs to be accompanied by a corresponding investment in the provision of financial support in one form or the other for victims who are proven to be financially unstable after incarceration of their perpetrators. Such financial support could be achieved as follows;

- After a victim has reported abuse which is followed by the successful incarceration of the perpetrator, the victims is linked to a state monitored and/or funded income generating project through the recommendation of the court.
- Membership into such associations is regulated by the state and the distribution of the proceeds of such associations be governed by the state.

The guaranteed provision of financial support following the reporting of intimate partner violence would therefore incentivise victims to report violence as their financial futures would be more secure.

Recommendations for Social work

Social workers should encourage members of the community to report intimate partner violence in light of its potential consequences such as death. The way victims of intimate partner violence are treated by social workers should be such that the victims have the assurance that their experiences are being validated and support is guaranteed to them. Blaming attitudes and unprofessional conduct on the part of the social workers may cause the victims to further alienate themselves from systems of help.

Social workers should work in conjunction with the police to eliminate the spread of the mentality of the perpetrator being reprimanded as a way to evade reporting the violence by the victim. This should be done through explaining of the terms of confidentiality by the social worker wherein it will be made clear that any crime including past, present and plots to commit crime will cause a mandatory reporting of such incidents to the SAPS. This will avoid the notion of using social workers as a soft option to scare away the perpetrator.

Recommendations for further research

There is a need to study the generic reasons for non-reporting of intimate partner violence . This will help shed light on the frame of reference of victims of intimate partner violence in order to inform material for training helping professionals. Where a concise version of the most dominant reasons for not reporting abuse is compiled through a book or any other such publication and helping professionals are trained in line with such a version, then the way they deal with victims of intimate partner violence will most likely suit the needs of the victims.

6.3.2.3 Economic dependency

In line with the finding that both samples in the study highlighted economic dependency as supporting intimate partner violence , the researcher concluded that economic dependency was a major factor supporting the existence of intimate partner violence . This was linked to the fact that members of the first sample made continual reference to the fact that economic dependency had a disabling effect in as far as one's ability to report intimate partner violence was concerned. It was found that because the same perpetrator who abuses the victim provides for her materially, the victim's willingness to report the abuser was greatly compromised.

The researcher concluded that some sort of distinction could be made between economic dependency and financial imbalance in as far as the knowledge of the participants of the study was concerned. Economic dependency was understood to mean financial imbalance in action whilst financial imbalance was understood to mean potential financial dependency.

The researcher concluded that the financial benefits emanating from the union of the victim to the perpetrator were considered not only to the extent where they benefited the victim as an individual but also to the extent to which the members of the victim's family, including parents and children benefited as well. This implied that victims did not only consider the potential of financial stress only for them as individuals but for other family members as well, should the perpetrator be arrested. Thus individual safety would be sacrificed for the interests of the wider group, in this case children and other family members.

Recommendations for policy

The researcher is of the opinion that in line with the first conclusion above, long term plans need to be put in place for the material provision of vulnerable groups in society. These plans should take the form of cash injection for the direct benefit of these groups. Such cash need not be in the form of hand-outs because then the sustainability of the interventions altogether becomes an issue of concern. Cash injections which are channelled towards sustainable, grassroots based and all-inclusive schemes could lessen the dependency of victims on the perpetrator and thus incentivise the victim to report abuse.

With regards to the last conclusion on the interests of the individual against those of the wider group, the researcher suggests that interventions for victims of intimate partner violence assume a holistic approach. Such an approach would see the inclusion of, not only victims of intimate partner violence but their immediate dependents when intervening to assist them financially. Holistic approaches can be informed by social workers' assessment reports with clear action goals on how to assist every person in the victim's immediate sphere of dependency.

Recommendations for social work

The researcher recommends that social workers be sensitive to the needs of victims of intimate partner violence especially as they relate to the members of the family dependent on the victims for financial support. Failing to recognize such needs is tantamount to not intervening since the well-being of those family members may counter whatever efforts or goals the social workers intend to achieve through intervention.

Recommendations for further research

The researcher is of the opinion that, in line with the second conclusion, further study needs to be done on the stages of progression leading to financial dependency. The focus of such studies would be to highlight how couples who end up with one financially dependent partner reach that stage so as to determine at which stage helping professions may intervene to interrupt the sequence.

6.3.2.4 Lack of support for victims

The researcher concluded that victims' lack of support when faced with intimate partner violence contributed to the existence of intimate partner violence . Victims of intimate partner violence involved in the study were found to be lacking financial support, with the implication that they would be unwilling to accept legal support in the form of reporting the perpetrator. Emotional support was dominantly found to be available.

Recommendations for policy and law

Consistent with the conclusions above the researcher is of the opinion that;

- Policy changes be made to provide financial support for victims of intimate partner violence and other women in general.

This recommendation will both cater for victims of intimate partner violence , that is, a reactionary approach and from a proactive approach it will also mitigate the chances of other women in general falling prey to the lack of support found to have been a factor in supporting the existence of intimate partner violence .

Recommendations for social work

Social workers are an active form of support and as such they need to;

- Adopt proactive approaches so as to reach out to victims who are isolated from accessing support due to physical disability, lack of funds and any other factors. These approaches would include home visits and campaigns to market the services of social workers in their service areas.
- Coordinate the formation of associations for women facing intimate partner violence . These associations will be self-funded, that is from contributions of individual members in the associations themselves, and the financial gains thereof would be distributed amongst the members. Such associations, apart from giving the victims some sort of financial support, would also be a platform for the victim to meet a vast network of other

women experiencing the same problem as herself and thus gain support from the sharing of experiences with the moderation of the social worker.

Recommendations for further research

Further study still needs to be conducted on the major type of support which is crucial for victims of intimate partner violence . Whilst victims receive emotional, professional, legal and financial support, it remains unclear, to the knowledge of the researcher, which type of support is most crucial to the victims' survival and most importantly ability to report the abuse. If it would be clarified then interventions would be tailor made to suit the needs of the victims.

6.3.2.5 Culture

The researcher concluded that the society as agents of culture had a role in supporting the existence of intimate partner violence . Certain tenets, both taught and expected from the victim, such as the ideal wife, the nature of a marriage and the needs of children tended to inhibit the victim's willingness to report abuse. Victims who stayed in town, in a multi-cultural context reported less influence from seSotho cultural tenets.

Recommendations for law and policy

The researcher recommends that awareness campaigns be rolled out with a view to change societal views on issues surrounding families and marriage. Conservative views, previously acceptable under primitive and partly apartheid South Africa have since ceased to hold value and should be actively undone for the better of the society and precisely the victims of intimate partner violence .

Recommendations for social work

The active undoing of society's widely held ideas calls for the involvement of social workers as direct agents of change. The advantage that social workers are involved in direct service rendering on a personal basis with members of the community gives them leverage to act as agents to change the views of society members. Such opportunities should be made use of especially in light of the trust community members have towards social workers.

Recommendations for further study

Further study still needs to be conducted to establish the extent to which cultural tenets affect victims of intimate partner violence including which specific tenets generally impact on reporting

decisions. Having established this, one may be able to strategically intercept the spread of and/or influence of the most highly regarded tenets.

6.3.2.6 Children

The study established that the presence of children as well as the number of children a victim had with the perpetrator both influenced their reporting decisions negatively. The reasons for this was the fear of losing contact with the children and the fear that the children would also suffer economically should the victim be allowed to stay with them. Victims with children from previous marriages felt obliged to remain loyal to the perpetrator by not reporting him as a return-favour for the latter's help in supporting the victim and the other child.

Recommendations for policy and law

In line with the conclusions above, the researcher recommends that laws be enacted with the following goals:

- The provision of intermediate relief and support for victims of intimate partner violence and their children who are without visible means of support.
- The long-term support of dependent children of unemployed victims of intimate partner violence without visible means of support.

Recommendations for social work

Using existing legislation, such as the Children's Act 38 of 2005, social workers should be able to do temporary placements of children in need of care and protection under circumstances fitting the provisions of Section 150 of the Act. Such placements could be with family members of the victim's family and should be temporary with an eye towards building stability in the life of the victim of intimate partner violence and reunifying her with her children. the knowledge that her children will be protected in the intermediary may give the victim a reason to report abuse and to have the perpetrator arrested and tried.

Recommendations for further study

Further study needs to be conducted regarding the relationship between reporting behaviours of intimate partner violence victims and the presence of children from previous marriages. The researcher encountered the finding but could not go in depth with it for time and objectivity reasons. A specified study on the subject would help clarify and explain the subject better.

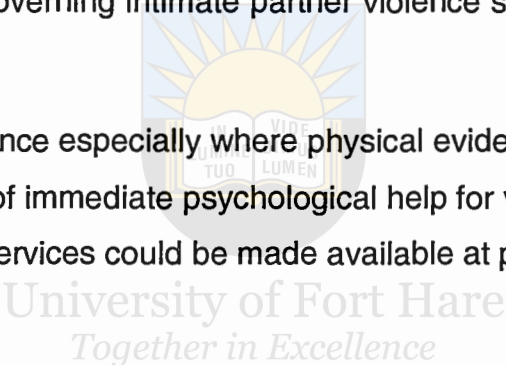
6.3.3. Conclusions on the effects of violence

The researcher established that physical violence was the most reported type of violence in the experiences of the participants of the study. The differences in body size and muscle strength between the victims and the perpetrators supported this. Psychological effects were reportedly very significant but less frequent as they needed the diagnosis and/or help of a professional. Most victims of intimate partner violence did not seek help with psychological problems resulting from the abuse they experienced and thus psychological effects of intimate partner violence were not as frequently reported as physical. The effects of intimate partner violence on children were found to be reportedly in the form of teaching children to learn violent behaviour.

Recommendations for law and policy

The goals of laws and policies governing intimate partner violence should be refocused to include inter alia;

- Harsher penalties for violence especially where physical evidence for such violence exists
- Funding for the provision of immediate psychological help for victims after reporting intimate partner violence . These services could be made available at police stations.



Recommendations for social work

Social workers need to engage victims of intimate partner violence in immediate counselling after identifying them as having experienced intimate partner violence . Such counselling may take place in the home of the victim upon the social worker's arrival in response to a report of violence or in the social worker's office if the victim came to report the case there and should take an informative as well as therapeutic form. Further sessions need to be done with the victim and follow ups on progress made needs to be a central focus of these sessions.

6.3.4. Concusions on the reporting behaviours of victims of intimate partner violence

Victims of intimate partner violence reported that amongst the factors which prompted them to report abuse were the availability of support, the severity and the frequency of the abuse. With regards to the severity, more severe physical abuse was reported to have been triggering reporting than less severe abuse. Presence of support was identified as motivating the reporting of abuse whilst more frequent abuse was reportedly a sign signifying that the victim should report abuse.

Recommendations for law and social policy

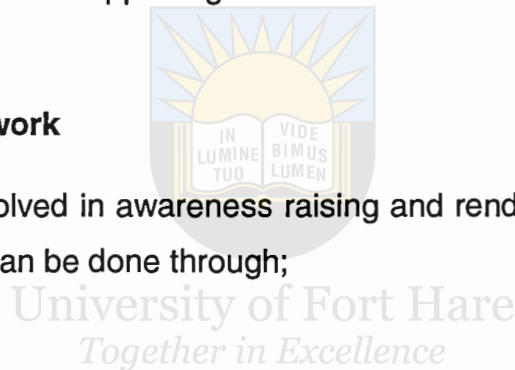
The researcher recommends that policy makers prioritize, through legislation, inter alia the following;

- The provision of support for victims of intimate partner violence since it can be linked to frequent reporting of abuse in line with the findings of the study. Such support can take the form of counselling through social workers and other helping professions as well as financial support through co-operatives involving the victims themselves.
- The raising of awareness amongst victims of intimate partner violence in a bid to encourage reporting of mild and less frequent abuse. The mentality that only severe abuse is a violation of one's rights may jeopardize the safety of the victim and may build a culture of non-reporting of abuse thus supporting the existence of the abuse.

Recommendations for social work

Social workers can be more involved in awareness raising and rendering of support for victims of intimate partner violence . This can be done through;

- Awareness campaigns
- Home visits
- Therapy sessions



Recommendations for further study

Further study may be conducted into the extent and nature of support offered to victims of intimate partner violence by society members given the changing dynamics of societies towards a more individualistic orientation. As pointed out in the previous chapter, with the entry of capitalism, societies have become more alienated and fragmented putting to light the ability and willingness of community members to support individuals not directly related to them. Thus research needs to be conducted to investigate if such dynamics have affected support to victims of intimate partner violence in any way.

6.3.4.1 Timeframe for reporting

The study established that victims either reported individual episodes of abuse instantly or did not report abuse altogether. It was also found out that some victims were in the habit of not reporting

abuse and then using the threat of reporting as a means of holding the perpetrator at ransom especially when they were physical marks such as bruises to prove the violence.

Recommendations

The researcher recommends that policy makers should allocate funds for the police, social workers and other helping professions to conduct;

- Awareness campaigns on the importance of reporting all episodes of abusive behaviour
- Distribution of material with definitions of abuse so as to help the victim to label abuse regardless of its magnitude.
- Marketing strategies to distribute the contact numbers of helping professionals as well as their working hours and procedure for reporting abuse.
- Further research may be conducted into the level of trust victims of intimate partner violence have in the justice system. This may help shed light on why victims would rather use violence as an object of ransom than report it to the officials.

6.3.4.2 Effects of prolonged exposure to intimate partner violence

The researcher concluded that prolonged exposure to intimate partner violence even where the frequency of such abuse was spatial, led to less frequent reporting of the violence. This was tied to the fact that victims adjust to the violence and devise ways to either ignore, avoid or minimise the violence.

Recommendations

The researcher proposes that;

- Intervention methods should be proactive by identifying victims of intimate partner violence so as to minimize the number of victims who are exposed to intimate partner violence over prolonged periods of time.
- Social workers should educate the general community so as to help reporting of constant exposure to violence by the general community if not by the victim herself.
- Further study may be conducted into how prolonged exposure to violence specifically affects reporting patterns for victims.

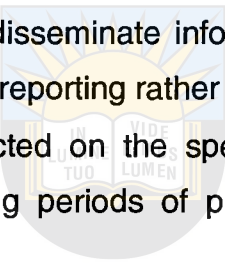
6.3.4.3 Help seeking versus reporting

Having defined help seeking as non-punitive assistance and reporting as assistance with a punitive focus, the researcher concluded that over time, victims tended to seek help rather than report abuse. It was discovered that victims sought to have the perpetrator scared away or reprimanded than incarcerated.

Recommendations

The researcher recommends that;

- Helping professionals work together to coordinate a smooth referrals system. Such a system would discourage help seeking where reporting is essential. Victims would be encouraged to report abuse rather than seeking to have the perpetrator reprimanded.
- Awareness campaigns be held to disseminate information on the importance of reporting abuse so as to cultivate a culture of reporting rather than seeking for alternatives.
- Further study needs to be conducted on the specific reasons for the movement from reporting to help seeking over long periods of prolonged exposure to intimate partner violence .


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6.3.4.4 How fear of economic vulnerability affected reporting behaviours

The researcher established that fear of financial vulnerability emanating from dependency on the perpetrator discouraged victims from reporting abuse. The slim probability of securing alternatives in terms of sources of income was the main reason for the fear and the corresponding inability to report.

The recommendations on reduction of dependency have already been made in this chapter. The researcher is of the opinion that the measures proposed would also be applicable here.

6.3.5. Conclusions on coping mechanisms for victims of intimate partner violence

The study concluded that most victims used emotion focused and appraisal focused rather than object focused coping mechanisms. The dominance of emotion and appraisal focused coping was linked to the availability of resources as well as the choices of the victims.

a. Recommendations for policy and law

The researcher recommends that the following objectives be made priority goals in the formulation of legislation;

- Structural support mechanisms to promote the use of object based coping. These may include, inter alia, community based services providers to maximize proximity and increase the chances of victims approaching such providers and thus focusing on the object rather than themselves.
- Victims be educated with an eye towards equipping them with information for them to choose sustainable and viable means of coping.

Recommendations for social work

Social workers should be involved in assisting victims of intimate partner violence to employ sustainable coping mechanisms. This can be achieved through:

- Counselling sessions with the objective of changing behaviour from unsustainable ways of coping to sustainable ways.
- Community wide awareness campaigns with the same objectives as the counselling sessions referred to above.



Recommendations for further study

Further research may be conducted into the reasons for the dominant use of certain coping strategies especially unsustainable strategies by victims of intimate partner violence . The results of such a study may be used to design interventions for intimate partner violence .

6.3.6. Conclusions on support structures for victims of intimate partner violence

The researcher concluded that victims of intimate partner violence received social support from families in the majority. Friends provided less social support than friends. The researcher also concluded that the nature of the social support from the families was such that the victim would be encouraged to contain rather than express the abuse.

Recommendations for law and policy

The researcher recommends that the following provisions be made available through policies;

- Quality institutionalized support in the form of improved shelters and reintegration steps for long term plans for the victims.

6.4. Conclusion of the chapter

The chapter has been an attempt to summate the study's conclusions and to put forward justifications for recommendations given for the conclusions. This has justifiably been achieved through concise discussions of each of the topics in the chapter. The researcher has shown that there exists a relationship between economic dependency and the reporting behaviours of victims of intimate partner violence; the nature of which has been explained in the chapter. The chapter has also looked into conclusions of the findings on the experiences of victims of intimate partner violence, their coping mechanisms and their reporting behaviours. The researcher holds that the objectives of the chapter, as well as those of the research in general have been met and the preceding chapters have been proof to that assertion.



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ANNEXURE A: SAMPLE INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

CASE HISTORY 1

PARTICIPANT 1: Lerato (here and after referred to as P1)

Lerato is a 27 year old female who stays in Naledi in Bothaville. She is customarily married to her husband and they stay with their two nephews and Lerato's sister. They have two children together and Lertao's husband is 38 years old. Lerato attended school up to Grade 8 and she is not employed.

Researcher (here and after referred to as R): In your experience what causes partners to use violence against each other?

P1: They are many things which cause violence in my case. But my husband is mostly abusive and angry when he is drunk. He is mostly quiet but when he drinks he is very dangerous. He gets angry over small things when he is drunk. The other time he came in drunk and started a quarrel over a suspicion he has that I once cheated on him. I was just sitting in the lounge so he came to me and started saying I hurt him with what I did. We were talking nicely at that point. So I told him it was not true and I reminded him that since 2009 he had not given me the name of the person who told him that story. He replied that the name was not important what was important was that I had done it and I should just admit because everyone knows I did it. I asked him why he believed the other person's story over mine and then he started saying I'm accusing him of being a liar. He called me a cheap prostitute and a cheater then he started clapping and kicking me and telling me that I should not lie to him because he has people who tell him things.

R: I heard you mentioned anger in your response; may you please elaborate on that?

P1: Anger is not a major cause in my experience. He is not an angry person no he is not. He is actually soft spoken most of the time. When we are not fighting, he is very caring and does not show any signs that he could be as violent as he gets when we fight. He gets very angry when he is beating me only and the longer the violence the angrier he gets. At times he scares me.

R: What factors do you consider as supporting the use of violence in intimate relationships?

P1: I think alcohol consumption supports abuse as well. The more my husband continues drinking, the more he continues being abusive. He was not like this before.

R: Can you please tell me the effects which you regard intimate partner violence has on the victim experiencing it?

P1: it causes me to be stressed and you see this mark on my arm (points to mark on arm just below the elbow), I got it as a result of him beating me up. So I am stressed and I also have physical marks and burns as a result of the fighting.

R: You talked about stress, may you please elaborate in what ways do you experience stress?

P1: I have headaches because I think so much about my situation. At times I just feel emotionally down and disinterested in everything and other people even those who haven't done anything bad to me may irritate me.

R: Which forms of violence have you experienced the most?

P1: I experience physical violence a lot because he beats me every-time he is drunk and angry.

R: So the emotional stress you explained previously are just effects of the abuse not forms of abuse you experience?

P1: Yes those are just effects; my husband does not abuse me emotionally.

R: Can you please tell me in your own view, what do you think can be done to lessen the incidence of Intimate Partner Violence?

P1: I think if money was given to start projects for people experiencing abuse they would cease to depend on the abusers and may be able to challenge the abuse.

R: What has in the past prompted you or would hypothetically make you to resolve to report intimate partner violence?

P1: I call the police when he is extremely violent and my life is in danger. He usually does this when he is too drunk like on month ends.

R: Can you please tell me on average, after how long do you report intimate partner violence?

P1: I call the police immediately all the time when I report him beating me.

R: By immediately may you please explain how much time you are referring to?

P1: I mean I just run to hide and I call the police as soon as I hide. I don't wait for him to beat me more, I call the police immediately.

R: In what ways does abuse change your reporting behaviors over time?

P1: I do not understand what you mean by that question, may you please explain?

R: Thank you for that. I mean in what ways does being exposed to abuse for long periods of time, like over months or years, affect your reporting?

P1: Thank you for that answer. Initially I was keen on reporting abuse but with time I discovered we rather talk with my husband and resolve issues. I prefer approaching my family than reporting to the police.

R: Reflecting back on your experience, in what ways do you consider that fear of economic vulnerability affected your reporting decisions?

P1: It has always been hard for me to think about having my husband arrested because firstly I love him and I don't want to see him arrested and again yes, I do not work so who will provide food for us all if he is arrested.

R: So besides your fear that no one will provide for you and your family members, you are also considerate of the fact that you love your husband when you are deciding on whether to report him or not?

P1: Yes, I love him and I cannot embarrass our family by dragging each other to the police for our own family affairs.

R: May you please tell me which coping mechanisms you have employed in dealing with Intimate Partner Violence?

P1: I just sit down and cry on my own. At times, my sister, who is staying with us, comforts me and talks to me. I undergo these moments usually the day after an episode of violence.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your social networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P1: My sister is the most supportive person. My mother's family also supports me because when he is too violent and I take the children and go away, they accept me and the children.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your professional networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P1: When I call the police they usually respond within 30 minutes of the call. I have also been helped by the community development workers. They come and they talk to me and my husband

at times. I also receive help from Child Welfare's social auxiliary workers when I attend the sessions.

R: What have you discovered to be the nature of the support you receive from your social as well as professional networks?

P1: I receive counselling and group work from the social workers and I get the opportunity to just talk things through with my family members such as my sister. They encourage me because honestly it is not worthy leaving a relationship after all this time. My mother's sister went through the same experience and she managed till the death of her husband. So it is not just unique to me it's an experience all women undergo.

R: Are you aware of the availability of a professional network of support in Bothaville?

P1: I know of social workers, police and the courts and they have in the past helped me when I faced challenges with my husband.

R: Do you know the operating hours of all of these offices including what kind of services they offer for people experiencing intimate partner violence ?

P1: I know the police do not close. The social workers and the courts should be closing around 5pm. I call the police to arrest him when he is beating me, I go to the social workers for counselling and mediation between me and him and I use the courts for applying for a Protection Order.

R: In what way do you think more knowledge of support services would affect your reporting?

P1: I think if I know more about the services given by every other stakeholder for victims of intimate partner violence , I would be able to report abuse more often because then I would know that they would support me.

CASE HISTORY 2

PARTICIPANT 2: Refilwe (here and after referred to as P2)

Refilwe is a 34 year old female with two children, both with her current partner. They are cohabitating and they stay in Ditshealong in Bothaville. Refilwe's partner is 36 years old and they stay with 5 other members of their extended family, on the side of her partner. Refilwe attended school up to Grade 9 and she is not employed.

R: In your experience what causes partners to use violence against each other?

P2: My partner is abusive towards me when he is drunk and that is usually during weekends. I think alcohol consumption causes people to be abusive because that is what I have experienced.

R: What factors do you consider as supporting the use of violence in intimate relationships?

P2: In my own experience, he has been abusive for as long as he drinks. When I was working at the farms previously he was less abusive but now that I am just sitting at home, he abuses me more like I am his door mat.

R: Can you please tell me the effects which you regard intimate partner violence has on the victim experiencing it?

P2: When he beats me I have a swollen face for almost a week after that. It embarrasses me and I have to lie to people just to get them off my back but I always get marks on my face because of him beating me.

R: Which forms of violence have you experienced the most?

P2: He beats me the most and for about a week after that, he refuses to buy even cooking oil or maize meal for the house. He does this especially when I shout back at him during the fight.

R: I heard you talking about the fact that he may not buy any food for the house, does that mean you also experience economic abuse?

P2: Yes he does that and I usually have to go and beg him and apologize before he starts buying again.

R: Can you please tell me in your own view, what do you think can be done to lessen the incidence of Intimate Partner Violence?

P2: I think people experiencing intimate partner violence should be given access to money for them to fend for themselves. How do I report my partner when he is my source of income? I need an alternative source of income before taking away the current one.

R: What has in the past prompted you or would hypothetically make you to resolve to report intimate partner violence?

P2: I have called the police when he is disturbing the children. He can trouble me but when he starts waking up the children and disturbing them, I call the police.

R: Can you please tell me on average, after how long do you report intimate partner violence?

P2: I call the police immediately all the time when I report him beating me.

R: By immediately may you please explain how much time you are referring to?

P2: I mean within 30 minutes of the incident happening. I usually go to my parents' house and call the police from there then wait for them to come before returning home.

R: In what ways does abuse change your reporting behaviors over time?

P2: I used to report more often than now. I think I got used to the circumstances and again back then I did not have children and I was not worried about food provision that much.

R: So you only changed the number of times you report and you have not changed in terms of who you approach to seek help?

P2: I have also changed in terms of that. I had not approached a social worker's office before but recently, I approach the social workers more often to seek their help.

R: Reflecting back on your experience, in what ways do you consider that fear of economic vulnerability affected your reporting decisions?

P2: Like I said before, the moment children came into the picture, I became very reluctant to report him. I am afraid for my children's sake. They will suffer without money and without anyone to pay for their expenses because I do not work.

R: May you please tell me which coping mechanisms you have employed in dealing with Intimate Partner Violence?

P2: I approached the social worker's office and they told me about the group for other women like me. I then joined the group and it helps me quite a lot.

R: Besides that, what other ways do you use on your own to cope with your experience of intimate partner violence ?

P2: When I am alone, I just ignore this whole thing and avoid thinking about it. I do not want my Blood Pressure to be high as a result of him.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your social networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P2: My family supports my partner most of the time I experience abuse. From the start my mother was against me staying with him because he had not paid the bridal price to them. So I have to face him alone because if I go to them, they just tell me that he is right and they told me not to be with him from the start.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your professional networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P2: They are very active. The police react on time but the social workers are not available after hours, that is at night when I experience abuse. During the day he is at work. It is on weekends and at night that I need their help but they are closed.

R: What have you discovered to be the nature of the support you receive from your social as well as professional networks?

P2: I have been going through counselling and group work sessions at Child Welfare. I also get support from my friends when I need to just talk to someone at home. My friend Dimakatso is a very available person all the time.

R: What kind of support does Dimakatso and other friends of yours give you? Do you just talk and they listen or do they in turn respond?

P2: Dimakatso listens to me and tells me to be strong. It takes a woman to make a house stand strong so she tells me to never give up for the sake of my house and my children.

R: Are you aware of the availability of a professional network of support in Bothaville?

P2: I am aware that they are social workers. I can also report to the police and the court when I need help.

R: Which social workers are you referring to when you say you know of social workers?

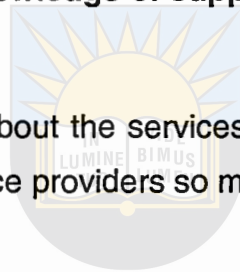
P2: There is Child Welfare in town and those are the only social workers I know of.

R: Ok thank you. You talked about social workers and other stakeholders such as the SAPS and the court, do you know the operating hours of all of these offices including what kind of services they offer for people experiencing intimate partner violence ?

P2: I do not want to lie to you, I do not know. I just know that the police do not close. Child Welfare and the court, I do not know when they close or what other services they offer. I just attend the group at Child Welfare and I once met with the clerk of court to discuss my situation last year I think.

R: In what way do you think more knowledge of support services would affect your reporting?

P2: I think if I have more knowledge about the services offered by every stakeholder I would be able to approach a wider range of service providers so my reporting options will be diverse.



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CASE HISTORY 3

PARTICIPANT 3: Basetsana (here and after referred to as P3)

Basetsana is 35 years old and stays in Naledi. She has 3 children; 2 with her current husband and 1 from a previous marriage. She stays with her husband, her children and her biological mother. Her husband is 38 years old. Basetsana attended school up to Grade 4 (then standard 2) and is currently not employed

R: In your experience what causes partners to use violence against each other?

P3: It is definitely because of alcohol that my husband abuses me. I do not remember the last time he beat me whilst he was sober. Actually we have never had a fight whilst he was sober because every time he drinks is when he starts fighting me. My husband enjoys being out and drinking more than spending time with us. If he would stop drinking and look back at us, he would be a changed man altogether

R: What factors do you consider as supporting the use of violence in intimate relationships?

P3: I consider that people who abuse alcohol forget their families and love the alcohol more than their wives. I have seen it in my own home. I become afraid of him when he is drunk because he can use anything within his reach to attack me. He once threw an iron at me. I was ironing when he got home and he was drunk. We had an argument, I'm not sure about what but I think it was about the food I had cooked. So he grabbed the hot iron and advanced with it towards me. Seeing that I was fleeing he threw it at me and it luckily missed me.

R: Can you please tell me the effects which you regard intimate partner violence has on the victim experiencing it?

P3: It causes me to be stressed most of the time. I cannot think straight after a night of him being violent. I also have physical marks from the beating, some of which have become permanent scars.

R: When you say, you cannot think straight, may you please explain what you mean?

P3: I mean my presence of mind is affected. I cannot functionally cognitively well especially just after the violence, it is like I am losing my sanity.

R: Which forms of violence have you experienced the most?

P3: I have experienced physical violence more than any other form of violence.

R: Can you please tell me in your own view, what do you think can be done to lessen the incidence of Intimate Partner Violence?

P3: I think people should be banned from drinking alcohol if it makes them violent. The government should ensure that fathers who are not responsible are given sentences by the Court which include a ban on drinking alcohol.

R: What has in the past prompted you or would hypothetically make you to resolve to report intimate partner violence?

P3: My aunt told me that she will always be there for me so whenever I want to report him, I call her first and she helps me by giving me a place to stay and even calling the police for me at times. The thing is she is just one member of my family. I can decide to go stay with my family but the question is till when. I can't take all my children along I can't be a burden to another family when I am this old. Even if I decide to stay elsewhere, it is all temporary. For instance, the police do have facilities but for only one or two days, I have to think about the future when I act.

R: Can you please tell me on average, after how long do you report intimate partner violence?

P3: I call the police immediately all the time when I report him beating me. It is either immediately or not at all.

R: In what ways does abuse change your reporting behaviors over time?

P3: I used to report every incident of violence but currently I just report the serious ones like when I feel my life is being threatened.

R: So you only changed the number of times you report and you have not changed in terms of who you approach to seek help?

P3: I have not changed in terms of that. I always used the police and the social workers till now.

R: Reflecting back on your experience, in what ways do you consider that fear of economic vulnerability affected your reporting decisions?

P3: I think, at times, that if I report every incident of intimate partner violence, I will be making it complicated for me and my children. I will be straining my marriage and all I have is the grant. It's

just R310 and really that is just meat and maize meal. I cannot even buy the child clothes or enough food with that money so I cannot even talk of supporting myself and the children. It is money for the children again and I cannot say I will depend on it totally. It does help me here and there but I will make my children suffer if I would also depend wholly on it.

R: May you please tell me which coping mechanisms you have employed in dealing with Intimate Partner Violence?

P3: Besides the help I get from the social workers through the group work sessions, I also talk to my mother and she helps me by supporting me and back then, she would talk to him, now I think she is tired of that.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your social networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P3: My mother's family supports me always. Like I indicated, my aunt gives me shelter and my mother helps by talking to me. They are all very supportive.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your professional networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P3: I have experienced problems with the court and the police. The other time I went to the court when I expected to apply for a court order and they sent me from one person to the other till I just went away. The police do not react anymore to my calls on time because they think I am playing with them because I call them almost every weekend. The other police officer even asked me why I do not just leave.

R: What have you discovered to be the nature of the support you receive from your social as well as professional networks?

P3: My aunt gives me shelter and at times money and my mother makes me to be strong and to face the situation with courage through her verbal support. She always prays with me whenever I am facing problems with my husband's violence.

R: Are you aware of the availability of a professional network of support in Bothaville?

P3: Yes. They are police officials, social workers and community development workers I can approach for help.

R: Which social workers are you referring to when you say you know of social workers?

P3: There is Child Welfare and Free State Care in Action in town.

R: Ok thank you. You talked about social workers and other stakeholders such as the SAPS and the court, do you know the operating hours of all of these offices including what kind of services they offer for people experiencing intimate partner violence ?

P3: I know the police are open for 24 hours both in town and at the location. The social workers open at 8 and close in the afternoon. I am not so sure about the other services they give but besides group work, I also have attended counselling sessions.

R: In what way do you think more knowledge of support services would affect your reporting?

P3: I would be free to report all incidences of abuse and not just the serious ones because I would be assured of the support of other people unconditionally.



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CASE HISTORY 4

PARTICIPANT 4: Mapata (here and after referred to as P4)

Mapata is 39 years old and stays with her 44 year old husband. They are legally married and they in Phumasibethane in Kgotsong, Bothaville. Mapata is not employed. She has 2 children both with her current husband. She stays with members of her husband's family under the same roof as herself and her immediate family.

R: In your experience what causes partners to use violence against each other?

P4: I think they are so many things which cause people to be violent in marriages. In my experience, alcohol consumption and infidelity are chief. My husband had an extra marital affair and I discovered it. He then uses alcohol to prevent us discussing the issue and accuses me of invading his privacy in the process of investigating about the relationship. At times I feel he does not love me anymore but he is here because of the certificate because how can you cheat when you are married.

R: What factors do you consider as supporting the use of violence in intimate relationships?

P4: I think intimate partner violence is supported by the lack of affection and regard for each other. This lack of affection is brought about by things like infidelity and alcohol abuse. When you have an extra-marital affair, you do not care about your wife and when you drink you can easily get violent. I think those two majorly support intimate partner violence.

R: Can you please tell me the effects which you regard intimate partner violence has on the victim experiencing it?

P4: It makes my children worried. Besides me, of course, because I get physically injured after every episode of violence. My children cannot concentrate at school and that started when we were fighting too often in 2011. My younger child cries and asks me if we are going to be alright. That makes my heart painful as a mother.

R: Which forms of violence have you experienced the most?

P4: I think physical violence is the one I have experienced more. He also shouts at me whilst beating me and that makes me very painful because he calls me rude things like prostitute and dog and threatens me with further violence should I report him.

R: Can you please tell me in your own view, what do you think can be done to lessen the incidence of Intimate Partner Violence?

P4: I think victims of intimate partner violence should be grouped into schemes and government should fund us to start our own projects so that we can leave abusive relationships. Men also need to be taught on the dangers of abuse and those who do not heed the call to stop abuse should be incarcerated for very long periods of time.

R: What has in the past prompted you or would hypothetically make you to resolve to report intimate partner violence?

P4: I call the police when I am afraid that my life is in danger. Like when he is too drunk at times I am afraid he will kill me. Otherwise he is not a danger that much because when we are both sober most of the time he does not threaten my life so I am not worried but if I am hurt so bad that I have to go to the hospital I have to report him because at the hospital they will need to know what happened.

R: Can you please tell me, on average, after how long do you report intimate partner violence?

P4: It is either immediately or not at all.

R: In what ways does abuse change your reporting behaviors over time?

P4: I used to just report to the police, but I now use social workers as well. My aim back then was to get him arrested but now because we have children I just want people like social workers who will help us preserve what we have rather than destroy it.

R: Reflecting back on your experience, in what ways do you consider that fear of economic vulnerability affected your reporting decisions?

P4: Back then, when we had no children, I really wanted him to get arrested, but now because of the added responsibility of children, I just want my children to have a safe home so I would rather just stay and deal with the situation like a grown up not run away from it like a child.

R: May you please tell me which coping mechanisms you have employed in dealing with Intimate Partner Violence?

P4: I pray with my prayer-mates at church and the pastor is available for me to talk about my problems. My husband does not go to church anymore, so the pastor just speaks to me alone. It helps me quite often though to de-stress.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your social networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P4: My neighbors are really supportive. They have on several occasions called the police after they heard me scream. My family does not want to even hear me complain. They side with him. My mother always thought I was problematic, so whenever I complain she just says she knows I am the wrong one and I am creating problems for myself. She says I am lazy and she always told me I would not get married so she does not support me at all.

R: Are you aware of the availability of a professional network of support in Bothaville?

P4: Yes. I have actually worked with police officials, social workers and community development workers. I can approach for help.

R: Which social workers are you referring to when you say you know about social workers?

P4: There is Child Welfare and Free State Care in Action in town. Child Welfare has another office in the location.

R: Ok thank you. You talked about social workers and other stakeholders such as the SAPS and the court, do you know the operating hours of all of these offices including what kind of services they offer for people experiencing intimate partner violence ?

P4: The social workers offer counselling and support and they open till 4pm. The police do not close and the courts close around 5pm. I can report both at the court and at the police.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your professional networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P4: I have received support so far from the social workers, the court and the police. I also received support on numerous occasions from the local councilor because he lives in our street. He comes down to talk to my husband because they went to school together.

R: What have you discovered to be the nature of the support you receive from your social as well as professional networks?

P4: I get emotional support from my pastor as well as support from the police who arrest him when I call them.

R: You said emotional support there; may you please explain what you mean by that?

P4: My pastor talks to me and prays with me and it helps me emotionally. He tells me it is all going to be fine in God's time.

R: In what way do you think more knowledge of support services would affect your reporting?

P4: I would be able to get the assistance of other people as well as a diversity of support sources. This would encourage me to report more often.



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CASE HISTORY 5

PARTICIPANT 5: Dieketseng (here and after referred to as P5)

Dieketseng is 27 years old. She lives in Meyerhof with her 1 year old child and her husband. Their marriage is court signed and Dieketseng is employed and so is her husband. She has a diploma. There are no other people staying with the family.

R: In your experience what causes partners to use violence against each other?

P5: In my experience, I encounter violence with my husband most of the time when he is drunk. It is more than half of the time that he beats me that he has consumed alcohol. He treats me like I am his child like he has a right to beat me when I am wrong. I always ask him then who beats him when he is wrong and he cannot answer that. That belief is very mistaken and it causes abuse.

R: What factors do you consider as supporting the use of violence in intimate relationships?

P5: I consider that continued consumption of alcohol, amongst other factors, supports the existence of abuse. There is also the belief that men have the power to beat women like I said before. It is a belief commonly held in our culture and supports men in their use of violence.

R: Can you please tell me the effects which you regard intimate partner violence has on the victim experiencing it?

P5: It obviously damages me physically and also emotionally. It drains all my energy and I feel very uninterested even in my work. I could lose my job for low performance because of the abuse.

R: Which forms of violence have you experienced the most?

P5: I have experienced physical violence more. There is also the fact that he verbally abuses me by shouting at me whilst beating me. He makes many threats including killing me if I ever report him.

R: Can you please tell me in your own view, what do you think can be done to lessen the incidence of Intimate Partner Violence?

P5: I think the perpetrators of abuse need to be made aware of the effects of violence, not only on the wife they are abusing but on the children as well. We also need stricter and harsher penalties for abusers.

R: What has in the past prompted you or would hypothetically make you to resolve to report intimate partner violence?

P5: I call the police when the violence is too severe. When I am afraid that my life is in danger then I call the police.

R: Can you please tell me, on average, after how long do you report intimate partner violence?

P5: I report all abuse immediately if I am to report it.

R: In what ways does abuse change your reporting behaviors over time?

P5: The fact that I keep getting abused makes me in a way to be accustomed to the situation. I have realized that, compared to when we initially got married, I report abuse less often and I seem to tolerate some abusive acts, which I consider small in magnitude such as him hitting me with a clap or a fist without using any weapons.

R: Reflecting back on your experience, in what ways do you consider that fear of economic vulnerability affected your reporting decisions?

P5: I think most of what I consider currently has to do with my financial security after this marriage. I am not so sure I would make it on my own and that makes me unable to report violence because it could mean him being arrested.

R: May you please tell me which coping mechanisms you have employed in dealing with Intimate Partner Violence?

P5: At times I try talking to him and he apologizes but I now know that it is just a fake apology every-time he gives me one because he repeats the very thing he apologized for. Most of the time though, I just speak to my workmates and I use work activity to keep my mind from thinking too much about the situation at home.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your social networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P5: I get support from my friends at work. My mother is deceased and her existing relatives had some issues with her and they take it out on me. We are not on talking terms ever since my mother was alive. So the only support I get is from work friends.

R: Are you aware of the availability of a professional network of support in Bothaville?

P5: Yes. I know of police officials, social workers and community development workers. I can approach any of these for help.

R: Which social workers are you referring to when you say you know of social workers?

P5: I refer to Child Welfare where I go for sessions.

R: Ok thank you. With regards to the professional network of support, you talked about, do you perhaps know the operating hours of all of these offices including what kind of services they offer for people experiencing intimate partner violence ?

P5: I don't know about the operating hours but I do know that they offer services like counselling from the social workers and arresting of the perpetrator from the police. The courts help with the prosecution as well as applications for protection orders.

R: Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your professional networks when you experience intimate partner violence

P5: I have received support from all the stakeholders that is the social workers, the court and the police. They are all very active when I need help.

R: What have you discovered to be the nature of the support you receive from your social as well as professional networks?

P5: I get emotional support from my social networks and support in terms of apprehending my husband and counselling for both of us comes from the police and the social workers respectively.

R: In what way do you think more knowledge of support services would affect your reporting?

P5: I would be more willing to report abuse then because I would have the knowledge that my support base is wider.

ANNEXURE B: SAMPLE INFORMED CONSENT FORM

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

RESEARCH CONFIDENTIALITY AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Innocent Mwatsiya and I am a Master of Social Work Student at the University of Fort Hare. I am asking people from Bothaville to answer some questions, which will hopefully benefit your community and possibly other communities in the future.

I am conducting research on the relationship between economic dependency and the reporting behaviors of victims of intimate partner violence. I am interested in finding out more about this relationship.

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, I would really appreciate it if you do share your thoughts with me. If you choose not to 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 45 minutes. I will be asking you questions and will 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. I know that you cannot be absolutely certain about the answers to these questions but I ask that you try to think about these questions. When it comes to answering questions there are no right and wrong answers. When I ask questions about the future I am not interested in what you think the best thing would be to do, but what you think would actually happen.

If possible, I would like to come back to this area once I have completed my study to inform you and your community of what the results are and discuss my findings and proposals around the research and what this means for people in this area.

INFORMED CONSENT by Participant

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding 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.

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

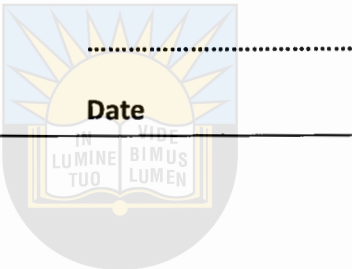
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Date

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

.....

Signature of participant

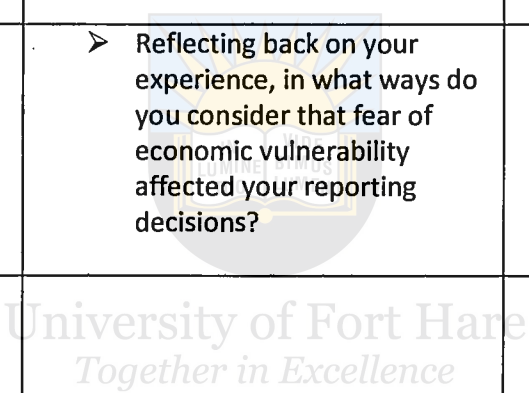


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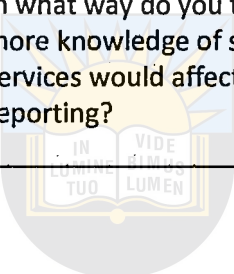
ANNEXURE C: INTERVIEW GUIDES

Interview Guide for Individual interviews

THEMES	QUESTIONS	PROMPTS AND PROBS
THEME ONE Personal Details	➤ Since this is our first time meeting, may you please tell me about yourself?	➤ How do you want me to refer to you? ➤ Age ➤ Source of income ➤ Number of children ➤ Type of marriage ➤ People staying with you ➤ Level of education ➤ Your partner's age ➤ Your partner's source of income
THEME TWO Perceptions of victims of Intimate Partner Violence	➤ In your experience what causes partners to resort to violence against their fellow partners?	➤ Anger ➤ Substance abuse ➤ Infidelity ➤ Poverty ➤ Financial power imbalances
	➤ What factors do you consider as supporting the use of violence in intimate relationships?	➤ Alcohol consumption ➤ Non reporting of abuse ➤ Financial dependency ➤ Lack of support for victims ➤ Culture ➤ Presence (and number) of children the couple has
	➤ Can you please tell me the effects which you regard intimate partner violence has on the victim experiencing it?	➤ Physical harm ➤ Death ➤ Psychological effects ➤ Effects on children
	➤ Which form of violence have you experienced the most?	➤ Emotional ➤ Sexual ➤ Physical ➤ Psychological ➤ Verbal
	➤ Can you please tell me in your own view, what do you think can be done to lessen the incidence of Intimate Partner Violence?	➤ Policy adjustments ➤ Societal changes ➤ Economic adjustments
THEME THREE Reporting Behaviours		

	➤ What has in the past prompted you or would hypothetically make you to resolve to report intimate partner violence?	➤ Severity ➤ Frequency ➤ Social support ➤ Financial support
	➤ Can you please tell me on average, after how long do you report intimate partner violence?	➤ Never ➤ Within 24 hours ➤ Within 48 hours ➤ Within a week ➤ After a week ➤ A month later
	➤ In what ways does abuse change your reporting behaviours over time?	➤ More frequent ➤ Less frequent ➤ Any changes in where you report to
	➤ Reflecting back on your experience, in what ways do you consider that fear of economic vulnerability affected your reporting decisions?	➤ Discourages ➤ Encourages ➤ Not a major consideration
THEME FOUR Coping Strategies		
	➤ May you please tell me which coping mechanisms you have employed in dealing with Intimate Partner Violence?	➤ Shelters ➤ Help seeking ➤ Fighting back ➤ Silence ➤ Attempted suicide
THEME FIVE Support Structures		
	➤ Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your social networks when you experience intimate partner violence	➤ Friends ➤ Neighbours ➤ Relatives ➤ Close family
	➤ Can you please tell me regarding the activeness of your professional networks when you experience intimate partner violence	➤ Police ➤ Social workers ➤ Medical practitioners ➤ Courts
	➤ What have you experienced to be the nature of the support you get from your	➤ Advice ➤ Financial support ➤ Housing

	social networks?	➤ Moral support ➤ Mediation
	➤ What have you experienced to be the nature of support given to you by your professional networks?	➤ Counselling ➤ Therapy ➤ Mediation ➤ Legal advice ➤ Apprehension of perpetrators ➤ Financial support ➤ Shelter
	➤ Are you aware of the availability of a professional network of support in Bothaville?	➤ Location of offices ➤ Types of services ➤ Fees charged ➤ Eligibility criteria
	➤ In what way do you think more knowledge of support services would affect your reporting?	➤ Changes in frequency ➤ Changes in number of reports ➤ Confidence


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Interview guide: Focus Group Discussion

THEMES	QUESTIONS	PROMPTS AND PROBS
THEME ONE Personal Details	➤ As this is our first time meeting, can you please tell me about yourself?	➤ How do you want me to refer to you? ➤ Age ➤ Occupation ➤ Years of experience
THEME TWO Perceptions of victims of Intimate Partner Violence	➤ In your experience what are the reasons why partners use violence against each other?	➤ Anger ➤ Substance abuse ➤ Infidelity ➤ Poverty ➤ Financial power imbalances
	➤ Can you please tell me, in your experience, what factors you think support the continuation of intimate partner violence?	➤ Alcoholism ➤ Non reporting of abuse ➤ Financial dependency ➤ Lack of support for victims ➤ Culture ➤ Presence (and number) of children the couple has
	➤ In your experience, what effects do you think intimate partner violence has on the victims experiencing it?	➤ Physical harm ➤ Death ➤ Psychological effects ➤ Effects on children
	➤ Which type of Violence do you consider to be more rampant within intimate relationships?	➤ Emotional ➤ Sexual ➤ Physical ➤ Psychological ➤ Verbal
	➤ Can you please tell me in your own view, what do you think can be done to lessen the incidence of Intimate Partner Violence?	➤ Policy adjustments ➤ Societal changes ➤ Economic adjustments
THEME THREE Reporting Behaviours	➤ In your view, what prompts people to report intimate partner violence?	➤ Severity ➤ Frequency ➤ Social support ➤ Financial support
	➤ Can you please tell me on average, what is the time frame within which intimate partner violence is reported?	➤ Within 24 hours ➤ Within 48 hours ➤ Within a week ➤ After a week ➤ A month later
	➤ In your experience, have you	➤ More frequent

	noticed any changes in the reporting patterns of victims over time if the abuse continues?	➤ Less frequent ➤ Any changes in where they report to
	➤ In what ways do you consider fear of economic vulnerability affects the reporting patterns of victims of violence?	➤ Encourages ➤ Discourages ➤ Not a consideration
THEME FOUR Coping Strategies	➤ May you please tell me which coping mechanisms you have observed as being commonly employed by victims of Intimate Partner Violence?	➤ Help seeking ➤ Fighting back ➤ Silence ➤ Attempted suicide
	➤ Of what significance is the coping strategy used by a victim in terms of whether the abuse will stop or continue?	
THEME FIVE Support Structures	➤ Can you please tell me, in your experience, about the activeness of support from the social networks of victims of intimate partner violence	➤ Friends ➤ Neighbours ➤ Relatives ➤ Close family
	➤ Can you please tell me, from your experience regarding the activeness of support from the professional networks of victims of intimate partner violence for these victims	➤ Police ➤ Social workers ➤ Medical practitioners ➤ Courts
	➤ What have you experienced to be the nature of the support these victims get from their social networks?	➤ Advice ➤ Financial support ➤ Housing ➤ Moral support ➤ Mediation
	➤ What is, in your view, the nature of support given to these victims by their professional networks?	➤ Counselling ➤ Therapy ➤ Mediation ➤ Legal advice ➤ Apprehension of perpetrators ➤ Financial support ➤ Shelter
	➤ What kind of knowledge do	➤ Location of offices

	you perceive the victims have regarding the availability of a professional network of support in Bothaville?	➤ Types of services ➤ Fees charged ➤ Eligibility criteria
	➤ In what way do you think knowledge of support services affects the victim's reporting?	➤ Changes in frequency ➤ Changes in number of reports ➤ Confidence



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ANNEXURE D: LIST OF TABLES

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ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
REC-270710-028-RA Level 01

Certificate Reference Number: MES081SMWA01

Project title: **The relationship between economic dependency and reporting behaviours of victims of intimate partner violence: A case study of Bothaville in the Free State Province**

Nature of Project: Masters

Principal Researcher: Innocent Mwatsiya

Supervisor: Dr NJ Mesatywa

Co-supervisor: N/A

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby give ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). Should any other instruments be used, these require separate authorization. The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this certificate, using the reference number indicated above.

Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

Special conditions: Research that includes children as per the official regulations of the act must take the following into account:

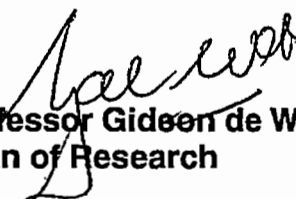
Note: The UREC is aware of the provisions of s71 of the National Health Act 61 of 2003 and that matters pertaining to obtaining the Minister's consent are under discussion and remain unresolved. Nonetheless, as was decided at a meeting between the National Health Research Ethics Committee and stakeholders on 6 June 2013, university ethics committees may continue to grant ethical clearance for research involving children without the Minister's consent, provided that the prescripts of the previous rules have been met. This certificate is granted in terms of this agreement.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance Certificate if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.
- In addition to the need to comply with the highest level of ethical conduct principle investigators must report back annually as an evaluation and monitoring mechanism on the progress being made by the research. Such a report must be sent to the Dean of Research's office

The Ethics Committee wished you well in your research.

Yours sincerely



Professor Gideon de Wet
Dean of Research

20 August 2014