

THE PERCEIVED CAUSES OF WOMEN BATTERING

IN THE

LIMPOPO PROVINCE

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation hereby submitted to the University of the North for the degree of Masters in Clinical Psychology has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other University, that it is my own work in design and in execution, and that all material contained therein has been duly acknowledged.

Signed: *A. C. ... NK*

Date : *.16.10.2003*

DEDICATION

The study is dedicated to my husband, Jan Wisani Nkuna, a devoted and dedicated husband who supported me throughout the entire study.

To my fellow brothers and sisters in Christ, with whom I belong in church, who supported me with their prayers.

To my parents, Benneth and Ellen Maluleke, my guiding lights and source of joy and inspiration.

To my two sons, Jay and Jeneral, and my daughter, Joy, who inspire me as well.

To my mother-in-law, Lizzy Nkuna, and in loving memory of my father-in-law, George Nkuna.

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ABSTRACT

Aim

The purpose of this study was to investigate the perceived causes of woman battering, as presented by women victims of battering, from the Limpopo Province of the Republic of South Africa.

Participants

One hundred (100) women victims of battering participated in the study. The age range of the participants was 16-55 years, with a mean age of 33.37 (SD=8.475).

Instrument

A composite questionnaire was administered to all the participants in the study. It was compiled as follows: Nine items covered the demographic variables of the participants such as age, residence, and ethnic grouping, while twenty-four items dealt with the indicators of oppression in the relationship. Fourteen items reflected the psychological problems suffered by battered women and twenty-two items examined the personality problems of the batterer. Finally, five items covered the abuse history of the batterer.

Results

The findings of the study indicate that women who are married are battered more than those who are not married and that battered women are often

unemployed. Furthermore, the study has shown that battering is likely to occur more frequently with the increase in oppression through isolation or finance. The study has revealed that there is no relationship between the place of residence of battered women and their experience of psychological problems while the partners of battered women who live in semi-urban or rural areas suffer more personality problems than those who live in urban areas. Finally, the study has shown that the abuse history of the batterer has no relationship with the duration of women battering.

Conclusion

Mental health workers and educators should take the findings into consideration while designing preventative programme against women battering. Couples need to have a relationship appraisal programme that should be designed by the government and be administered to couples by magistrate officers, victim empowerment officers in hospitals and other organizations that deal with preventative measures of women battering.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Battered women in shelters often tell incredible stories of their experiences of beatings, rapes, torture, and living in constant terror. Hearing or reading their life stories in their own words effectively conveys the negative impact of violence, raises consciousness, and convinces others of the need for help. Walker (1984) found a pattern of psychological consequences developing in women as chronic battering relationships became increasingly serious, uncontrollable and unpredictable over time. The battered women's syndrome describes the effects of violence as learned helplessness, re-experiencing the trauma, intrusive recollections, generalised anxiety, low self-esteem, and social withdrawal (Walker, 1984). Dutton and Painter (1988) pointed out the lack of clarity in this concept and sought to redefine the battered women's syndrome for lawyers. In addition, shelter samples of battered women may differ in important ways from survivors of wife battering in the general population. Shelter samples include women who have sought help and exclude women who could not or would not seek help. However, findings indicate the existence of only a few differences among battered women living in shelters and those in the community (Gleason, 1993).

Battered women are often not believed, but blamed and left feeling guilty and helpless. Our society can thus largely be seen as cause of shame that surrounds women abuse, together with the fact that it is seen as a private

family problem in which others should not become involved (President's Award, 1998).

Moreover, South Africa is into its second term of democratic rule. The government has had to grapple with a myriad of problems, not the least of which is the high crime rate in the country. For South African women, the situation is even more dismal than for men because South Africa is said to have the highest statistics of gender-based violence in the world for a country not at war (Senanayake, 1999).

In a report on violence against women in South Africa, the United Nations listed the low status of women, especially in tribal and rural areas, as an important contributory cause of violence. With due regard and respect for the traditions of such cultures, this diminished status needs to be addressed urgently in order to harmonise the contemporary practices of such cultures with the principles and imperatives of the South African Constitution.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Woman battering is not a new problem. Historically battering has been regarded as an acceptable way for adults to exert power and control over the behaviour of their relatives, women and dependents. Clinical observations, empirical research, daily newspapers, and news bulletins have painstakingly described acts of violence between spouses, by adults towards their own children, women and their dependent elderly relatives and vice versa. The Women's Aid Movement in the United States of America has undoubtedly been successful in bringing the problem of domestic violence to government

and public attention. Some of the members of the Chiswick Women's Aid travelled round the country in the United States of America giving talks and encouraging the establishment of local women's aid groups (Kingston & Penhale, 1995).

Two commonly held beliefs about rape and battery are illustrated below. First, it has been widely assumed that rape takes place in the context in which a man is unable to contain his overwhelming sexual urge and the woman does not refuse clearly enough. Second, the automatic response to many battery situations for people is to question what the woman did to provoke such an attack, as frequently stated: "She asked for it."

Women's organisations in South Africa believe that it is imperative that we begin to address the problem of violence against women by placing it both within a historical and political perspective. The historical perspective must recognise the influence of Apartheid still has on the present mindset of individuals, communities and society as a whole, while we need to acknowledge the pain of the past and the influence this has had on the entire nation (Foster, 1998).

The fragmentation existing within communities is indicative of the fragmentation of identity of individuals and the problems each of these fragmentations gives rise to. One of the reasons why we are not seeing a change in attitude of the judiciary or why rape and domestic violence are almost condoned at community level, is the fact that South Africans have not created adequate space in the transformation process for the acknowledgement of past traumas and the lack of adequate mechanisms for

healing the pain, which every citizen in this country has been subjected to (Foster, 1998).

Gelles (1995) regards unemployment, poor housing conditions, overcrowding, isolation, and alienating work conditions as causing frustration and stress at the individual level, which in turn may lead to violence.

In the news bulletin of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) Channel 3, beamed on July 15, 2002 at 20h00, McCowen (2002) reported that there is a 50:50 chance that a woman in South Africa will experience violence from her partner. The case of Ellen Rademeyer was cited because she had experienced battering from her husband who was later jailed for this problem since he almost had killed her by cutting her throat. On his return from jail, he destroyed Ellen's home by setting it on fire, burning all her belongings. It was further reported in the same news bulletin that some South African Police Service members have started to undergo training on the issues of violence against women in order to familiarise them with the dynamics of the problem. Vallen (2002), a researcher at the Centre for Studies of Violence Against Women, observed that of the 50% of women experiencing violence, 30% will experience physical abuse and 20% will experience emotional abuse. Vallen (2002) also mentions that jealous men, men from abusive backgrounds, and men who abuse alcohol and drugs are usually responsible for the majority of cases of violence against women.

However, the African Policy Information Centre (South Africa) provides contact addresses, phone numbers and email addresses for battered women.

It discusses the legal issues and where assistance can be found. There is also a Battering Domestic Violence Information National Hotline.

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The *aim* of the study was to investigate the problem of women battering among women in the Limpopo Province. Furthermore, the author wanted to contribute to the body of literature that exists on the topic of women battering and bring this information to the awareness of law enforcement agencies and women groupings so that intervention approaches in dealing with the problem of women battering may be improved. The focus of this study will thus be the aspects outlined in the objectives.

1.4. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- a) To find out the method of battering (e.g. by hitting, slapping, kicking, throwing the spouse to the floor or ground, or assault involving the use of a weapon such as a knife, broom handle, gun, or other household object).
- b) To identify preceding victim factors to battering such as isolation by the partner, financial control by the partner, intimidation by the partner, alcohol abuse and emotional abuse by the partner.
- c) To identify indicators for future severe battering such as increasing frequency of abuse, choking, acquisition of a gun, threat of dangerous weapons (knife, broom handle, and other household objects).

- d) To identify the psychological effects of women battering such as depression, anxiety and de-motivation.
- e) To identify preventative measures of battering such as escape routes, places to go to access support, and the phone number of the local police department.
- f) To identify offender factors of women battering such as psychological illness on the part of the batterer, low socio-economic status, alcohol abuse, drug abuse, poverty, and unemployment.
- g) To survey victims' attitudes on domestic abuse such as the acceptance of an occasional slap or condoning alcohol as an occasional cause of battering.

1.5. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study was conducted in various *areas* within the Limpopo Province of the Republic of South Africa. The *population* in these areas comprise largely Northern Sothos, Tsongas, Vendas, Afrikaners, and the English.

The *specific problem* that the author wishes to research is the identification of the perceived causes of women battering in the Limpopo Province. Since women battering commonly causes physical disability, psychological trauma and, in severe cases, the death of the victim, it is appropriate to identify its causes so that intervention and preventive programmes of victims and perpetrators of women battering may be directed towards the alleviation of these causes.

There are many possible causes of women battering. In an attempt to investigate the causes of women battering, this study will focus on the socio-economic determinants of woman battering. The indicators of oppression in the relationship will also be investigated. The psychological problems suffered by battered women, the abuse history of the batterer and the personality disorders of batterers will be focused on as well.

The study was motivated by factors such as the increasing awareness of the plight of women in relationships, the current growing culture of human rights in South Africa, and the apparent increase in violence against women in the face of gross apathy in the society in relation to the problem of women battering.

The *rationale* for this study was based on the fact that the consequences of women battering are harmful and destroy the self-esteem, humanity and dignity of women and their children. Since the problem is known to be common and there already exists a fair amount of knowledge about it, it is of great importance to keep on exploring and gathering recent information in order to assist scholarship in this area of interest about the improvements, in handling the problem, as well as about changes and areas of neglect concerning the phenomenon of women battering.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINITIONS AND THEORIES ON WOMEN BATTERING

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There are a large number of etiological factors to woman battering. Educators, clinicians and researchers have attempted to understand them from a number of psychological, biological and social models. In general, battering may be viewed as the result of difficulties that arise in the interplay of psychological, biological, cultural, and social forces that affect couples' relationships. However, before dealing with the different theories, operational definitions of key concepts and indicators will be presented.

2.2 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS AND INDICATORS

2.2.1 Conceptual definition

The words “ abused ” and “ battered ” that are used here do not refer to the normal conflict and stress that occur in all close relationships, but rather to the violence resulting from them that can cause serious injury and death. In the pamphlet, *Assaults on women: rape and wife-beating*, a typical description of women battering is presented by describing the kind of physical harm suffered by battered women surveyed in shelters of treatment in California (Ruth, 2001). Most injuries were to the head and neck and, in addition to bruises, strangle marks, black eyes, and split lips resulted in eye

damage, fractured jaws, broken noses, and permanent hearing loss. Assaults to the trunk of the body were almost as common and produced a broken collarbone, bruised and broken ribs, a fractured tailbone, internal haemorrhaging, and a lacerated liver (Ruth, 2001).

Battering is the behaviour of repeated physical assault of a partner or someone else. It is expressed by pushing, grabbing, slapping, kicking, sjamboking, amongst others, and is carried out with the aim of harming the victim who is usually female. According to Johnson (1998), there are no entirely satisfactory terms that describe violence against women by their partners or ex-partners since each term has its own pitfalls and shortcomings. Marital violence and spouse abuse presume that the partners are married and fail to recognise that violence between partners is overwhelmingly male violence against women (Kingston & Penhale, 1995). Physical abuse is defined as hitting, slapping, kicking, throwing the spouse to the floor or ground, or assault involving the use of a weapon such as a knife, broom handle or other household object or a gun, while emotional or psychological abuse may include the use of ridicule, insults, accusations, infidelity, and ignoring the partner, all of which result in an erosion of the victim's self-esteem and self-worth. Marital rape has been classified into two categories, viz. force only rape, defined as the perpetrator's using as much force as necessary to force their partners into sex or battering rapes, where the assaults also involve torture and bondage.

Women battering is an expression of aggression, power dynamics and personality disorders within a family which results in the men hurting the women leading to dysfunctional relationships within the family.

When initiating couple therapy, battering can be defined as a relationship problem (in which the woman shares some responsibility) rather than a criminal act (in which the perpetrator holds sole responsibility for his use of violence). This remains more of a clinical issue for relationship therapies that are based on systemic treatment concepts (Trute, 1998).

It is of the utmost importance to clarify wife battering as both a criminal and clinical problem (Bograd, 1992). In pro-feminist couple counseling, the perpetrator is fundamentally recognized as having committed a criminal act through his use of physical force. He is responsible for his choice to use violence while his battering behaviour cannot be condoned under any circumstances (Trute, 1998). Harries (1990) warns, "it is best to assume that all batterers are potentially dangerous".

Partner battering, referred to as domestic violence, is generally defined as the abuse of a wife by her husband or the abuse of a woman by a male companion with whom she is cohabiting (Richard & Claire, 1990). The term "battered women" accurately identifies the victim but restricts violence to physical assault and is ambiguous in that it gives no indication that the violence occurs within the context of a private relationship (Kingston & Penhale, 1995). Women battering can also occur when a male is assaulted by his female partner or between two individuals of the same sex who are living together as a couple. "Partner" or "couple" thus refers to those in a relationship. The couple may be married, but as discussed later, partner abuse is more likely to occur in cohabiting couples than in married partners (Trute, 1998).

2.2.2 Operational definitions

1. *Woman battering*: This is said to exist when a member, members of the family, or friends display behaviour that causes the following:

a) Physical hurt to a woman that may either be sexual or corporal

The corporal aspect of women battering includes repeated actions of pushing, punching, grabbing, slapping, kicking, hitting the woman with objects, locking the woman out, tying up the woman, refusal to help the woman when she is ill or injured. It may follow a period of verbal abuse to the woman, which includes among others belittling, devaluing, destructive comparisons, and defaming.

Sexual battering occurs when a woman is raped, indecently assaulted, and sexually abused whereby the woman is forced into sexual relations against her wish, or forced to engage in sexual practices that are uncomfortable or degrading or hurting to the woman.

b) Emotional hurt with negative behavioural consequences on the battered woman

A batterer who shows extreme jealousy, possessiveness, and accuses a woman of infidelity causes emotional hurt. The woman is constantly criticised, undermined in public and private and those close to the woman or her family is mocked repeatedly. As a result the woman feels unimportant, and useless as her self-confidence is increasingly destroyed.

Economically, the batterer may use money to undermine the woman. This may include spending most of the money on himself and only giving the woman a small amount for the support of the family; expecting the woman to do more with the money than she possibly can; accusing the woman of stealing his money or of using the family's money for her own benefit. The batterer may damage or destroy the woman's property such as her clothing. He may tear books, break windows, damage ornaments and/or any item which the woman value, thus inflicting financial loss and causing emotional hurt to the woman.

Domestic violence is the use of abusive, controlling, and/or violent behaviour among people who are married, living together, or have an ongoing or prior intimate relationship. This behaviour can consist of any combination of physical, sexual, emotional, or psychological control, or may involve the use of threats of violence to control another's behaviour (County & County, 2001).

2. *Perceived causes*: To "perceive" in this study is to make sense of whatever is observed. "Cause" is the phenomenon or the motive for certain consequences (Trute, 1998). In this study the focus is on the observed, understood and accepted causes of women battering. Many researchers, including this study, have studied the causes of women battering. Culture and tradition (as some of the perceived causes of women battering) cannot be studied in isolation from the socialisation process. Straus (1976) indicated that there is a considerable proportion of wife-to-husband violence that occurs either as a pre-emptive strike or in

retaliation for previous abuse. That shows an association of women battering that frequently occurs to married women as it happens to unmarried women as well.

2.3 THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

2.3.1 Cognitive theory

Raymond and Danny (1989) presented the perspective of Beck that common cognitive misinterpretations involve negative distortions of life experience, negative self-evaluation, pessimism, and hopelessness. People who have learned negative views tend to feel depressed. Batterers are mostly trapped in an environment that persistently generates unhappy feelings. Their ways of applying their minds thus tend towards suspicion, jealousy, possessiveness, pessimism, hopelessness, addictive behaviour (alcohol abuse and drugs), and depression. In some cases the cognitive misinterpretations of batterers can be managed therapeutically in order to help them deal with their situation.

According to Rutter, Taylor and Hersov (1994), assaultive behaviour occurs as a consequence of distorted perceptions and judgement that characterise a disturbance in a person's mental state. As such a batterer is displaying symptoms of an underlying disturbance in his mental state.

Hopelessness and Helplessness

According to MacNab (1993), an assaultive person interprets external and internal cues in illogical, irrational and negativistic ways. His view of himself and others, the past, the present and the future, thus becomes entangled in negativism and helplessness hence he displays assaultive behaviour.

Coping styles

Specific styles of coping among assaultive people, in Pfeffer's (1986) view, limit their flexibility and resourcefulness in coping with intense emotions and problem solving. A batterer's thinking, when faced with enormous difficulties, becomes distorted so that battering a partner seems the only way of coping with the situation or personal problems.

Problem solving

Dalgleish and Power (1999) regard problem solving as inhibited because the batterer attempts to use intermediate descriptions as a database in order to generate solutions. He resultantly uses physical injury, abusive and assaultive behaviour as the way of releasing stress and solving their problems.

2.3.2 Sociological Theories

Durkheim (1974) investigated the social influences on woman battering and argues that no psychological condition could by itself, invariably, produce assaultive behaviour. Woman battering is, therefore to be blamed squarely on the influences within the social milieu. Forces within the society thus

influence people's decision to abuse women physically (Blumenthal & Kupfer, 1990).

Egoistic perspective

Durkheim (1974) recognises three types of societies that can either minimise or maximise assaultive behaviour among people, namely religious societies, domestic societies and political societies.

A religious society may provide the integration of and meaning for its members in many ways, for instance, by means of a unified, strong creed. If it fails to do so, and if any of its members are unable to find their own meaning for their lives, they may become more at risk for expressing abusive, assaultive and life threatening behaviour.

A domestic society has the social structure of marriage which can reduce assaultive behaviour as it provides individuals with shared sentiments and memories thereby giving them geographical meaning. When people do not have such intimate loci of shared sentiments and memories, and are unable to achieve this, they may be at risk for assaultive behaviour.

A political society assists individuals in achieving social integration too. When a political society does not effectively accomplish that goal, or when the society and its influence disintegrate, it fails to provide the integration that a strong healthy political unit can provide. This may lead to stress that results in abusive assaultive behaviour (Corr, Nabe & Corr, 1997).

2.3.3 Culture of violence theory

Strauss (1976) has argued that in society, there is at least implicitly some approval and support: "the marriage license as hitting license". Russell (1995), in turn, argues that both the media and law encourage, at the least permit sexual violence against wives. In sum, the culture of violence theory claims that violence is displayed as a legitimate means to deal with problems at all levels of society. As a result, men may use violence as a means to deal with domestic problems, as well as a means to resolve any conflicts that arise with their wives. Hence, stopping wife abuse would require a restructuring of the cultural variables of society that enforce the use of violence.

2.3.4 Culture and woman battering

Woman battering differs greatly by culture and ethnicity. Rutter, Taylor and Hersov (1994) give a possible explanation for cultural variations in the rate of woman battering by remarking that where an authority figure (head of the family) may batter his wife as a way of displaying his power, the woman will in turn eventually understand the displayed behaviour as not being abusive behaviour but merely as an authoritative exercise.

Gelles and Straus (1990) identify the growing evidence that traditional culture in South Africa is undergoing a period of transition. This transition is seen as being fostered by the influence of Western values and systems (Woods & Wassenaar, 1989). This social change has a different effect on ethnic sub-cultural groups. Zimmerman and Asnis (1995) mention that

people are able to make essential adaptations to the changes and create networks and communities that allow for the preservation of their native culture. Failure to effect the adaptations may herald the start of conflict within families and intimate relationships.

Problems with *social adjustment* are an important characteristic of assaultive behaviour. Pfeffer (1986) denotes that the presence of adequate social support and the predictability of the environmental milieu influence social adjustment. They thus ascribe assaultive behaviour to the stresses of modern times, unemployment and personality problems.

Social conflict has been found to be a predisposing factor towards woman battering as the younger generation clashes with the more traditional values of the elders (Gehlot & Nathawat, 1983).

The marriage license is often understood as hitting license. Women make a joke out of battering by asking one another questions such as: "What makes you think he does not love you any more?" or "He has not bashed me in a couple of weeks". Many of the men and women interviewed by Gelles expressed similar attitudes, as represented by phrases such as: "I asked for it", "I deserved it", or "she needed to be brought to her senses". In most jurisdictions a woman still cannot sue her husband for damages resulting from his assaults, because that would destroy the peace and harmony of the home or marriage (Gelles & Strauss, 1990).

Strauss, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980) indicate that there is a cultural belief that husbands do have a legal right to hit their wives, provided it does not

produce an injury requiring hospitalisation. If a wife wants to press charges, she is discouraged at every step in the judicial process.

2.3.5 Psychodynamic Perspective

Psychoanalytic Theory

Barlow and Durand (1995) indicate that early childhood experiences that have not been resolved play an important role in a person's later life. A battering father creates an environment that generates unresolved issues in the mind of the growing child. Childhood fears and insecurities are not fully dealt with by the child witness, hence the aggression shown by children brought up in relationships where battering was the norm. Vallen (2002), a researcher at the Centre for Studies of Violence Against Women, reported that abusive men usually come from abusive backgrounds (SABC 3 News Bulletin, 2002-07-15, 20h00).

According to Ivey, Ivey, and Simek-Morgan (1997), woman battering can be explained in the following psychodynamic concepts:

Early experiences

The early developmental experiences play an important role in human behaviour in later life (Freud, 1961). Although the batterer does not remember anything of the forgotten and repressed incidents of his past, such experiences are frequently reproduced in his memory through action/acting out and are repeated without the batterers knowing that it is a repetition of the past experience (Pfeffer, 1986). It is simply the reawakening of past feelings in present situations.

Woman battering can be understood as being influenced by feelings that are derived from memories of the batterers' past experiences. An abused patient or one who witnessed an abused family member or parent is likely to be an abuser. It could be a way of remembering and acting out past unconscious, painful memories and experiences.

In a paper, Freud (1961) noted that feelings of pleasure were connected with the beating during childhood and that violent feelings became fused with erotic ones. Battering might be enacted through assault in which "making up" with the wife sexually is the second and hidden component of the assault on the batterer's part (Ray, 1993).

Ego Functioning

Intra-psychic conflicts, according to Jacobs (1992), may induce a defensive splitting of the subjective self image into a "good self" that is experienced as an alien killer, and the "bad self". The "bad self" remains within the ego and becomes the target of the punitive superego with which the good self is identified. The splitting, according to Klein (1992), occurs because the early ego lacks coherence and because persecutory anxieties reinforce the need to keep the loved object separate from the bad one. Splitting of the self-representation becomes so intense that it can lead to de-personalization so that the battering or abuse of women represents an attempt to eliminate the bad self. Failure to reconcile the "good" and "bad" selves thus sets the stage for subsequent pathological depression and abusive behaviour (Jacobs, 1992).

The psychoanalytic structural theory emphasises that the ego is the executive and adaptation instrument of the mind. As such, it is the mediator of the conflicting demands of the instinctual drives, the superego and external reality (Pfeffer, 1986). Any deficiency in ego development may lead to abusive/assaultive behaviour. The crisis arises from stress in the environment and the ego's incapacity to defend itself against unpleasant situations, fantasies and memories (Henry, Stephenson, Fryer-Hanson, and Hargett, 1993).

Unconscious wishes and fantasies

Unconscious wishes are more important in abusive behaviour than are the observable external realities. However, such wishes become a catalyst for assaultive behaviour only when a combination of ego functioning and stresses occur, that potentiate the possibility of acting out wishes and impulses (Pfeffer, 1986). In addition, Henry, Stephenson, Fryer-Hanson, and Hargett (1993) believe that self-destructive tendencies emerge as the product of an unconscious destructive behaviour wish turned inward.

Jacobs (1992) mentions that the psychodynamic approach to woman battering requires not only the understanding of the common fantasies, wishes, fears and conflicts found both in a battered women and the batterers, but also of the act itself. The understanding contributes to the clinical management of battered women and elucidates the special challenges and counter-transference problems experienced by therapists.

Inner conflict and hostility

According to MacNab (1993), when the assaultive behaviour is seen from this perspective, it reflects inner conflict and hostility involving an interjected love object. A batterer who hopes or expects to be loved reciprocally but does not receive such affection from the said person feels rejected and becomes angry. The aggression impulses are turned inwards and create a wish to punish or force affection from a significant person.

Battering a woman presents itself as a method of discharging the aggression with physical injury to the victim. While taking revenge upon the victim, the batterers ignore the likelihood of being held responsible for the act. MacNab (1993), therefore, regards revenge against the disappointing victim as the motive for assaultive behaviour.

2.3.6 Behaviourists' theory / Learning theory

The role of the environment is crucial in shaping human nature and behaviour. Since the environment presents the source of stimuli, depending on the nature of the stimuli, a conditioned response will be developed in the person (Raymond & Danny, 1989). The kind of conditioning that is generated among abusive men relates to "control" over their wives whereby initial verbal threats achieve the "control" they need. When the verbal threats are gradually perceived as being ineffective (not rewarding), they are then replaced by physical acts such as pushing and grabbing. As time goes on these acts also become less rewarding to the batterers who later resort to hurting punishment like slapping and kicking. Finally, more dangerous acts

such as hitting with an object, stabbing, choking and shooting, are applied by the batterers in the quest for control over their partner.

The behavioural perspective emphasizes that behaviour is acquired as it is a result of learning through observing, imitating and reinforcement (Garfield & Bergin, 1986).

Learning through imitation

Imitation plays a role in the pathogenesis of assaultive behaviour. Hawton (1986) refers to the fact that a batterer imitates the behaviour of other family members and friends. The family member who is a batterer serves as a role model with whom to identify.

Reinforcement

The behavioural theory highlights that abusive behaviour is encouraged through reinforcement. Hawton (1986) indicates that when people respond positively to assaultive behaviour with increased attention, they are reinforcing the pathological coping style. This can usually be ascribed to cultural influences that recognise male dominance as an attribute that is essential to maintain order in the family.

Media

The media publication of articles about women battering carry the risk of provoking the abuse by the intermediary of suggestion and imitation. Rutter, Taylor and Hersov (1994) confirm the evidence about individuals who were involved in women battering shortly or immediately after reading a book, seeing a film or listening to the news that featured women battering. Social

modelling plays a role in the increased incidence of woman battering as well.

2.3.7 Modelling theory

Witnessing physical violence between one's parents is highly correlated with severe aggression in one's own partner relationships, creating a cycle of violence that may continue for generations (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Kalmuss, 1984). Thus, batterers may be modelling their behaviour on that of parents.

2.3.8 Feminist Theory

The emergence of the feminist movements brought a new outlook on feminist theory especially in relation to women and violence (BrownMiller, 1990). The abuse of women by men was seen to be largely rooted in biological sex differences. These biologically determined sex differences were expressed in that masculinity was characterised by dominance, assertiveness, and a high sexual appetite while femininity was characterised by passivity, dependence, irrationality, emotionality, and contradictory qualities of seductiveness and modesty (de Beauvoir, 1974). Consequently rape, battery, and other forms of abuse directed against women were regarded as an inevitable consequence of gender differences. Men were excused of accountability of their actions since such behaviour was deemed "natural" or a masculine response to extreme situations while women were largely held responsible for their feminine "provocation" of their own victim roles.

BrownMiller and Susan (1976) challenged this biological and deterministic perspective by exposing the degree to which it is constructed in the patriarchal order and serves to perpetuate such an order. Feminism sought to demystify previous theory around women's abuse and to locate both the structural and ideological basis of this particular aspect of patriarchal relations. The fundamental premise underlying such exploration is that violence against women is an inevitable consequence of the power differential inherent in a patriarchal society and serves essentially as a means of social control over the weaker party, i.e. women (Barrette, 1980). It has been argued that the generalised fear of rape affects all women and acts to curtail their social mobility. As a consequence of this fear, women seek protection in relationships with men, usually in marriage, but the contradiction is that within such relationships violence occurs.

2.3.9 Sex-Role theory

The sex-role theory quite simply argues that the childhood sex-role socialisation of women is conducive to wife battering (Walker, 1984), in other words, the traditional sex-role socialisation has the effect of socialising girls to become victims and boys to become perpetrators of violence. Boys are taught that males are supposed to display strength, be in control at all times, and be the family breadwinners. Girls, on the other hand, are taught to be passive, yield control to men, and be the ones responsible for maintaining their marriages, for performing domestic tasks, and for fulfilling child-care responsibilities.

2.3.10 Intergenerational transmission theory

The intergenerational transmission theory postulates that abusive behaviour is handed down from generation to generation as an acceptable means for dealing with problems (violence begets violence). As a result, those who come from families where violence occurred are likely to resort to violence in their own homes. Hence, stopping wife abuse and other forms of family abuse would require the elimination of child physical (and emotional) punishment as well as interparental violence. Straus and Gelles (1989) claims that at least 90% of parents use physical punishment in early childhood. Moreover, for about 50% of all children, such physical punishment continues through the end of high school, essentially until these children leave home. What likely occurs, therefore, is that these children learn to associate love with violence, in other words, these children learn that those who love them the most are those who hit them and have the right to hit, or use other forms of abuse. When these children form their own marital dyads and families, they apply what they have learned as children, namely that they are allowed to abuse the ones they love. This idea of a "cycle of violence" has become one of the most widely accepted explanations for the occurrence of family violence, of which wife abuse is certainly no exception (Straus & Gelles 1989).

2.3.11 Biological theories

Henry et al, (1993) propose that assaultive behaviour has biological foundations.

Biochemical correlates

According to Hankoff and Eisendler (1979), the biochemical origins of assaultive behaviour are drawn from a number of areas bearing on the functioning of the central nervous system, and a number of biogenic amines.

Serotonin (5HIAA)

Assaultive behaviour can be caused by certain biological disturbances, in particular, of nerve cells, which use serotonin as a transmitter. Zimmerman and Asnis (1995) remark that assaultive behaviour is frequently associated with serotonin deficiency or a decrease in serotonin functioning in the brain. Soubrier and Vederience (1981) too found a significant association between low 5HIAA and assaultive behaviour in a heterogeneous group of depressed patients. Patients with a low 5HIAA were rated, on Rorschach protocols, as significantly more aggressive than the control patients with normal or high serotonin levels (Asberg, Nordstrom & Trankman-Berdz, 1986). According to Rutter, Taylor and Hersov (1994), the strongest correlates of low 5HIAA are overt behaviours in critical situations. Kaplan and Sadock (1998) reported that assaultive patients had lower 5HIAA levels in their cerebrospinal fluid than less violent patients while Soubrier and Vedrienne (1981) are of the opinion that serotonin is mainly an inhibitory transmitter in the brain and one of its roles may be to participate in the inhibition of impulses.

Norepinephrine (NE)

MacNab (1993) indicates that a batterer appears to be a depressed person since he views the change in the level of monoamine transmitters as reducing the amount of excitation in the brain. The biogenic amine theory of

depression thus stipulates that depression result from a deficiency in norepinephrine at a number of synapses in the brain. Schwartz and Schwartz (1993) in turn mention that when nerve cells of depressed individuals are stimulated, the amount of norepinephrine that successfully crosses the synaptic cleft and binds to the receptors cells is less than the amount that crosses and binds in people who are not depressed. This, according to MacNab (1993) and Schwartz and Schwartz (1993), may explain why depressed individuals are more likely to act as batterers than non-depressed individuals.

Bio-climatic factors

Murray, Hill and McGuffin (1997) highlight the involvement of bio-climatic factors in assaultive behaviour. They note that the circannual and circadian rhythms in specific biochemical processes that are associated with vulnerability or resistance of stresses may affect an individual's behaviour, thus mediating assaultive patterns of behaviour.

Genetic endowment.

It has been revealed that at all stages of the life cycle, the family history of the abusive or assaultive parent presents significantly more often among persons who are batterers (Kaplan & Sadock, 1998) as the family history data have shown that woman battery is significantly higher among the first-degree relatives of the batterer. Kaplan and Sadock (1998) as well indicate that genetic loading for major depression, bipolar disorder, and other mood disorders can influence assaultive behaviour. This suggests that battering does run in families.

2.3.12 Diathesis-Stress model

The diathesis-stress model sites the aetiology of woman battering as the consequence of increased stress, poor social support and negative life stress in individuals who are genetically predisposed to have a poor stress threshold (Zimmerman & Asnis, 1995). This further suggests that violent behaviour is built on a foundation of underlying aggressive impulses. A small number of triggers such as threats challenges, insults, loss of control, and a decrease in one's hierarchical position may generate such impulses. This model emphasises that genetic endowment (nature) together with environmental conditions (nurture) predispose certain individuals to violent behaviour.

2.3.13 Religion and Violent Behaviour (Woman Battering)

Violent behaviour is considered sinful in some religions, while in others it is seen as a sacrifice to God. Baroody (1999) indicates that life is regarded as sacred. The sacredness of life is rooted in the belief that humans are created in the image of God. As a result, violent behaviour against anyone is forbidden. Ephesians 5: 25 reads: "Husbands, love your wives just as Christ loved the Church and gave His life for it." This is the strong doctrine that is preached copiously by the American Bible Society (1976) in an effort to combat woman battering.

2.3.14 Battering, ethics and the law.

Battered women generally learn that they cannot control their abuser's violence, and begin to believe that they cannot influence it or escape it. They suffer from psychological symptoms of low self-esteem, low self-image, learned helplessness, dependence, depression, and flashbacks till they eventually come to believe that they are to blame for the violence that they suffer. After a cycle of beatings, which they have not been able to prevent, and experiences that make them believe that there is no possibility for them to escape from the situation, they become helpless. They come to believe that their abuser is all-powerful and nothing – not even the law- can stop him (Domestic Violence Act, Act No. 116 of 1998).

According to Risley (1989), human beings should be given the right to be free to decide their own fate as long as it does not infringe upon or endanger the rights of others. Battered women should be given the right to freedom as far as decision-making is concerned.

According to the new Domestic Violence Act (Act No. 116 of 1998) battered women are entitled to a protection order. The victim seeking this protection order is called a complainant while the batterer is the abuser or perpetrator. Any party to proceedings in terms of the Act may have a legal representative.

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has broadly pointed out that women battering could be understood from a number of perspectives. No single theory has proved adequate to explain the complex of symptoms, which are collectively, termed the course of woman battery. It is, however, of utmost importance to understand the victim's culture, religion, beliefs, value system, biological foundations, and the law as these play an important role in the causation, exacerbation, prevention of, and intervention in women battering.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES ON WOMEN BATTERING

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on literature about the prevalence of woman battering, causes of women battering, effects of women battering, developments in theories of women battering, women battering and the law, batterers, beliefs that contribute to women battering, and myths about battery.

3.2 PREVALENCE

Domestic violence as identified by County and County (2001) begins with verbal or emotional abuse, eventually escalating to physical abuse, which can lead to permanent injury or even death. Once a woman has been hit, the frequency and severity of the abuse is likely to increase over time.

Abusers often use power and control tactics over their partners. These include criticism, mind games, blaming, and economic control that may result in a feeling of isolation, dependency, lowered self-esteem, and a general feeling of "craziness" by the woman victim. Women often feel trapped in their situation because they are afraid of future attacks, and have little support and understanding from other people.

The National Crime Survey in the United States of America has estimated that more than two million women are battered annually (Langan & Innes, 1992; Russell, 1995; Wallike & Walker 1980). The National Crime Survey in the United States of America also indicated that 75% of women who are battered have been divorced or separated from their abusers at the time of the incident (Strengthen Our Sisters' Resources, 1980). It further mentioned that domestic violence occurs among rural, urban and suburban women of all ages, ethnic, racial, religious, educational, and socio-economic groups. The first National Family Violence Survey (Straus, 1976) is generally cited as the primary source of data on the prevalence and incidence of spousal violence in African-American families.

The absence of statistics in South Africa makes it difficult to provide a definitive statement on the prevalence of either husband or wife abuse in this country (McKendrick & Hoffmann, 1990). Statistics concerning the incidence of spouse abuse from police records, hospitals, or social service organisations may be inaccurate because partner abuse is often not reported, in fact, it has been suggested that it is more underreported than rape, and if documented at all, this may be done under generic categories such as “assault,” “disturbing the peace,” or “relationship problems”. It has been estimated that in the United States as many as 50% of all women will be victims of battering at some point in their lives (Walker, 1984). A national survey by Life Line (Republic of South Africa) reported a 31% increase in the incidence of calls about men accused of killing their wives in incidents related to wife battering for the period January to May, 1989 (The Citizen, 9 June 1989, p.2). The apparently high incidence suggests that what is being

confronted is not a problem of individual pathology but a severe social disorder (McKendrick, & Hoffmann 1990)

Statistics on violence against women in South Africa reveals that forty three percent (43%) of 159 women surveyed had experienced battering and marital rape (Human Sciences Research Council, 1994), one in five married women is battered by her partner (Human Sciences Research Council, 1994), which a woman suffers being battered an average of Thirty nine times before she eventually seeks outside help (Burman & Katz, 1994) while one in three women in South Africa will be raped (Nowrojee & Manby, 1996).

The Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and the Joint Centre for Political and Economic Studies have hosted workshops in Gauteng, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Eastern Cape and Western Cape (in March, June, July and August 2002, respectively) on Domestic Violence and the Transformation of the Legal System and the Police Force in an effort to address women battering. Of the women who sought help from the police, only four percent (4%) said they would ask them for help again.

County and County (2001) identified the following information pertaining to woman battering in South Africa:

Every 15 seconds a woman is assaulted and beaten while four million women are assaulted by their partners every year. Every day husbands or boyfriends murder four women and a woman is raped every 1.3 minutes. Sixty-one percent (61%) of all rapes involve women under 17 years of age while 29% of all rapes involve women under 11 years of age. Moreover, one

out of eight films has a rape motif. Ninety-two (92%) of the women in prison (in the last ten years) had an annual income of less than R10 000. Eighty percent (80%) of the women in prison have children. Prison terms for killing husbands are twice as long for wives who had killed their husbands. Sixty-seven percent (67%) of these women had killed their husbands to protect themselves and their children at the moment of murder. In addition, 25% of all crime is wife assault while 60% of all battered women are beaten while they are pregnant and 70% of men who batter their partners sexually also physically abuse their children. Thirty-eight percent (38%) of these women had been sexually abused by an adult relative, acquaintance or stranger before they were 18 and 28% before the age of 14. Ironically, the amount of money spent to shelter animals is three times that spent to provide emergency shelters to women trying to escape from domestic violence situations while domestic violence is the number one cause of emergency room visits by women.

In South Africa, in the 12-month period from July 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001, 440 battered women received counseling from the Hands of Hope Resource Center of which 351 were non-duplicated. The center also provided advocacy services to 293 children of battered women during this period (County & County, 2001).

A woman is beaten every fifteen seconds (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1983). Sixty-three percent (63%) of young men between the ages of 11 and 20 who are serving time for homicide had killed their mother's abuser. Battered women who leave their partners are at a 75% greater risk of being killed by the batterer than those who stay. Nationally in the United States of

America, 50% of all homeless women and children are on the street because of violence in the home (Biden, 1991). Women from 19 to 29 years old were more likely than women of other ages to be victimized by an intimate (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994). Among the victims of violence committed by an intimate partner, the victimization rate of women separated from their husbands was about three times higher than that of divorced women and about twenty-five times higher than that of married women (Sampsel, 1995). Females were more likely to be victimized at a private home than in any other place. Males were most likely to be victimized in public places such as businesses, parking lots and open spaces (Sampsel, 1995). Although about half of all female stalking victims reported their victimization to the police and about 25% obtained a restraining order, the assailant violated 80% of all restraining orders (National Institute of Justice, November 1997). In most cases, stalking episodes lasted one year or less, but in a few cases, stalking continued for five or more years. When asked why the stalking stopped, about 20% of the victims said it was because they had moved away. Another 15% said it was because of police involvement. Also, stalking of women victims often stopped when the assailant began a relationship with a new girlfriend or wife. Battering is the single greatest cause of injury to women as it causes more injuries than auto accidents, mugging, and rape combined (Sampsel, 1995). Woman battering is both endemic and prevalent in all continents, cutting across racial, cultural and economic development lines. Heise and Hays (1989) report that seventy percent of all crimes reported to the police in America are of women beaten by their partners.

Statistics have suggested violence is perpetrated against women in almost half of all marriages. Statistics gathered from 1994 indicate that domestic violence annually causes almost 100 000 days of hospitalisation, 30 000 emergency room visits, 40 000 trips to the doctor, while 50% of all homeless women and their children have fled as a result of domestic violence (MacDonald, 2002).

3.3 CAUSES

Men's violence against their wives and lovers has been the focus of most research on couple violence. There is considerable debate about the degree of sexual symmetry in this type of violence (Dabash, Dobash, Wilso & Daly, 1998). Claims of sexual symmetry in couple violence do not reflect sexually symmetrical motivation or action. A considerable proportion of wife-to-husband violence occurs in domestic conflict, either as a pre-emptive strike or in retaliation for previous abuse. The first American National Women Battering Survey is generally cited as the primary source of data on the prevalence and incidence of spousal violence in African American families (Straus, 1976). Women battering can also occur when a male is assaulted by his female partner or between two individuals of the same sex who are living together as a couple.

If a woman is trapped in an oppressive relationship in which she is controlled and dominated by her partner through his exercise of abuse and intimidation, couple therapy can be fundamentally dangerous (Trute, 1998).

Pagelow (1984) states that abusive husbands frequently monitor their wives' movements and let them account for any extra time spent away from home. The general fear women have is that, since they have been socialised not to divorce, they will be labelled divorcees, regarded as failures in life and that what is taking place in their homes is private and need not be discussed with anyone outside the family.

Furthermore, perpetrator studies suggest that batterers as a group may show more psychopathology, particularly features of personality disorders (Dutton & Painter 1993; Gondolf, 1995; Hamberger, Saunders, & Hovey, 1992; O'Leary, & Ickvics, 1993). Gondolf (1995) estimates that a small proportion of perpetrators of battering (as many as 15%) have significant psychopathology and do require intensive long-term psychotherapy. Studies have suggested that between 36% and 52% of wife batterers abuse alcohol (Byles, 1978) However, alcohol abuse should not be seen as a cause or an excuse for battering, but as a facilitating condition that heightens the risk of family violence (Trute, 1998).

Many people, who are engaged in violence or are victims of violence, think alcohol is a large factor or a cause of the battering. Generally though, it is not considered as a cause of battering. We do know, however, that alcohol is found to be involved in approximately half of the cases reported to the police. Either the victim or perpetrator or both have been drinking although alcohol is known to have some bearing on people's behaviour it is never the cause of the violence. Violence is really someone's decision that it is acceptable to hit another person, to strangle, restrain, or perform whatever the physical act (MacDonald, 2002).

Many husbands who abuse their wives have learned that violence, especially against women, is not a problem since they were often abused themselves as children or saw their mothers being abused. The battered wife most likely grew up in a similar environment too (Trute, 1998).

The battering syndrome is both cause and effect of stereotyped roles and the unequal power relations between men and women. Wife abuse occurs in wealthy as well as in poor communities – in middle-class as well as in working- class families (Trute, 1998).

Patriarchy, according to Russell (1995), is "a form of social organisation in which the father is recognised as the head of the family". Men abusing women either physically, psychologically, sexually, or economically believe that they have control over them and that women should adhere to any control imposed upon them. Due to their socialisation process, men still believe that they are the heads of families where their wives should depend upon them for everything.

Battering is largely rooted in the African culture because most battering males have (developed) very rigid views of gender roles. Most batterers tend to be sexist in their attitudes towards women. This cultural issue seems to be the most consistent among batterers (MacDonald, 2002).

Society trains men to see women in certain disrespectful, objectified ways. As a result, many men see women as their possession and till recently considered women as the property of men, an attitude still prevalent in the

culture of the United States of America where laws regarding rape in marriage were changed a few years ago. Previously, the laws stated that a man could not be convicted of raping his wife, implying that she was his. Therefore, husbands could do what they wanted and wives were expected to co-operate. There are even still churches today (and most within the last 20 years) that perform ceremonies where the wife must take oath to love, honour and obey her husband (MacDonald, 2002).

Box (1983) asserts that the idealisation of femininity involves the notion of passivity, dependence, submissive, and mindlessness. Women are taught to be emotionally and economically dependent upon men, and look to them for protection in a harsh and brutal world of male predators. These notions are taught within institutions such as the family and school, and therefore reinforced through the mass media, particularly in the numerous magazines devoted to female concerns. The economic inequality between men and women, and between men, is a contributory factor to rape as well.

Dobash and Dobash (1979) and Box (1983) indicate that certain cultural prescriptions promote aggressiveness, male dominance, female subordination, strength, power, and independence. That is, for one to be regarded as a man, one has to use power and force to get what one wants and to strive for others (women).

Currently the most common procedure when a person gets married is for women to take their husband's name, the logic being that it is simpler than hyphenating names or adding middle names. But this is really a remnant of a society where women went from their father's house to their husband's. A

woman never belonged to herself, but rather to her father or husband as her last name represented. This practice resembles the treatment of African slaves of both genders who were given the name of their slaveholder. Moreover, women have been given the right to vote only about 80 years ago. Such negative attitudes towards women certainly have an effect on people's willingness to physically hurt them (MacDonald, 2002).

Finally, women's relative powerlessness in the home is deeply entrenched across a variety of cultures and communities in South Africa. The laws and rituals surrounding marriage reinforce it as well. In customary tribal law, marriages are contracted around a system of lobola in which the husband pays a sum in cash or kind to the wife's family in exchange for her. The marriage contract thus functions as a system of exchange in which women and goods transfer ownership, allowing the ethos of the woman as the man's property to prevail (McKendrick & Hoffmann, 1990). In most cultures women are taught to adhere to their husbands' dominance to show respect. For example, in African culture, some cultural beliefs generally expect women not to talk back to their husbands and to always listen to them because they are believed to be the heads of families (Coward, 1997).

3.4 EFFECTS

Emotional abuse and constant severe assaults cannot be endured without emotional effects. Chronic emotional distress is a normal, not an abnormal, reaction to this kind of treatment (Dabash, Dobash, Wilso & Daly, 1995). Men who have been physically abusive also deliberately use psychological tactics to reinforce their control. Once the fear of further attacks is

established, threats, gestures and glares will be enough to maintain the constant atmosphere of fear, as well as the necessity for the woman to try and predict his every whim to forestall another attack. She may be told that she is stupid, ugly and incompetent or called degrading names and belittled (Dabash, Dobash, Wilso & Daly, 1995).

The man's control operates through his own moodiness, swinging from aggression to contrition and through possessive jealousy which may look like caring in the early stages of a relationship, to a total restriction of her freedom accompanied with gross physical punishment for imagined infidelities..

Survey research with clinical samples has consistently identified numerous psychological problems among battered women. Among the problems are anxiety, depression, anger and rage, nightmares, dissociation, shame, lowered self-esteem, somatic problems, sexual problems, addictive behaviours, and other impaired functioning (Campbell, 1989; Dutton & Painter 1993; Flitcraft & Frazier, 1991; Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Mitchell & Maple, 1985; Prescott & Letko, 1977; Rounsaville, 1978; Rounsaville & Weissman, 1978; Trimpey, 1989; Walker, 1984).

The Battered Women's Syndrome is similar to "learned helplessness". When a woman is in conditions that undermine her self-esteem, question her judgement, and terrorise her, she may be unable to take actions that seem to be in her power. She may behave with seeming illogic, or act out violently. Battered Women's Syndrome is recently a hotly debated issue in the mental health community since professionals question whether women should be

labelled with a mental health diagnosis when they are simply responding "naturally" to outrageous conditions (MacDonald, 2002).

The Battered Woman's Syndrome happens to many people in environments where there is constant fear, terror, and uncertainty about their well-being. In the case of battered women's syndrome, a woman can develop a pattern of leaving the batterer and going back, again and again. People who are trying to help the battered woman (friends and family) can find themselves becoming very frustrated with the woman who does this (MacDonald, 2002).

A thing to remember about these women is that the batterer has repeatedly told her that he loves her. Since this man is her companion, best friend, and person she spends her life with, to face that she cannot be safe from him is often an extremely hard thing to accept (MacDonald, 2002).

Some women may say, "Well, he only did it when he drank. He was acting that way because of some things I did or said. If I change things just a little bit he might stop. He just got laid off from his job and he was depressed, and that's why he's acting out this way. Once he gets a job he'll stop." There is always a "reason", and although these are all excuses, it does not matter what the reason, he does not have the right to lay his hands on her. Although this is the bottom line, it is sometimes hard for women who are caught up in these situations to be clear about that (MacDonald, 2002).

According to the SOS-Resources (1980) 64% of hospitalised psychiatric patients have a history of being physically abused as an adult.

3.5 DEVELOPMENT

The most familiar form of abuse men inflict on their female partners is physical violence. Ninety percent (90%) of cases of women battering begin in this way and continue over time, during which the physical violence becomes more frequent and more severe (Dabash, Dobash, Wilso & Daly, 1995). Hanmer and Stanko (1986) found that early slaps and punches that resulted in cuts and bruises, giving way to being knocked to the floor, kicked and punched, qualify as women battering. Sexual and physical violence frequently becomes combined in dominating behaviour which includes marital rape (Russell, 1995). These include imposing any kind of intimacy while the women are still hurting from the violence and other acts to which the women do not consent or which they find degrading or disgusting.

Familiar patterns of wife abuse often develop in three phases: *the tension – building phase* (small occurrences such as a wife's request for money, her refusal to do all the household chores without her husband's help, her serving a meal not pleasing to him), *the explosion or the actual beating phase* (punching with fists, choking, kicking, knifing, slamming against a wall, throwing to the floor, or shoving down the stairs) and the *loving phase*. In the third phase the perpetrator of battering feels guilty about what he has done, is sorry and may become loving towards her (Russell, 1995).

The positive first step to seek help is to call a Shelter Hot Line in the area of the battered woman, for instance, Life Line at their national number 08361 322 322 or People Opposed to Women Abuse (POWA,2001) on their help line number 011 642 4345 or alternatively, e-mail them at

madri@powa.co.za. They can telephonically advice the victim on the way in which to start in the right direction, as it pertains to the victim's situation. If one has not got a local number for battered women services or shelters in one's own community, then one should try the 24 hour Battered Women's Hotline 1(800) 500-1119. Most major and small cities have more than one Hot Line. For victims in rural areas though, the National Hotline number can help one start the process of seeking help (MacDonald, 2002).

Most help involves women getting together in groups that the Battered Women's Hotlines provide. The groups consist of women who have been through the process of breaking free, and women who are still dealing with it. Together these women work to help each other while individual counselling may be useful to help work on issues of co-dependency and related issues of trauma and post traumatic stress as a result of being in this terrible situation (MacDonald, 2002).

3.6 BATTERERS AND PERSONALITY FACTORS

Heterosexual men in relationships most often commit domestic violence. However, if we refer just to the act of hitting or physically hurting another person, research statistics from the 1980s and early 1990s show that women are as likely or more likely than men to physically harm a partner. It is, however, often not stated that a large number of these women who strike out, are merely responding to a violent situation which has already been created by the male in the relationship. We must also understand that on average men are much larger and better trained to physically defend

themselves than women, so that women do not have the same reaction to violence directed at them as men have (MacDonald, 2002).

This is a very important part of battering, which a large number of men find hard to understand. It is certainly just as wrong for a woman to hit a man as for a man to hit a woman, so no one should have to tolerate being hit by another person. However, in comparison, a man's reaction to a woman's violence is usually far less emotionally traumatic than a woman's reaction to a man's violent acts (MacDonald, 2002).

The emotional reaction for men being hit by a woman is usually annoyance, anger and self-righteousness. The male might think, "She's got a lot of nerve, who does she think she is laying her hands on me". In contrast, the reaction for women is far more traumatic, most often involving varying degrees of fear or terror. The difference, because of physical size and mind-set amongst men and women, reveals that women are not trained to think they can defend themselves, while men are trained to do so (MacDonald, 2002).

To point out an important statistic for women: in 1994, domestic violence was the leading cause of injury to women, causing more injuries than muggings, stranger rapes, and car accidents combined. There are no such figures for men (MacDonald, 2002).

Surveys have found that domestic violence occurs across all social, economic, racial, and ethnic lines. There are strong indications of consistency in the number of battering in all parts of the world. In the news,

however, we are more likely to see domestic violence arrests involving working class people since people of lower socioeconomic status are more likely to face criminal charges for their behaviour because they do not have the buffers of professional lawyers the more well-to-do people have (MacDonald, 2002).

According to Kaplan and Sadock (1998), some personality disorders may arise from poor parental fit, that is a poor match between temperament and child rearing practice, which in turn influences child rearing. In addition, cultural factors may also play a part in personality disorders, as may the physical environment.

A passive-aggressive man has a personality in which the tendency to feel helpless and vulnerable is basic. As these self-concepts grow and are elicited in interactions with the mate, they may trigger feelings of anger and rage which may result in irrational aggressive actions, of which assault may be a part (Ray, 1993). The *obsessive-compulsive* man is not likely to assault when his defences are working well, but with any added threat, which taxes him to the limit, the result may be an explosion, or as some have described it, an implosion, which also has outer-directed effects, and may result in an attack upon the mate. Or, the man living with concealed rage, *paranoia*, is particularly likely to assault his wife or any person close to him (Ray, 1993) while the *sadistic* man may use assault as one element in an ongoing attack on the person with whom he lives in the greatest intimacy. His assaults may be physical, but they are calculated, and only a part of what is the central core of his relationship: the ongoing destruction of another person. Such assaults are not heated, but involve the administration of punishment in cold,

icy calm. Infantility and the inability to tolerate frustration, resulting in a low impulse control, are also factors that may apply to a borderline or mentally retarded person, or simply to the very immature (Ray, 1993).

The *alcoholic* is a particularly dangerous man because rage is an important component of his personality. His drinking is frequently related to an attempt to "anaesthetise" himself to lessen his moral rectitude. Alcohol affects the higher center of the brain and is actually a depressant of brain function. The result is that when the rage increases and the ability to contain it is lost, assault becomes more likely to happen. Concerning a narcotics addiction, the focus is more self-oriented and his relationships are more peripheral and frustrating, so that such a person is annoying and illicit quick rage. When a drug user is "high", he is not likely to be a threat but when in need of a "fix", particularly with heroin users, that might be a time of danger for the wife (Ray, 1993).

When the husband is *jealous* to the extent that it is more than a very rare or occasional emotion, it creates a situation of danger for the wife. An individual with an extremely low self-esteem and high self-hate feels undeserving of his wife and thus sees most other men as potential thieves of what he values, and yet, is likely to blame and punish the very person he values. Many of the above mentioned factors are unconscious, resulting in extremely irrational behaviour (Ray, 1993).

3.7 TYPES OF ABUSIVE RELATIONSHIPS

Dependent passive husband: This kind of husband characteristically devotes a good deal of concern and time trying to please and pacify his wife, who often tends to be querulous and demanding. He explodes after a period of trying behavior by the victim. There thus often is a precipitating act by the victim (Ray, 1993).

Dependent and suspicious: This happens when the husband has had a long history of being unduly suspicious of his wife's fidelity. The husband is controlling and jealous but he would not leave his wife despite his suspicions as he has a great need to stay. This builds up an intolerable tension that leads to a violent outburst, often preceded by increasing violence (Ray, 1993).

Violent and bullying: These men attempt to solve their problems or gain their end, in many aspects of their lives, by violence and intimidation. The behaviour is sometimes closely associated with alcohol abuse. The offence is often just the last violent incident in a long chain of violent incidents, many of which might be quite minor (Ray, 1993).

Dominating husband: These have a great need to assert themselves and do not tolerate any insubordination from their wives. Although they are often quite successful in other aspects of their lives, their offence might be precipitated by some trivial affair, which they interpret as a threat to their position of power (Ray, 1993).

Stable and affectionate group: These are couples, who appear to have enjoyed a long-standing, stable relationship but the violence occurs at a time of mental disturbance, characteristically during a depressive episode (Ray, 1993).

3.8 WOMEN BATTERING AND THE LAW

A woman involved in a threatening, intimidating, or violent relationship has to make a decision about whether she is going to seek help. It is easy to tell a woman, “Call the police!” Since assault is against the law, she has the right to protection. If the abuser continues to harass her, the next steps would be to get a restraining order, and/or go to a shelter. In most cities, there are shelters available for women and their children in retreat from a batterer. Although this sounds easy, and makes sense, there is a problem in that there are far more women and children who need shelter from batterers than is available. For instance, in Boston in 1990, for every two women and children given access to a shelter, five women and eight children were turned away because there was no room for them (MacDonald, 2002).

Every month in the United States, more than 50 000 women seek restraining or protection orders, but they do not always help. There are plenty of stories where the police do not fully enforce restraining orders where despite law enforcement, the batterer is so enraged, that he continues to step over the line, trying to hurt the victim. While there are nearly 15 000 shelters for battered women in the United States, twice that many are probably needed if everyone being battered sought shelter. We can thus tell women to seek help, but it can be hard for them to do so. We need to continue writing and

promoting issues of battered women and the help they need (MacDonald, 2002).

Women in this kind of relationship are getting hit, and do not know when they will be hit again. The anxiety of not knowing when they will be hurt again can sometimes cause them to do things to cause the battering. This way, they know when the beating will happen. Most of the time, women learn once the battering has happened, there will be a brief period of time when they can feel safe when it will not happen again. So, people who see women "begging on the batterer" may say, "Don't they know any better? This guy just hit them yesterday, why are they yelling at him in his face? It seems to me they are asking for it". However, they are not really asking for it since they would like it not to happen again. These women are asking for peace, the chance to feel safe, and one of the ways they can get this is by getting the batterer to act out immediately (MacDonald, 2002).

Many batterers will say, "She is making me do this! She is openly taunting me to make me angry and violent!" It should, nevertheless, be borne in mind that everyone has the right over his or her own body. If a man does not like the way a woman is treating him, he can walk away. He can leave the situation, and in most cases, he is certainly physically capable to get out even if she is being emotionally abusive or whether she is being friendly, since she has the right over her own body as he has the right over his. If she violates his body, he can choose to call the police, and bring the authorities in rather than hitting back (MacDonald, 2002).

A protection order is a special kind of restraining order for victims of domestic abuse. It is issued by a Family Court to protect a person from abuse by the family, a household member, or a significant other. “Abuse” includes everything from verbal threats of abuse to assault (County & County, 2001).

A victim may file a protection order (According to County & County, 2001), if she has recently (generally within one year) been a victim of domestic violence. Domestic violence is defined as any shoving, grabbing, slapping, punching, pulling hair, kicking, forcing sexual acts, or threatening with a weapon. A victim is eligible if she and the person who has abused her:

- are married or used to be married
- are related by blood (including parents, children, and grandparents)
- are unmarried persons who either live together, have lived together, or have a significant romantic or sexual relationship
- have a child in common (or are expecting a child together) regardless of whether they live together.

3.8.1 Important matters in a protection order

The victim must include in her petition each kind of protection requested. If she leaves out an item, she will not have protection on that point. A protection order can include anything in the following list:

1. Always restrains the abuser from committing further harm.
2. Orders the abuser to move out of the home.
3. Excludes the abuser from the victim’s place of employment.
4. Includes a temporary order for custody and visitation.

5. Includes a temporary order for child support.
6. Orders temporary alimony.
7. Orders counseling or other services.
8. Orders the abuser to go to counseling or on a treatment programme.
9. Awards victim or the abuser the temporary right to keep or use certain items of personal property.
10. Orders one or both of the parties not to sell give away destroy or harm any property.
11. Orders the sheriff to protect the victim while she gets her things out of the home.
12. Always includes a statement that any violation of this order is a misdemeanor and may subject the abuser to criminal penalty.

Normally, when a person files such a petition, the clerk will give her a court date for a hearing that is within fourteen days from the date of filing. If there is a hearing, the court will ask both parties about the abuse described in the petition. The victim's testimony is important, but it will also help to file police reports, medical records, any photographs of injuries, and have any witnesses summoned to testify in court. If the court finds that the abuse did occur and that the victim needs further protection, she will get a protection order effective for up to one year. Such an order can be extended after its expiration by reapplying before the expiration date set by the court (County & County, 2001).

The petition (and the Ex Parte order) must be personally served on the abuser or the harasser. The Sheriff usually does this. If the abuser cannot be found, the Clerk of Court can be asked to proceed by "publication". A

protection order hearing can be held one week after the notice has been published even if the abuser is hiding or if the victim does not know his address (County & County, 2001).

The police must arrest the abuser if they have probable cause to believe that the person has violated a protection order. They do not need to have actually seen the assault, threat or harassment to make the arrest, but they do need to see a copy of the protection order. It is therefore of utmost importance for the victim to have a copy of the protection order on her person at all times. If the abuser comes to her home or place of employment and violates the terms of protection order, the police should be called to arrest him without a warrant. Even if the police do not arrest the batterer, the violation should be reported so that there is documentation of it. An interested person, such as a councilor, can file an affidavit about the violation of a protection order. This may be useful if the abuser fails to complete a court ordered treatment programme. The victim can also file civil contempt charges against the abuser if he has violated the protection order (County & County, 2001).

A person does not violate the protection order if she has a protection order that excludes the abuser from the home and the victim lets him enter. However, as this would be a violation of the protection order by the abuser, this situation should be avoided, if possible (County & County, 2001).

3.8.2 Legal avenues battered women can take according to the Domestic Violence ACT (Act No. 116 of 1998)

Assault is a crime whether it is committed in the street or in a home. If a woman has been physically assaulted by her partner, the woman may go to any police station and lay a charge against the partner. The following steps should be taken into consideration:

Battered women should go to the police station and make a statement that includes as much details as they remember. The statement should be read over and all necessary corrections made before they sign it. They should be taken to the district surgeon for a medico-legal examination and give the police copies of any medical records they have from assaults from the batterer, case numbers from any previous reports, a copy of their interdict (if they have one), the names of any witnesses, and any other information they have that will help prove the case. Before they leave the station, they should ensure that they know the name of the investigating officer, the name of the police station, the case number, and the contact number they can call to check on how the investigation is proceeding (POWA, 2001).

3.8.3 Some solutions to battered women

They should ask family or friends for support, and go for counseling, lay a charge of assault with the police, get a prevention of the Family Violence Act Interdict at the local magistrate's court, call a family meeting or ask a supportive religious leader to intervene. In severe cases they can move out temporarily, make plans to go, arrange housing, set money aside, seek

employment, pack essentials and get a divorce, organize a shelter, contact a women's organization for help, support and legal advice if they need more information about any of these options (POWA, 2001).

The community can assist by reporting if they have witnessed behaviour that they believe is violent or abusive, while also informing the victims and other people about women battering, arranging talks at community schools or churches or arrange community meetings about battering. In addition, the community can lobby the police and government for better services for battered women in listening to the woman who confides in them. In this way the community will be supporting the right of all women to live in safety (POWA, 2001).

3.9 BELIEFS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO BATTERING AS OUTLINED BY COUNTY MORRISON AND COUNTY TODD (2001)

3.9.1 Belief #1 – When a man makes a commitment to a relationship, the woman, in effect becomes a man’s property

- He has the right to monitor her life (activities, friends, and finances).
- He has the right to tell her where she can go and when she should return.
- If she had a life of her own, he wouldn't be able to control her and get what he wants.
- He has the right to monitor and control whom she sees and talks to, especially men.
- “Why do you have to put on make-up to go to the grocery store?”

- “No wife of mine is going to dress like that. Who are you trying to impress?”
- “I hate it when guys look at you that way.”
- You are not going to your parents' house this Saturday. You're going to help me clean the basement.”
- “I don't want you hanging out with those stupid friends of yours.”

3.9.2 Belief # 2- A man should not have to do women's work

- “Is it too much to ask to have dinner at the table, keep the house clean and keep the damn kids quiet?”
- “I work long and hard every day to pay the bills, what more do you want from me?”

3.9.3 Belief #3- A man has the right to punish his partner

- He is not responsible for his behaviour.
- If she pushes his buttons, she deserves to be punished.
- She is blamed for many of the things that go wrong at home or in his personal life.
- “I can yell if I want.”
- “I'm not paying child support so she can have sex with her new boyfriend.”
- “One thing about my last partner, she knew how to make a man feel good.”

- “So I called her lazy, punched a hole in the wall and went out to get something to eat. It’s not like I hurt anyone. All I ask is that she has food on the table when I get home.”
- “It’s your fault that I lost my job.”
- “If you would quit acting so stupidly I wouldn’t have to yell and scream.”

3.9.4 Belief #4- A man is the head of the family and should have the final word... someone has to be in charge

- He should be the center of her world.
- She is supposed to anticipate his needs and meet them to satisfaction.
- Women are not equal to men.
- He has the right to judge her family and friends.
- “Why do you work? You’ve got enough to keep you busy right here.”
- “Why haven’t you put the kids to bed? Can’t you see I need some rest tonight?”

Moreover, in recent years we have increasingly been finding a much higher number of battering than suspected in lesbian and gay relationships. There is a slightly different dynamic between these relationships and heterosexual relationships since lesbian and gay battering situations often involve the inability to deal with the frustration and burdens of living in a homophobic society. There are also similar issues, present in heterosexual marriages (e.g. children and money), but these issues become an even greater problem with gay couples because they do not have as much support from family or friends during these rough times. In fact, some families do not even know that their child is in a gay relationship.

Nxumalo (2003), in his response to the Message Board on a question about culture being an excuse for violence, expressed his view that if culture, that we love so much, as one of the things that gives us identity, is also capable of causing women so much pain and even give them and the perpetrators excuses for battering, then he would rather be cultureless. He regards this as a sick excuse by people who have no control over their emotions and a saddening acceptance by those who make no attempt to encourage them to get help.

3.10 MYTHS AND MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT BATTERY (POWA, 2001)

3.10.1 Woman abuse is a private family problem

This myth has the implication that it denies the community the responsibility for a social issue, thus silencing and isolating abused women. The fact is that the domestic domain does not provide sanctity but is often the site of neglect, abuse, rape, and incest. A crime is a crime whether it is committed publicly on the street or privately in a home. The oppression that creates the abuse of women is thus everyone's concern.

3.10.2 Battery is just a few slaps.

According to this myth the seriousness and deadliness of battery is denied because it minimises the feelings and experiences of abused women. In contrast, research findings show that over half of women who are murdered are killed by their partners.

3.10.3 It cannot be that bad or she would leave

This myth disregards social and economic realities as it denies the complexity of the problem and prevents women from obtaining support or assistance while simultaneously ignoring the experiences and feelings of women. In fact, women are often forced to stay in violent relationships for many reasons, namely limited options and resources, the fear that the abuser will kill them, concern about losing their homes, religious beliefs, family pressure, love and hope that the abuser will change coupled with the feelings that no-one will help.

3.10.4 Stress / Substance abuse causes battery

An implication of this myth is that it removes blame from the abuser, since it obscures the real issue and provides an excuse for the abuse. In fact, many men who are not stressed or abusing substances do abuse women while men who are stressed and/or abuse substances do not abuse women. Stress, substance abuse and battery are all separate issues and should be understood as such.

3.10.5 It is because of his childhood

By implication this myth exonerates the abuser from blame and responsibility by attempting to generate sympathy for the abuser and assuming that the abuser cannot heal from a bad childhood or assuming adult responsibility. However, although most abusers grow up in abusive households, not all abused boys grow up to be abusers, as men who did not grow up in violent homes sometimes become abusers too. In fact, adult men

choose to abuse as a way of dealing with their pain or problems and must be held accountable for that choice.

3.10.6 Women choose abusive relationships because they are crazy or masochistic.

This myth implies blame and stigmatization of abused women. It "psychologises" and obscures the problem as it provides an excuse for the abuser, it silences and isolates the abused woman while women usually choose, partners who claim to love them. Crazy behaviour is often the result of the abuse, not the cause. Many abused women feel depressed, angry and suicidal. They may even endeavour to numb the physical and emotional pain by abusing drugs and alcohol but this does not make them insane and they usually recover after having left the abusive relationship.

3.10.7 Women abuse happens to uneducated, working class women

According to this myth violence in working class communities seems "normal", reinforces racial and class prejudices and thus isolates and silences other women. In fact, however, women abuse knows no socio-economic boundaries since women of all races, classes, cultures, language and educational groups are abused by their partners.

3.10.8 Women abuse men

This myth denies the usual direction of violence in the home and that battery is part of the overall social oppression of women. The fact is that while some men are abused by their partners, it is women who are victims of domestic violence in 95% of the cases of abuse. Women who are violent are most

often violent in self-defence. In addition, most men who are killed die in the street at the hands of a stranger; most women who are killed die at home at the hands of a partner.

3.10.9 Abusers are also violent outside the home.

Here the myth assumes that the abuser is unable to control his own behaviour and denies the gender aspect of violence against women. However, most abusers are violent towards their partners but control their aggression outside their home, at work and with their friends. Many abusers succeed in creating a positive image outside the home and are respected community members.

3.10.10 Only physical abuse matters

This myth denies the impact of other forms of abuse while in reality emotional, sexual and financial abuse is extremely damaging as well. Many women have report that the damage to their self-esteem takes longer to heal than their physical injuries.

3.10.11 Once battered always battered

Since this myth tends to direct blame towards the victim, it causes her to give up hope and tends to keep her in the abusive relationship. In reality many women have successfully left abusive relationships and established warm, loving relationships with partners who care for them.

Ellis (2003) in her comment in "The Star" of 13 March 2003, outlines the result of her research, namely that, a thousand survivors of domestic violence all over South Africa identified as women who were likely to define abuse in terms of physical battering. Many were the victims of multiple domestic attacks while 76% of them suffered physical abuse at the hands of their spouses or partners. Most reported being abused over a long period of time. The researcher thus also encourages women to be helped to break out of the notion that abuse is something that normally happens in a marriage or an intimate relationship, and that it is an expression of love or discipline. The vast majority of the women interviewed suffered depression and had sleeping problems. About one-fifth of the women who were sexually or emotionally abused ended up being physically abused and tried to commit suicide.

3.11 CONCLUSION

It is evident that woman battering presents a shameful scourge that is hidden within human relations in all societies. Both its prevalence and serious consequences call for innovative approaches in dealing with this problem. Psychological research, and other human sciences, need to suggest effective ways of handling personality disorders. In addition, government legislation on women battering, effective policing of the behaviour of women batterers, and visible prosecution thereof will aid in quelling this problem.

3.12 HYPOTHESIS

- Hypothesis 1. Women who are married are battered more than those who are not married.
- Hypothesis 2 Battered women are often unemployed.
- Hypothesis 3 Woman battering, in urban, semi-urban and rural areas, tends to occur more frequently when the level of oppression increases in a relationship.
- Hypothesis 4. Battered women who live in rural or semi-urban areas suffer more psychological problems than those living in urban areas.
- Hypothesis 5 Battered women who live in rural or semi-urban areas more frequently have partners with personality problems than those who live in urban areas.
- Hypothesis 6 Men who, according to their partners, have a history of being abused, tend to batter their partners over a long period of time.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 SAMPLING

Simple random sampling was used to choose the participants for this research study. This involved the random selection of battered female patients from the available complete list of patients attending the hospitals listed below. The patient population lists were referred to as the sampling frame. Ten participants were thus chosen from each hospital, namely Malamulele Hospital, Nkhensani Hospital, Polokwane Hospital, Dr Machupe Mphahlele Memorial Hospital, Mankweng Hospital, and Makhado Hospital. These were the identified centres to which a big number of battered women go for help. The areas were chosen because services such as psychotherapy, social services (social work) and medical intervention are rendered there. Questionnaires were distributed to the identified participants.

4.1.1 PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this study were 100 women whose ages range from 16 to 55 years. The mean age of participants is 33.37 years while the standard deviation was 8.475.

The participants' educational levels ranged as follows: 30% schooled in primary level only, 45% reached high school level only while 23% reached tertiary level and 2% never attended school.

The participants came from the following ethnic backgrounds: 1% from the Northern Sotho group, 8% from the Venda group, 83 % from the Tsonga group, 1% from the Zulu group, 5% from the Afrikaner group, 1% from the Swazi group and 1% from other groups (mainly Zimbabwean naturalised in the RSA).

Seventy-eight percent (78%) of participants belonged to the Christian Religion, 18% to the African Traditional Religion while 4% did not affiliate with any religion.

Eleven percent (11%) of the participants came from urban areas, 55% from rural areas and 34% from semi-urban areas.

The marital status of the participants was as follows: Sixty three percent (63%) were married, 14% were single, 10% were divorced/ separated or widowed, and 13% were cohabiting.

Thirty-six percent (36%) of participants lived with their spouse, 11% with their parents, 11% with the mother only, 2 % with the father only, 17% with other relatives, and 23 % lived with their boyfriends.

Sixty-six percent (66%) of the participants were unemployed while 34% were employed. Amongst those that were employed, 5% were earning between R1 and R500 per month; 4% earned between R500 and R1 000 per month; 1% earned between R1 000 and R1 500 per month; 3% earned between R1 500 and R2 000; 10% earned between R2000 and R 5000; 10%

earned between R5 000 and R 10 000 and only 1% earned more than R10 000 per month.

The responsibility of the participants to their dependents was as follows: 6% of the participants had no dependents, 13% were responsible for one dependent, 29% for two dependents, 27% for three dependents and 25% for more than three dependents.

Twenty-seven percent (27%) of the participants were the first born child in their family, 26% the second, 12% the last born, 3% were the only child while 32% were placed elsewhere.

Seven percent (7%) of the participants had no sibling, 11% one sibling, 21% two, 25% three, and 36 % had more than three siblings.

4.2 INSTRUMENTS

The following five subsections were contained in the questionnaire used for this study:

1. Demographic information

The participants' demographic variables were collected by means of a questionnaire with 16 items. The questionnaire covered the participant's age, year of birth, sex, religion, race, ethnicity, place of residence, marital status, number of family members, level of education, employment, income range per month, number of dependents, number of siblings, the participant's position within the family, and the reason for seeking medical help.

2. Indicators of oppression in the relationship

The indicators of oppression in the relationship were analysed. This was a 24-item section with four options to choose from in response to every item, namely "never", "at times", "often", and "very often" and provided a systematic assessment of the frequency of incidents that indicated the presence of oppression in a relationship (Williams, Noel, Cordes, Ramirez & Pignone, 2002).

3. Psychological problems suffered by battered women

Psychological problems suffered by the battered women were asked for in order to identify the severity of psychological problems experienced by battered women. A 13-item section with the options "no" and "yes" for each item, which was derived from the *Psychological Maltreatment of Women Inventory (PMWI-F)* (Sampsel, 1995), was used.

4. Personality problems of batterer

The personality disorder status of the batterers was investigated by using the *Sourcebook for Working with Battered Women* (Kilgore, 1992). A 22-item section with four options, namely "never", "at times", "often", and "very often" was used for each item, to provide a systematic assessment of the batterers' personality status.

5. Abuse history of the batterers

The questionnaire had a 5-item section that had the options "no" and "yes" per item and covered the history of the batterers, thereby purporting to determine the previous experience of the batterers and its influence to the

behaviour of battering women. Salber and Taliaferro (1995) derived these from *The Guide to Domestic Violence for Counsellors, Social Workers and Support Group Leaders* by Kilgore (1992).

These research instruments seem to have internationally recognised validity since international authors on the subject of women battering have used them before (Kilgore, 1992).

4.3 PROCEDURE

The researcher got permission from the superintendent of the mentioned hospitals to conduct the research in their hospitals. Dates and times were set with the hospitals' management and the co-operation of the nurses was sought. The researcher was temporarily given an office to distribute the questionnaires to the battered participants who visited the hospital as per request by the nurses. In order to preserve the privacy of the participants, the nurses were not allowed to intervene during the administration of the questionnaires. To ensure clarity, a letter was attached to each copy of the questionnaire explaining the purpose of the study to the participants.

Before the final version of the questionnaire was adopted for use in this study, a pilot study had been conducted whereby the questionnaire was administered to ten participants in the casualty department in one of the mentioned hospitals. The results were not included in the main study. This was done to assess its level of clarity, its ability to be completed, the time taken to complete the questionnaire, to look for extraneous variables during its administration, as well as its reliability.

Participants in the study were expected to complete the questionnaire in the presence of a research assistant, who would ensure that all the questions were answered and that the questionnaire was returned to the researcher. An effort was made to avoid extraneous variables that could motivate the participants not to give reliable answers, for example, one questionnaire being answered by more than one participant. Participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity. Only relevant personal information was requested from the participants.

Before administration of the questionnaire, the participants were first informed of the purpose of the research and were allowed to ask questions regarding the study. Those who were not comfortable to participate in the study, five altogether, were excused. The research assistant then started the administration by explaining the instructions for completion of the questionnaire. The first part of the questionnaire, which was about the participants' demographic characteristics, was done together (item by item) with the research assistant leading and reading out the questions. In addition to the English version of the questionnaire, the questionnaire was translated into the languages of all the ethnic groups mentioned above and the responses were translated to English again. This was done in the case of the respondents who did not understand English. In the case of those who could neither read nor write the research assistant helped them in writing down the relevant information. The questionnaires were collected the very same day they had been distributed and it took the participants an average of 35 minutes to complete them. In view of the fact that the questionnaire may have aroused more questions and interest about the topic of study, the participants were given a further 30 minutes to talk about their experiences.

From the second part of the questionnaire onwards, the participants were encouraged to complete them individually, quietly, honestly, and as quickly as they could. Questions found challenging during the pilot study were explained before the participants continued. The participants were encouraged to direct their questions to the research assistant if they encountered problems. The ethical requirements pertaining to research were observed, for example, the acquisition of informed voluntary consent of the participants, ensuring confidentiality, considering the possible consequences of the research to the participants, and the protection of participants from unwarranted physical or mental distress.

Two of the participants were referred to psychologists for psychotherapy while six of the participants, who were found in a desperate and needy situation, were referred to social security and other social services rendered by the State. The researcher spent a period of almost two weeks in administering the questionnaires in each hospital.

4.4 STATISTICAL METHODS

This is a quantitative research whereby the responses to the questionnaire were compared with one another to establish predictive behaviour. Frequency Distribution, Percentages, Chi-square, and ANOVA were used as statistical methods of choice. The critical level of significance was 0.05 while the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used in analysing the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS (RESULTS)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of the analysis and interpretations of the findings as well as the testing of the hypotheses.

5.2 FREQUENCIES

Table 1 presents the relationship between the batterer and the battered woman.

Table 1. Relationship between the batterer and the victim of battering

| Batterer's relationship with victim | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Husband | 63 | 63.0 | 63.0 | 63.0 |
| Male friends (Div/sep/widow/single) | 32 | 32.0 | 32.0 | 95.0 |
| Brother | 5 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Table 1 reveals that from a total number of 100 participants (N = 100), 63.0% of the women were battered by their husbands. Thirty-two percent

(32.0 %) of the women were battered by their male friends and 5.0 % of them by their brothers.

Table 2 indicates the reasons why the battered women sought help

Table 2. Reasons why the battered women sought help

| Reason | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Security/ Fear/Injury | 79 | 79.0 | 79.0 | 79.0 |
| Medical Attention | 21 | 21.0 | 21.0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

This table shows that the majority (79.0 %) of the battered women sought help because they were in fear and wanted security, as well as treatment of their wounds while twenty-one percent (21.0 %) of the battered women consulted the hospitals or clinics to seek medical attention only.

Table 3 shows the various methods of battering used by the batterers

Table 3. Methods of battering

| Method | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Kicking / Hitting / Punching | 55 | 55.0 | 55.0 | 55.0 |
| Using Objects | 35 | 35.0 | 35.0 | 90.0 |
| Sjamboking / Banging against wall | 10 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

In this table it is indicated that kicking, hitting and punching are the most common methods of battering used. This is followed by the use of objects such as stones, knives, guns, belts, kitchen utensils and other loose items that can be thrown around. Sjamboking and banging against the wall were the least commonly used methods.

Table 4 highlights the period for which the women were battered

Table 4. Period for which woman battering took place among the participants

| Period | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| One Year | 28 | 28.0 | 28.6 | 28.6 |
| Two Years | 8 | 8.0 | 8.2 | 36.7 |
| Three Years | 19 | 19.0 | 19.4 | 56.1 |
| Four Years | 14 | 14.0 | 14.3 | 70.4 |
| Five Years | 10 | 10.0 | 10.2 | 80.6 |
| More than 5 Years | 19 | 19.0 | 19.4 | 100.0 |
| Sub-total | 98 | 98.0 | 100.0 | |
| Missing Variables | 2 | 2.0 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

From the above table it is apparent that in the majority of the cases, the battering took place between one and four years.

5.3 TEST OF HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: Women who are married are battered more than those who are not married

Table 5. Chi-square for married and unmarried battered women

| Participants | Frequency | X^2 | df | p |
|--|-----------|-------|----|-------|
| Married | 63 | 6.760 | 1 | 0.009 |
| Not married (div/sep/wido /cohabit/sing) | 37 | | | |

Table 5 reveals that married women are battered more than unmarried women ($X^2 = 6.760$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$). Hypothesis 1 is therefore accepted.

Hypothesis 2: Battered women are often unemployed

Table 6. Chi-square for employed and unemployed battered women

| Participants | Frequency | X^2 | df | p |
|--------------|-----------|--------|----|-------|
| Employed | 34 | 10.240 | 1 | 0.001 |
| Unemployed | 66 | | | |

According to Table 6, unemployed women are battered more frequently than employed women ($X^2 = 10.240$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$), rendering hypothesis 2 as accepted.

Hypothesis 3: Woman battering, in urban, semi-urban and rural areas, tends to occur more frequently when the level of oppression increases in a relationship

Table 7. Mean scores and standard deviation for oppression

| Subsections of the oppression scale | N | Mean | Standard Deviation | Standard Error |
|-------------------------------------|-----|---------|--------------------|----------------|
| ISOLATION | | | | |
| Urban | 11 | 5.8182 | 1.77866 | 0.53629 |
| Semi-urban | 34 | 8.7576 | 3.00032 | 0.52229 |
| Rural | 55 | 8.1091 | 2.42420 | 0.32688 |
| Total | 100 | 8.0707 | 2.68880 | 0.27023 |
| FINANCE | | | | |
| Urban | 11 | 9.1818 | 4.35473 | 1.31300 |
| Semi-urban | 34 | 13.6061 | 4.49263 | 0.78207 |
| Rural | 55 | 13.6909 | 4.58610 | 0.61839 |
| Total | 100 | 13.1616 | 4.78202 | 0.47625 |
| INTIMIDATION | | | | |
| Urban | 11 | 8.9091 | 3.64567 | 1.09921 |
| Semi-urban | 34 | 11.3636 | 3.56912 | 0.62130 |
| Rural | 55 | 11.2000 | 3.48223 | 0.46954 |
| Total | 100 | 11.0000 | 3.57143 | 0.35894 |
| EMOTIONAL | | | | |
| Urban | 11 | 10.0000 | 3.57771 | 1.07872 |
| Semi-urban | 34 | 13.2424 | 4.47235 | 0.77854 |
| Rural | 55 | 12.3636 | 3.96916 | 0.53520 |
| Total | 100 | 12.3939 | 4.17186 | 0.41929 |
| TOTAL SCORES ON OPPRESSION | | | | |
| Urban | 11 | 33.9091 | 11.76822 | 3.54825 |
| Semi-urban | 34 | 46.9697 | 11.82023 | 2.05764 |
| Rural | 55 | 45.3636 | 11.56041 | 1.55881 |
| Total | 100 | 44.6263 | 12.18362 | 1.22450 |

The above mean scores will be used to interpret the Analysis of Variance for the relationship between oppression and battering (see Table 8 below).

Table 8. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) for the relationship between oppression and battering

| | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|----------------------------|----------------|----|-------------|-------|-------|
| Isolation Score: | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 71.463 | 2 | 35.731 | 5.385 | 0.006 |
| Within Groups | 637.042 | 96 | 6.636 | | |
| Total | 708.5.5 | 98 | | | |
| Financial Score: | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 196.154 | 2 | 98.077 | 4.776 | 0.011 |
| Within Groups | 1971.261 | 96 | 20.534 | | |
| Total | 2167.414 | 98 | | | |
| Intimidation Score: | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 54.655 | 2 | 27.327 | 2.195 | 0.117 |
| Within Groups | 1195.345 | 96 | 12.452 | | |
| Total | 1250.000 | 98 | | | |
| Emotional Score: | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 86.848 | 2 | 43.424 | 2.575 | 0.081 |
| Within Groups | 1618.788 | 96 | 16.862 | | |
| Total | 1705.636 | 98 | | | |
| Total Oppression: | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1474.566 | 2 | 737.283 | 5.414 | 0.006 |
| Within Groups | 13072.606 | 96 | 136.176 | | |
| Total | 14547.172 | 98 | | | |

In this table ANOVA was used to determine the correlation between oppression and woman battering. Oppression was indexed by the presence of

physical isolation, financial control, intimidation, and emotional abuse in the relationship. Oppression (Total Scores) and woman battering are significantly positively correlated. ($F = 5.414$, $df=2$, $p < 0.05$). Therefore hypothesis 3 is accepted. This indicates the likelihood that woman battering increases as the level of oppression in the relationship increases while a closer look at the different types of oppression shows that battering is likely to occur more frequently with the increase in oppression through isolation or finance.

Hypothesis 4: Battered women who live in rural or semi-urban areas suffer more psychological problems than those living in urban areas do

Table 9. Mean scores and standard deviation for psychological problems

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error |
|------------|-----|--------|----------------|------------|
| Urban | 11 | 7.7273 | 3.87533 | 1.16846 |
| Semi-urban | 34 | 9.6970 | 2.45567 | 0.42748 |
| Rural | 55 | 8.9273 | 2.78790 | 0.37592 |
| Total | 100 | 9.0505 | 2.85133 | 0.28657 |

The above mean scores will be used to interpret the next table.

Table 10. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) for the relationship between psychological problems and the victim's residence

| | Sum of Squares | df. | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---------------------|----------------|-----|-------------|-------|-------|
| Total Psy. Problems | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 33.887 | 2 | 16.943 | 2.132 | 0.124 |
| Within Groups | 762.861 | 96 | 7.946 | | |
| Total | 796.747 | 98 | | | |

This table shows that there is no significant correlation between the place of residence of battered women and their experience of psychological problems. ($F = 2.132$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$). Hypothesis 4 is thus rejected.

Hypothesis 5: Battered women who live in rural or semi-urban areas more frequently have partners with personality problems than those who live in urban areas.

Table 11. Mean scores and standard deviation for personality problems of batterers

| | N | Mean | Std Deviation | Std Error |
|------------|-----|---------|---------------|-----------|
| Urban | 11 | 34.0000 | 10.16858 | 3.06594 |
| Semi-urban | 34 | 43.0000 | 9.88054 | 1.71998 |
| Rural | 55 | 39.9091 | 8.25804 | 1.11351 |
| Total | 100 | 40.2828 | 9.32742 | 0.93744 |

These mean scores were used to interpret ANOVA table 12 below.

Table 12. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) for battered women who live in rural or semi-urban areas and thus more frequently have partners with personality problems than those who live in urban areas

| | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|----------------|----------------|----|-------------|-------|--------------|
| Between Groups | 685.535 | 2 | 342.768 | 4.197 | 0.018 |
| Within Groups | 7840.545 | 96 | 81.672 | | |
| Total | 8526.081 | 98 | | | |

According to this table there is a significant correlation between women battering and partners who have personality disorders ($F = 4.197$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$). Hypothesis 5 is thus accepted as it presumes that partners of battered women who live in semi-urban and rural areas suffer more psychological problems than of those who live in urban areas.

HYPOTHESIS 6: Men who, according to their partners, have a history of being abused tend to batter their partners over a long period of time

Table 13. Cross tabulation of the abuse history of the batterer and the period of battering

| Abuse history of batterer (two groups) | How long abuse happened (3 groups) | | | Total |
|---|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|------------|
| | One year or less N (%) | More than 1 year but less than 5 years N (%) | 5 or more years N (%) | N (%) |
| Short abuse history | 12 (30.0) | 18(45.0) | 10 (25.0) | 40 (100.0) |
| Long abuse history | 16 (27.6) | 23 (39.7) | 19 (32.8) | 58 (100.0) |
| Total | 28 (28.6) | 41 (41.8) | 29 (29.6) | 98 (100.0) |

The above cross tabulation percentages were used to interpret the chi-square test.

Table 14. Chi-square for the abuse history of the batterer and the period of battering

| Participants | Frequency | X^2 | df | p |
|---------------------|-----------|-------|----|-------|
| Short abuse history | 40 | 0.691 | 2 | 0.708 |
| Long abuse history | 58 | | | |

This table reveals that there is no significant correlation between the abuse history of the batterer and the period for which women battering took place ($X^2 = 0.691$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$), thereby rejecting hypothesis 6.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter discusses the results of this study in relation to the literature review and other related factors. It will also cover the limitations, conclusion and recommendations of this study.

6.2 DISCUSSION

The result of this study shows that women who are married are battered more frequently than those who are not married. It has been indicated in statistics on violence in the Republic of South Africa that 43% of 159 women surveyed had experienced battering and marital rape (The Citizen, 9 June 1989, p2). According to research by the Human Sciences Research Council (1994), one in five married women in South Africa is battered by her partner while the Bureau of Justice Statistics (August, 1994) indicates that women between the ages of 18 and 30 years (asually is the period in which women are involved in marriage) are more likely than women of other ages to be victimised by an intimate partner. In addition, MacDonald (2002) has observed that violence is perpetrated against women in almost half of all marriages.

Battering is frequently rooted in culture because battering males have (developed) extremely rigid views of gender roles. They tend to be sexist in

their attitude towards women (not in all cases of battering but in most of them). The role of cultural issues seems to be most consistent among batterers (MacDonald, 2002), especially since in most cultures women are taught to adhere to their husbands' dominance to show respect (Coward, 1997). At times some societies even train men to regard women in certain disrespectful objectified ways, so that many men see women as their possession. Husbands can do what they want to their wives who are expected to co-operate (MacDonald, 2002).

The above result disagrees with the findings of the Domestic Violence Statistics presented by Strengthen Our Sisters Resources (SOS - Resources, 1980) in the United States of America, according to which 75% of women who are battered have been divorced or separated from their abusers at the time of the incident.

This study has furthermore indicated that battered women are often unemployed. This finding disagrees with the report from the SOS-Resources (1980), which states that battering is not associated with unemployment. County and County (2001), in turn, indicated that concerning cultural beliefs, a man is regarded as the head of the family who should have the final word because someone has to be in charge. Statements such as, "Why do you work? You have got enough to keep you busy right here", justify his report. Box (1983) mentions that women are often socialised to be emotionally and economically dependent upon men and to look up to them for protection.

According to this study, the likelihood of the occurrence of women battering increases as the level of oppression in the relationship grows through isolation or finance. This finding agrees with that of Pagelow (1984) who indicated that one of the most defining characteristics of battered women is the social isolation that they often endure. He argues that battered women are frequently isolated, that is, they are cut off from others who might pay them attention. Culturally, many husbands monitor their wives' movements so closely that they must account for any extra time spent away (Pagelow, 1984). According to Box (1983), economic inequality between men and women, is a contributory factor to women battering as well.

Dobash and Dobash (1979) and Box (1983) note that certain cultural prescriptions promote a psychological impact towards women, such as aggressiveness, male dominance, female subordination, strength, power, protection and independence. For one to be regarded as a man, one has to use force and power to get what one wants and to strive for others (women). Russell (1995), in turn, argues that patriarchy is "a form of social organisation in which the father is recognised as the head of the family". Men who abuse their wives physically, psychologically, sexually, or economically believe that they have control over them and that women should adhere to any control imposed upon them. Due to their socialisation many men still believe that they are the heads of their families where their wives should depend on them for everything.

This study has, however, shown that there is no relationship between the place of residence of battered women and their experience of psychological problems. This finding is in agreement with that of the SOS-Resources

(1980) which indicates that battering cuts across racial and socio-economic lines. It occurs in middle class and upper class homes, as well as in working class and poor families. SOS-Resources (1980) further indicated that violence occurs among rural, urban, and suburban women of all ages, ethnic, racial, religious, educational, and socio-economic groups.

Culturally, African women have been socialised not to divorce, they fear being labelled divorcees, that they will be called failures in life and that what is taking place in the family is private and need not be discussed outside the family (Pagelow, 1984). Battered women resultantly tend to stay in a relationship that will generate psychological problems irrespective of their place of residence. Survey research with clinical samples has consistently identified numerous psychological problems among battered women. These include anxiety, depression, anger and rage, nightmares, dissociation, shame, a lowered self-esteem, somatic problems, sexual problems, addictive behaviour and impaired functioning (Campbell, 1989).

Perpetrators of women battering who live in rural or semi-urban areas have been shown, in this study, to suffer from more personality problems than those who live in urban areas. Perpetrator studies suggest that batterers often have high levels of psychopathology, particularly features of personality disorder (Dutton & Painter 1993; Gondolf, 1995; Hamberger, Saunders, & Hovey, 1992; O'Leary & Murphy, 1993) while Gondolf (1995) estimates that many perpetrators of battering (as many as 15%) have significant psychopathology and do require long term, intensive psychotherapy. Studies have suggested that between 36.0% and 52.0% of wife batterers abuse alcohol (Byles, 1978; Hanmer, Byles, Fagan, Stewart, & Hansen, 1986).

However, alcohol abuse should not be seen as a cause of or an excuse for battering, but as a facilitating condition that heightens risks for family violence (Trute, 1998).

Kaplan and Sadock (1998) outlined the social factors relating to personality disorders by referring to goodness of fit in child rearing and poor parental fit (poor match between temperament and child rearing practice). They, furthermore, indicated that cultures that encourage aggression might unwittingly reinforce and thereby contribute to paranoid and antisocial personality disorders.

The present study also reveals that the abuse history of the batterer has no relationship with the duration of the battering. According to Trute (1998), many husbands who abuse their wives have learned that violence, especially against women, is not a problem. They themselves were often abused as children or saw their mothers abused, while the battered wife most likely grew up in a similar environment. Moreover, women battering is rooted in the African culture since most battering males have (developed) very rigid views of gender roles. Many of them tend to be sexist in their attitudes towards women (not all batterers, but most). This cultural issue seems to be the most consistent among batterers (MacDonald, 2002).

6.3 LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The following are some of the limitations of this study:

Victim silence about the problem of battering

It has been extremely difficult to access the participants for this study. What seems to have been the major obstacle was the unreadiness of women to come out willingly to take part in the study. There were many potential participants who preferred to be "left alone" in spite of it being overt that they were victims of women battering. Women thus seem to prefer to keep their family matters undisclosed.

Suspicion of victims about the questionnaire and the subsequent distortion of responses

Some of the participants were suspicious of the questionnaire method and felt their privacy was being invaded in spite of the reassurance that had been given before the administration of the questionnaire. This might have influenced some of their responses.

Use of hospitals only as source for battered women

This study only focused on battered women that came to hospitals. If battered women from places such as houses of refuge and police stations were sought, more information would have been gleaned from them.

Paucity of questionnaire

The questionnaire did not ask for frequencies of battering on a daily/weekly/monthly basis. This would have given some additional valuable information.

Focus of research on victims only, and not on perpetrators

Whilst the responses represent the factual views of the victims, they do not represent the views of the perpetrators. It would have been interesting to have both victims and perpetrators as participants in the study.

Focus of research predominantly on black women

The sample of participants was predominantly black and Tsonga speaking. It would have been more appropriate if the study could have covered a sizeable number of women of the other race and ethnic groups.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This study has established that married women, and unemployed women, are often battered. Battering is likely to occur more frequently when there is an increase in oppression through isolation or finance. There is no relationship between the place of residence of battered women and their experience of psychological problems. Partners of battered women who live in semi-urban or rural areas suffer more personality problems than those who live in urban areas. Finally, the abuse history of batterers has no correlation with the duration of their women battering. However, the above conclusions cannot be generalised to all women, due to the limitations of the study listed above.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the serious nature of the problem of women battering, the nation would benefit if public education programmes to sensitise people about this problem could be intensified.

The public education programme should be streamlined in the life skills programme of secondary schools and introduced in tertiary education syllabi. This would help to address the negative aspect of the victims' silence related to women battering and thus expose the full extent of the problem to the nation. Battered individuals would then feel free to come forward and open up to assistance.

The public education programme should address the various options battered women could follow to obtain help. The Domestic Violence Act (Act No.116 of 1998) should be highlighted while related services such as the policing services, the prosecution services, social work services, and health services should be encouraged to rigidly and regularly apply aspects of the Act that fall within the scope of their operations. The officers in these services should thus be adequately trained and knowledgeable about the problem of women battering and domestic violence.

There should be a deliberate effort to encourage community campaigns to improve awareness of the problem of women battering at local level. Police stations and hospitals should have operational structures, within their premises and staffed with qualified psychologists, specifically set up to receive and assist victims of woman battering emotionally and provide for referrals to medical facilities. A national campaign should be undertaken to challenge, with circumspection, the status of a family as a private social unit. Certain negative aspects of family life, such as spouse abuse, should fall within the realm of social censorship and legal sanction so that it should not be viewed as an infringement of the private family life when members of the public intervene.

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Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE

This is a questionnaire about women battering. Please answer the questions as honestly as possible. Your responses will be handled anonymously and confidentially. If you have any question concerning this questionnaire ask the researcher.

1. Demographic information

This part of the questionnaire is about your identifying particulars.

1.1 Personal information:

- a. Age : -----
- b. Year of birth: -----
- c. Sex : -----
- d. Religion:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Christianity | |
| Islam | |
| African Traditional Religion | |
| Other | |

- e. Race :

| | |
|----------|--|
| Black | |
| White | |
| Asian | |
| Coloured | |

f. Ethnicity

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Tsonga | |
| Venda | |
| N. Sotho S. Sotho Tswana | |
| Zulu | |
| Xhosa | |
| English | |
| Afrikaner | |
| Swazi | |
| Ndebele | |
| Indian Other (specify) | |

g. Place of residence

| | |
|------------|--|
| Urban | |
| Semi Urban | |
| Rural | |

1.2 Socio-economic determinants

a. Marital status:

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Never married | |
| Married | |
| Divorced | |
| Widowed | |
| Separated | |
| Cohabitation | |
| Other (specify) | |

b. With whom do you live now? ✓

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Both parents together | |
| Mother only | |
| Father only | |
| Spouse | |
| Friends | |
| Other relatives | |
| Other (Specify) | |

c. Highest standard of education reached.

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Primary level | |
| High school level | |
| Tertiary level | |
| Other (specify) | |

d. Are you employed? ✓

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

e. If "Yes", what is your income range per month? ✓

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| R1.00 – R500 | |
| R500 – R1 000 | |
| R1 000 – R1 500 | |
| R1 500 – R2 000 | |
| R2 000 – R5 000 | |
| R5 000 – R10 000 | |
| More than R10 000 | |

f. Number of dependents

| | |
|----------------|--|
| One | |
| Two | |
| Three | |
| More (specify) | |

g. Number of siblings (brothers and sisters):

| | |
|----------------|--|
| One | |
| Two | |
| Three | |
| More (specify) | |

h. I am the:

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| First born child | |
| Second born child | |
| Last born child | |
| The only child | |
| Other (specify) | |

i.

What is your main reason for seeking medical help? -----

If maltreated or battered, in which ways? -----

Who battered you? -----

For how long did it happen? -----

2.1 Indicators of oppression in the relationship

a) Did your partner isolate you as follows:

| | never | at times | often | Very often |
|--|-------|----------|-------|------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ By keeping you from going to work, school, church, family or friends (please state the applicable place). • By taking away your ID or driver's licence. • By following you around. • By opening your mail. • By monitoring phone calls or removing the telephone. | | | | |
| <p>b) Did your partner exercise financial control as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By denying you access to money. • By forcing you to plead and beg for money. • By lying about money and hiding it. • By preventing you from working. • By stealing your money. • By not providing sufficient money for expenditures. • By ruining or preventing you from getting credit. | | | | |

- c. Did your partner intimidate you as follows :
- By frightening you by certain gestures and looks.
 - By smashing or throwing things.
 - By destroying your possessions.
 - By hurting or killing pets.
 - By playing with weapons to scare you .
 - By threatening to kill you, the children or himself.

d. Did you partner abuse you emotionally as follows :

- By putting you down.
- By calling you names.
- By humiliating you in front of family and friends.
- By making you feel stupid.
- By blaming you for what he did wrong.
- By sexually forcing himself on you.

| | never | at times | often | very often |
|--|-------|----------|-------|------------|
| | | | | |

2.2 Psychological problems suffered by battered women

| | no | yes |
|---|----|-----|
| a) Are you experiencing changes in yourself over the course of the relationship ? | | |
| b) Are you experiencing changes in the relationship between you and your children ? | | |
| c) Do you feel like not going certain places? | | |
| e) Do you feel like not seeing certain people? | | |
| f) Do you avoid certain subjects? | | |
| g) Do you avoid certain situations with your partner? | | |
| h) Do you feel like running away? | | |
| i) Are you experiencing an urge to tell a friend? | | |
| j) Have you got fears for you or your children's safety? | | |
| k) Have your hopes, for a better situation, changed? | | |
| l) Are you afraid that you might go crazy? | | |
| m) Are you feeling anxious? | | |
| n) Are you feeling suicidal? | | |

2.3 Personality disorder status of batterers

Answer "never", "at times", "often", or "very often", whichever is applicable, in the questions that follow below.

| | never | at times | often | very often |
|---|-------|----------|-------|---------------|
| a. Does your partner show a strong confident personality ? | | | | |
| b. Is you partner more vulnerable to rejection when he tries to express his needs ? | | | | |
| c. Is your partner in control of his situation ? | | | | |
| d. Has your partner suffered an episode of depression before ? | | | | |
| e. Was there a time when your partner made suicidal statements ? | | | | |
| f. Do you think that your partner is experiencing a threatened physical separation from you ? | | | | |
| g. Is your partner hostile? | | | | |
| h. Is your partner angry? | | | | |
| i. Has your partner been using alcohol for more than five years ? | | | | |

| | never | at times | often | very often |
|--|-------|----------|-------|------------|
| j) Is your partner abusing alcohol? | | | | |
| k) Does your partner have an alcohol problem? | | | | |
| l) Does your partner have a negative attitude towards women? | | | | |
| m) Do you think your partner views himself as low in masculinity? | | | | |
| n) Is your partner low in positive traits that are normally associated with men? | | | | |
| o) Does your partner have a drug problem? | | | | |
| p) Is your partner a withdrawn person? | | | | |
| q) Is your partner a moody person? | | | | |
| r) Is your partner hypersensitive to slights? | | | | |
| s) Is he an anxious person? | | | | |
| t) Do you think your partner is self-centered ? | | | | |
| u) Does he mainly use others to satisfy his needs ? | | | | |
| v) Does your partner have a strong need for one or a few significant others ? | | | | |

2.4 Abuse history of batterer

Answer "yes" or "no"

- a. Was your partner physically abused as a child ?
- b. Was your partner physically abused at school ?
- c. Was your partner physically abused at home ?
- d. Was your partner physically abused by his peers ?
- e. Did your partner witness his parents fighting ?

| yes | no |
|-----|----|
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |