

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focused on the background to the study, the aims and objectives of the study and the definition of terms. The sample as well as the data collection method and data analysis are also defined. Finally, the significance of the study is clearly outlined.

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

“South African women victims of violence, regardless of race, continue to face a judicial and police system which is often unsympathetic and hostile to women seeking redress... South African women of all races continue to complain of mistreatment at the hands of the police officers taking statements...” Human Rights Watch (1995:3).

The above quote highlights the problems that women may experience when reporting abuse to the police. Women are often faced with rudeness, inconsiderateness and blame when approaching the police for assistance. Dangor, Hoff & Scott (1998:21) report: *“About the police, for example, women said they are reluctant to get involved in domestic affairs, the police are unco-operative and unhelpful, they make you feel cheap, e.g. He was your boyfriend, don’t come and complain to us, you asked for it, police are not trained to deal with abused women, they see it as hopeless, the women end up with victimization from the police who are usually men.”*

The above are typical reports of responses by the police towards survivors of abuse. This is one of the reasons why NGO's lobbied government to introduce an Act protecting the rights of women.

Hence, the introduction of the new Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 which came into force on 15 December 1999 and replaced the Prevention of Family Violence Act of 1993. In this new Act, the police have received special duties in dealing with survivors of abuse, encompassed in the station orders.

These orders as outlined by the Domestic Violence Act are as follows:

“ The law tells the police to at least help you by:

- *Protecting you (the abused woman) and your children by ensuring that you are out of danger. The police can arrest the abuser without a warrant if they suspect that he has committed a violent crime against you.*
- *Helping you and your children to find a safe place if you need to move out of home, for example, a shelter, home of a family member or friend or any other safe place to stay, by:*
 - *Giving you the names and contact numbers of organizations in your area that provide shelter and support to victims of domestic violence.*
 - *Contacting an organization offering shelter and support services for you and your children on your behalf.*
 - *If you ask them, arranging transport for you from the police station or wherever you are calling them from, for example, by calling a friend or family member to transport you or by organizing a taxi at your expense. The law says that they must transport you if you do not have other means of transport.*
 - *Helping you and your children to see a doctor if any of you have been injured and need medical treatment, by:*
 - *Finding out from you and your children whether anyone of you is injured.*
 - *Arranging for you and your children to get medical treatment.*

- *If you have made a criminal case against the abuser, giving you medical report forms (J88 and SAP308 forms) for the doctor to complete.*

The law also says that the police must keep a record of how they helped you. If you report a case at the police station, they must record details of how they helped you in the occurrence book for the police station where you are reporting the case. If you called the police to come to where the abuse took place, they must record the details in their pocket book. In both instances, you must sign the occurrence book or the pocket book to confirm what has been recorded by the police.

The police must also:

- *Give you a written notice in the language of your choice (if a written notice in the language of your choice is available), which explains your rights under the new law. The notice also tells you how to enforce your rights.*
- *Explain to you what the notice is saying. If the police cannot speak your language, the law requires them to get someone who speaks your language to explain the notice to you.*
- *Explain your rights to make a criminal case (for example, a charge of assault, rape or damage to property) against the abuser in addition to asking for a protection order. You have the right to make a case against the abuser even if you decide not to ask for a protection order.”Malepe, Pithey & Combrink (2000:6-8)*

“The South African Police Services (SAPS) have identified and prioritised crimes against women and children as one of the five critical areas in improving policy and criminal justice. The SAPS 1997/8 policing priorities and objectives highlight the need to create a victim friendly, physical environment, which would entail comfortable rooms, private cubicles, Family Violence and Child Abuse and Sexual Offences Units (FCS), one- way mirrors where possible.” Dawood, Foster, Foster & Manjoo (1999:24)

However, despite this, survivors were victimized under the Prevention of Family Violence Act as identified by Stanton & Lochrenberg in Cawood (1996:5): *“Like other victims of violent crime they are placed in a state of crisis and suffer physical, mental and social consequences, but, unlike other crime victims, they also suffer the burden of defending the legitimacy of their suffering. ... Women confront a unique scepticism in the form of institutionalised policies and practices which reflect enduring myths about gender violence”*, and this victimization still continues as pointed out by Holtman (2001:20) when referring to the Domestic Violence Act: *“...police are unsympathetic towards the victims. Some inevitably deliver poor service and some are corrupt.”*

The unsympathetic treatment of the woman by police official's re-emphasizes the mythical thoughts and feelings that women already experience. *“The following thoughts and feelings are examples of ways in which women in abusive relationships blame themselves: It's my fault, I deserved it, I started it...”* Goosen & Shaik (1998:20).

Women are often placed at a disadvantage when having to report abuse. *“A survey conducted by the Advice Desk for Abused Women and The National Women's Coalition of a total of 10697 women found that their reluctance to report abuse to the police.... stemmed directly from their negative experiences with the police...”* It is thus not surprising that *“... a 1993 survey of 111 women found that 50 percent sought assistance from their extended family, 22 percent went to friends or neighbours, 12 percent went to the church, and 2 percent went to social workers. Only 6 percent went to the police .”* Human Rights Watch (1995:47)

Hence, the above reveals the importance of providing an effective service to survivors of abuse and creates an opportunity to identify areas where improvement is needed so as to eliminate the secondary victimization of

women who report abuse to the police and thus improving the nature of the services.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

When faced with a problem the first resource women often turn to for assistance is the police. However, despite their motto *We serve and protect*, the police are often the one resource that is least helpful towards the woman. This point is clearly expressed by: *“The SAPS has been heavily criticized for the manner in which it has traditionally dealt with violence against women, displaying insensitivity, ignorance, indifference, and hostility to victims of rape and domestic violence.”* Stanton, Lochrenberg and Musaka in Park, Fedler & Dangor (2000:95).

Park et al (2000:41), also point out that the police contribute to violence against women: *“It has increasingly become recognized that government actors such as the police ... perpetrate acts of gender violence.”*

Hence in order to ensure that women are not victimized, various training programs for the police have been introduced:

“The National Crime Prevention Strategy (including a program on victim support), consultation by various National and Provincial government departments relating to policies, gender sensitivity training for the Gauteng Police Service, and legislation relating to Community policing Forums.”

Cawood (1996:3)

Training programmes focusing on rape and domestic violence were introduced for the SAPS in order to ensure that victimization of clients does not occur as the police now have more responsibilities in terms of the Domestic Violence Act.

However, as Park et al (2000:95) points out, these programmes brought about some change in behaviour but the correct police i.e. those dealing with cases of abuse and rape did not attend the training, resulting in the training not affectively reaching it's goal. *'In Gauteng, ... over an eighteen-month period, approximately 1 092 members of the SAPS attended three-day training courses facilitated by members of the Gauteng Regional Network on Violence Against Women. An evaluation of the project suggests that some behaviour change occurred as a result of the training. Its impact, however, was limited by the fact that some of those police officers attending had no direct contact with rape survivors (being involved with the Fraud unit or administrative services).'*" This once again reinforces the fact that violence against women is not seen as a priority as clearly no selection criteria was considered in determining who should be attending this training and also reinforces the problem of changing of mindsets as highlighted in Park et al (2000) which also contributes to the continuation of inequality between males and females.

"New legislation , including the Domestic Violence Act of 1998, also attempts to correct past errors and provide additional protections for women. New legislation should provide the impetus for broader social changes to bring about equality between men and women ... But, as always, changes on paper are easier than changes of the heart and mind." Park et al (2000:75)

Despite these programs, however, *" women's experiences continue to be largely negative."* Cawood (1996:3); and thus, they turn to others for help, among these being social workers.

During a group discussion with social workers and counsellors at the Nisaa Institute for Women's Development, an NGO dealing with abuse against women and their children and based in Lenasia, Orange farm and

Soweto, it was found that during counselling of abused women, clients stated that they felt victimized when reporting the abuse to the police (**Appendix 1**). This victimization has traumatic consequences for the survivor as outlined above by Goosen et al (1998), Cawood (1996) and Holtman (2001).

Hence, by conducting research on the nature of services provided to the survivor of abuse by the police, social workers would be able to understand what the nature and dynamics of abuse are, the effects of secondary victimization on the survivor as well as the reasons for secondary victimization of survivors by the police. This would add value to the social work profession in that it would enhance the quality of counselling provided to survivors of abuse as this is a specialist field as well as enable social workers to be aware that secondary victimization does occur and to identify ways to minimize or address it be it through training or promoting of social justice. In addition, social workers will be able to assist clients to reach their full potential and ensure optimal functioning of the person.

“Social workers thus promote social justice by advocating for clients who have been denied services (opportunity to open a case and police intervention), resources or goods to which they are entitled. Social workers also actively engage in efforts to combat racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination that block access of clients to resources to which they are entitled” Hepworth & Larsen (1993:6).

In addition, social workers by means of advocacy can make submissions to the Department of Safety and Liaison as well as Department of Justice on possible ways to address secondary victimization within the Domestic Violence Act and can report any acts of secondary victimization

to the appropriate authorities such as the Independent Complaint's Directorate.

Hepworth et al (1993:2) state that social workers have specific groups of people whom they commonly serve. Among this group are survivors of abuse: *"Groups of people whom social workers commonly serve include: ... Families that have problems of ... spousal abuse. Couples that have serious marital conflicts..."*. It is thus evident that the study will enhance the work of social workers in that they will better understand the nature and dynamics of abuse necessary for effective addressing of the problem as well as be able to address the issue of secondary victimization of the survivors of abuse which also according to Hepworth et al (1993:5) covers two of the functions which social workers perform: *"Restoration – is aimed at rehabilitating clients whose functioning has been impaired ... Remediation – entails the elimination of existing problems."*

The study assessed the nature of the services provided by the Lenasia police to survivors of abuse as stipulated in the Domestic Violence Act. In order to determine the nature of the services, the researcher focused on the duties which police have when dealing with survivors of abuse as stipulated in the Domestic Violence Act, the expectations women have of police, responses by survivors who have reported the abuse to the Lenasia Police Station and the understanding of the police about what their duties are in dealing with domestic violence.

She focused on the correct procedures, which police members should follow when dealing with survivors of abuse, so as to prevent the secondary victimization of women, which is also traumatic for the women.

This experience where the survivor is subjected to further trauma or the secondary victimization is in direct contradiction to one of the cardinal

values of social work which is: *“Every person is unique and has inherent worth; therefore, interactions with people as they pursue and utilize resources should enhance their dignity and individuality”* Hepworth et al (1993:9).

The study focused only on the point where the client approaches the police at the police station for assistance after the abuse had been committed and involved the experiences of the women when receiving assistance from the police. However, this does not imply that only women approach the Lenasia Police Station to lay a charge but in fact men also do report abuse to the Lenasia police station. Men are also exposed to abuse at the hands of their intimate partners but to a lesser extent.

“Research shows that of reported cases of domestic violence, approximately 2% of men have reported abuse at the hands of their intimate partner whereas 98% of women are exposed to abuse” Basic Counselling Manual (2000:32).

By means of the study, the researcher intended to answer the following questions:

- What are the experiences of the survivors when reporting abuse at the Lenasia Police Station?
- Are the police subjecting survivors of abuse to secondary victimization at the Lenasia Police station?
- What are the reasons that secondary victimization prevails at the Lenasia Police Station?
- Are the expectations of survivors of the police in line with what is stipulated as the duties of the police in the Domestic Violence Act?

1.3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.3.1. AIM

The aim of the research was to assess the nature of the service provided by Lenasia Police to adult female survivors of abuse.

Every individual has a right to the basic necessities of life (access to services which are there to protect them), which will enable him to develop his potential (regaining control of her life and to be able to make choices about her life) to enjoy the highest possible quality of life (a life free of abuse and danger).

The aim of the study was also to determine the nature of services provided by the Lenasia police to survivors of abuse because the researcher aimed to determine if the manner in which police provided services to survivors of abuse resulted in them being secondary victimized. The researcher also aimed to determine the reason for the occurrence of secondary victimization of the survivors with the aim to make recommendations to address this problem. Thereby ensuring that *“The social work profession ... remaining (remains) true to its professional commitment to promote peace, social justice, equity, and democracy.”* Mazibuko et al in Patel (1992:148)

1.3.2. OBJECTIVES

In order to achieve the above aim, the following objectives were set for the study:

- To define what is expected of the police in terms of the Domestic Violence Act from the perspective of the police.
- To understand the dynamics and nature of abuse and what prompted women to report the abuse to the police.
- To identify experiences of adult women who receive assistance from the police when reporting a case.
- To assess the relationship between the lack of gender sensitivity training and the secondary victimization of adult female survivors of abuse.

- To make recommendations concerning how to decrease or eliminate the occurrence of secondary victimization of survivors of abuse by police at the Lenasia Police Station.

1.3.3. UNDERLYING ASSUMPTION

The researcher assumed that the scarcity of training in gender sensitivity of police lead to secondary victimization of the adult female survivors of domestic violence who report abuse.

1.4. RESEARCH DESIGN

As a result of many reports received by adult women survivors approaching NGO's for assistance, it is already known that adult female survivors reporting abuse at the police station are being re-victimized by the police. In addition, from group discussions held with social workers at the Nisaa institute for Women's Development, it has become evident that a belief exists that adult women survivors are being secondary victimized by the police. (**Appendix 1**) A focused group discussion was also held with members of the police that offer services to adult female survivors of abuse. The reason for this was to determine whether the police were aware of what is expected of them in terms of the Domestic Violence Act as well as possible obstacles that hamper them in service delivery. In addition it also determined if the expectations of the adult survivor of the police are in line with those of the Domestic Violence Act.

Little research has been conducted on how the police respond to clients reporting abuse as outlined by Cannings (1984:43): *“Although there is a wealth of research into the problems of battered women and their batterers, there has been very little empirical work on the practical response of the police in these circumstances.”*

Although minimal research has been done to assess the nature of services of police to adult female survivors of abuse, no research has been done in relation to the Lenasia Police Station bearing in mind culture and context. Hence, exploratory research is required here which accords to Neuman (1997:20) entails: " *Become familiar with the basic facts, people and concerns involved.* (To define what is expected of the police in terms of the Domestic Violence Act from the perspective of the police and to identify experiences of adult women who receive assistance from the police when reporting a case.)

- *Develop a well-groomed mental picture of what is occurring.* (To understand the dynamics and nature of abuse and what prompted women to report the abuse to the police and to assess the relationship between the lack of gender sensitivity training and the secondary victimization of adult female survivors of abuse).
- *Develop techniques and a sense of direction for future research.* (To make recommendations concerning how to decrease or eliminate the occurrence of secondary victimization of survivors of abuse by police at the Lenasia Police Station) "

For the purpose of the study, a semi-structured interview schedule consisting of a variety of quantitative and qualitative questions was used to gather in-depth information regarding the experiences of survivors reporting abuse as well as their expectations of the police when reporting abuse. These semi-structured interview schedules were personally administered by the researcher to avoid misinterpretation and to clarify ambiguities.

According to Neuman (1997:14), quantitative research style involves: "*Measure objective facts, focus on variables, reliability is key, value free, independent of context, many cases, subjects, statistical analysis and the researcher is detached.*" Whereas qualitative involves: "*Construct social*

reality, cultural meaning, focus on interactive processes or events, authenticity is key, values are present and explicit, situationally constrained, few cases or subjects, thematic analysis and the researcher is involved.” This study was of a sensitive nature and it is thus a mixture of both quantitative and qualitative research that was used in order to obtain in-depth information from the survivors and also to be able to establish rapport with the survivor who related her experience. A second questionnaire was administered to the other service providers in the community. **(Appendix 3)**

1.5. SAMPLE

1.5.1. SAMPLE OF SURVIVORS

The sample included the actual survivors. A total of 1000 dockets were received of survivors that have reported abuse at the police station after the introduction of the new Domestic Violence Act. Based on the findings of the dockets, the researcher provides a general overview of what was identified. From these dockets, the researcher found the following:

- Some dockets were incomplete and some vital information such as the addresses of the complainant was missing.
- Some of the statements were illegible and confusing.
- Some dockets contained clear statements and had a clear process of how the investigation had progressed.
- The majority of clients who had reported the abuse came from the Black population (this however is not an indication that abuse is more prevalent amongst Black communities and further research would be needed to draw a scientific conclusion).
- Many of the clients who had reported the abuse resided in the informal settlements.
- Although various types of abuse were reported, the most prevalent were physical and sexual abuse.

- Very few referrals to organizations dealing with domestic violence were made or recorded in the dockets. Dockets did not have any records that police contacted organizations for sheltering of clients. Very few reports of the process of how the police assisted the women, other than statements existed.
- Some cases were not followed up on and the reason cited for this was that “the address of the person could not be located.” Especially where complainants resided in informal settlements.
- People reporting abuse were not only from Lenasia, in fact they also came from the surrounding areas and further afar.

Due to the fact that the experience of secondary victimization is traumatic, the researcher needed to take a sensitive and empathic stance. For this reason, a non-probability sample was used. Of the 1000 survivors who had reported abuse a total of 100 dockets of survivors were reviewed, which comprised 10% of the total population. The study focused on adult female survivors reporting abuse at the Lenasia Police Station and involved women of all ages between the ages of 20 and 60 years. The study focused on both married and unmarried women with or without children in abusive relationships and this re-enforced the fact that abuse is not limited to a specific group of women as anyone can be abused. It was also important to realize that although the police station is based in Lenasia, many adult female survivors from the surrounding areas also reported abuse to the police at the Lenasia Police Station and these respondents were also included in the study. Focus was placed on the duration of abuse, the first incident of abuse and why the women either remained in the relationship or why they have left in order to gain an understanding of the nature and dynamics of abuse. Focus was also placed on what the expectations of the adult female survivors were of the police in terms of assisting them in abusive matters. Women from all races, educational levels, class and religion were included in the study.

Since survivors seeking help at the police station were from all race groups, a stratified random sampling was used. In a stratified random sampling, one can ensure that all race groups are represented.

The most beneficiaries of the service came from the Black population, followed by Indian, Coloured and White. Open ended, partly structured interviews were conducted with survivors. It is, however, important to realize that although the various race groups are represented, it is not reflective of abuse happening mostly in a particular race group.

The sampling process followed, was: Stratified Sample: *“Divide population into sub-populations or strata and use simple random sample on each strata. Results may be weighted and combined”* Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill (2000:243).

The process entailed:

“Processes:

- Identify groups*
- Separate frames with a listing of all members*
- Proportion of each group is established in relation to total population and the number to be selected is calculated*
- Random number indicated are selected from each stratum in terms of number required “* Buckinghamshire University College (2002:1).

1.5.2. ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF DATA

In addition, the researcher made use of other sources of data, namely service providers, knowledgeable others and a focus group discussion with the police.

The service providers included all those working hand in hand with the police and also provided a service to the survivor. Hence, for the purpose of the study, the following were considered as service providers: the district surgeon, the court (including the prosecutor and magistrate) and Nisaa Institute for Women's Development, a NGO (including counsellors and volunteers). The purpose of these service providers was to determine firstly, if the survivor experienced secondary victimization by these service providers and how they assisted the police in ensuring that secondary victimization of survivors is minimized. A telephonic interview was used with the person in charge at the district surgeon, the court and at Nisaa a face-to-face interview was conducted with the Director in order to obtain this information. Hence, a total of three participants were interviewed.

In addition, by means of a snowball sampling method and referrals, key informants and knowledgeable people were interviewed to obtain an in-depth understanding of how the community perceives the services provided by the police. Three people were identified as key informants who firstly lived in Lenasia, knew what abuse of women entailed and who could provide input on how they thought police responded to domestic violence. Hence the initial three informants included a community member living in Lenasia for more than 10 years, a student and a school teacher.

Finally, a focused group discussion with members of the police dealing with adult female survivors of abuse was held to determine if they were aware of the Domestic Violence Act and its provisions, if they had received training in terms of their new duties and how to deal with survivors of abuse and to see if the expectation of the community of the police were unreasonable.

1.6. DATA COLLECTION

1.6.1. PRIMARY DATA

Primary data collection comprises of:

- A focused group discussion with the police officials in terms of what they think is expected of them when helping survivors who report abuse at the police station.
- Discussions with social workers concerning reports of secondary victimization that they have received from adult female survivors receiving assistance from police (**Appendix 1**)
- Open-ended, partly structured interviews with the adult female survivors via interview schedule. (**Appendix 2**)
- Open-ended questions with service providers to adult female survivors of abuse. (**Appendix 3**)
- Studying police dockets as to how the investigation was carried out and adult female survivors were then interviewed regarding how their problems were dealt with by the police.

1.6.2. SECONDARY DATA COLLECTION

- Domestic Violence Act (**Appendix 4**)
- Media publications and the Press

1.6.3. PROCESS OF DATA COLLECTION

Survivors

An interview schedule was designed for the 100 adult female survivors of abuse focusing on the following: age, marital status, level of education, number of children, area where they reside, the first incident of abuse, reasons for remaining in the relationship, reasons why they felt they were abused, spouses' occupation and age, abuse in the parental home and the procedure at the police station when the abuse was reported. In addition, attention is also given to the survivors' expectations of the police when dealing with abuse cases. This was to show that abuse happens to any person despite age, education etc as well as in marriages as well as cohabitation relationships. There are thus no specific criteria for abuse to be more prominent. Abuse can happen to anyone.

These interviews were conducted face to face in order to ensure that respondents clearly understood the questions. As this is a sensitive matter, empathy needed to be exercised when interviewing the respondents. The interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours each.

Service providers

A short questionnaire was designed for service providers to determine how they dealt with the adult female survivors of abuse and the type of services they provided, as well as how they assisted the police in providing a service to the survivor.

A telephonic interview was held with the head of the institution of these service providers. The researcher felt that the head of the institutions will

have knowledge on these aspects as their subordinates report to them. Here the heads from the district surgeon, court and Nisaa Institute for Women's Development were contacted. Each interview lasted approximately 20 minutes.

The reason why Nisaa is chosen as the NGO is that this NGO has been operating in the Lenasia area for ten years and focuses solely on abused women and their children. Although other NGO's exist, their focus is not primarily on abused women.

1.7. DATA ANALYSIS

It is clear that the secondary victimization although taking various forms could result in women blaming themselves for the abuse or either becoming despondent as they had not received any assistance.

In order to determine the above, an analytic comparison method of analysing data will be used. By making use of both the "*Method of Agreement*" and the "*Method of Difference*", the researcher identified "... cases that are similar in many respects but differ in a few crucial ways." Neuman (1997:429)

As the research largely made use of the women's experience when reporting the abuse and the actual experience of secondary victimization, this method enabled the researcher to identify the expectations the survivor had when reporting a case of abuse in relation to what actually happens at the police station when a case is reported. "... a researcher looks for cases that have many of the casual features of positive cases but lack a few key features and have a different outcome." Neuman (1997:429)

The above information was thus obtained from the partly structured interview with the women with the aid of the questionnaire. (**Appendix 12**)

In conjunction with the above method of data analysis, the flowchart method was used in order to identify the logical flow from the point where the actual abuse is reported to the police, including what transpires, to the point where the woman is left with the experience of secondary victimization, in order to "... *understand how one event or decision is related to others.*" Neuman (1997:434) (**Appendix 9**)

Hence, with the above, the nature of services of the police at the Lenasia Police Station to survivors of abuse could be deduced. It determined if any training is or has been provided for the police on how to effectively deal with domestic violence cases.

In analysing the data, seven kinds of negative evidence were considered as stated in Neuman (1997:436). This thus ensured that the researcher is aware of any bias that could occur when conducting the research.

Events do not occur

Although secondary victimization by the police of survivors reporting abuse did occur in the past, police could be making a concerted effort to prevent secondary victimization and this was determined.

Population not aware of events

The possibility existed that survivors would try to conceal or hide events to protect the police for fear of negative consequences.

Population wants to hide events

Due to the nature of the research, many of the respondents might try to hide information in order to protect themselves.

Overlook commonplace events

Here reporting of the abuse by survivors could occur so often that the police officer dealing with the survivor might not realize that he is secondary victimizing the survivor.

Effects of the researcher's preconceived notions

To ensure that the researcher had no bias, it was vital to ensure that prior notions such as police are prone to victimize survivors, did not result in the researcher ignoring other vital variables.

Unconscious non-reporting

The researcher aimed at continuously re-reading notes to ensure that other vital variables are not overlooked.

Conscious non-reporting

Here the researcher ensured that she “.... *presents evidence that both supports and fails to confirm an interpretation.*” Neuman (1997:437)

1.8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the study, the researcher tried to ensure that ethics are maintained by means of:

- (a) Ensuring that confidentiality of all survivors interviewed was maintained.
- (b) Obtaining consent from the station commander and survivors to use the dockets.
- (c) Ensuring that no harm was inflicted on survivors interviewed so as to prevent further victimization.

1.9. DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms were used in the study:

Abuse – “ *is physical and/ or emotional acts of violence towards a woman by her partner* Basic Counselling Manual (2000:4).

Domestic violence – According to Fedler (1999:111) domestic violence is “... *the name we use to describe a situation where a person involved in an intimate relationship is subject to abuse by the person they are closely involved with.*”

Nature – In the study this refers to how the service is delivered by the police to the survivor.

Perpetrator – “ *the person that commits the violent acts. In this study the male.*”

Power and control – In this study this refers to the factors which constitute the reason for abuse and also keeps the woman entrapped in the abusive relationship.

Secondary Victimization/ Re-victimization – “ ... *refers to the victimization which occurs, not as a direct result of the criminal act, but through the response of institutions and individuals to the victim.*” Campbell & Raja (1999:1)

Survivor – “ ... *the person exposed to and experiencing the abuse. In this study the adult woman.*”

1.10. SUMMARY

Chapter 1 focused on the background to the problem, as well as the problem statement of domestic violence. Attention was given to the definition of terms as well as the ethical considerations. The research design, the sample and data collection were also highlighted.

The next chapter focuses on a background of domestic violence as well as related theories including the process of secondary victimization.

CHAPTER TWO – OVERVIEW OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND RELATED THEORIES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focused on the emergence of mindsets and attitudes through socialization and how they impact on human behaviour. In the same way, this highlights how attitudes and mindsets held by the police result in them re-victimizing women reporting abuse. Attention was given to definitions of gender, mindsets and attitudes as well as theories focusing on victimization of women. In addition, research revealed that definitions of violence differ between men and women and this as well as the process of secondary victimization by the police and other role players are explored in this chapter. The definition and various other aspects of domestic violence are explored, together with related theories and the different responses to domestic violence are highlighted. In this chapter, the researcher aims to point out that abusers abuse because they want to exercise power and control over women and also shows how this understanding of power and control by police dealing with domestic violence cases can contribute to secondary victimization of survivors being eradicated. Hence, the aim of the study which is to assess the nature of services of the police dealing with survivors of abuse is thus possible.

2.1. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: AN OVERVIEW

The abuse that survivors are subjected to can be divided into two forms, namely primary (at the hands of her intimate partner) and secondary abuse (this happens when the survivor either tells about or reports the abuse to someone like a family member, the police or courts).

The study focused on the re-victimization or secondary victimization of survivors when they report abuse to the police. However, in order to fully understand the dynamics of secondary victimization, emphasis needs to be placed on primary abuse as well. An overview of domestic violence constituting primary abuse is thus provided.

2.1.1 DEFINITION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Previously, under the Prevention of Family Violence Act of 1993, abuse was mainly seen as being physical. This was the case because, the emotional scars of emotional abuse were ignored as they are not as physically visible as the physical scars of the beating. This later was addressed with the introduction of the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, where the definition of what domestic violence comprised of was defined more broadly.

Malepe, Pithey and Combrink (2000:1) define Domestic Violence in terms of the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 as: “ *...Physical, sexual, emotional, verbal, psychological and economic abuse; intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to property, entry into a woman’s property without her consent where she is not staying with the abuser and any other controlling behaviour against the woman where such conduct may cause imminent harm to her safety, health or well being.*”

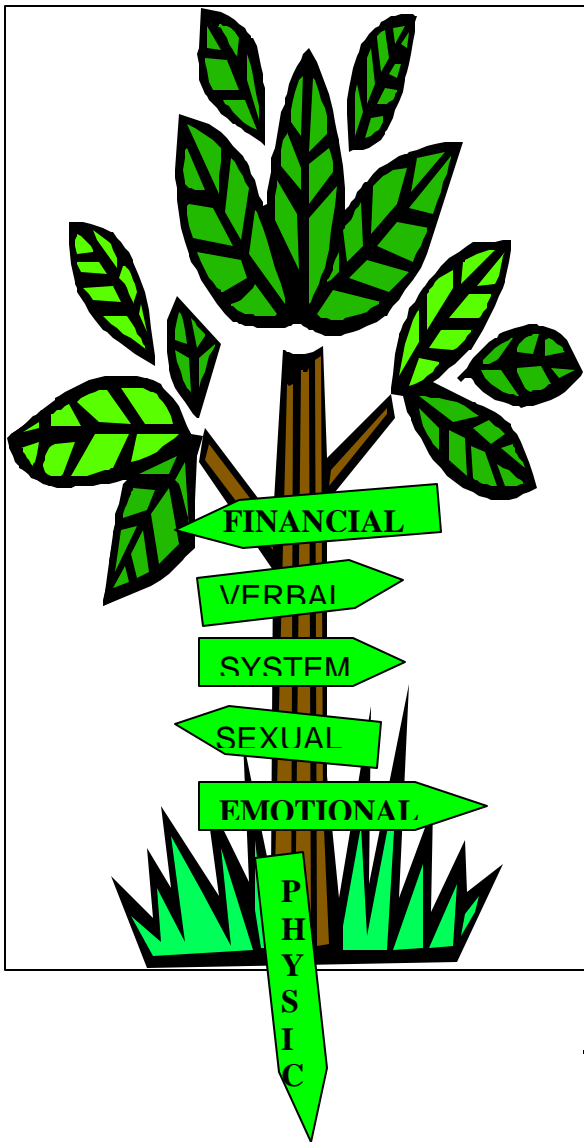


Figure 1: Types of abuse

Domestic violence is a complex phenomenon and by limiting it to a specific definition, can result in some clients being excluded whilst they are in fact being abused and a broader definition ensured inclusiveness.

One such an example was of a woman who was disabled and her husband would hide her wheelchair away so that she could not go to work and she was left in her bed for the whole day.

This clearly is abuse and can fall under the category: “*and any other controlling behaviour against the woman where such conduct may cause imminent harm to her safety, health or well being*” and can even be classified as economic abuse as the woman is prevented from going to work to earn a living. Malepe et al (2000)

NGOs specializing in the field of Domestic violence welcomed this new definition and authors like Goosen et al (1998:4) distinguish between the different types of abuse and provide examples thereof. They highlighted the following:

- **Physical abuse** or battering includes threats of violence, other forms of intimidation such as reckless driving, destruction of property, being slapped, punched, kicked, burnt, locked in the house, threatened with a weapon, stabbed or shot.
- **Sexual abuse** includes incest, rape, date rape or gang rape and is about the use of threats or force to obtain sex or enforce unwanted sexual attention on another person. Sex work could also be a form of abuse if the woman is forced into this work and sex workers are often abused.
- **Emotional abuse** includes being pressurized, criticized, insulted, put down, lied to, ignored, blamed, made fun of, made to feel worthless, isolated, shouted or sworn at, and receiving death threats. Partners who make empty promises, refuse to do their share of childcare or chores in the home, claim to be always right, check on you or embarrass you in public or who are unfaithful and also emotionally abusive.

- **Financial abuse** includes taking or withholding money, being forced to account for every cent spent, having to do more with money than is possible or being prevented from using your car or another form of transport. The refusal to pay maintenance to support children is also a form of financial abuse.

People Opposing Women Abuse, POWA in short (1998:1) a NGO also dealing with violence against women defines abuse as “... *any pattern of behaviour that controls another person, causes physical harm or fear, makes someone do things they do not want to do. Abuse can be verbal, emotional, physical, sexual, material or financial. Abused women usually experience multiple forms of abuse.*” This definition like the two above highlights the fact that abuse takes various forms, but goes one step further in highlighting the power and control aspect on which abuse is based. Furthermore, it is important to realize that women do not necessarily experience one type of abuse, there can be a combination of abuses, e.g. the woman can be abused physically by her partner but at the same time he humiliates her in front of people, continually swears at her and prevents her from having contact with friends or family members. Here, the woman is being abused physically, emotionally and verbally.

They characterize the different types of abuse as follows:

Physical abuse includes:

- *Slapping, punching, hitting, kicking, shoving, scratching, biting, throwing things at you*
- *Threatening or attacking you with a weapon*
- *Locking you in or out of the house or abandoning you in a dangerous place*
- *Refusing to help you when you are injured, sick or pregnant*

Sexual abuse includes:

- *Making you wear clothes or do sexual things that make you uncomfortable*
- *Pressuring or forcing you to perform sexual acts that you do not want to do*
- *Forcing you to have sex when you do not want to; raping you or threatening to rape you*
- *Forcing you to have sex with other people*

Emotional abuse includes:

- *Insulting you*
- *Making you feel stupid or worthless*
- *Ridiculing your beliefs*
- *Humiliating you in public or private*
- *Ignoring you*
- *Intimidating or harassing you*
- *Being overly jealous or possessive*
- *Accusing you of infidelity without good reason*
- *Isolating you from your family and friends*
- *Preventing you from going to work or school*
- *Attacking your children or your pets*
- *Threatening to kill you or to leave you or throw you out*
- *Threatening to kill himself or go mad if you leave or don't do what he wants*

Financial or material abuse includes:

- *Taking or spending your money*
- *Preventing you from having a job*
- *Taking or destroying your possessions*
- *Spending most of the money on himself or giving you a very small allowance*

- *Expecting you to account for every cent or do more with the money than is possible*
- *Refusing to give you information about your joint financial situation.*

Throughout the three definitions provided of abuse, one underlying element is common and that is that all behaviours described above are based on power and control. It also depicts an unequal access to power between males and females and where this unequal distribution of power is present, that is where abuse is more likely to occur. In order to further highlight this power imbalance and to provide a better understanding of abuse, an explanation is provided of how males and females view violence respectively.

2.1.2. DEFINITION OF VIOLENCE ACCORDING TO FEMALES AND MALES RESPECTIVELY

Domestic violence or abuse of another person has its roots in the concept of power and control. The one party tries to exert power over the other in order to dominate or control the other person. It is a reality that men and women have different access to power and this is highlighted by Park et al (2000:33): “... *four different aspects of power to which men and women do not have equal access:*

- *Economic power – the power to generate income and assets and also the power to control them;*
- *Social power – exercised by those who occupy positions of authority and decision – making;*
- *Physical power – the power to exercise physical strength over another;*
- *Inter-personal power – the power to get another person to think, feel or do something they would not have done spontaneously.”*

This unequal distribution or access to power is also reinforced by institutions in society such as culture, religion and socialization in the family. This was also reinforced by our past history based on the patriarchal system.

Fawcett, Featherstone, Hearn & Toft (1996:8), differentiates between definitions of violence by both women and men. According to them, women's understanding of violence entails: "... *being unable to avoid becoming involved in situations and, once involved, being unable to control the process and outcome*". This highlights the submissive role, which is ascribed to women and underpins the inequality that exists between males and females. From the above definition, it is evident that the woman is not in a position to protect her and the fact that she cannot control the process or the outcome of the abuse re – emphasizes her powerlessness. This can be substantiated when referring to Park et al (2000:33): "... *women are targeted for specific crimes and there is no precaution or remedy that a woman can take to protect herself. This powerlessness is gender specific – the violence is perpetrated on the victim because she is a woman.*"

The reality that women do not have any control over the outcome or the process of the abuse, is one factor that is often either not known of or ignored by role players who provide services to survivors of abuse. Many police are either not aware of this or fail to see it and thus sees the survivor as an active role player in the whole abusive process. This is clearly not the case given the power imbalances that exists between the survivor and her abuser as highlighted above. It is this lack of understanding of abuse that often results in women being blamed for the abuse and thus in turn being victimized as highlighted in chapter one in the background and problem statement of the study.

Men in turn see violence as: “...behaviours designed to control, dominate and express authority and power...” Fawcett et al (1996:8). Traditionally, these are the roles that are ascribed to men. One such example is as follows: In one of the communities where Nisaa provides services, women report that the man is the head and the woman is the tail and he should never be challenged. They must be aggressive, strong and powerful. In order to ensure that their power and masculinity are maintained, men often turn to violence. Men are socialized to be aggressive and in control and it is this mythical belief that results in women being abused by their partners, who are seen to be their guardian and the “head of the house” and figures of authority. The socialization of men and women will be explored later in this chapter.

2.1.3. PREVALENCE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence is one of the social problems that impacts on the South African nation. We are overwhelmed on a daily basis by statistics that reveal the intensity and frequency of abuse. Goosen et al (1998:29) reveal that: “*In South Africa one out of every four women experience relationship violence or what is commonly known as family violence.*” Vetten (1999), supports this and adds that one woman is killed by her intimate partner every six days and one woman is raped every 35 seconds.

This reveals the seriousness of this phenomenon and highlights how often women are traumatized by abuse. Abuse however cannot be seen as a problem that happens out there as it affects the entire nation. Goosen et al (1998:29) state that: “*Abuse leads to increased use of health, wealth, police and justice service.*” It is thus evident that domestic violence costs the country millions every year.

“Violence against women is costly both to the state as well as to the private sector. These costs arise from both direct and indirect results of violence: medical expenses are incurred due to injuries sustained as a result of domestic violence... The justice system is economically drained because resources are channelled into the investigation of rapes ,assaults, suicides and murders of women...The private sector incurs massive expenses...The violence results in absenteeism, tardiness, lower productivity, poor concentration, leaving early and excessive use of medical benefits...” Park et al (2000:27).

It is however difficult to get reliable statistics on violence against women in South Africa because (1) most cases go unreported and (2) the police do not keep separate statistics on assault cases perpetrated by husbands or boyfriends. Further statistics on violence against women show the following People Opposing Women Abuse (1998:2):

- *One study estimated that one adult women out of every six in South Africa is currently assaulted by her partner.*
- *Research carried out in Soweto in 1994 found that one in three women attending a clinic for any reason had been battered at some time by her husband or boyfriend.*
- *43% of 159 women surveyed in the Cape Town Metropolitan area had been subjected to marital rape or assault.*
- *While some men are abused by their female partners, 95% of the time, it is women who are the victims of violent abuse in the home.*
- *At least one women is killed by her partner every six days in South Africa.*
- *Most men who are killed die in the street at the hands of a stranger; over 50% of women who are killed are murdered by their partners.*

Statistics reveal the reality of domestic violence, however still not enough is being done in order to rid the nation of this evil.

Legislation has been introduced to address the problem, but implementation remains a problem due to lack of infrastructure, monitoring and resources and the onus rests too heavily on women's organizations to deal with this problem. *"At present non-governmental organizations for women and children and social workers in the department of Welfare stand primarily on their own in the struggle for a violence free society."* Goosen et al (1998:6)

Domestic violence however is not limited to a specific country, race, class, gender or religion and it is found that similarities can be identified between countries. The following statistics on domestic violence both in South Africa and internationally together with the sources where they have obtained the information from have been released by NICRO Women's Support Centre (October 1998). Blaser (1998:1) It is however important to realise that statistics can have room for error as the possibility exists that over or under counting can occur.

2.1.4. STATISTICS ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

2.1.4.1 Domestic Violence In South Africa

- 1 in every 4 South African women or 25% of women in RSA is assaulted by their boyfriend or husband every week. Goosen & Shaik (1998)
- 80% of violence that women suffer... they suffer in their homes at the hands of the man who supposedly loves them.
(450.3/1590 The Law: Rape Crisis Cape Town (1989:24))

- Department of Justice estimates that one out of every four South African women is a survivor of domestic violence.
(450.311. Domestic Violence: Submission to the SALC in the Light of International and Constitutional Human Rights Jurisprudence Part 1, May 1997)
- 43% of 159 women surveyed had experienced battering and marital rape. (Promoting Personal Safety For Women. Women set an agenda for policy formation. Moira Maconachie and Mikki Van Zyl. Human Sciences Research Council 1994:61).
- 1 in 6 women is battered by her partner.
(Promoting Personal Safety For Women. Women set an agenda for policy formation. Moira Maconachie and Mikki van Zyl. Human Sciences Research Council © 1994; NICRO based on studies done in Cape Town)
- In a study of 600 pregnant and non-pregnant teenage girls in Cape Town, 60% respondents said they had been beaten by their partner.
(Cape Argus 7/1/1998).
- 1 in 4 women was being abused.
(Giovina Nusca, Women's Bureau at the University of South Africa as reported in the Cape Argus 9/06/1994).
- The average woman stays in an abusive relationship for 10.5 years before leaving.
(Rape Crisis Shelter Statistics 1988).

- In South Africa 1 in every 6 women is abused by her husband or partner.
(450.7/1017(1) May 13-14, 1996. Jay Watson, The institute for Multi-Party Democracy and the Joint Centre for Political and economic studies hosted workshops in Gauteng, Kwa-Zulu, Natal, Eastern Cape and Western Cape on Domestic Violence and the Transformation of the Legal System and the Police Force. The Information is based on proceedings from a workshop held by the Western Cape Network on Violence against Women Pg. 1)
- In 40% of all cases referred to the office of the family advocate, violence or threat of violence played a role in the breakdown of the relationship.
(A random sample in the office of the family advocate as mentioned in newspaper article, no date provided)
- 1 in 6 women in South Africa is assaulted by her male partner.
(450.7/1016D. Hansson 1991, as cited in Battered women. An Invisible Issue by K. Ross)
- A woman suffers being battered an average of 39 times before she eventually seeks outside help.
(460.05/1026 Burman, Katz and Partners, Port Elizabeth: Prevention of Family Violence Act 133/1993 Sept. 1994:2)
- Every week an average of 4 women in Cape Town flee from their partners in fear of their lives.
(Newspaper article, no date provided, "Violence against women one of the major challenges facing new S.A.")

- About 423 cases of violence against women are reported every month in the four magisterial districts of Wynberg, Cape Town, Athlone, and Bellville.

(Newspaper Article, no date given: "Violence against women one of the major challenges facing new S.A." quoting NICRO)

- Prevalence of domestic violence against women was found to be 38.3% of which 65.2%, or 1 in 4, was perpetrated by the husband. (The Prevalence and related Factors of Domestic Violence Against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J, Haines Pt, Barnes DR Pg. 7)

- In 45.3% of the cases the violence was observed by another party. (The Prevalence and related Factors of Domestic Violence Against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J, Haines Pt, Barnes DR Pg. 7)

- In 47.8% of the cases the perpetrator was under the influence of alcohol or drugs. (The Prevalence and related Factors of Domestic Violence Against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J, Haines Pt, Barnes DR Pg. 7)

- 1 in 4 South African women are victims of gender violence. (Estimate by Angless T. 1992, as cited in The prevalence and related Factors of Domestic Violence Against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J, Haines Pt, Barnes DR Pg. 7)

- 70% of women who have experienced violence had done so at the hand of a husband or live-in boyfriend.
(The Institute of Criminology at UCT, as quoted in the Plainsman, November 8 1989)
- Approximately 31,000 interdicts were issued in the Western Cape in terms of the Prevention of Family Violence Act for the period December 1993 to November 1997, of whom approximately 98% were to women and 2% to men.
(Survey of all Magisterial Courts in the Western Cape by NICRO 1998.)

2.1.4.2 International Domestic Violence Statistics

- In Canada, a quarter of women interviewed in a 1993 study reported having been assaulted by a current or former partner.
(Cape Argus, April 14 1998)
- At least 1 out of every 10 married women or women in common-law relationships in Canada are physically assaulted by their mates.
(460.9/1106 Ottawa Canadian Advisory Committee on the status of women, Jan. 1980; Michael Smith, "Women Abuse in Toronto: Incidence, Prevalence and Democratic Risk Markers," Dept. of Sociology, York University, North York Ontario, April 1988 as cited in Linda McLeod's, Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Circle Pg. 6)
- Family violence afflicts more than a quarter of all households in China's Southern Fujian Province.
(1996 survey by the Fujian Women's federation that showed 28% of households in the province admitted spousal abuse, emphasis added, as cited in the Cape Argus Jan. 10 1998)

- In Columbia, 20% of all women had been beaten by a partner.
(The Columbian Demographic and Health Survey, 1991 as cited in the Prevalence and related Factors of Domestic Violence Against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J, Haines Pt, Barnes DR.)
- 80% of women in Ecuador report having been beaten.
(American Writer, Marilyn French as quoted in a newspaper article, no date available.)
- In Ireland, in 40-60% of cases involving battered women, at least one child was being abused.
(Linda Regan, Irish Times 1994 Conference of the Federation of Refugees)
- In Kenya 42% of women are abused by their partners.
(The Prevalence and Related Factors of Domestic Violence Against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J. Haines Pt. Barnes DR.)
- In the Kissi district in Kenya, 42% of women surveyed reported regular beatings by their husbands.
(An un-named study conducted in 1990 as quoted in the Cape Argus. April 14 1998)
- In Norway, 25% of female gynaecology patients are affected by domestic violence.
(Schei and Bakketeig 1998 as cited in The Prevalence and Related Factors of Domestic Violence against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J, Haines Pt, Barnes DR.)

- Papua New Guinea's figures show that around 60% of women experience domestic violence.
(Bradley, 1988 as cited in The prevalence and Related Factors of Domestic Violence Against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J, Haines Pt, Barnes DR.)
- In Papua New Guinea, 2/3 (66.66%) of rural and 56% of urban low-income women reported being beaten by their present partner.
(An un-named study conducted in 1986 as cited in the Cape Argus, April 14 1998)
- Papua New Guinea, a recent survey found 65% of men thought it acceptable to use violence to control their wives.
(Cape Argus, March 28 1994)
- In Peru 33% of women are abused by their partners.
(The Prevalence and Related Factors of Domestic Violence Against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J, Haines Pt, Barnes DR.)
- American studies suggest that 34% of all women will be physically assaulted by their intimate partners.
(Browne, 1993; National Committee, 1989 as cited in the Prevalence and Related Factors of Domestic Violence Against Women in the Mamre Community. Epidemiology Project. Sept. 1996. Rein GE, Le Roux DM, Jaschinski J, Haines Pt, Barnes Dr.)
- In the USA, a woman is battered every 18 seconds. (Newspaper article, no date available)

2.1.4.3 Domestic Violence Facts Presented To South African Members Of Parliament

- In 1998, the following statistics were presented to members of parliament. (ANC Women's Caucus Campaign to end Violence Against Women and Children)
- Two out of three women presenting to the trauma unit at Tygerberg Hospital, have been assaulted by partners, spouses or family members.
- In 1984, at a Pretoria symposium, it was estimated that up to 60% of marital relationships involve abuse.
- In South Africa, at least one woman is killed every six days by her male partner (femicide).
- According to the National Research Council one in three girl children will be sexually assaulted before the age of 18, and one in eight boys will be sexually assaulted.
- In a recent study in Khayelitsha, 24 pregnant women interviewed described assault as a regular feature of their sexual relationships.
- According to the South African Police Services (SAPS), there were 34 783 reported rapes in 1995. It is estimated by SAPS that only one in 35 rapes is reported: therefore, over a million women were raped in South Africa in 1995. The breakdown of this figure is 3 335 rapes per day or 139 rapes per hour or 2.3 rapes per minute.

- The SAPS have now estimated that a woman is raped every 35 seconds.
- In South Africa during 1986, 62% of reported rapes were prosecuted. By 1993, only 32% of reported rapes were prosecuted. In 1986, 32% of all reported rapes resulted in conviction. By 1993, rape conviction rates dropped to 16%. Rape has the lowest conviction rate of all crimes of assault.

Despite the fact that countries differ in some respects where domestic violence is concerned, similarities with regard to statistics highlighted above, that domestic violence is a problem that is affecting women and their children, cannot be ignored. Many women suffer from trauma and are faced with health risks and in some cases even death. From research conducted by Lenore Walker on women who were abused, she identified that abuse followed a specific cycle, which is highlighted below.

Basic Counselling Manual (2000:5)

2.2. CYCLE OF ABUSE

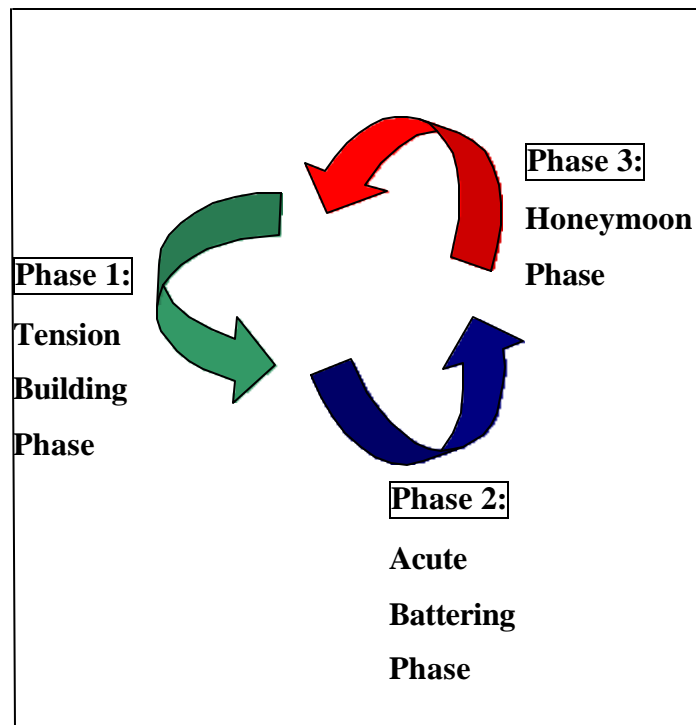


Figure 2: The cycle of abuse

Although abuse of women can take on many forms or types simultaneously such as a woman can be abused physically, sexually, emotionally etc at the same time. The most dominant form of domestic violence women report is that of battery. Goosen et al (1998:4) state that: *"Battery is a crime that violates our sense of bodily integrity, sense of safety and self worth."* In battery a clear cycle exists. This becomes a vicious cycle. This cycle was first introduced by Dr Lenore Walker in 1979.

Dr Lenore Walker first identified the cycle of violence in her book, *'The Battered Woman'* based on her research of women who had been in

abusive relationships. Walker describes three phases of the battering cycle: the tension building phase, the acute battering incident and the honeymoon phase. Basic Counselling Manual (2000:5)

Many authors have studied this cycle and have emerged with the same or similar characteristics as Walker has identified. Walker's cycle is described below.

➤ Phase 1: The tension building

During this phase, the tension between a couple builds and arguments erupt easily. This is when accusations are made, everyday occurrences become unbearable disturbances and tension in the environment increases. There may be violent verbal outbursts, strained silences or sulking. Many women describe this as “walking on eggshells”. This phase may last only a day or two, or it could go on for several months or even years.

➤ Phase 2: The acute incident

This is when the actual “fight” occurs. There may be slapping, pushing, hitting, biting, kicking, or shoving. There may be threats or the use of a weapon, sexual abuse, or even murder.

➤ Phase 3: The honeymoon

In this phase of the cycle, the batterer makes many apologies and promises that it will never happen again. There may be a honeymoon-like euphoria while the couple “makes up” with presents, flowers, romantic dinners. The victim begins to hope that the batterer is genuinely remorseful, and chooses to believe that the violence will not happen again. This phase slowly dissolves into the tension-building phase and the cycle repeats itself.

The duration of each phase varies, and will change over time. The Honeymoon Phase will become shorter, as the abuser begins to threaten even worse harm if the victim dares to leave.

The Tension Building Phase quickly absorbs honeymoon time and often completely replaces it. As the abuse becomes more frequent and severe the couple moves through the cycle more quickly. Most abusive relationships begin with verbal abuse, and move into physical violence, which escalates and becomes more deadly the longer the couple stays together.

Nelson (2002:1) describes the cycle from the point of view of a perpetrator but also displays the same characteristics of each phase as highlighted by Walker. He also identifies three phases and explains them as follows but starts with the honeymoon phase.

Honeymoon Phase

Most intimate relationships begin with the honeymoon phase. Eyes are starry and everything seems wonderful. We abusers are on our very best behaviour during this time: we are charming, considerate, warm, and caring. We give lots of attention. We are fun to be around. We bring romantic gifts. We wrap ourselves up in our partners' lives and are very interested in the details of their lives. We are strong and protective. We are confident. We are jealous and possessive, which we minimize and explain that we just want to take care of our partners, and don't want to see them hurt. We tend to pick partners who we are comfortable with, who, consequently, are more likely to accept our possessiveness and controlling tactics as signs of caring.

Tension Building Phase

After a while, perhaps when we are a little secure in the relationship, something will happen. We will disagree with our partners about something, perhaps, or maybe we will have a bad day and be grouchy. We will not be so warm and funny as we usually are. We stop bringing gifts quite so often because you can't do these things forever. This can be disturbing to our partners, who have come to believe that we will always be warm and fuzzy. They want us to become warm and fuzzy again, so they will try to do something nice to help us feel better. It probably works, for a while, for the tension continues to mount over time.

Acting out phase

After the tension building comes the acting out, which can take many forms. It may begin small and escalate either slowly or quickly. Sometimes we'll yell, say nasty things, hit, throw things, get drunk/stoned, get in a fight with someone else, have an affair, buy something we can't afford, gamble, withdraw a little more, force sex, cut up our partners' credit cards, quit a job, embarrass our partners in public, tell stories about our partners behind their backs (or in front of them), move out, call a lawyer, restrict our partners physically, have our partners committed to mental facilities, break things, threaten violence, break a promise, drive carelessly, deprive our partners of sleep, push emotional buttons, etc. The upper limit of escalation here would include things like the use of weapons, murder and suicide, and we can skip straight to that level of warning. Whatever is done is done with the purpose of gaining and maintaining power and control over our partners; To create fear, subservience and obedience rather than respect and equality.

Honeymoon Phase

After we have committed our abuse, we feel sorry for what we've done, and will respond with **The Honeymoon Phase**. During this phase, we will sound repentant, cry, promise to change, be kind and loving, etc., and admit that what is going on is wrong. We become warm and fuzzy again. This is the time that we will stop and this time it will work.

This can be quite convincing, because we really mean everything we say, at least as far as the words go. The problem is that following through on the promise to change requires us to confront the whole denial thing and to admit to ourselves that our favourite argument that has helped us maintain our abuse is nothing more than a big lie. Without outside help from those who know what to do, It is virtually impossible for us to do this step if we try. This is the test as to whether our repentance is real, or is just honeymoon phase crap: **do we seek out and use help from those who know how to help us, and do we stay in the program?**

Tension Building Phase

After we have assuaged our guilt we forget our zeal and begin again to be irritable. Tension mounts as we leave the relatively pleasant Honeymoon behaviours behind, because we "don't have time" to do that stuff all the time. Our partners begin to "walk on pins and needles" to keep us from getting angry until finally we lose control and become abusive. Sometimes our partners will actually provoke us just to end the tension building and perhaps get the anger released before we become more dangerous.

Acting Out Phase

And so it goes, and so it goes. Over, and over, and over again until someone leaves, someone goes to jail, or someone dies. These phases are generalities. Some phases may be skipped from time to time, and some relationships may skip a phase consistently. However, the cyclic nature is characteristic of an abusive relationship and the danger of these types of relationships results from the escalation that comes as we continue going through the cycle over and over. Abuse is not only a cyclical dysfunction – it's also progressive, which means, perhaps counter intuitively, that things go from bad to worse yet until that cycle is broken.

It is this cycle that perpetuates the violence and keeps the woman in the abusive relationship. As time passes, the abuse intensifies and becomes more severe. This is the point where the woman is most at risk of being killed.

Once again, the cycle of violence has its foundation in power and control. When referring to the cycle, many women leave the home after the battery phase. This is the point where the abuser has lost his power over the woman. He thus will do anything in order to regain that control. He does not know what the woman may be thinking and he may feel that she has in fact decided not to tolerate the abuse any longer. Thus he automatically changes his behaviour in becoming more understanding in order to win back his partner's affection. Once the partner returns home, the power of the abuser is re-instated and this honeymoon stage slowly fades away.

Many factors contribute to violence against women. The researcher thus discussed these factors as some of them were included in the questionnaire in the form of questions to be able to determine which factors contributed to the abuse respondents were exposed to and also to highlight the importance of these factors in contributing to the violence. Park et al (2000:27) identify the following factors.

2.3. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

2.3.1. Gender roles and stereotyping

It is a reality that women and men are socialized differently and this socialization results in women and men having to fulfil different roles. Men often fulfil dominant roles where they are in control and where a certain amount of power is ascribed to them, whereas women will fulfil submissive and passive roles. Culturally women are also seen as the weaker sex and as the property of men.

2.3.2. Societal upheavals

Throughout history, it has been found that violence against women is prevalent where there are wars or uprisings. Women are often subjected to rape, slavery and many other forms of violence as a means to punish, humiliate and control.

2.3.3. Unresponsive legal systems

Although violence against women is a serious crime as highlighted above, Park et al (2000:30) state: “ *Despite the legal system’s role as an institution for censure of socially unacceptable acts, it is often unresponsive to gendered acts of violence.*” This thus leaves the woman feeling despondent and helpless as she does not have any measure to support her during the time that she attempts to get assistance to stop the abuse. She also may lose faith in the legal system.

2.3.4. Religion, tradition, and culture

“Violence against women is often associated with attitudes of male superiority. Most institutional religions are structured along patriarchal lines, replicating the gender role stereotypes of women as passive homemakers, and men as ‘heads’ of the household and breadwinners.” Park et al (2000:31)

2.3.5. Alcohol and drugs

Alcohol and drugs do not cause abuse as it is often believed. This is merely an excuse as many men who use alcohol and drugs are not abusive. Alcohol and drugs can however result in an increase in frequency and the severity of the abuse.

2.3.6. Violence in family of origin

It is believed that children witnessing violence within the home of origin will either become abusers themselves or will become abused in their own relationships. This relevance of this point is still being disputed.

From the above, it is evident that these factors once again have their roots in power and control, which is further explored by concentrating on the power and control wheel.

2.4. POWER AND CONTROL WHEEL

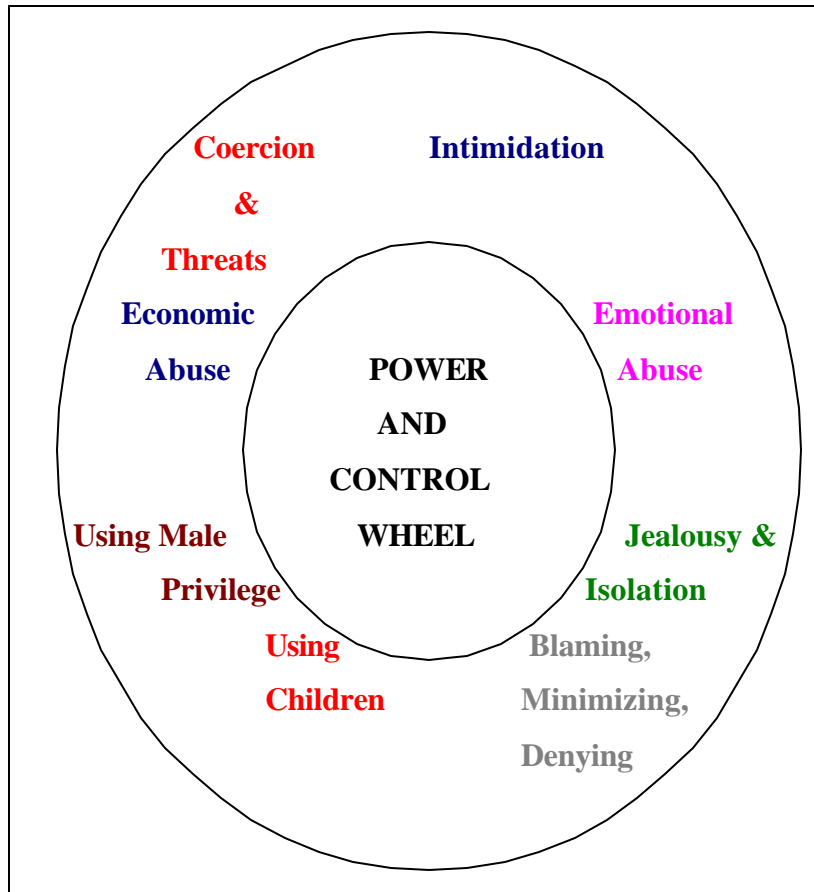


Figure 3: Power and control wheel (Appendix 5)

(www.domesticviolence.org/wheel.html)

Perpetrators maintain power and control over the women in the following ways (www.domesticviolence.org/wheel.html):

Using intimidation: making her afraid by using looks, actions, gestures, smashing things, destroying her property, abusing pets and displaying weapons.

Using emotional abuse: putting her down, making her feel bad about herself, calling her names, making her think she's crazy, playing mind games, humiliating her and making her feel guilty.

Using isolation: controlling what she does, who she sees and talks to, what she reads, where she goes, limiting her outside involvement, sing jealousy to justify actions.

Minimizing, denying and blaming: making light of the abuse and not taking her concerns about it seriously, saying the abuse didn't happen, shifting responsibility for abusive behaviour, saying she caused it.

Using children: making her feel guilty about the children, using the children to relay messages, using visitation to harass her and threatening to take the children away.

Using male privilege: treating her like a servant, making all the big decisions, acting like the master of the castle and being the one to define men and women roles.

Using economic abuse: preventing her from getting or keeping a job, making her ask for money, giving her an allowance, taking her money, not letting her know about and have access to family income.

Using coercion and threats: making and/or carrying out threats to do something to hurt her, threatening to leave her, to commit suicide, to report her to welfare, making her drop charges, and making her do illegal things.

In terms of the abuser the power and control wheel can also be described as follows.

- **Jealousy:** Abusers use jealousy, masked with “It’s because I love you/ am afraid of losing you” to control their partners’ activities, isolating them from their support systems. (Controlling what she does, who she sees and talks to, what she reads, where she goes, limiting her outside involvement, using jealousy to justify actions)

- **Intimidation:** Abusers eventually show their volatile temper, throwing and breaking things when angry. They persuade victims to rationalize and forgive by apologizing profusely, making excuses for their behaviour (“I was drunk”), and promising it was the last time. (Abusing pets, displaying weapons, making her afraid by using looks, actions and gestures)

- **Emotional abuse/blaming:** Victims are constantly blamed for their partner’s anger, are put down and are made to feel worthless. Victims believe they don’t deserve any better and become trapped by a destroyed self-esteem. (Calling her names, making her think she’s crazy, playing mind games, humiliating her, making her feel guilty)

- **Economic abuse:** Abusers often control the money, make all household decisions, and don’t allow their partners to work. Male abusers can do this easily by using stereotypical sex roles to justify their privilege. (Preventing her from getting an allowance, taking her money, not letting her know about or have access to family income)

- **Threatening/using children:** Abusers often threaten to hurt/kill their partner, commit suicide, or take the children if they attempt to leave. (Making her do illegal things, using the children to relay messages, using visitation to harass her, making her feel guilty about the children). Safe home (2000) (<http://www.safehome-ks.org/abuse/edu/dviolencewhell.htm>)

Bearing the above in mind, one is drawn to the question: What causes abuse?

2.5. CAUSES OF ABUSE

Goosen et al (1998:5) identify the following reasons for the causes of abuse. It is however important to realize that a variety of other reasons also exist: *“Abusers believe that men have the right to control women, have learnt that violence is a way of solving problems, feel they cannot handle problems in their lives and vent their frustration on their partners and they feel powerless and abuse the people who have even less power than them.”*

Once again, the power and control issue is highlighted because no matter what the reason, the ultimate reason for the abuse is the desire to control. With regard to abusers, it is found that they possess certain character traits, which identifies them as abusers. These are outlined below as in Jayne (2001) (www.leavingabuse.com).

PROFILE OF A DOMESTIC ABUSER

‘Any abuser is a normal man. There is nothing unusual about him, nothing to indicate he is an abuser.’ It is found that abusers can occupy high positions, be seen as role models or be good community leaders. Thus they are seen as normal and in fact are admired by others, however at home these men can be abusive to their partners. Women often state when reporting abuse: “If you meet him, you will never believe what he does to me.”

‘Every abuser believes he has the right to control a woman. His need to control is far greater than his capacity for love of the woman or the children.’ Although abusers can be good providers, their need to control the woman overrides this.

‘Abusers don’t forget about their abuse, they just deny it.’ Women report that abusers accuse them of being mad stating that the abuse never happened. The woman only imagined it.

‘Abusers minimize the impact and effect of their abuse. They make it less than what it is which makes us feel that we are over-reacting.’ One common phrase here is : “It was just a slap, why are you over- reacting.”

‘Abusers blame their partner for their abuse. They may blame alcohol, drugs, their parents, their job anything but themselves to justify their behaviour.’ Abusers do not take responsibility for the abuse. They may look for excuses to justify their abusive behaviours.

‘Abusers tend to associate with other abusive men. They invite support from other people.’ Abusers do not see the negative consequences of their behaviour, instead they may support or condone each other’s behaviour. This can also be seen when the beliefs of abusers are accentuated.

THE FOLLOWING BELIEFS OF ABUSERS ARE ALSO IDENTIFIED

1. Anger causes violence!
2. Women are manipulative!
3. If I don’t control her, she’ll control me!
4. Smashing things isn’t abusive, it’s venting!

5. Sometimes there's no alternative to violence!
6. Women are just as abusive as men!
7. Women want to be dominated by men!
8. Somebody has to be in charge!
9. Jealousy is natural to men!
10. Violence is a breakdown in communications!
11. Men can't change if women won't! Jane (2001)

2.6. WHY WOMEN STAY

From the above, it is clear that women are subjected to abuse at the hands of their intimate partners and also that the abuse is based on power and control. However, despite the abuse, women still remain in the abusive relationship.

Goosen et al (1998), including many authors have identified various reasons why women stay; however, according to the Basic Counselling Manual (2000) the reasons why women remain in abusive relationships are as follows:

- **Love and good times** (the relationship fluctuates between good and bad times, there are promises of change, and the woman still loves her partner, she tends to try and justify the bad times by magnifying the value of the good times and offsetting it against the bad times – ending up saying 'it's not that bad')
- **Fear** (the abuser often produces threats of increased violence or even death, should the woman indicate the intention to leave the abusive relationship)

- **Isolation** (preventing any outside contact with significant people in the woman's life, the abuser isolates her, thus cutting off any means of emotional support. Because of this isolation and a lack of positive feedback, a woman can begin to believe his insults and begin to feel worthless)
- **Duty** (because of religious beliefs, for the sake of the children, or the promise at the altar: 'for better or for worse, in good times and in bad', she feels a duty to make the relationship work. She feels she has failed and blames herself if her relationship does not work)
- **Practical problems** (difficulty to find a job or a place to stay, limited or no resources, no one with whom she can leave her small children if she has to go out and work)

It remains a reality that the reasons why women stay in abusive relationships are complex and varied. All of these factors are not found in every situation, but a combination of some is usually enough to keep women with abusive partners. Once again the unequal balance of power between men and women needs to be highlighted. This is supported by Walker (1983:82) who states: *"Women do not remain in battering relationships because of their psychological need to be a victim; but, rather, because of the overt or subtle encouragement by a sexist society."* More reasons are provided on why women stay.

FREQUENCY AND SEVERITY

- The abuse may occur over a short period of time.
- He may tell her "I'm sorry, it will never happen again" and she will believe him.

- Generally, the less severe and less frequent the incidents, the more likely it is that she'll stay.

HER CHILDHOOD

- She may have lived in a home where some form of abuse occurred and accepts it as normal, either consciously or unconsciously.
- The more she was abused as a child, in any form (physical, emotional, etc.) the more likely she is to stay.

ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

- She may be economically dependent on him and see no real alternative. In her eyes, it may be worth putting up with abuse in order to gain economic security.
- Economic conditions today afford women with children few viable options. She often has no marketable skills. Government assistance is very limited and many women dread welfare.
- Her partner may control all their money and she may have no access to cash, checks or important documents.

FEAR

- She believes her partner to be omnipotent. She sees no real way to protect herself from him. Many of her fears are justifiable.
- If she or a neighbour reports him to the police, he will often take revenge upon her.
- She believes she has no power to change the situation.

BELIEFS ON MARRIAGE

- Religious and cultural beliefs, or the eyes of society demand that she maintains the façade of a good marriage.
- Often she stays for “the sake of the children”.
- She may believe that abuse is part of every marriage.
- Many women are raised to believe the overwhelming importance of a good relationship with a man, and that good relationships are her responsibility not his.

HER BELIEFS ABOUT MEN

- She often still loves him and is emotionally dependant.
- She believes him to be all-powerful and able to find her anywhere. Many of her fears and beliefs about him are based in reality since some of the violence exhibited by these men is lethal.
- Often, motivated by pity and compassion, she feels she is the only one who can help him overcome his problem. Jayne (2001)
(www.leavingabuse.com)

The above overview of domestic violence showed the impact, dynamics as well as the contributing factors of domestic violence. This type of abuse is also referred to as primary abuse.

Many beliefs and myths exist as to why domestic violence occurs. Domestic violence is a complex phenomenon and the dynamics thereof are difficult for a layperson to comprehend.

Mullender (1996) uses these beliefs and converts them into theories. He identifies theories for men and women explaining the reasons for abuse. These are briefly explained.

2.6.1. THEORIES ABOUT MEN

Psychological theories

These theories are divided into five categories namely *They are sick or mentally ill* (this theory takes the stance that men are not responsible for their behaviour, because they are emotionally disturbed, they cannot control their behaviour); *Sin* (here it is assumed that the person perpetrates violence because he is a lost soul. There is no hope for him and that he'll never change); *Loss of control* (this category lies in the fact that the perpetrator is abusive because he has a short temper. The fact that he has a short temper thus becomes the reason for the abuse. This excuse is often used by perpetrators themselves *Transgenerational transmission, or the cycle of violence* (here it is believed that perpetrators abuse because they were exposed to violence within their own families whilst growing up); and *Drink* (Here it is believed that alcohol leads to abuse).

The above theories reinforce excuses which men use in order to prevent them from taking responsibility for their actions. Although factors such as alcohol can increase the frequency of the abuse, it does not cause it. It is also these excuses, which result in women having to take responsibility for the abuse because the man cannot 'help himself'.

Psychosocial theories

These theories state that men become abusive because of social and environmental circumstances that push them in that direction and leave them no other choice. This theory also tends towards excuses which men use for the reason why they are abusive. Here the men are portrayed as helpless when in fact they are active role players in the abuse.

2.6.2. THEORIES ABOUT WOMEN

Blaming the victim (here the woman is blamed for inviting the abuse. She is blamed for provoking the abuse and that because of her behaviour, she deserves the abuse. In addition it is also believed that women are addicted to violence and that they enjoy it. Other theories go as far as stating that women learn to live with the abuse because it is their culture. It's a woman's lot. A final assumption is that if the abuse is that bad, why does she always return); *Housing* (the shortage of housing results in women having no place to go to); *Injunctions* (this theory focuses on the secondary victimization of the survivor which is explored later in the chapter); *Refuges* (this is commonly known as shelters and safe houses in South Africa. Many women have not heard about shelters and thus remain in the abusive relationship); *Other obstacles* (women are also faced with the fact that the law enforcers fail to take action against the perpetrators); and *Women's persistence* (women do make attempts to leave the violent relationship such as trying to take the abuser for counselling. This process of leaving is a lengthy one).

These theories especially the first fail to take into consideration the role of power and control in the abuse. This keeps the woman trapped in the abusive relationship and thus the process of leaving the abusive relationship becomes a difficult and lengthy process.

The fact that it is believed that women enjoy the abuse and if it were that bad, she would leave indicates the mythical beliefs that are held by society. No person enjoys being abused and the fact that women return to abusive relationships does not indicate that she enjoys it. Leaving the abuse relationship is a lengthy process. The woman thus determines during this time what it is that she really wants and explores various options of escaping the abuse. She thus also goes through a process of accessing her rights and this thus is a developmental process for the woman.

2.6.3. HOW THEORIES LINK TO THE NATURE OF SERVICES PROVIDED BY POLICE TO SURVIVORS OF ABUSE

It is imperative for police to be aware of these theories as it can be found that police may have the same perception held about men and women. Thus by discussing these theories, police can then realize that like these theories point out, men mainly make use of excuses to justify their abusive behaviours resulting in women feeling responsible to address the abuse by themselves. This can thus result in police being able to realize the imbalance of power between the two sexes and thus realize that men and females portray different roles: men being active as the abuser and the female being submissive as the abused. In addition, this also highlights the fact that men are responsible for their behaviours and no external factors lead to their abusive behaviours.

It is also imperative to realize that women in abusive relationships have many factors that make it difficult for them to leave the relationship and that it is not merely because they enjoy the abuse or are used to it. One such an example is that many women do not know about shelters and even if they do, in South Africa few long-term shelters exist and they have very long waiting lists.

In addition, South Africa does not have any transitional housing where women can be assisted to be reintegrated into society by means of a gradual process. By understanding this, police will be able to stop blaming women for the abuse and thus prevent secondary victimization.

Thus when assessing the nature of the services provided by the police to survivors of abuse, focus needs to be also placed on these mythical beliefs, excuses and factors that hinder women in leaving the abusive relationship as these play a contributing factor to the experience of secondary victimization by the survivor reporting abuse.

2.7. THEORIES ABOUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

It is a known fact that women have in many instances been the main targets for victimization due to gender oppression and this is highlighted by theories including conflict, feminist, victimization and injunctions theories.

2.7.1 CONFLICT THEORY

The point of departure of the Conflict theory is: *“The gendered division of labour within families and in the workplace results from male control of and dominance over women and resources”* Kendall in Nontso (1998:4). This male dominance over women is further highlighted in the Annual Report of the Commission on Gender Equality (1998:14) : *“Until 1992, some men had marital power over their wives which meant that women could not transact any business or appear in court without their husbands. Under customary law which still governs the day to day lives of the majority of women, especially in the rural areas, women remain dependants all their lives: under the guardianship of their fathers, sons or a male relative...”*.

2.7.2 FEMINIST THEORY

Feminist theory further accentuates the point that men oppress women. According to Feminist Theory women and men are equal and should be treated equally. It is divided into three types: Liberal feminism (here it is believed that women's oppression is rooted in the fact that they are not afforded equal opportunities), radical feminism (here it is believed that male oppression results in all forms of human oppression) and social feminism (here it is believed that women have to work at home and still be mothers and this places an extra burden on them). Nontso (1998: 5)

2.7.3 VICTIMIZATION THEORY

Victimization theory follows a slightly different route when focusing on women oppression by men. Theories on victimization have shown that women fall among those who are prone to be victimized.

This is supported by Von Hentig's Theory of Victimization (1940s) that states that the following people are prone to victimization: *"The young, females, the old, the mentally defective and immigrants, minorities..."* (www.peace.ca/women html). (Von Hentig's Theory of Victimization)

All theories highlight how male dominance over women results in victimization and oppression of survivors. Survivors are often victimized by their intimate partners, where they are exposed to a variety of different types of abuse. This is known as primary abuse or primary victimization. Survivors can also be further exposed to another form of victimization, by those who they approach for assistance after the abuse, namely secondary victimization.

2.7.4 INJUNCTIONS

When in an abusive relationship, the woman is often the one who is subjected to blame as shown in the theories above and the onus is left on her to prove the abuse. “...*unsympathetic solicitors, tight definitions, the need to finish evidence, unsympathetic courts ... leave the onus on the woman to take further action.*” Mullender (1996:57) This once again brings to the fore how women are oppressed.

It is for this reason that women would refrain from reporting abuse, resulting in negative consequences. One such consequence is that the victimization of the woman is then further enhanced. In addition, even if the woman does report the abuse, little attempt is made to take action against the perpetrator. “... *still fail to take action against many men who pursue and harass partners...*” Mullender (1996:60).

2.7.5. ADDITIONAL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE THEORIES

With regard to theories, the Domestic Violence Centre (2000) adds that different schools of thoughts exist in terms of domestic violence. It is evident that the theory determines the intervention:

Pathology

Men's violence is seen as a symptom of biology, deviant personality types, abusive family of origin, alcoholism or drug addiction. Psychopathology sees violence as a symptom of mental illness.

Psychodynamic concepts

Sees violence as a symptom of an underlying psychological disorder. Poor impulse control, rage attacks resulting from childhood trauma or family inadequacies and other reasons.

Family system approaches

Sees violence as a symptom of a dysfunctional relationship. The violence is addressed by creating healthier interaction between the parties. Skills training of both parties is seen as key intervention.

Inner tension

Violence is seen as being expressive “impulsive forces from within.” This is explained as an instinctive or genetically inherited trait, which is sometimes seen as stronger in males. Alcohol may allow the triggering of violence at a lower tension level and so is seen as a contributor but not a cause. This cycle of violence is a tool used to explore the “tension-building,” “explosion” and make up” phases. Triggers of violence are identified and anger management skills building, for example “time-out” is seen as the most effective response.

Social Structure Theory

Sees violence as more prevalent in “lower socio-economic groups” as a symptom of frustration over limited life opportunities, lack of education and skills. Violence can therefore be addressed by policies that address poverty, inequality and unemployment.

Violence as learned behaviour

If non-violent behaviours have not been modelled or taught, and violence has been reinforced (especially in the family of origin), then an individual uses violence to get what he wants. Anger management aims to relax and reduce stress, identify emotions and to enhance communication skills that stop the violence.

Violence as a consequence of the social system

Sees men's violence as a result of patriarchal norms of western society. Men are violent to women as a result of shared beliefs that allows their superiority over women and their innate right to dominate. The role stereotypes, homophobic attitudes among men, and cultural traditions that devalue women are parts of the culture. Exploring shared belief systems and hierarchical social systems are steps towards building relationships based on equality.

All theories mentioned above, highlight the quest for power and control by the abuser that keeps abuse going or in place. By understanding this concept, police dealing with domestic violence cases will thus be able to assist survivors reporting abuse instead of blaming. This thus will improve the nature of the services that they provide to survivors.

2.8. PERTINENT CONCEPTS IN THE STUDY

One theme that stands out from the above is that women are often the people who are abused, oppressed and victimized.

It is thus important that a reflection is needed on why women are generally the target group for victimization and oppression. To achieve this aim, focus will be placed on theories and important concepts relating to this issue.

2.8.1. OPPRESSION AND VICTIMIZATION OF WOMEN

“Most South African women, are quite literally barefoot, pregnant and in the kitchen. We do not control our bodies. We are scarce in leadership positions. We are absent from history books. We are even disallowed from many priesthoods” Deputy Minister for Arts, Culture Science and Technology, Bridgette Mabandla in Nontso (1998:4).

It is often found that women find themselves exposed to victimization from a very young stage in their lives. *“Violence against the female sex does not start in adulthood. In many societies the female foetus is subject to neglect from the moment of conception...”* O’Connell (1993:v). It is a reality that men and women are generally socialized differently, where men are taught to be in charge and women in turn are taught to be submissive. This is true in many societies including South Africa where a large majority of people still prescribe to the patriarchal system.

“In the past, women as a group in South Africa have been recognized to be physically weaker than men, and this has been used to construct gender specific legislation that ‘protected’ women from being hired for jobs that required heavy loads” Nontso (1998:2). This distinction between men and women later resulted in many cultures adopting the belief that women are inferior and that men have authority over women. This same belief has resulted in many negative consequences.

“Such are the laws that need to be challenged and changed as they have restricted women’s legal and political rights and their access to economic resources” Nontso (1998:2). In order to gain a deeper understanding of this problem, one needs to reflect on a few vital concepts that play a contributing role.

2.8.2. GENDER

Matsakis in the Basic Counselling Manual (2000:6) sees gender as: “... *not something physical like sex. It refers to the expectations other people have of you or the expectations you have of yourself because you are male or female*”.

Kendall in Nontso (1998:4) supports this view, and leans slightly towards the concept of socialization when stating that: “*Gender refers to the culturally and socially constructed differences between females and males found in the meanings, beliefs and practices associated with ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinity’*”.

It is a reality that men and women have been socialized differently and that they thus assume different gender roles. According to Lips in Nontso (1998:1), gender roles refer to: “... *the attitudes, behaviour and activities that are socially defined as appropriate for each sex and are learned through the socialization process.*” Many men have been socialized in ways where they are made to believe that women are inferior, have to be seen and not heard and that they should know their place.

It is also believed that occasional discipline is acceptable, especially if the woman should provoke her male partner. Based on this, it is thus not surprising that when reporting abuse, police have the following attitude towards women: “... *police are unsympathetic towards the victims. Some inevitably deliver poor service and some are corrupt.*” Holtman (2001:20)

2.8.3. GENDER STEREOTYPES

The Gauteng Department of Social Services and Population Development in their booklet on Gender (2002 a:1), identifies traits that are characteristic to females and males respectively.

Traits for men include: “... *aggressive, independent, unemotional, self-confident, very objective, likes maths and science, ambitious, active, competitive, logical, worldly, direct and adventurous.*”

Whereas the traits characteristic of women include: “... *talkative, tactful, religious, aware of feelings of others, interested in own appearance, neat, quiet, strong need for security, enjoys art and literature, easily express tender feelings, does not use harsh language, dependent.*”

The booklet goes further to point out the messages that are sent out to people regarding boys and girls respectively: boys “... *must be independent, superior, tough, more freedom, man’s world, in control, bread winner, decision maker, cannot fail, adventurous, protector and provider. Girls in turn must be dependent, care for others, inferior, caring and gentle, right to be oppressed; women’s place is in the kitchen.*”

2.8.4. ATTITUDES

The concepts gender and attitudes are interrelated. According to the Basic Counselling Manual (2000:8), an attitude refers to: “*A like or dislike that influences the way we behave.*” Like gender, an attitude is learnt through our interactions with structures such as school, church, community, family, work, friends, state and the media.

The composition of an attitude is clearly expressed in the Basic Counselling Manual (2000:18) produced by the Nisaa institute. An attitude is made up of: “...*A belief (facts / stereotypes / generalizations / experiences / assumptions), A feeling (learnt through first and second hand experiences) and a way of behaving (not always in line with beliefs and feelings – depends a lot on what others do or say).*”

2.8.5. MINDSETS

According to the Thompson in the Oxford concise dictionary (1995), a mindset refers to: *“A fixed opinion or state of mind formed by earlier events.”*

A theme that stands out when exploring the definitions of the above concepts is that preconceived ideas play an important role with regard to how people behave. Thus these preconceived ideas formed in the past through experiences and interactions, influence how people behave and think. When relating this to the police, it is these beliefs and ideas that influence the nature of the services provided by the police to survivors of abuse.

2.9. WOMEN AND VICTIMIZATION

The South African Bill of Rights states that: *“Women have the right to be treated equally to men, women have the right to freedom, safety and dignity, women have the right to be healthy, and free from all forms of violence at home and in public, no one has the right to treat women in a cruel way and no one has the right to discriminate against women at home or at work”* Soul City publication (2000:30). Few women have challenged the status quo and despite the many difficulties have managed to access their rights regardless of the many obstacles they were faced with. However, despite this, many women have faced many injustices over the years on the basis of their gender. Women are not treated with dignity, they are not guaranteed safety and they are often treated in a cruel manner be it at home or publicly.

This inhumane treatment of women was further intensified within South Africa with the introduction of the Apartheid system, where women were viewed as inferior to men.

“While focusing on race, the legislated inequalities of the apartheid system applied also to gender, and women were brought under direct state control after 1948 to a far greater extent than had previously been the case” Human Rights Watch (1995:15).

In addition to the Apartheid system, many other factors have contributed to the inhumane treatment and victimization of women as previously highlighted: *“Society allows men to be violent, men are expected to be tough and in charge of the family, boys are taught to fight and not show soft feelings, society makes men believe that they are better than women, many children see their fathers hit their mothers, the media can make violence against women seem normal and many people use their culture or religion as an excuse to control women”* Soul City publication (2000:4).

2.10. SECONDARY VICTIMIZATION OF THE SURVIVOR BY OTHER ROLE PLAYERS

Other role players namely: the family, district surgeon, court and the police can also victimize the survivor of abuse when she requests assistance. This process is known as secondary victimization or re-victimization. *“Secondary victimization refers to the victimization which occurs, not as a direct result of the criminal act (the abuse), but through the response of institutions and individuals to the victim (survivor)”* (The impact of victimization) (www.victimology.nl/onlpub/hb/node9.html).

The following role players often play a part in re-victimizing the survivor:

- *“The Family (Family and friends do not believe her, they blame and condemn her)*
- *The District Surgeon (If there are no visible injuries the surgeon may not believe the survivor)*

- *The Court (It seems as if the survivor is on trial)*
- *The Police (They may treat the survivor as the guilty party, refuse to take the survivor's statement)."* Basic Counselling Manual (2000:41)

Although all of these role players play a part in secondary victimization of the survivor, for the purpose of the study, focus will be placed on the role of the police in secondary victimization. For a thorough understanding of the experience and impact of secondary victimization, attention needs to be placed on studies conducted in South Africa as well as abroad.

2.11. SECONDARY VICTIMIZATION BY THE POLICE IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Secondary victimization is a problem that cannot only be restricted to South Africa. Park et al (2000:30) show that: "... *in virtually all countries women experience 'secondary victimization' within the criminal justice system.*"

Similarities of how police re-victimize survivors both in South Africa and abroad can be identified in studies conducted in other countries. One such study conducted by the Ministry of Attorney General in Britain (2001:2) reveals: "... *the justice system's (which includes the police) response has been to consider 'spouse assault' primary a domestic or social problem, which is best handled outside the criminal justice system. In practice, that has meant criminal justice personnel often directed a couple towards counselling or conciliation services rather than dealing with the criminal nature of the assault.*"

The author goes further by highlighting the consequences of this action. "As a result of a lack of understanding of the dynamics of wife abuse, the criminal justice system's response has often created secondary victimization of women victims. In many cases which are reported to the criminal justice system, women

are blamed for the violence they experience – by the police because the woman may seem hysterical, violent or intoxicated... ”.

Once again, the nature of the abuse is not understood. The fact that there is firstly an imbalance in power between the male and female is ignored and this thus results in secondly that the fact that the woman who may be hysterical plays a passive role. By sending the couple away or by not wanting to get involved, reinforces this weak and passive role of the woman as she does not get any support from those who enforce the law and this may result in a loss of confidence in the justice system.

According to Kingston & Penhale (1995:118), the police response to domestic violence is as follows:

“A general reluctance to intervene in ‘domestic disputes’, the categorization of violence under the general heading ‘domestic disputes’ conceals the fact that violence has occurred and trivializes the offence, a belief that dealing with domestics is not real police work, the treatment of domestic violence as an aspect of the duty of the police to keep the peace, rather than emphasizing their duty to enforce the law, a general preference for reconciliation rather than prosecution, records of domestic incidents are often sketchy and there is too great a readiness to assign violence to the ‘no-crime’ report filed.” This statement thus also supports the findings of the researcher when dockets were reviewed. The fact that information was lacking and that no records existed of how the client was referred to organizations for further assistance.

Other authors agree with the above situation and have also highlighted the fact that police feel that domestic violence cases are “... *private matters...*” and “*victims are ‘fickle’ – they change their minds and stories.*” Legal Issues – How the police responds to your call)

(<http://www.stoptheviolence.org/legal1.htm>)

Some authors highlight the importance of preventing re-victimization of survivors: *“If a woman does become involved in the criminal justice system, her powerlessness must not be aggravated by failure to provide her with a full and sensitive explanation of the process. The process of keeping her informed and supported throughout the case should not be underestimated.”* Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General (2001)

Many authors in turn have placed special attention on reasons for secondary victimization by the police: *“Secondary victimization... may occur because of difficulties in balancing the rights of the victim with the rights of the accused or the offender. More normally, however, it occurs because those responsible for ordering criminal justice processes and procedures do so without taking into account the perspective of the victim.”* (The impact of victimization) (<http://www.victimology.nl/onlpub/hb/node9.html>) Here the fact that the woman is seen as an active role-player in the abuse is highlighted. The imbalance of power is not taken into consideration.

Park et al (2000:127) state that secondary victimization: *“... is caused by the combined effects of legal illiteracy of women, their lack of representation in a trial, their misunderstanding of the impact of certain information or impressions on the court, gender biases on the part of the presiding officers...”*.

2.12. SECONDARY VICTIMIZATION BY THE POLICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, it is found that: *“One in three women is regularly battered by her husband or partner, one out of every three South African women can expect to be raped in her lifetime and because of the attitude of the police to rape, it is estimated that only 2.8 percent of rape cases are reported”* Annual Report of the Commission on Gender Equality (1998:14).

With the introduction of the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 special duties for the police, magistrates and other court officials were identified. Hereby ensuring that the survivor who is already victimized by her perpetrator does not undergo further victimization when seeking assistance.

However, despite these duties, the police continue to re-victimize the survivors as highlighted by an article published by Gauteng Regional Network on Violence Against Women (1998:3). *“... Members of the South African Police Services (SAPS) have been heavily criticized for their treatment of women reporting sexual assault and domestic violence cases. ...The Police have frequently been reluctant to get involved in domestic violence cases, either claiming that such assaults are private affairs to be sorted out between the two parties independent of police intervention, or blaming the woman for provoking the assault.”*

O’ Toole & Schiffman (1997:120) re-emphasize this fact:: *“Police Departments have generally tried to conciliate rather than arrest. Guided by the stitch rule, arrests were made only when the victim’s injuries required stitches. Police routinely instructed the parties to break it up or talk it out or asked the abuser to take a walk and cool off. Male officers, often identifying with the male abuser, routinely failed to advise women of their rights to file a complaint.”*

Re-victimization of women at the hands of the police still continues despite the new legislation as highlighted in a newspaper article written by Chin (2000). *“Almost one year after the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act, the South African Police Service (SAPS) is still battling to render adequate services to survivors, said MEC of Safety and Security Nomvula Mokonyane.”*

She adds:

“The Domestic Violence Act specifies that the police officer must arrest the husband, take the woman in for medical attention, get her clothes together and find shelter for her. If he or she doesn’t carry out his obligation he or she will be arrested. Police would rather chase a stolen car than go to a domestic violence case.”

Many authors support this viewpoint that police re-victimize women at the point where they report the violence to the police. These authors include Dangor, Hoff & Fedler (1996), Dawood et al (1999) and Cawood (1996).

Despite the fact that authors focus on the secondary victimization factor, few make reference of possible recommendations of strategies to prevent the victimization of the survivor. It is also vital in making recommendations that one does not have unrealistic expectations as pointed out by Holtman (2001:20):

“I think the issue of training is an area that NGOs and CBOs need to be careful of in the interface. Sometimes NGOs tend to claim more delivery on training that is practical or sensible. When you sell the notion that three days of training is enough to change a person’s belief of an issue that they do not agree on – what is the message we are sending? We have to start demanding that training is measured on the impact of the training and not on the number of days allocated or the number of people who were trained.”

2.13. THE IMAGE OF THE POLICE AT THE LENASIA POLICE STATION

Many survivors have a negative perception of the police. According to an article written by the Station Commander of the Lenasia Police Station, he highlights the fact that people do have a negative view of the police but he introduces solutions as to ensure that this occurrence is minimized: *“The comments of most of the people I have come into contact with is on a very negative note towards the Police Service. Very few have a positive side to say*

about what is happening in the area. We need to adopt a more positive attitude in order for things to become better... I urge you, the community to become part of the solution finding mission rather than to remain on the problem side.” Lenasia Patrol Review (2002:1)

In theory it is very easy to suggest solutions, however in reality it becomes more difficult, given our past history and the negative experiences of survivors when reporting abuse. A survivor will thus remain on the so-called “problem side” because she cannot possibly be willing to report abuse again due to the insensitive treatment that she was previously subjected to. A change needs to take place among the service providers, in order for her to move from “problem side ” to “solution side”.

This insensitive treatment or victimization has negative consequences, being of a physical, emotional and financial nature. It is also important to realize that women are more likely to call the police when the abuse becomes life threatening and thus re-victimizing of the woman adds to the trauma she is already exposed to: “... *calling the police increases with assault severity ...*” Kantor & Strauss in Hutchison & Hirschel (1998).

2.14. CONSEQUENCES OF SECONDARY VICTIMIZATION

The consequences of secondary victimization are destructive for the survivor. Not only does the survivor have to deal with the consequences of the abuse perpetrated against her by her intimate partner, but she also has to convince others that she is telling the truth in order to get help. Hence, the survivor's experience of secondary victimization can have negative consequences.

As a result of being re-victimized, survivors can relive memories of the primary abuse which may include:

"... an increase in the adrenalin in the body, increased heart rate, hyperventilation, shaking, tears, numbness, a feeling of being frozen or experiencing events in slow motion, dryness of the mouth, enhancement of particular senses such as smell, and a "fight or flight" response. It is common for people to lose control over their bowel movements." (The impact of victimization) (www.victimology.nl/onlpub/hb/node9.html)

The emotional consequences of being re-victimized include: *"...feelings of powerlessness, insecurity, anger, and fear."* (The impact of victimization) (www.victimology.nl/onlpub/hb/node9.html)

Financial consequences also exist but are less documented and they are as follows:

- *"Accessing more expensive health services.*
- *Participating in the criminal justice system, for example attending the trial.*
- *Obtaining professional counselling to come to terms with the emotional impact.*

- *Taking time off work to get help as survivors are often sent from pillar to post.*” (The impact of victimization)
(www.victimology.nl/onlpub/hb/node9.html).

2.15. RESPONSES

Suzanne Vos (South African Parliamentary Debates, 11 March 1997) in Park et al (2000:18) encapsulates the inferior position that women have been subjected to over the years so aptly in stating: *“There is a golden thread which loops around the world between women and poverty, women and violence, women and literacy, women and homelessness and the fact that women are not equally represented in all governments and in just about every decision-making body on the entire planet earth.”* Many examples can be cited of how women have been discriminated against on the basis of their gender from girl babies being drowned to women being raped during times of war as a way of control.

The apartheid era also contributed greatly to the oppression and discrimination of women. This is evident when focusing on the economic situation and bargaining power of women: *“Women predominate in rural areas, which are also the poorest areas. Many rural women depend on the money sent by male relatives from the mines and towns. Customary law gives women few inheritance and property rights. So when the man dies, the woman can lose both money and access to land.”* Baden, Hassim and Meintjes (1999:16) The following figure reveals the discrepancy of wealth between men and women in South Africa.

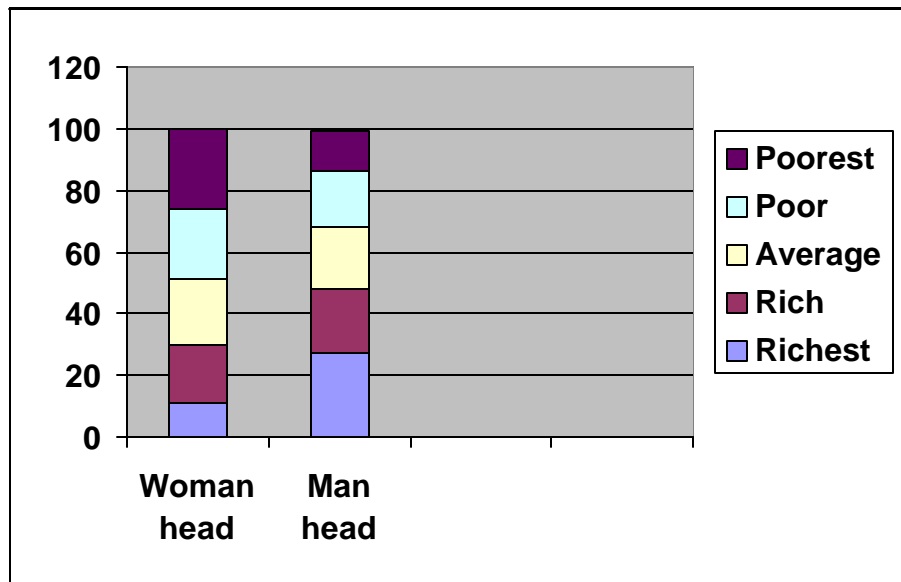


Figure 4 Income categories of woman and man headed
Baden et al (1999)

However, with the 1994 elections came a new spirit of change. The new democratic elected government adopted a principle of equality and by doing so, adopted the Human Rights principles and a new constitution was developed in 1996. *“The main focus of the constitution was to eradicate the divisions of the past and established a society based on:*

- *Democratic values*
- *Social Justice and*
- *Fundamental Human Rights.”* Gauteng Department of Social Services and Population Development (2002b:57)

The protection of women's rights has been addressed in various conventions, conferences and legislation. One such legislation is the Bill of Rights. It is documented in Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 that everyone:

“...has the right to freedom and security of the person, which includes the right to be free from all forms of violence from both public and private sources and the right to make decisions about reproduction as well as the right to security and

control over their body.” NGO’s thus continuously lobby government to ensure that the above rights of women are enforced.

In addition the Women’s Charter for Effective Equality for women in South Africa was adopted at the national convention of the Women’s National Coalition in February 1994. Goosen et al (1998:15), provides a summary of the charter. **(Appendix 6)**

“Women claim:

- *Full and equal participation in the creation of a non-sexist, non-racist, democratic society;*
- *That with the regard to equality – which underlies all claims – no distinction should be made that disadvantages women;*
- *That law and the administration of justice should uphold women’s right and ensure equality;*
- *Full participation in the economy, at all levels, including informal and unpaid labour;*
- *The right for women and girls to equal education that acknowledges and accommodates their needs;*
- *Access to the full range of basic development resources to sustain healthy and productive lives;*
- *That development-orientated social services should be a right and not a privilege as women are primarily responsible for maintaining the household and the community;*
- *The right to participate fully in all levels of political, civic and community life;*
- *That all types of families should receive recognition, that women’s responsibilities should be reflected in their decision-making powers and that child care and domestic duties are shared;*
- *Customary, cultural and religious practices should be subject to the equality clause in the Bill of Rights;*

- *The right to security, bodily integrity and freedom from all forms of violence;*
- *Equal, affordable, accessible and appropriate health care services that meet women's needs; and*
- *That the dignity of women should be preserved and promoted by the media.”*

It is clear from the above that a definite response to domestic violence is needed. The current response to this problem thus far has not been sufficient. At the 1994 Women's Health Conference, the working group on violence finalized a consensus document, which called for a comprehensive approach against violence Goosen et al (1998:15).

- *“We should aim to try to prevent violence against women before it even starts. We can do this by making society aware that violence against women is unacceptable.*
- *A broad-based public education program should be started to challenge the view that women are responsible for the violence committed against them.*
- *We should introduce programs into educational institutions that counter stereotypes of women. Sexual harassment policies also need to be put into place.*
- *Both professionals and non-professionals who come into contact with women who have suffered violence should be properly trained.*
- *Further research is needed to give us a better idea of how many women are victims of violence.*
- *We need to counter these aspects of religion and culture, which are used to oppress women.*
- *The reconstruction and development of society should pay attention to those effects of poverty and apartheid, which entrench violence.*
- *Good support services (and enough of them) should be provided for abused women and their children.*
- *Emergency and crisis services should provide specialized counselling for all abused women.*

- *These services should develop a comprehensive network for counselling services and a toll-free crisis line, and should adopt different counselling models, depending on need, language and culture.*
- *Funding should be made available for professional workers, so that women's support services are not totally dependent on volunteers. Services should be affordable. Proper shelter should be available for battered women. This will help them to leave their abusive relationships.*
- *Women should be guaranteed safety and security. This will require changes in legislation and administration, and will underline the seriousness of the problem of male violence against women. It will also encourage women to report cases of abuse.*
- *The legal system should be fundamentally reformed in order to create a more user-friendly legal system for women who are victims of violence.*
- *The capacity of the criminal justice system should be improved to deal with male violence against women effectively and sensitively.*
- *Local, regional and national co-ordination on initiatives to stop violence against women is vital if limited resources are to be used efficiently and effectively.*
- *Local, regional and national networks of people committed to working against violence should be formed.*
- *Local communities should be encouraged to co-ordinate and organize activities related to women and violence.*
- *The establishment of relevant committees in government departments should be encouraged.” Goosen et al (1998:15)*

Hence, in order to ensure that this problem is approached in a desired manner, a few guidelines need to be put in place. It is of utmost importance that planning and co-ordination take precedence here and that all stakeholders involved should be thoroughly trained in terms of dealing with survivors of abuse thereby ensuring that secondary victimization of the client is put to an end.

International Instruments and Resolutions On Violence Against Women

With Apartheid as a political ideology being gone, South Africa again welcomed into the international arena and participated in various conventions focusing on gender equality. Park et al (2000:36), point out that although the focus was placed on gender equality at an international political level, the link between gender violence and gender equality was only made in 1992: “...in a General Recommendation 19 by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against women at its session in which violence against women was specifically named and condemned as a form of discrimination.” Park et al (2000:36), identify four reasons for this:

- *“Firstly, its commission (violence against women) occurs within the private sphere of the home to which women are relegated.*
- *Secondly, many of the violations are spoken about neither by the perpetrators nor the victims and are shrouded in silences.*
- *Thirdly, this silence is caused by, and in turn reinforces, cultural and legal norms that sustain an environment conducive to oppressive practices.*
- *Finally, there are a few laws worldwide which reflect the types of violence women experience. Most legal systems do not recognize domestic violence or femicide as crimes of a specifically gendered nature.”*

International conventions that responded to violence against women and their recommendations as outlined by Park et al (2000:36 – 40) are listed in table 1 below.

Table 1: International conventions that responded to violence against women and their recommendations

<u>Year</u>	<u>Instrument or Forum</u>	<u>Recommendation</u>
1979	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination of Violence against Women (CEDAW)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sets out a framework within which gender equality can be measured along a range of axes, such as nationality, participation in public life, education, work, health care and economic and social life.
1985	World conference to Review and Appraise the Achievement of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace (Nairobi)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The issue of violence against women was once again raised as an afterthought to issues of discrimination, health, economic and social issues. Paragraph 258 of the Nairobi Forward – Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, adopted by the World Conference, states that: <i>“Violence against women exists in various forms in everyday life in all societies. Women are beaten, mutilated, burned, sexually abused. Such violence is a major obstacle to the achievement of peace and other objectives of the Decade and should be given special</i>

		<i>attention. Women victims of violence should be given particular attention and comprehensive assistance... ”.</i>
1990	The Economic and Social Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The council annexed recommendations to its resolution 1990 / 15 : “... <i>violence against women in the family and society is pervasive and cuts across lines of income, class and culture must be matched by urgent and effective steps to eliminate its incidences. Violence against women derives from their unequal status in society.</i>” • Governments were called upon to take immediate measures to establish appropriate penalties for, as well as reduce the impact of, violence against women in the family, the workplace and society (Recommendation XXII).
1992	Committee for supervision of observance of CEDAW (11 th session)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Committee recommended that gender discrimination include gender-based violence: “<i>that is, violence which is directed against a woman because she is a woman</i>

		<p><i>or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion or other deprivations of liberty. Gender-based violence may breach the specific provisions of the Convention, regardless whether those provisions expressly mention violence”.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State parties were, therefore, requested to take appropriate measures to overcome gender-based violence, whether by public or private act (General Recommendation 19 entitled Violence against Women, 1992).
June 1993	The Declaration and Program of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Declaration emphasized that “<i>gender-based violence ... (is) incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person, and must be eliminated</i>” (Part I, paragraph 18). The Declaration called for integration of women’s human rights throughout all UN human rights activities.
December	United Nations General	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The General Assembly

1993	Assembly	<p>adopted a Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women – the first international human rights instrument to deal exclusively with violence against women.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Declaration defines violence as: “... <i>any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in public or private life.</i>” • A significant advance for women is the clarification that states should not invoke custom, tradition, or religion to justify their failure to eliminate violence against women. • The particular vulnerability to violence of some groups of women including refugees, migrants, the elderly, girl children, the destitute, members of minority groups,
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		<p>and indigenous women is acknowledged as an issue requiring special attention.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Article 4 c) requires states to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and punish acts of violence against women perpetrated by the state or by private persons. Failure by states to exercise due diligence and to provide a secure environment for women incurs state responsibility. <p>NOTE: Whilst the declaration is a major victory in affirming the international dimensions of the problem of violence against women, its limitation lies in the fact that it is not binding on states. Unlike a treaty, it does not contain any legal obligations, which is a cause of great concern.</p>
1993	Ad hoc Tribunals for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> These Tribunals both explicitly incorporate rape as a crime against humanity within their jurisdictions. The Statute of the Rwanda Tribunal also expressly includes rape, enforced

		<p>prostitution and any form of indecent assault as a violation of article 3 common to the Geneva conventions and of Additional Protocol II. Through prosecutorial policies, sexual violence has been charged under the statute of the former Yugoslavia Tribunal as constituting a grave breach of the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilians in times of War, as constitutive of enslavement and torture, and as crimes against humanity. Indications have now been issued by both Tribunals charging sexual violence as genocide.</p>
June 1994	United Nations Panel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Found that 'ethnic cleansing' and 'related rape' are 'war crimes' and legally constitute genocide. Rape has now been recognized as a crime against humanity. Some commentators remain sceptical and argue that the effect of the resolution will not reach the military leaders

		<p>who ordered the rapes as part of a war strategy, but instead will only reach the low-ranking soldiers who committed rape. However, the stated resolutions are an important recognition of the principle that violence against women is not a legitimate part of warfare.</p>
1994	The commission on Human Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adopted resolution 1994/45, in terms of which a Special Reporter on Violence against Women was appointed. The Special Reporter has already produced her first report, focusing on the different forms of violence, its causes and consequences, and stating responses to it.
September 1995	United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action were adopted in which violence against women was identified as one of the priority concerns for the international community. • Particular forms of violence against women are specified in the Platform for Action paras. 114-115), including

		<p>violations of rights of women in situations of armed conflict, in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy; forced sterilization; coercive / forced use of contraceptives; female infanticide; and prenatal sex.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The recommendations adopted, call for government condemnation of violence against women and due diligence in the prevention, investigation, and punishment of acts of violence against women.
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Adapted from: Park et al (2000)

Government Participation In The International Arena

Once being welcomed back into the international arena, the South African government participated in various international conventions of which three are highlighted in table 2 below. Gauteng Department of Social Services and Population Development (2002b)

Table 2: Government participation in the international arena

<u>Convention</u>	<u>Recommendations</u>
Beijing Platform of Action	The Platform for Action specified 12 critical areas of concern considered to represent the main obstacles to

	<p>women's advancements which required action by government and civil society:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women and poverty • Education and training of women • Violence against Women • Women and armed conflict • Women and the economy • Women in power and decision-making • Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women • Women and the media • Women and the environment • The Girl Child.
Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)	<p>CEDAW obligates those countries which have ratified or acceded to it to take "all appropriate measure" to ensure the full development and advancement of women in all spheres – political, educational, employment, healthcare, economic, social, legal, and marriage and family relations. It also calls for the modification of social and cultural patterns of conduct in order to eliminate prejudice, customs, and all other practices based on the idea of inferiority or superiority of either sex.</p>
SADC	<p>Here the South African government committed themselves to the following by signing the Southern African Development Community Summit in Malawi:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieving at least 30 per cent target of women in political and decision-making structures by 2005 • Promoting women's full access to and control

	<p>over productive resources to reduce the level of poverty among women</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Repealing and reforming all laws amending constitutions and changing social practices which still subject women to discrimination • Taking urgent measures to prevent and deal with the increasing levels of violence and children.
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Adapted from Gauteng Department of Social Services and Population development (2002 b)

Various organizations have also been established to address gender inequality and violence against women as set out in the South African Constitution. They are listed in table 3 below:

Table 3: Organisations to address violence against women

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Mission statement</u>	<u>Activities</u>
Commission on Gender Equality	That women's rights are protected as laid out in the Bill of Rights.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educates people about gender and women feel confident about their rights. • Checks that government and business and other organizations understand and respect gender equality.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Checks that all laws in the country treat men and women equally and fairly. • Recommends new laws that help with gender equality. • Deals with complaints and problems that women have in their lives, and helps them to get information and help. • Checks that South Africa follows some of the agreements on gender equality from other countries.
Human Rights Institute of South Africa	To provide unique and necessary services to organizations and persons contributing to a human right culture in South Africa.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducts training courses in the theory and practice of human rights and in documentation and handling of human rights

		<p>information.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compiles and maintains databases of human rights information for the use of organizations and individuals concerned with human rights issues. • Conducts research projects on human rights related issues.
The Black Sash	To monitor infringements of political and socio-economic rights and how the rights of women are affected and to engage in paralegal work which strengthens people's capacity to understand and claim their rights.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses on social security rights, especially retirement provision, child support benefits, unemployment provision and disability provision. • Contributes and supports the building and strengthening of civil society.
Community Law Centre	To protect and promote	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and

	and advance human rights and democratic norms. The centre pays special attention to the position of women and children.	implementation of human rights.
Gender Advocacy Program	To bridge the gap between women and civil society and structures of government and to focus on urban and rural women living in impoverished conditions and to empower women to lobby for equity between women and men in all spheres of the South African society.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducts training, research, advocacy and lobbying projects in the areas of local government, domestic violence, social policy, governance and reproductive health.

Adapted from Women net Website: (www.womensnet.org.za)

These organizations or national machinery for gender equality fit together in the following manner: (**Appendix 7**)

Despite the fact that powerful machinery is available to assist women in terms of violence, these services are not readily accessed. One reason is that many women are not aware of the existence of the service as limited advertising of such services occurs. Many women also lack the financial and educational means to access these services. One example hereof is that in order to get your complaint addressed, this needs to be written and posted to the relevant institutions.

Another problematic factor is the under representation of women in the National Assembly as outlined in the table below:

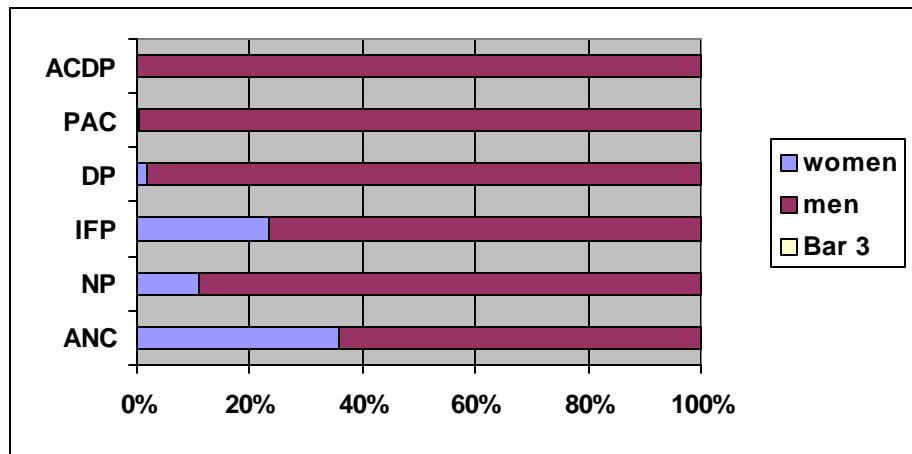


Figure 5: Women and men MPs in the National Assembly Baden et al (1999)

(ACDP –African Christian Democratic Party, PAC – Pan African Congress, DP – Democratic Party, IF P – Inkhata Freedom Party, and NP –National Party and ANC – African National Congress).

Although the government has participated in the conventions and a new Domestic Violence Act has been introduced, implementation remains a problem due to a variety of reasons, one being a lack of resources. There is still also a heavy reliance on NGO's to address the problem with limited support from government. South Africa has many good Acts such as the Maintenance Act, but implementation remains a problem, as highlighted by the cartoon (**Appendix 8**) of Zapiro (Sowetan, 8 August 97). Effective strategies to end violence against women are needed.

Park et al (2000) states that these strategies should be aimed at raising public awareness of the issue; training to ensure gender-sensitive law enforcement; and adequate health care, housing, shelters, counselling,

and support services. Most essential, though perhaps most elusive, is the need for a fundamental change in social attitudes and practices.

Park et al (2000:42) state that government can show their commitment to end violence against women by:

- Governments should publicly denounce all customs and traditions, which support gender violence, and specific acts of gender violence committed within society and by its own members.
- Provide adequate resources for projects that are aimed at ending violence against women.
- Strategic alliances and partnerships with the non-governmental communities that are working to eradicate violence against women.

2.16. SUMMARY

Chapter 2 focused on theories that explain the oppression and victimization of women. In addition, attention was also given to the background of why women fall prey to victimization. An overview of domestic violence as well as the dynamics of the abuse was explored. Theories relating to the reasons for the occurrence of abuse were also explored.

Focus was placed on various vital concepts that impact on human behaviour and thus determine how men relate to women.

Attention was given to secondary victimization in South Africa and abroad, as well as the different role-players that contribute to the re-victimization of women when reporting abuse.

Finally, attention was given to the consequences of secondary victimization, as well as the response that is needed to deal with this problem.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focused on the research methodology used in the study. It focused on the background of the area under study as well as provided a description of both qualitative and quantitative research styles. The process of how respondents were chosen, and characteristics of the respondents are also highlighted. Finally, the instrument used to obtain data is described and the advantages and disadvantages thereof are outlined.

3.1. RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

The research design of a study could either be positivist (quantitative) or phenomenological (qualitative) research based on a philosophy which both have their own unique advantages. However some researchers prefer a combination of the two for its inherent benefits: *“The use of multiple research methods enables the researchers to increase the reliability and validity of the findings.”* Mitchell (2002:30).

In order to fully understand the qualitative, quantitative and combined research designs, Buckinghamshire Chilterns University College (2002:10), provides an explanation of the two approaches below.

3.1.1 Positivist (quantitative research)

Positivist research is generally quantitative and involves the use of numerical measurement and statistical analyses of measurements to examine social phenomena. It views reality as consisting phenomena that can be observed and measured. The advantages of this quantitative

approach are that it places great premium on objectivity and reliability of findings and encourages replication. Applied to social sciences and business research, positivism may not always be appropriate, as all social phenomena cannot be accurately and reliably measured, thus reducing the validity of the findings.

The research process within a positivist paradigm generally has the following sequence of stages:

1. A theory is advanced.
2. Concepts and variables are derived from the theory.
3. Hypotheses or research questions are developed from the theory.
4. Concepts and variables are operationalized into visible, definable indicators so that they can be measured.
5. A research instrument is used to measure the variables and operationalized indicators to test the hypothesis.

3.1.2 Phenomenological (qualitative research)

Phenomenological researchers, in contrast, argue that the world is socially constructed and that science is driven by human interests and that the researcher, as a subjective entity, is part of the world he/she is observing. Objectivity, in short, is an impossible aim.

The advantages of the qualitative interpretive orientation in research are that the findings often have greater validity and are less artificial as the process of observing phenomena in natural, real-life settings often allows researchers to develop a more accurate understanding of those phenomena. Good qualitative research often reveals depth of understanding and richness of detail.

However, research driven by phenomenological philosophy is sometimes undermined by the subjectivity of the researcher and the poor reliability of the findings in that two researchers may arrive at a different conclusion based on their observations of the same phenomena at the same time.

In phenomenological, interpretive research the sequence of stages is broadly as follows:

1. A broad area of focus is defined, sometimes with a broadly based research question.
2. The researcher asks open-ended questions and records observations about the phenomena in a real life context.
3. The researcher searches for categories and groupings in the data.
4. The researcher looks for patterns and recurrences in the data.
5. The researcher interprets these patterns into a reasoned explanation of the phenomena.
6. Using an inductive approach, the researcher develops a tentative theory or compares his explanation with other theories.

3.1.3 Combined research approach

Noting the strengths and weaknesses that flow from purely positivistic and phenomenological bias in research, researchers sometimes adopt a mixed approach that draws on both positivism and phenomenology.

Many studies thus reveal a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods. The use of multiple research methods enables the researcher to increase the reliability and validity of the findings. The weaknesses of one method are balanced by the strengths of the other methods incorporated in the same study.

Buckinghamshire Chilterns University College (2002:14) also adds to the above and also refers to positivist as deductive and phenomenological as inductive. They distinguish between the two below based on their key differences:

	Positivist Paradigm	Phenomenological Paradigm
The world	The world is external and objective	World is socially constructed and subjective
The observer	Observer is independent	Observer is part of what is observed
Science	Science is value free	Science is driven by human interests
Interpretation	Look for causality and fundamental facts	Focus on meanings
Reasoning	Deductive	Inductive
Approach	Operationalise concepts to encourage objectivity	Try to understand what is happening
Method	Quantitative. Use of statistics to establish an objective view.	Qualitative. Multiple methods to establish pattern in different subjective views.

For the purpose of this study, a combination of quantitative and qualitative research design was used.

This study is of a sensitive nature and thus a mixture of both quantitative and qualitative research styles were used in order to obtain in-depth information from the survivors and also to be able to establish rapport with the survivor who would be relating her own experience.

Focus was placed on the subjective experience of women (adult female survivors) who are the recipients of the service, as well as what the expectations of the recipients are in relation to what is actually expected of the police by the Domestic Violence Act. Thus information was obtained from the women regarding the expectations of the police were summarised. (**Appendix 12**) and the researcher identified three narratives based on a random sampling to record the experiences of women from the experience of abuse, the decision to report the abuse and the experience of secondary victimization.

A second questionnaire was administered to another source of information namely the service providers in the community. This was to assess the quality of the service, which the service providers are providing to survivors and how they link up with the police.

Information was also obtained from key informants or knowledgeable people to get a more in-depth understanding of the extent of secondary victimization by the police according to the members of the community and a focus group discussion was held with the police to identify obstacles which hamper their work in terms of the Domestic Violence Act, if training had been provided in order to deal with Domestic Violence situations and if police are aware of their new duties in terms of the Act.

3.2. RESEARCH STRATEGIES

For the purpose of the study one sample was used as a primary source of data collection. This included the adult female survivors of abuse.

Secondary sources such as an interview with service providers in the community, a focus group with those police members dealing with domestic violence cases was conducted, as well as interviews with knowledgeable people in the community was used.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

As this study is unique in its kind, exploratory research was utilized. A study of the nature of the services provided to adult survivors of abuse in Lenasia in relation to the Domestic Violence Act has not previously been undertaken, and thus an exploratory research approach is ideal. This research type is described below:

3.3.1 Exploratory research

Exploratory studies are primarily concerned with finding out what is happening and discovering new insights about a phenomenon. The researcher conducts an in-depth search of the literature, interviews experts in the field, and conducts focus group discussions. Thus with regard to the study, the researcher conducted a search on secondary victimization by the police of adult female survivors of abuse and also conducted a search about primary abuse and the Domestic Violence Act. This information was obtained from books, journals, internet, newspapers. In addition, interviews were conducted with people in the community to get information about Lenasia, focused group discussions were conducted with counsellors to determine if secondary victimization is experienced by

survivors, with the police to determine if they understood what their duties are with relation to survivors of abuse as stipulated in the Domestic Violence Act and with the survivors to determine if their expectations of the police are in line with what is expected of the police with regard to the Domestic Violence Act. Knowledgeable people were also interviewed to determine the opinion held of the Lenasia police with regard to domestic violence and interviews were conducted with other service providers in the community. Out of these diverse sources of information the researcher begins to piece together details about the real nature of the field of interest, according to Buckinghamshire Chilterns University College (2002:21). Thus the researcher was able to assess the nature of the services provided by police to survivors of abuse when reviewing this information.

Bearing the research purpose in mind emphasis can now be placed on the sampling method.

3.4 SAMPLING

In research, two kinds of sampling methods exist, namely probability sampling and non-probability sampling. Buckinghamshire Chilterns University College (2002:15) provides an explanation of the characteristics of each sampling method.

3.4.1 Probability

*“Probability sampling is based on the concept of **random selection** – a selection procedure that ensures each element of the population is given a known chance selection. Some general concepts associated with probability sampling are listed below:*

- *The sample obtained should be **representative** of the population from which it is drawn.*
- *The sample must be selected **randomly** from the population.*
- *Every element/ member in the population has an **equal** probability of being chosen once they are included in the sampling frame.*
- *It is impossible to **generalize** the findings from the sample to the population.*
- *Probability sampling thus exists within the **positivistic/quantitative paradigm** as it is based on scientific assumptions of developing generalized knowledge about categories and aspects of reality and not about the individual and the unique”.*

3.4.2 Non-Probability

“Non-Probability sampling, in contrast, is non-random, subjective and purposive in that the researcher may select the sample using criteria other than those associated with randomness of selection. Some general points about non-probability sampling are noted below:

- *The overall aim is to select a sample that, **by design**, allows the researcher to capture a wide range of facets.*
- *Elements from the population are not selected randomly but in a **deliberate**, consciously controlled manner with prior design and purpose.*
- *Every member or element of the population does **not have an equal** chance of being selected from the sampling frame.*
- *Non-probability sampling does **not have generalization** beyond the sample as a critical aim.*
- *Non-probability sampling thus exists in the **phenomenological/qualitative** paradigm because of its concentration on specific cases and in-depth analysis of the specific.”*

For the purpose of the study both probability and non-probability sampling methods will be used.

3.4.3 Sample

3.4.3.1 Survivor Sample

In this sample the researcher made use of a probability sampling method, namely the Stratified Random Sampling. Here all survivors were divided into strata in terms of race. Within each stratum, a random sampling occurred. This was to ensure that all ranks of the population are represented as people of all race groups report abuse to the Lenasia Police Station. This is, however, not an assumption that domestic violence occurs only among a particular race.

Bailey (1987:90) provides a description of this sampling methods:

“Stratified Random Sampling

Separating the population elements into nonoverlapping groups, called strata, and then selecting a simple random sample from within each stratum. A stratified sample will thus assure representation.”

A thousand dockets were obtained from Lenasia Police Station of women that had been abused and having reported it to the police. These dockets were of women reporting abuse between the periods of December 1999 to December 2000, which was the time when the Domestic Violence Act came into effect.

The information needed was to determine if the women who have reported the abuse to the Lenasia police felt that they were secondary victimized

and to determine what the expectations of the police were when reporting abuse and if they were in line with the duties outlined in the Domestic Violence Act. This was the first sample. Also to identify the expectations of the survivors of the police when reporting abuse.

3.4.3.2 Additional sources of information: service providers

Another source of information was the service providers dealing directly with survivors of abuse. They were identified and information on who the person in charge was, was obtained in order to determine the quality of services that they provide to the survivors and how they link with the police.

From the service providers, the heads of court, district surgeon and Nisaa Institute for Women's Development (NGO) were interviewed. The choice of respondents was based on the expertise that they possess as they are aware of the procedures which should be followed in terms of assisting domestic violence survivors and what appropriate legislation is. This choice is based on a non-probability sampling known as purposive sampling. *"...the researcher uses his or her own judgment about which respondents to choose, and picks only those who best meet the purposes of study. The advantages of purpose sampling are that the researcher can use his or her research skill and prior knowledge to choose respondents."* Bailey (1987:92).

3.4.3.3 Focus group and knowledgeable people

A focus group discussion was held with all police members at the Lenasia Police Station that deal with domestic violence in order to identify if there are obstacles that prevent them from carrying out their duties, if they are aware of what their duties are and if they had received any training. A snowball sampling of knowledgeable people in the community was also

used, based on their length of stay in Lenasia, their knowledge of domestic violence and interaction with the Lenasia police. Three people were identified and they were asked their opinion of the Lenasia Police in terms of domestic violence.

In order to fully understand the context of the community in which the research is conducted background information in Lenasia is presented.

3.5 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT LENASIA

As the researcher does not know the area very well, interviews were conducted with three residents of the Lenasia area. The following information was obtained:

Lenasia is a township-based 30km south of Johannesburg, which was formed during the 1960s as a result of the Group Areas Act passed in the 1950s. The name Lenasia stems from the name Lenz having been a military base in this particular area. Predominantly Indian people from the areas of Page view, Fordsburg, Mayfair and surrounding areas had been relocated to this area, which during this time was predominantly a farm-like area. The predominant religions practiced in the area were Islam and Hinduism.

Lenasia was not fully developed and times were difficult as people were living hand to mouth. Few job opportunities were available and people were faced with a shortage of housing. However, the community members lived as a cohesive group and joined each other in celebrating many religious festivals. From time to time the circus and funfair would also come to the township ensuring that both young and old experienced some recreation.

Services during that time were limited with no structured business hours, e.g. Department of Home Affairs would come to the area once a week but no structured times were set. Some shops were available and they were built around an open plain known as the “Dust Bowl”.

Domestic violence situations existed but this was a topic that was never discussed outside the family home. Women in turn were taught to serve their fathers and brothers and eventually their husbands. They were taught to be submissive and to realize that the man had a lot of stress and this thus qualifies his behaviour. Divorce at all times was also not very common and the husband was the breadwinner. Services available for abused women were very basic, in that unqualified but respected women in the community were available to counsel the women. During these sessions women were given the opportunity to ventilate and once again the issue of being submissive was highlighted. On completion of the counselling, the women were given a food parcel and sent home. The violence did not necessarily end and many women did not even make use of this service out of fear of being stigmatised.

The 1980s marked the Turning Point for the community. It was during this time that Lenasia started to become developed. Now from the mere five extensions that existed, Lenasia consisted of a total of 11 extensions with extension 13 being developed in 1994. People now decided to move out of the extended family and live separately and this resulted in the housing problem accelerating to the point where a huge backlog for housing requests was created. One interviewee relates the fact that her family was on the waiting list for housing from 1970 and only got a house in 1997. More services were made available to the community and shops developed where many people were employed. Domestic violence still continued but talking about it remained a taboo.

With the new democracy, people from all races now moved to Lenasia. It is estimated that approximately 30% of the population in Lenasia are from other races whereas the rest of the population is still Indian. Lenasia now has more services, which are still not accessed as a result of the stigma associated with domestic violence.

Many women who do disclose the fact that they are being abused, are looked on harshly and made to feel that they had actually brought the abuse upon themselves. Domestic violence organizations also receive little support from the community and it is believed that these organizations are there *“to put ideas into the heads of women and to break up families”*. It is also felt that the businessmen in the area are very reluctant to provide funds to the organizations, as they fear to upset the status quo.

3.6 RESEARCHER

The researcher has been working in the field of domestic violence for the past five years, at a non-governmental organizations known as the Nisaa Institute for Women's Development.

During this time at the organization, the researcher has identified a pattern when women report abuse to the police. These women have experienced secondary victimization at the hands of the Lenasia police when reporting abuse. As a result, many women started to refrain from reporting abuse to the Lenasia police for the following reasons:

- Bribery and corruption (dockets disappearing, cases being withdrawn).
- Police not helping because they did not want to get involved in domestic issues.
- Police not taking the problem seriously.
- Police blaming the survivor.

Despite the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act, which stipulates special duties for the police, women still continued to experience the above.

The new station commander of the Lenasia Police Station approached Nisaa to provide training to the police in order to assist the police in dealing effectively with domestic violence cases. It was thus decided to undertake a study to determine if secondary victimization was indeed taking place, even after the introduction of the Domestic Violence Act and to identify the reasons for its occurrence. Hence, with this information, a training module could be designed addressing these issues and counselling of survivors can be enhanced. This thus enhances the social work profession as by training the police on gender and domestic violence, social justice will be promoted as police will be equipped to prevent secondary victimizing survivors and also for the social worker knowledge of this occurrence enhances counselling so that individuals are helped to access services and to reach their full potential.

3.7. PARTICIPANTS

For the purpose of the study, one sample was used from which data is obtained, namely the adult female survivors of abuse and other sources of information was used namely the service providers, knowledgeable others and the police.

3.8. PROCESS OF OBTAINING DATA

In order to obtain data from the samples, an interview schedule (survivors) and questionnaire (service providers) was used.

3.8.1 Survivors: Interview Schedule

The researcher made use of both closed and open questions during the interview. Here the nature of the problem, namely domestic violence and secondary victimization is of a sensitive nature and thus the researcher needed to firstly establish rapport with each survivor and be very empathic. The interviews were conducted face to face so that the researcher could be able to make observations of behaviour and body language when questions were asked.

The researcher ensured that the interview was based on an interaction which allowed the respondent to feel that she is in a safe environment to be able to reconstruct her experiences. The researcher was able to debrief the survivor at the end of the interview.

The advantages and disadvantages of questionnaires are outlined below Bailey (1987:90).

ADVANTAGES OF INTERVIEW STUDIES

1. *Flexibility*. Interviewers can probe for more specific answers and can repeat a question when the response indicates that the respondent misunderstood.
2. *Response rate*. The interview tends to have a better response rate than the mailed questionnaire.
3. *Nonverbal behaviour*. The interviewer is present to observe nonverbal behaviour and to assess the validity of the respondent's answer.

4. *Control over environment.* An interviewer can standardize the interview environment by making certain that the interview is conducted in privacy, that there is no noise, etc., in contrast to the mailed study, where the questionnaires may be completed by different people under drastically different conditions.
5. *Question order.* The interviewer has control over question order and can ensure that the respondent does not answer the questions out of order or in any other way thwart the structure of the questionnaire.
6. *Spontaneity.* The interviewer can record spontaneous answers.
7. *Respondent alone can answer.* The respondent is unable to “cheat” by receiving prompting or answers from others, or by having others complete the entire questionnaire for him or her, as often happens in mailed studies.
8. *Completeness.* The interviewer can ensure that all of the questions are answered.
9. *Time of interview.* The interviewer can record the exact time, date and place of the interview.
10. *Greater complexity of questionnaire.* A more complex questionnaire can be used in an interview study.

DISADVANTAGES OF INTERVIEW STUDIES

1. *Cost.* Interview studies can be extremely costly.
2. *Time.* Interviews are often lengthy and may require the interviewer to travel miles.
3. *Interview bias.* The interviewer can also cause error. He or she may misunderstand the respondent's answer.
4. *No opportunity to consult records.* Compared to the mailed questionnaire, the interview generally does not allow the

respondent time to conduct research, to check records, to consult family and friends about facts, or to ponder his or her reply.

5. *Inconvenience.* It has been shown repeatedly that a person's reasoning ability is adversely affected by such factors as fatigue, stress, illness, heat and density.
6. *Less anonymity.* The interview offers less assurance of anonymity than the mailed questionnaire study, particularly if the latter includes no follow-up.
7. *Less standardized question wording.* It may be necessary for the interviewer to probe a great deal.
8. *Lack of accessibility to respondents.*

3.8.2 Service Providers

A telephonic interview was conducted with the service providers. This interview lasted for approximately twenty minutes. The aim of the interview was to be able to obtain information from respondents by making use of both closed and open-ended questions. In order to save time and because the persons in charge are busy, a telephonic interview was ideal:

The telephonic interview is described below:

The telephone interview has the convenience of being non-intrusive, and it is quicker than mail and less expensive than the face-to-face interview. You can probe for more satisfactory answers. You eliminate some of the bias which may be caused by the visual characteristics of the interviewers. The telephone can be used to reach respondents in their "urban fortress" even if they cloister themselves from interviewers.

One chief advantage of the telephone interview is that it is fast. Another advantage of the telephone survey is its lower costs compared to interviewing. A third advantage is that a respondent in a telephone interview remains more anonymous than in a personal interview.

Other advantages of the telephone survey are that the sample needs not be geographically clustered but can be dispersed throughout the study area, and the lower costs allow more callbacks to persuade initially reluctant respondents to participate. Telephone surveys make more efficient use of bilingual interviews, who can undertake interviews throughout the study area and allow greater supervision of interviewers, and hence standardization of practice and higher quality control.

One disadvantage is that the respondents are often less motivated over the telephone, probably because the interviewer has no real power to continue the interview, since the respondent can terminate it at any time merely by hanging up. Another disadvantage is that some respondents are distrustful, believing that the interviewer either has some ulterior motive or is playing a prank on them. Another limitation of the telephone interview is that visual materials such as pictures or checklists cannot be used. A further limitation is that the interviewer is unable to observe the respondent and thus cannot gather nonverbal data. Finally, since the interviewer is not present in the respondent's home, he or she has minimal control. Bailey (1987:197)

3.9. NEGOTIATING ENTRY

As one of the service providers for survivors of abuse, the police play a vital role in the helping process. They are often the first resource that is accessed when faced with an abusive relationship. It is thus important that this resource is capable of providing an acceptable service.

Despite the fact that women are reluctant to report abuse, those that do report do not receive a good service from the police. A new station commander has been appointed at Lenasia Police Station and after having a meeting with him, it became clear that he was keen to ensure that all of his police members working with domestic violence cases get trained. He reported that police do not all know the stipulations of the new Domestic Violence Act and have not received gender sensitivity training. According to him, many of the police were assisting clients on trial and error basis.

It was thus decided by the researcher to conduct a study on the nature of the services that the police in Lenasia do provide to survivors of abuse, with the aim of identifying why secondary victimization is happening at the police station. Another meeting was also set up with the rest of the police members dealing with domestic violence, in order to inform them about the study and to identify their feelings about the service that they provide, to determine if they are supported in the work that they do with adequate resources and also if the community were in fact appreciating the service that they provide.

In terms of the survivors, the women were contacted and asked if they were interested in the study. Some women agreed from the onset whereas others were reluctant due to a number of reasons such as:

- Anonymity
- A need to forget the past.

The researcher explained the purpose of the research and that survivors would remain anonymous. The researcher continued calling until the desired number was obtained and appointments were made.

Each interview took approximately one and a half hours. With the service providers, they were telephoned and the purpose of the interview was explained. The researcher asked their permission to interview them. The interview lasted approximately 20 minutes. The interview conducted with the director of Nisaa was face to face as the researcher is employed here and it was thus easy to set up an appointment for the interview.

The researcher contacted the Station Commander to set up an appointment to have a focus group discussion with all police dealing with domestic violence.

Knowledgeable people in the community were identified. They were informed of the study and asked what their opinion was of the police in terms of domestic violence. They in turn named three other people each who in turn named three each; all were asked the same question.

3.10 THE VALUE OF THE PILOT STUDY

The researcher undertook a pilot study in order to ensure reliability and validity. A structured interview schedule was drawn up with both open ended and closed questions for the adult female survivors of abuse. This was to determine if the survivors experienced secondary victimization when reporting abuse to the police and also to determine what the expectations of the women are of the police when reporting abuse.

A semi-structured questionnaire was designed for the service providers of survivors of abuse. This questionnaire sought to identify what services these service providers offer to survivors of abuse, if there is a need for such a service, the level of quality of the services offered to the adult survivors of abuse and to determine if these service providers offer

support to the Lenasia police (if they network with them) in terms of violence against women.

The researcher thus made use of two questionnaires for the two samples respectively. These questionnaires were given to two experts in order to review and to make comments. This process was needed in order to ensure content validity. The researcher was thus able to assess if questions were clear and if any ambiguity occurred. This questionnaire was also circulated amongst some staff members at the Nisaa Institute in order to get their input on it, to ensure that questions are geared at obtaining the overall information that is required as stated above.

Suggestions made were:

- Including a question that focuses on the family of origin in order to determine if any abuse happened in the family home. This can thus measure the extent to which abuse can be seen as part of life and can be related to socialization and cultural aspects
- To include a question on previous marriages in order to assess if abuse occurred in the previous marriages.

This interview schedule was administered to ten women who have come to Nisaa Institute for Women's Development (where the researcher is currently employed) for assistance and have reported abuse and requested help from the Lenasia Police Station. The aim was to determine if all questions were clearly understood and that no jargon or ambiguity existed.

In addition, the researcher could also assess how women experienced the interview process and if a safe and empathic environment was provided. The researcher wanted to be able to interact with respondents to give them the freedom to be able to relive the experiences but to also ensure that their trauma was contained, so as to prevent further victimization or

traumatizing of respondents. These women were interviewed individually by the researcher. Each session took approximately one hour each and on completion of each interview, the researcher asked if there were any ambiguity regarding the questions and whether they had any suggestions and the following suggestions were made:

- To add cohabitating relationship in the questions as abuse can also happen in relationships where people live together.
- In terms of reasons for remaining in the abusive relationship, the researcher was advised to elaborate on the cultural and religious aspects as they are very broad when conducting the interview.
- Respondents stated that questions were clear and that they understood all questions. They also added that they had felt safe during the interview and that the researcher did not add to the trauma they had already been exposed to.

3.11 SUMMARY

In this chapter the research design as well as the research purpose and strategy were explored. The sample, other sources of data and the ways of data gathering were discussed. The final negotiating entry and the pilot study were explained.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF DATA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focused on the presentation of data. Attention was given to the background of the study where the sample, namely adult female survivors of abuse is provided. Information obtained from the service providers, focus group discussion with the Lenasia Police dealing with domestic violence and information from the knowledgeable people in the community is also included. The results for the survivors and knowledgeable people are presented in tabular form (**Appendix 10**), whereas the other results are presented in verbatim form. The researcher also includes narratives of three survivors depicting the logical flow of occurrences until the experience of secondary victimization. These survivors were chosen by means of random sampling method. (**Appendix 9**) In addition, extracts on why women reported abuse to the police, verbatim responses on whether they thought that police followed the correct procedure when abuse was reported and summarized expectations which women have of police are provided. (**Appendix 12**)

4.1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF SAMPLE

For the purpose of the study, one sample was used as a primary source to obtain data from; other sources namely the service providers, the knowledgeable people from the community and the focus group discussion with the police were used to obtain secondary data from.

4.1.1. Data Analysis

The researcher presented quantitative data in the form of tables whereas qualitative data is presented in the form of narratives, verbatim responses and summaries. Narratives presented focused on three survivors and their experiences from the abuse to the experience of secondary victimization See (**Appendix 9**) whereas summaries are provided of what women believed were the duties of police when assisting survivors reporting abuse and finally extracts on why women approached the police and verbatim responses are provided of whether survivors felt that police followed the correct procedures when they reported abuse.

The researcher made use of both categorical and quantifiable data. Saunders et al (2000:328) defines categorical data as : “...*data whose values cannot be measured numerically but can be classified into sets...*” Thus in order to present data such as reasons for remaining in the abusive relationship, these were grouped into categories according to the number of respondents. The researcher also grouped the open-ended questions into categories according to the responses of survivors. In order to analyse the data, the researcher made use of tables. (**Appendix 10**)

In addition, the researcher also made use of quantifiable data. This Saunders et al (2000:328) defines as: “...*Those whose values you actually measure numerically as quantities.*” An example of this is the biographical information.

The researcher has identified three cases by means of random sampling to show the logical steps from the abuse to the actual experience of secondary victimization.

For the questionnaire for service provider's data was presented in the form of verbatim responses by service providers. In addition, the responses of the knowledgeable others are presented in table form and the responses of the police have been summarized and are divided into different categories

The results of the data obtained are presented below. Tables used are found in **(Appendix 10)**

4.2. RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED WITH ADULT FEMALE SURVIVORS OF ABUSE

The following data focuses on the biographical details of respondents including their sex, age, occupation, number of children, level of education, home language and area where they reside as well as information on their marriage, relationship and the nature of the abuse they have been subjected to. Focus is also placed on reasons for remaining in the abusive relationship and possible reasons for the abuse. Finally, attention is given to the respondents' access to other organizations and the role of the police. All of this information is presented in tabular form. **(Appendix 10)**

The study focused only on adult female survivors of abuse of all races and who speak different languages and who emerge from a variety of areas however, as stated previously, this does not mean that men are not abused and that men do not report abuse to the Lenasia Police Station. This verifies the research conducted in Chapter 2 of this study stating that women are more prone to abuse than men, as highlighted in the Basic Counselling Manual (2002). In addition, the above shows that abuse can happen to any person regardless of age, race, language, culture etc.

Women spoke different languages but the main language spoken was English and the areas that they reside in are Lenasia as well as the surrounding areas namely Orange Farm, Lawley, Soweto, Ennerdale, Eldorado Park, Thembelihle and Lenasia South. This is thus an indication that people from Lenasia as well as the surrounding areas report abuse to the police station.

With regard to the ages of the subjects interviewed, it was found that although women were interviewed between the ages of 20 to 60 years, the majority of women who reported abuse to the police station fell between the ages of 30 to 39 years. Although abuse has no clear limits in terms of age as any person of any age can be abused, this age group represents the age group where women are establishing or have already established their careers. This could result in men feeling threatened especially if they are unemployed or less educated. However, more research is needed to draw a scientific conclusion.

When looking at the occupational status of the woman, it was found that the majority of the women were unemployed. This thus increases the woman's dependence on the man and makes it difficult for her to leave the abusive relationship as highlighted in chapter two for reasons why women stay. Given the fact that the majority of the husband's of the subjects were employed, reinforces the fact that they are the breadwinners and makes the woman financially dependent on them. Respondents have also identified the two main reasons for remaining as financial dependence and for the sake of the children. This quest to leave the abusive relationship could be further hampered if the woman has been unemployed for a long period of time. Getting back into the work force is a difficult process. In addition, if the woman does not have any experience or education this also keeps her entrapped in the relationship. In the study it was found that many women did not have an education higher than matric (**Appendix**

10), which enhances their financial dependency on the abuser, thereby increasing his power and control over her.

When looking at the number of children, few subjects had no children. Given the fact that the majority of subjects were unemployed, reinforces the financial dependency of the woman on the man as she does not know how she would survive financially and especially with children. When referring back to the power and control wheel, abusers also use children as a means to keep the woman in the relationship. Women are threatened that they would be reported to the welfare if they should leave their husbands. This fear thus keeps women entrapped and ensures that the power and control which abusers have is maintained over the survivor. Results also displayed that the main reasons for remaining in the relationship were financial reasons and for the sake of the children. However, it is also where the woman is threatened that her children will be taken away from her that gives her the strength to leave the abuse.

Although few women had been previously married, this was important to determine because of the fact that divorce is linked to stigma and also instead of being seen as a failure, women will opt to remain in an abusive relationship instead of being subjected to ridicule by her family and community as reported by respondents interviewed. Hence it was found that very few women had left the abusive relationship on their own accord and the main reason for leaving was because they were forced to leave the home. Also here the dynamics of leaving the abusive relationship needs to be taken into consideration. Leaving the abusive relationship is a lengthy process and like NICRO statistics reveal as discussed in chapter two that it takes 10 years for the average woman to leave the abusive relationship. This leaving process becomes difficult as there are many factors keeping women entrapped as highlighted in the power and control wheel. The researcher also focused on previous marriages in order to

determine if women had been abused in the previous marriages. The research however focussed on women who are either married or in a relationship where abuse happened.

Women are also placed at a disadvantage because women do not have equal access to power, as shown in Park et al (2000). Thus women have generally been under the guardianship of their husbands, brothers or sons. The fact that their husbands are older than them can reinforce the above and can also place women at a disadvantage of standing up to them as they feel because of their age, they have wisdom and they thus remain obedient to them. This can also be linked to the fact of some cultures where it is found that men are considered to be like the father figure to the wife. Respondents also reported that based on their cultures, husbands are their guardians and protectors.

When looking at the behaviour of the abuser, it is found that they display the characteristics as outlined in chapter two when the profile of an abuser was discussed. Many respondents reported that their husbands were jealous. Jealousy leads to control and this reinforces the abuse as men want to control the women as pointed out in chapter two of this study and highlighted by Fawcett et al (1996)

Although many reasons have been identified for the relationship difficulties (**Appendix 10**), the main ones that stood out were extra-marital affairs, in-laws interfering and jealousy. Although some subjects identified substance abuse as a problem, majority of the subjects did not see this as a relationship difficulty.

The fact that 28.8% of men were having extra-marital affairs, reinforces the fact that men feel that it is their right and it is according to their culture to have many women as also reported by some of the respondents

interviewed. This supports the research on the power and control wheel that talks about male privileges. Also having many women is seen as the role of a man. Another problem is interfering in-laws. When looking at Lenasia and the surrounding areas, it is found that they are still very conservative and that the extended family is very important. This could be why in-laws are interfering. Although the in-laws can be the first point of consultation, unsupportive in-laws and failure to intervene results in the abuse not being addressed or worsening as stated by respondents. It is also the in-laws that are called in first when problems are experienced between the couple. Unsupportive in-laws can also result in many relationship problems either occurring or remaining unresolved.

The duration of the abuse for respondents varied. This could be attributed to the fact that women have different tolerance levels, however more research is needed in order to draw a scientific conclusion. Subjects also experienced abuse for 10 years + and this supports research conducted by NICRO in Blaser (1998) that states that the average woman remains in an abusive relationship for 10 years or more before leaving. In addition, the first incident of abuse happened during turning points in the lives of the couples or as soon as the honeymoon was over. Physical abuse seems to be the most common type of abuse. This is highlighted by Goosen et. al. in Chapter 2 of this study indicating that battery or physical abuse is the most common. However, it was found that subjects also reported a combination of the abuses. When looking at the reasons for abuse, a variety of reasons were identified, however what came across was the power and control on which abuse is based as outlined in chapter two. Many of the subjects did not either experience abuse in the home or witnessed abuse in the home.

Although subjects did report abuse to the police station, when looking at the tables in (**Appendix 10**) many women only reported the abuse

between 1 and 2 times. This supports the fact that women are often reluctant to report abuse as outlined by Holtman (2001) and Cawood (1996) in chapter two of this study. It is also found that more than half of the women did experience the services offered by the police as good whereas the remainder did experience secondary victimization. They reported that charges were laid and cases were opened.

Finally, the majority of respondents reported that the police were in fact helpful and supportive when they reported the abuse whereas others felt that police do not know enough about domestic violence legislation or referrals of survivors and this also supports the information received from the station commander that police needed training on the laws. It is also important to realise that receptiveness does not necessarily mean that the police helped the women. This can be linked to the negative evidence as discussed in chapter one. Police could be victimizing the women without realising that they are doing so. Respondents were asked if the police dealt with their problem and if they felt that the correct procedure was followed. This was to determine if the women were helped according to the what help they had requested. They were also asked if they were informed about their rights to e.g. open a case of assault, in order to determine if the police fulfilled their duties as stipulated by the Domestic violence Act. Here it was found that 66% felt that they were helped and 34% did not feel that they were assisted adequately.

For the purpose of the study, the researcher also includes the verbatim responses of the subjects.

The following presents verbatim extracts of survivors interviewed regarding the reason why they had approached the police for assistance regarding the abuse. For the purpose of the study, four extracts have been used each representing one woman from the four race groups

previously identified namely: White, Coloured, Black and Indian. These were identified by means of random sampling in each stratum. The names of participants have been changed for confidentiality.

Client 1

At first, I did not want to approach the police because in our culture, abuse should be a secret in the home. We try to solve it in the home and don't air our dirty laundry in public. The abuse however was so unbearable and becoming so severe that I had no other choice. My husband was hiding sharp objects under his pillow and made sure that I was aware that the objects were there. I needed to put a stop to this and it was also the ninth time that he had beaten me that night and in front of my sons. I thus went to the police to make him stop the abuse.

Client 2

It was the second time that he abused me that night after all the promises that he would change and stop the abuse. He was like a machine, he just carried on and on. My mother in law tried to stop him and he grabbed hold of her and was strangling her. In his attempt to hit me, he missed and hit my 3-year-old son across the face. That was the last straw and that is why I approached the police for help.

Client 3

I went to the police, because all attempts to stop the abuse failed. I followed all the correct procedures. I involved our families and despite them talking to him, he did not want to stop. My children were also being affected and I just had to make him stop. That is why I went to the police for help.

Client 4

The main reason why I went to the police, was because my husband is the kind of person that doesn't listen to anyone. He is very stubborn and always thinks he is right. I was not prepared to be abused and therefore I was determined to put an end to it before it carried on further. It was the first time he abused me, but to me once was enough.

When interviewing respondents on whether they thought that the police followed the correct procedures, it was found that some responses were very similar. Below are a few verbatim responses of survivors when asked this question:

- Yes, the police did follow the correct procedure. They informed me of my right to lay a charge and were very supportive to me. They took down my statement in the language of my choice and made sure that what was written was exactly what I wanted. A case was opened against my partner and the police told me that I could apply for a Protection order to stop my husband from abusing me.
- Yes, I told them what my husband was doing to me and they told me that that was abuse. They told me to go to Nisaa for help as they help abused women.
- Yes, the police opened a case there and then. The police officer was a lady and she was very angry. She told me that I can open a case so that the abuse can be stopped.
- No, I felt that the officer on duty did not understand my problem. He seemed to rather want me to go home to sort out the problem at home.
- No, the police officer stated I must go home and phone when the abuse continues. When my husband started hitting me again, the police came out and only gave him a warning. I had to seek help from an organization

that was dealing with abuse. They helped me to obtain a Protection Order.

Based on the experiences of the survivors, the researcher designed a model, which is explained below (**Appendix 11**):

Model

Based on the responses of the women, the researcher designed the following model: This model depicts the women in the centre and the factors she considers when faced with the abuse. The points where secondary victimization is most likely to occur are also identified. The model depicts the abused woman standing at a crossroad.

Road number 1 is reporting the abuse to the police and road number 2 shows the options that the women explore in addressing the abuse.

From the study, it was found that road number one was explored, but this was mostly explored when the woman had no other option as pointed out in C of the model. This was the point in which women feared that they would be killed as the abuse was becoming more severe, their health was being affected resulting in them not being able to go to work and also they feared that deterioration of their health could result in death, where they were threatened that their children would be taken away from them and when there were threats of eviction of the woman by her husband.

Road number 2 focuses on the options of addressing the abuse and this indicates modifying her own behaviour (changing her behaviour in order to stop the abuse e.g. trying to be a better wife, not causing arguments), consulting the family (Informing the family of the problem and addressing this problem based on advice given by the family), consulting priests /

religious leaders (trying to consult religious leaders in order to address the abuse) and going for counselling (although this is also one of the last options to explore, the woman will seek help from counsellors to address the abuse). This road has either one of two outcomes: the abuse stops or the abuse continues. If the abuse stops, the couple continue living together and try daily to ensure that the abuse does not return, however should the abuse continue, this then becomes the point where the woman reports to the police as she has no other option having exhausted her other options.

On the side, C shows the facets of the woman's life that were affected by continued abuse and also prompted her to seek assistance from the police.

Points A and B show the points where the woman is most likely to re-victimized. This could be either by blaming her for the abuse, not believing her or creating an environment where she re-lives the abusive experience.

4.3. RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

In addition to the police, other service providers have also been identified. Two telephonic interviews and one face to face interview was conducted with the Magistrate at the Lenasia Magistrate's Court where women apply for Protection Orders, the district surgeon and the director of Nisaa Institute for Women's Development. The information is presented below:

District Surgeon

Gender:

Female

Qualifications:

Bachelor of Medicine,
Science and Surgery

Location of offices:	Office is based near the court and police station and is situated near public transport. Office always surrounded by security guards to ensure the protection of the staff and the clients.
Number of personnel:	2 (District surgeon and receptionist)
Number of hours available:	24 hours
Number of offices:	One
Do you provide services to survivors of abuse:	Yes
Number of survivors per day:	Approximately 8 per day
Services offered to survivors of abuse:	Internal and external examination of survivors of rape and abuse, referral to appropriate shelters and organizations for counselling, providing medication, completion of J88 forms and other medical reports.
Aware of the DVA:	Yes
Act according to Act:	Yes
Accessibility of offices:	Office is based near the court and police station and is situated near public transport.
Safety:	Office always surrounded by security guards to

Relationship with police:

ensure the protection of the staff and the clients. Yes. Refer patients to the police for dockets to be opened and to obtain J88 forms.

Need:

There is a need for this service as women can access services 24 hours a day. The district surgeon also works hand in hand with women abuse organizations and can thus examine women coming to shelters 24 hours and free of charge.

Court

As the court consists of the magistrate, clerk of the court and the prosecutor. Hence, the magistrate was during the interview also asked questions about the clerk and prosecutor.

Clerk of the court

Gender:

Male

Qualifications:

Matric

Location of offices:

In the court building opposite the taxi rank.

Number of personnel:

1

Number of hours available:

8:30 to 16:00

Number of offices:

One (Lenasia Magistrate's Court)

Do you provide services to survivors of abuse: Yes

Number of survivors per day:	16
Services offered to survivors of abuse:	Assisting survivor in applying for the Protection Order, filing all supporting documentation and reports and instructing the sheriff to deliver the Protection order to the perpetrator.
Aware of the DVA:	Yes
Act according to Act:	Yes
Accessibility of offices:	Office is based in the court. Has police in the court for protection. Court situated directly opposite the taxi rank and the police station is just around the corner.
Safety:	The court is around the corner from the police station and also has its own police for security reasons.
Relationship with the police:	Obtain case numbers and affidavits from the police. Can also order police to accompany women to fetch belongings. Can order police to deliver a Protection Order to an abuser.
Need:	There is a need for this

service as women need the protection order to deter their husbands from abusing them.

Magistrate

Gender:	Male
Qualifications:	LLB
Location of offices:	In the court opposite the taxi rank.
Number of personnel:	1 magistrate
Number of hours available:	9:00 to 16:00
Number of offices:	One
Do you provide services to survivors of abuse:	Yes
Number of survivors per day:	8
Services offered to survivors of abuse:	Assessing the abusive situation and determining if the Protection Order should be made permanent or not. Can sentence a perpetrator for committing a crime.
Aware of the DVA:	Yes
Act according to Act:	Yes
Accessibility of offices:	Office is based in the court and police is available to ensure safety of staff and clients.
Safety:	The court is around the corner from the police station and also has its

	own police for security reasons.
Relationship with the police:	Can have a policeman arrest an abuser. Instructs police to deliver Protection Orders or to open cases.
Need:	There is a need for this service as perpetrators can be sentenced for their crimes and the Protection Order can prevent men from abusing their wives.
<u>Prosecutor</u>	
Gender:	Male
Qualifications:	LLB
Location of offices:	In the court opposite the taxi rank.
Number of personnel:	2 prosecutors
Number of hours available:	9:00 to 16:00
Number of offices:	One
Do you provide services to survivors of abuse:	Yes
Number of survivors per day:	8
Services offered to survivors of abuse:	Questioning the accused and ensuring that the accused is punished for a crime committed.
Aware of the DVA:	Yes
Act according to Act:	Yes
Accessibility of offices:	Office is based in

	the court and police is stationed at court. Directly opposite the taxi rank.
Safety:	The court is around the corner from the police station and also has its own police for security reasons.
Relationship with the police:	Assistance in terms of prisoners and investigation of cases.
Need:	There is a need for this service for perpetrators to be punished for their crimes.
<u>Executive Director of Nisaa Institute</u>	
Gender:	Female
Qualifications:	PHD (Psychology)
Location of offices:	19 Link Street in Lenasia but there are two other offices in The Protea Magistrates Court in Soweto and one next to the police station in Orange Farm.
Number of personnel:	28
Number of hours available:	8:00 to 16:00
Number of offices:	Three
Do you provide services to survivors of abuse:	Yes
Number of survivors per day:	8 clients per office

Services offered to survivors of abuse:	Face to face, telephonic and crisis counselling to women and their children, providing emergency shelter and assistance in applying for Protection and Maintenance Orders.
Aware of the DVA:	Yes
Act according to Act:	Yes
Accessibility of offices:	Office is based centrally, close to public transport and the police station.
Safety:	The office has alarm systems and panic buttons. The office is also not far from the police station should assistance be needed.
Relationship with the police:	Refer clients to police for affidavits and police refer clients to Nisaa for counselling and shelter. Request police to deliver Protection Orders and to accompany client to collect belongings from her home.

Need:

There is a need for this service as women are in danger because of the abuse that they are subjected to, to ensure that perpetrators are punished for their crimes, to lobby government and to ensure that women are empowered.

4.4. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH LENASIA POLICE

The researcher also conducted a focus group discussion with police members dealing specifically with domestic violence and rape. A total of 39 members attended. The aim of this discussion was to get a better understanding of what the police experience when dealing with survivors of abuse as well as to understand what obstacles they are often faced with in the line of duty. The following points were raised:

a. Cars

Traditionally, one of the biggest obstacle for the police in carrying out their tasks is the lack of cars. Many reports have been received by NGOs like the Nisaa Institute from clients that police have not attended to their matters because of lack of cars. A conscious effort has been made by the Lenasia Police to deal with this problem and a total of 31 cars are available to be used in order to carry out duties.

b. Withdrawal of cases

Research reveals that a woman can return to an abusive relationship up to five times Dangor (2001). This has become a major frustration for those police working in the domestic violence section of the Lenasia Police Station. Many women come to the police station and open a case, just to withdraw it the very next day. This is frustrating as it takes a lot of time and effort to fill in dockets and to take down statements. Police reported that it becomes difficult to take a survivor seriously after she has withdrawn her case three or more times.

c. Resources

Police have reported that they are aware that many resources exist in Lenasia, however, they do not know the criteria of the different organizations in terms of the clientele, they serve. This causes problems for them as they do not know where clients should be referred to in order to get the necessary assistance.

d. Burnout

Police reported that the nature of their work is very stressful. They often have to work very long hours with few incentives. Police revealed that they do not have any team-building weekends needed to just unwind from the stressful job.

e. Nature of cases

Adding to the burnout experienced by the police members is the nature of the cases that they deal with. Police reported that many of the cases they deal with are very traumatic and although psychologists and other helping profession are available to assist them in dealing with the trauma, many police members do not make use of these services. The reason for this is firstly that police members believe “Cowboys don’t cry”. This means that asking for help is a sign of weakness, especially for a male. In addition, in the past information regarding police going for counselling was kept on their personal file and there was thus a fear that confidentiality would not be maintained. This fear still exists as police feel that the entire office would be informed about their private matters.

f. Expectations of the community

Police members felt that often, the community members have unrealistic expectations of them. They expect that the police should be at their back and call and should jump according to whatever they desire. Police felt that the community expects them to perform miracles and that they do not realize that procedures need to be followed according to the laws.

g. Police abuse

Police reported that they are often the victims of abuse. Many clients enter the police station and abuse them verbally. They are also subjected to many insults, e.g. that they are housebreakers.

h. Training

In terms of training, police members revealed that they had never received training in domestic violence and gender related issues. They stated that they are aware of the existence of the new Domestic Violence Act, but many are not familiar with the content thereof.

4.5. RESPONSES OF KNOWLEDGEABLE OTHERS

The researcher made use of a snowball sampling method to identify members in the community that could be interviewed. These members were to be interviewed on what they thought about the Lenasia Police Station, if they thought that a good service was being provided and why, as well as if they thought that the service was poor and why. A total of 39 knowledgeable people were targeted and the responses are tabled below. Knowledgeable people include people who live in Lenasia, know about abuse and how police deal with cases reported on abuse.

TABLE 52: PERCEPTION OF THE LENASIA POLICE STATION

CATEGORIES	NO OF SUBJECTS	%
Very helpful	11	28.2
Know the laws	8	20.5
Presence of corruption	3	7.7
Rude and disrespectful	14	35.9
Act fast	1	2.6
Only respond to calls after many hours have	2	5.1

lapsed		
TOTAL	39	100

Table 52 shows that in terms of perception of the police, respondents had a negative perception of the service provided by the police. The majority (35.9%) of the respondents experienced the police as being rude and disrespectful, 28.2% stated that the police are very helpful in dealing with domestic violence cases, 20.5% said police know the law, 7.7% stated that there is corruption amongst the police, 5.1% believe that police do not respond to calls immediately but only much later and 2.6% of respondents believe that the police act fast when cases of abuse are reported.

TABLE 53: STRONG POINTS OF THE LENASIA POLICE STATION

CATEGORIES	NO OF SUBJECTS	%
Helpful and efficient	14	35.9
Know legislation	8	20.5
Act fast	1	2.6
None	16	41.0
TOTAL	39	100

Table 53 shows the strong points that the respondents have identified in respect of the Lenasia police. It is evident that 35.9% of respondents believe that the police are helpful and efficient, while 41% of the respondents could not identify any strong points.

TABLE 54: WEAK POINTS OF THE LENASIA POLICE STATION

CATEGORIES	NO OF SUBJECTS	%
Take sides	11	28.2
Don't take domestic violence seriously	14	35.9
Disrespectful	2	5.1
Take bribes	3	7.7
Insensitive	9	23.1
TOTAL	39	100

Table 54 shows that 23.1% of the respondents felt that the police are insensitive, 7.7% felt that they are taking bribes, 5.1% felt that they are disrespectful, 35.9% feel that they do not take domestic violence seriously and 28.2% felt that they are taking sides.

4.6. SUMMARY

This chapter provided a presentation of the data obtained from the main sample, as well as from the secondary sources. Focus was also placed on the background of the sample. The next chapter will focus on an interpretation of the data, hence the findings of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The following chapter focuses on the findings of the study. Here the themes that emerged are discussed, as well as the correlations identified in terms of the tables.

5.1. MAJOR THEMES THAT EMERGED FROM THE STUDY

1. **The importance of support from the in-laws.** Many women reported that the in-laws refused to see that their sons were abusive. They attributed this to the way a man is supposed to behave. Women are supposed to be obedient to their spouses. This lack of support resulted in women seeking outside assistance such as the police.
2. **The belief that divorce is taboo/ relationship failure.** Many women reported that they would not have left the relationship if their spouse had not evicted them.
3. **Dependency.** Many women reported that they remain in the relationship because they are unemployed. They feel that they cannot leave the relationship, as they would not be able to survive. In addition, to financial dependence, there was also emotional dependence. Women reported that despite how many times they have been hurt by their spouses as well as the many promises to change, they still felt love for them and this prevented them from leaving the relationship.
4. **Fear.** Women feared leaving the relationship, because they did not want things to change. They also feared to “disobey” their spouses, as this was not allowed.
5. **Lack of knowledge of rights.** Many women were not given case numbers and the police did not take down their statements. These

women were not aware that they could open a case of abuse against their spouses.

6. **Culture.** In many instances, the women reported that they remained in the relationship because divorce was not accepted in their culture. Many women went as far as to accept the extra marital affairs of their husbands stating that it was part of their culture.
7. **Guilt.** Many women stated that they experienced guilt for having to report the abuse to the police. They felt that they were being disloyal to their husbands and that they were bringing shame to the family (“Don’t air your dirty laundry”.)
8. **The inability of women to affirm themselves.** Many women reported they felt that they were the problems in the relationship and that they should change to ensure that the relationship works. Many things happened in the relationship that they were not happy about but they turned a blind eye.
9. **Control.** Many women reported that they felt that their husbands did not understand them. They felt that their spouses wanted them all to themselves and did not want them to befriend others. Even contact with their families posed a problem.

When looking at the three narratives provided (**Appendix 9**), these themes are also discussed.

Jane

1. The importance of support from the in-laws

In Jane’s case, the in-laws were aware of the abuse and did empathize with her. They provided her with advice on how to address the problem by informing her that she should try to make her husband happy. This thus placed the responsibility on Jane and once again places the onus on the survivor to change her behaviour to stop the abuse.

It attributes blame to the woman “*whose behaviour results in the abuse*” and thus the husband takes no responsibility for his actions as shown by Cawood (1996) as discussed in chapter one: “...*they also suffer the burden of defending the legitimacy of their suffering...*” Jane felt that that had her in-laws spoken to her husband and intervened more actively and directly maybe the problem would have been addressed.

2. The belief that divorce is taboo/ relationship failure

As in the cases of many of the other survivors interviewed, Jane grew up with the belief that divorce is taboo. In her narrative, she reports about her parents who encouraged her to go back despite the fact that she tried to leave the abuse relationship. Also when she discussed the abuse that she was subjected to, she was reminded that divorce is not an option as it is prohibited by her culture.

3. Dependency

From Jane’s narrative, it is evident that she was in fact emotionally dependent on her husband she states: “...*It was my husband...*”, depicting her loyalty towards him. She also expressed her hope that he would change.

4. Fear

Jane’s fear can be attributed to her fear of going against her parents and culture. She also feared her abusive husband.

5. Lack of knowledge of rights

Despite knowing her rights in terms of opening a case, Jane did not have know firstly that her husband was in fact isolating her by his “overprotective behaviour” and thus abusing her emotionally “*Emotional abuse includes... being overly jealous or possessive*” POWA (1998).

6. Culture

Here too Jane was told by family members that abuse should remain a family matter and that divorce is taboo in her culture.

7. Guilt

The loyalty issue emerges here again. Jane did not want to report the abuse because she felt that it was her husband and the father of her children. She also did not want to disgrace her family.

8. The inability to affirm herself

Jane felt that the over-protectiveness of her husband was because he loved her. She later realized that he was isolating her. Because of her fear for him she did not stand up to him.

9. Control

The issue of control is highlighted in Jane's narrative. The fact that Jane stated that her husband was jealous about her relationship with her daughter points to the fact that he did not want her to leave the house by herself is also an indication of the power and control he tried to exert over her.

Charmaine

1. The importance of support from in-laws

Charmaine reported that her in-laws were the cause of the abuse as they had put a lot of pressure on the marriage. By portraying her in a negative light, resulted in her being abused according to her.

2. The belief that divorce is taboo/ relationship failure

Charmaine's belief centred on the fact that a woman has to stand by her man. Thus divorce was never a option at first.

3. Dependency

Charmaine was dependent financially on her husband as she had left her job when she found out that she was pregnant.

4. Fear

Charmaine expressed a fear of the unknown as she was unemployed but her fear of losing her child was even greater which led to her leaving the abusive relationship.

5. Lack of knowledge of rights

Despite the abuse Charmaine was subjected to by her husband, she was also abused by her in-laws. She was not aware that she could obtain a protection order.

6. Culture

The fact that Charmaine believed that it was the right thing to stand by your man is attributed to her socialization. As a young girl she was taught this and thus she had internalised this.

7. Guilt

Charmaine expressed guilt for being a bad wife.

8. The inability of women to affirm themselves

Charmaine knew that her in-laws were the cause of the conflict in her house which resulted in her husband abusing her. She however did not feel assertive enough to raise this with her husband for fear of further abuse.

9. Control

Charmaine's husband attempted to maintain his power and control over her and thus harassed and humiliated her.

Amanda

1. The importance of support from the in-laws

Amanda lacked the support of her mother in-law who also condoned the negative behaviour of her son. She thus had no support from her.

2. The belief that divorce is taboo/relationship failure

As this was her second marriage Amanda felt that she would do anything to save the marriage. She tried to save herself the "embarrassment" of being seen as a failure. This could be attributed to society's mythical belief that the women is at fault if the marriage fails.

3. Dependency

Amanda expressed her emotional dependence to the researcher by stating that she could not live without her husband. This remained in her remaining in the relationship.

4. Fear

Amanda feared being alone as well as being seen as a failure as this was her second marriage.

5. Lack of knowledge of rights

In terms of her rights Amanda was aware that she could not open a case but was not fully aware of her rights when laying a charge.

6. Culture

Amanda, did not accept her husband's extra-marital affair or the abuse, however her decision to leave the abuse was hampered by the belief that all the mistakes of the husband should be overlooked.

7. Guilt

Amanda felt guilt that she may be the cause for the affair. She even blamed herself for it.

8. The inability to affirm themselves

Like in the case of Charmaine, Amanda too was not able to assert herself in terms of her mother in law who was aware of the abuse and the affair.

9. Control

The fact that Amanda was raped reveals the husband's attempted to control her.

5.2. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

Telephonic interviews were conducted with service providers and the following emerged:

- a) Gender – In terms of gender, the district surgeon and the Director of Nisaa are female. More females would be required at the courts to assist women. Many women feel more comfortable to speak to a woman especially when reporting a case of rape.
- b) Qualifications – all service providers seem to be adequately qualified to be able to work in the field of assisting survivors of abuse.
- c) Location of offices – all offices are accessible to survivors, as they are based near public transport and in a safe vicinity.

- d) Number of personnel: More staff is needed in order to assist the women as the present number find it difficult to accommodate all the women; even volunteers could be trained to perform this task.
- e) Knowledge of the Domestic Violence Act - all service providers stated that they work according to the provisions of the Domestic Violence Act.
- f) Networking – service providers stated that they do work with the police when dealing with survivors of abuse.
- g) Need – In terms of the services, service providers stated that there is definitely a need for their services.

5.3. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS WITH THE POLICE

A focused group discussion was conducted with the police and the following was found:

- a. Police stated that they do not have a lack of cars as they have enough allocated to them, despite this being reported as a problem.
- b. However, they experience great frustration in terms of women withdrawing cases.
- c. Police are not aware of all the appropriate resources available to women and children in the community.
- d. Police feel that the expectations of the community of them are unreasonable as they can only work within their ambit.
- e. The nature of the cases police deal with are very traumatic and can lead to burnout.
- f. Police feel the community subjects them to a lot of verbal abuse.
- g. Police feel that they need to be adequately trained in terms of the Domestic Violence Act.

5.4. RESPONSES OF KNOWLEDGEABLE OTHERS

A snowball sample of 39 people was used in order to identify people in the community and then to determine what their opinions of the Lenasia police were:

It was found that many of the respondents felt that the police are rude and disrespectful and that they do not take domestic violence seriously.

However, other respondents did identify that the police are doing an incredible job and that they do provide a quality service.

5.5. CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

Domestic violence is a complex phenomenon. It is difficult for the layperson to be able to understand both the dynamics and nature of domestic violence. This is especially true in terms of the police. Police are trained to enforce the law, it is very difficult for them to be able to empathize and to display all qualities of a good counsellor as they are not trained in this field.

A number of factors hamper police from providing a good qualitative service. Among others, working long hours and also having no effective stress release mechanism makes it very difficult for the police to provide a quality service. The nature of the cases they deal with are very traumatic and no effective debriefing system is in place. What makes matters worse is the fact that police have not been trained in terms of changing legislations regarding domestic violence. All of these factors can result in police secondary victimizing survivors of abuse without even realizing that they are doing so.

It is thus imperative for police to undergo ongoing training on gender, domestic violence and the appropriate legislations such as the Domestic Violence Act and the Maintenance Act. In addition, debriefing mechanisms need to be put in place where police are ensured of confidentiality, as well as stress release mechanisms such as team-building weekends. The researcher concludes that such mechanisms will be welcomed if developed by management in conjunction with the staff.

5.6. SUMMARY

This chapter focused on the findings of the study. A discussion of firstly the themes identified in the study was provided, followed by a discussion of the findings from the primary sources (adult female survivors and the service providers) and the secondary sources (focus group with the police and the knowledgeable others).

The next chapter will focus on the recommendations of the study, as well as the areas of future research.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on the conclusions and recommendations of the study. In addition, lessons learnt and future research are also focused on.

6.1. CONCLUSION

The aim of the study was to determine the nature of the services provided by the police to survivors of abuse at the Lenasia Police Station. Thus in order to do this focus was placed on the Domestic Violence Act to determine if police were fulfilling their duties as outlined in the Domestic Violence Act. In order to do so, the researcher made use of one sample namely the survivors as a primary source of information and the service providers and focus groups and knowledgeable others as secondary sources of information. In order to realize the aim, the researcher identified a number of objectives, which were:

- To define what is expected of the police in terms of the Domestic Violence Act from the perspective of the police.
- To understand the dynamics and nature of abuse and what prompted women to report the abuse to the police.
- To identify experiences of adult women who receive assistance from the police when reporting a case.
- To assess the relationship between the lack of gender sensitivity training and the secondary victimization of adult female survivors of abuse.
- To make recommendations concerning how to decrease or eliminate the occurrence of secondary victimization of survivors of abuse by police at the Lenasia Police Station.

With regard to objective 1, the researcher provided an outline of the duties of the police in terms of the Domestic violence Act. When looking at what their duties were from the perspective of the police, it was found: the police stated that they did not have any training on domestic violence or gender sensitivity and that they were in fact assisting clients on a trial and error basis. They know that the Domestic Violence Act exists but are not clear on what their duties are.

With regard to objective 2, chapter two outlines the dynamics of abuse and shows that the underlying reason for abuse is that of power and control, where there is an imbalance of power, abuse is likely to occur. Chapter two also outlines the complexity of abuse as well as the seriousness and consequences of abuse.

With regard to objective 3, 66% of women reported that they had received a good service from the police and were effectively helped with their problem when reporting abuse, whereas 34% of women did experience secondary victimization by the police. Women mentioned that the police were supportive and understanding and that they had assisted them effectively, whereas others mentioned that the police were rude and inconsiderate and did not know domestic violence legislation.

With regard to objective 4, during the focussed group discussion with the police, it was pointed out that the police were not trained on gender sensitivity issues and domestic violence. This thus explains the fact that police worked on a trial and error basis. If they were not aware of what is expected of them, they can only strive to provide a service to the best of their abilities. In addition, the fact that police were working on trial and error highlights the importance of training to ensure that they are informed about their duties and prevents secondary victimization.

With regard to objective 5, now that it has been identified that the scarcity of gender sensitivity and domestic violence training can result in secondary victimization, recommendations can be made to address this and also to address secondary victimization as a whole. This objective can also be linked to the above objective where women stated that the police were not aware of domestic violence laws. This viewpoint was also held by the knowledgeable others who stated that police do not know the laws. This can be attributed to the fact that they had not received any training.

Based on the study, the researcher also had a few questions that needed answering and thus the following was found:

- What are the experiences of the survivors when reporting abuse at the Lenasia Police Station?
- Are the police subjecting survivors of abuse to secondary victimization at the Lenasia Police station?
- What are the reasons that secondary victimization prevails at the Lenasia Police Station?
- Are the expectations of survivors of the police in line with what is stipulated as the duties of the police in the Domestic Violence Act?

In answering these questions, the following was found: 34% of the survivors experienced secondary victimization when reporting abuse, they reported that the main reason they feel this is happening is because police do not know Domestic Violence Laws well. In addition, police have also reported that they had not received any training with regard to gender and domestic violence and this thus increases the chances of secondary victimization as police are not aware of the correct procedure in dealing with domestic violence cases. Police also stated that they are not aware of the services offered by organizations in the Lenasia area, thus making

referral of the survivor difficult. Finally, when looking at the expectations of the survivors of the police, these expectations are indeed not unrealistic as they are in line with what is actually expected of the police by the Domestic Violence Act.

Thus when looking at the above, the aim of the study was thus achieved. The researcher wanted to assess the nature of the services provided by the police to adult female survivors of abuse. This meant determining the extent to which secondary victimization is happening at the Lenasia Police Station and to identify the reasons for it. Which is here that 34% of the sample experienced secondary victimization (police were rude, insensitive and unhelpful) by the police and the reasons for this are lack of training on the Domestic Violence Act and gender sensitivity as well as lack of knowledge of services provided by organizations in Lenasia in order to do appropriate referrals.

Given the unequal access to power and the socialization of men and females, this can also increase the experience of secondary victimization. *“The criminal justice system evolves partly from the values and beliefs of society and societal norms that are established; implying that the criminal justice system is socially constructed. The amount of power and control that society distributes to men and women in their relationships also influences the amount of power that is allocated and distributed among members of the criminal justice system.”* Nathoo (1997:103)

Domestic violence is a very complex phenomenon. It is very difficult for the layperson to be able to understand both the dynamics and nature of domestic violence. This is especially true in terms of the police. Police are trained to enforce the law, it is very difficult for them to be able to empathize and to display all qualities of a good counsellor as they are not trained in this field.

A number of factors hamper police from providing a good service. Among others, working long hours and also having no effective stress release mechanism makes it very difficult for the police to provide a good service. The nature of the cases they deal with are very traumatic and no effective debriefing system is in place. What makes matters worse is the fact that police have not been trained in terms of changing legislations regarding domestic violence. All of these factors can result in police secondary victimizing survivors of abuse without even realizing that they are doing so.

It is thus imperative for police to undergo ongoing training on gender, domestic violence and the appropriate legislations such as the Domestic Violence Act and the Maintenance Act.

In addition, debriefing mechanisms need to be put in place where police are ensured of confidentiality as well as stress release mechanisms such as team-building weekends. The researcher concludes that such mechanisms will be welcomed if developed by management in conjunction with the staff.

6.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE POLICE

On the basis of the results and conclusions the following recommendations are presented:

6.2.1 Staffing

Although female police members are present to deal with survivors reporting abuse, it is recommended that more female members be recruited. Many survivors who have reported abuse to the police reported

to the researcher that they felt more comfortable when the member was female. It is further recommended that volunteers trained at the NGO's on gender sensitivity and the provisions of the Domestic Violence Act be used at the police station to assist in taking down statements and opening cases. Volunteers should also be trained on how to empathize and this can thus minimize secondary victimization of survivors.

6.2.2 Networks

It is recommended that a task team be established. This team should consist of various service providers to survivors of abuse. This will thus ensure that difficulties experienced can be clarified and that the police members would know whom they can refer survivors to when they require assistance.

Hence, resulting in appropriate referrals. Furthermore, police together with the service providers can discuss mutual expectations and police will then be able to have a good resource list.

6.2.3 Community Forum

It is recommended that a community forum be established within Lenasia, which meets on a monthly basis. Here the police members can have discussions with community members on what their expectations are of the police in terms of dealing with Domestic Violence. The police will also have an opportunity to inform community members of what their duties are in terms of the Domestic Violence Act. Open communication lines between the community and the police will result in the misconceptions being eliminated as well as the feeling of suspicion people have towards them.

6.2.4 Debriefing and stress-relieve mechanisms

It is a reality that the nature of cases police members deal with are very traumatic. In addition they are also expected to work long hours. It is thus recommended that a mechanism be available to ensure thorough debriefing of members with an assurance of total confidentiality. It is also recommended that stress-relieve mechanisms such as team building be introduced as well as some incentives for members.

6.2.5 Training

The reality exists that members undergo training and then leave to work at other police stations. It is recommended that police members receive on-going training (i.e. at least once every three months, four times a year) on gender, domestic violence and the provisions of the Domestic Violence Act. This will not only serve as a refresher for all members, but an assessment of themselves in terms of whether they are complying with the provisions of the Act. It will also ensure that new police members are trained and hence, minimize the occurrence of secondary victimization.

6.2.6 Monitoring

To ensure that police members are complying with the Domestic Violence Act, it is further recommended that an internal system of monitoring be introduced. This system will determine whether all members dealing with domestic violence are fulfilling their duties according to the Domestic Violence Act. All complaints received of members secondary victimization clients can be directed to this committee where they will be investigated.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SERVICE PROVIDERS

6.3.1 Task teams

It is recommended that service providers become part of the task team suggested under recommendations for police. This will thus ensure that expectations of each other are clarified. Service providers then have an opportunity to inform police of the various services that they offer to survivors and this will ensure appropriate referrals.

6.3.2 Advertising

Although service providers do advertise and market their services to the communities, it is imperative that these services are advertised on an ongoing basis. Service providers need to be involved in exhibitions in public places within the community where they not only advertise their services but also raise awareness on domestic violence. Service providers can also ensure that they advertise in community newspapers and community radio.

6.3.3 Working agreements

Working agreements should be developed among service providers of survivors of abuse. These are imperative, as it will ensure firstly prevention of duplication of services, as well as service providers being able to refer survivors according to their needs. Working agreements also ensure that survivors are referred to service providers who are specialized in specific areas, for example court preparation.

6.4. ROLE OF SOCIAL WORK

With regard to the above recommendations, the social worker also has a variety of roles that must be fulfilled to ensure that recommendations are indeed implemented and its progress monitored. Hepworth et al (1993:25-29) is used to identify roles that social workers can fulfil.

As planner, the social worker together with the networks and task teams as mentioned in the recommendations. This thus ensures that all service providers of survivors of abuse together with the social worker plan together on ways to address secondary victimization of survivors and identify ways of preventing it.

Hence, a need is being addressed which is that survivors need the police and service providers to help them to deal with their abuse.

Procedure and policy developer, here the social worker can ensure that she is involved in the process of policy making which addresses a need and also makes submissions to relevant departments should this policy fail to address a need. In the study this means addressing the secondary victimization experienced by survivors. Here too, service providers can stand together and make a joint submission and thus here this would give rise to the signing of working agreements.

In order to address the stress aspect of the police, the social worker can act as a consultant, where expert advice on how to address the need to eliminate or reduce stress can be provided. Here to the social worker can assist in both planning and initiating team building or other stress reducing activities.

The social worker also acts as catalyst where organizations are identified that train volunteers on counselling skills, gender and domestic violence.

Here contact can be initiated and an agreement can be concluded to provide volunteers who can assist police with survivors reporting abuse.

The social worker also has the role of organizational diagnostician, here the social worker is able to assist the police in “...*Pinpointing factors in agency structure, policy and procedures that have a negative impact on service delivery.*” Hepworth et al (1993:27) Thus the social worker assists the police in identifying factors, which results in secondary victimization and addresses them to ensure effective service delivery to survivors. This will also enable monitoring of the police to determine if secondary victimization of survivors continues.

Finally, as facilitator, the social worker has the role of providing training to the police on domestic violence and gender, thereby ensuring that their service delivery to survivors is enhanced and that secondary victimization is minimized or eradicated.

6.5. LESSONS LEARNT BY RESEARCHER

The researcher realized the essence of remaining objective during the research. Factors such as blaming and sympathizing often cloud one's mind making it difficult to see the bigger picture. The researcher also learnt that one needs to allocate enough time for research, as it is often a lengthy process. The researcher, however, found the study very interesting and fulfilling.

6.6. FUTURE RESEARCH

Although the study focused merely on the Lenasia Police Station, future research is needed to determine the extent of the secondary victimization of survivors of abuse at various police stations so that it can be

determined if this is indeed happening. This thus ensures that social workers can make submissions to Area commissioners and various government departments, including a national machinery such as the Commission for Gender Equality and Office of the Status of Women to remedy this situation, thus promoting social justice and peace. This will ensure that all individuals have equal access to services despite their sex and that individuals have inherent worth free of discrimination and lead a life of dignity and respect. In addition, as part of social work remediation of the situation, training can be provided to the police on gender and domestic violence to prevent secondary victimization and thus ensures that women have equal access to services to address their dysfunction in the family which is that of abuse.

Follow-up research is also needed to determine if the recommendations made, do indeed minimize the occurrence of secondary victimization.

6.7. EPILOGUE

The complexity of domestic violence cannot be undermined and as a specialised field this phenomenon cannot be fully understood. The cyclic nature of abuse and the fact that the woman keeps returning to the relationship is an occurrence that is difficult to understand. It is a reality however, that this is a developmental process for the woman as each time she leaves and returns to the relationship, a process of empowerment has taken place. She is more aware of her rights and has more knowledge on what the dynamics of abuse are, which ultimately is the tool that facilitates her leaving the abuse.

However, what remains a mystery is how the relationship can be classified as both a loving and a hateful relationship. In addition, what is more puzzling is the fact that a person assumes two roles like a jekyll and Hyde role. In one moment he can be loving and the next he is abusive.

Although, it has been highlighted throughout that abuse has its roots in power and control, many other factors also contribute to a person becoming abusive and this is what enhances the mystery even further. One such factor is the process of socialization. One wonders if it is not this that can contribute to a person becoming abusive, from what he/she sees or learns in the home and if abuse will ultimately be addressed and stopped.

Despite this mystery, the onus lies on each individual to take responsibility for their actions and to work together to bring about desired change and a good society. *“...But when the risk is taken, when one person reaches out across the silence to touch another person, the rewards – for both of them – can be very great”.* (Anonymous)