

**A PSYCHOCRIMINOLOGICAL APPROACH TOWARDS
THE MALE BATTERER**

by

DELIA ANASTASIA KARRAS

Submitted for the fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree

MAGISTER ARTIUM

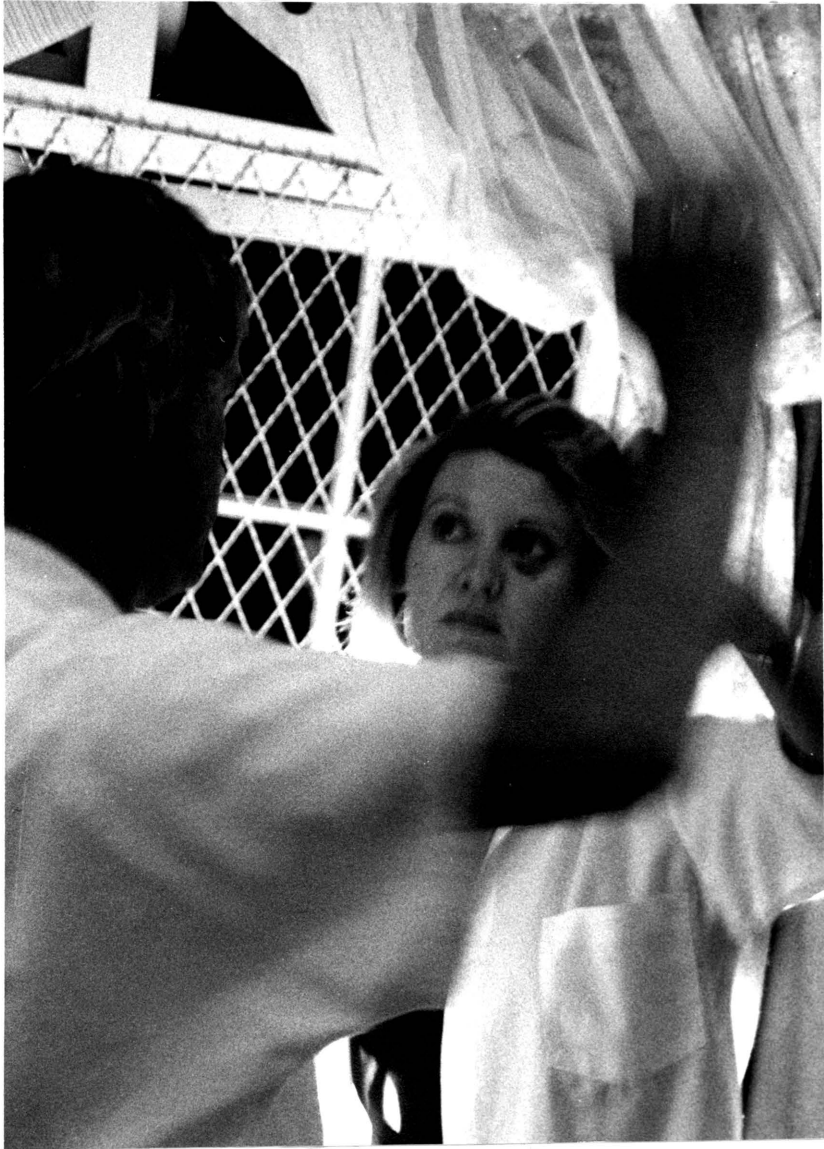
(Criminology)

in the faculty of Arts

at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

APRIL 1989



Photographer: Bernard Clark

INDEX

	Page
BAR CHARTS	vii
TABLES	vii
SUMMARY	ix
OPSOMMING	xi
CHAPTER 1	
INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE STUDY	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1.1 The actuality of women battering	1
1.1.1.1 Possible repercussions for the male batterer	2
1.1.1.2 Physical and psychological effects of battering on the battered woman . . .	3
1.1.1.3 Effects of battering on children	3
1.1.1.4 Consequences of battering on society	4
1.1.2 The male batterer as a problem relevant to society	4
1.1.3 Theoretical significance of the study	5
1.1.4 Methodological problem	6
1.2 THE AIMS OF THE STUDY	6
1.3 RESEARCH EXPECTANCIES	6
1.4 DEFINITION OF CENTRAL CONCEPTS	7
1.4.1 Women battering	7
1.4.2 The male batterer	8
1.4.3 Aggression	8
1.4.4 Violence	9

①

	Page
1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	10
1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN	11
1.6.1 Anonymous telephone interview	11
1.6.2 Interview shedule	12
1.6.3 Rationale for implementing the anonymous telephone interview	12
1.6.4 Delimitation of the field to be studied	15
1.6.5 Characteristic of the sample	16
1.7 LITERATURE OVERVIEW	17
CHAPTER 2	
A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH AS THEORETI- CAL FRAMEWORK FOR THIS STUDY	
	18
2.1 PSYCHOCRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES	18
2.1.1 An outline of Freud's defence mechanisms	18
2.1.1.1 Repression	19
2.1.1.2 Projection	19
2.1.1.3 Fixation	20
2.1.1.4 Rationalization	21
2.1.1.5 Displacement	21
2.1.1.6 Evaluation	22
2.1.2 Sykes and Matza's techniques of neutralization	22
2.1.2.1 Evaluation	24
2.1.3 Psychosocial analytic theory of Horney	24
2.1.3.1 Evaluation	26
2.1.4 Aspects of Sullivan's interpersonal theory of psychiatry	27
2.1.4.1 Evaluation	29
2.1.4.2 Similarities between Horney and Sullivan	29
2.1.5 Neutralization and self-concept	30

	Page
2.1.5.1 Evaluation	30
2.1.6 Bandura’s social-learning theory	30
2.1.6.1 Evaluation	31
2.1.7 Sutherland’s differential association theory . . .	32
2.1.7.1 Evaluation	33
2.2 THE INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VIOLENCE	35
2.2.1 Evaluation	35
2.3 SOCIOCRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES	37
2.3.1 Patriarchal domination	38
2.3.1.1 Evaluation	39
2.3.2 Subculture of violence	40
2.3.2.1 Evaluation	41
2.3.3 Containment theory as propounded by Reckless	41
2.3.3.1 Evaluation	42
2.4 PHYSIOLOGICAL FACTORS	42
2.4.1 Evaluation	43
2.5 THE SELF, SELF-CONCEPT, AND SELF-ESTEEM . . .	44
2.6 AN INTERDISCIPLINARY MODEL	47
2.7 SUMMARY	50

	Page
CHAPTER 3	
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS .	52
3.1 INTRODUCTION	52
3.2 PERSONAL PROFILE OF THE MALE BATTERER . .	52
3.2.1 Age	52
3.2.2 Occupation	53
3.2.3 Status	54
3.2.4 Family of origin background	56
3.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MALE BATTERER . . .	57
3.3.1 Substance abuse	57
3.3.2 Serious illnesses or accidents	59
3.3.3 Depression	60
3.3.4 Isolation	62
3.4 THE BATTERING INCIDENT	63
3.4.1 Precipitating factors	63
3.4.2 Frequency of violence	64
3.4.3 Nature of the abuse	64
3.4.4 Resultant injuries	65
3.4.5 Warning signals	65
3.4.6 Remorse	66
3.4.7 Other areas of functioning	66
3.4.8 Parallels which can be drawn with regard to the research findings and an intermittent explosive disorder	67
3.5 SUMMARY	67
3.6 GENERAL	69

	Page
CHAPTER 4	
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	72
4.1 RECOMMENDATION	72
4.2 GENERAL	76
4.3 IDENTIFICATION OF FURTHER RESEARCH THEMES	76
4.3.1 Treatment programs	76
4.3.2 Hotlines, Batterers Anonymous	77
4.3.3 Impulse control disorder	77
REFERENCES	78
APPENDIX A	
Newspaper Editorials	89
APPENDIX B	
Interview Schedule	91

LIST OF BAR CHARTS

	Page
1 Delimitation of the field to be studied	15
2 Type of relationship	54
3 Substance abuse	58
4 Serious illnesses or accidents	59

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
1 Age group of the male batterer	52
2 Occupation of the male batterer	53
3 Duration of relationship	55
4 Depression as a symptom	60

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A dissertation of this nature depends heavily on the co-operation and assistance of many people. The following people, and institutions are thanked for their contribution:

Dr. R. Greyling for her constant encouragement and professional guidance as supervisor.

Mr. R.E. Matthews who helped me to gain valuable insights.

Prof. W.A. Landman for his expert and constructive contribution.

Prof. W. Bodemer, Head of the Psychiatric Department and Dr. A.L. Coetzee, Head Psychologist at Weskoppies Hospital for their time during an interview.

Prof. W.D. Maxwell-Mahon who kindly assisted in the editing with a discerning eye.

The Human Science Research Council for their financial assistance.

The Post Office who supplied the research telephone so promptly.

The various newspapers who were prepared to print an editorial in aid of this dissertation.

A special thanks to the various people – especially the male batterers – who came forward and shared a part of their lives. Without their courage this dissertation would not have been possible.

SUMMARY

Title of dissertation: A psychocriminological approach towards the male batterer

By: D.A. Karras

Supervisor: Dr. R. Greyling

Department: Criminology

Degree: Magister Artium

The aim of this research was to gain insight into the life-world of the male batterer. A methodology which can be described as a phenomenological approach was employed. This is a psychodynamic and essence-directed descriptive study which relates specifically to the male batterer.

This research was prompted by the actuality of women battering. Another factor which also contributed towards this research was the fact that most of the knowledge on battering is construed from interviews with the victim. The researcher was therefore specifically interested in knowing how the batterer himself experienced and articulated the reality of battering.

The research commenced by the embarkation upon a thorough literature study of the subject, so as to identify carefully specific distinctive characteristics with regard to the male batterer. Emphasis was especially given to the bio-psycho-sociocriminological factors which contributed to an elucidation of battering.

Anonymous telephone interviews were conducted with various male batterers in order to gather information with regard to their behaviour. This procedure was utilized because possible condemnation and stigmatization could deter the male batterer from participating in a more direct personal confrontation. The fear of identification and criminal prosecution could furthermore hinder direct personal contact with the male batterer. This kind of telephone interview guarantees anonymity, and was therefore seen as a vehicle to encourage the batterer to volunteer an explication of his experience of battering. Anonymous telephone interviews also allowed for a sample to be drawn from the more broader normal population. Consequent to this methodology the batterers found in prison for rehabilitation, or in psychiatric hospitals for

treatment were excluded. The sample is therefore more representative of the general population.

Emanating from the research, it was apparent that a multi-dimensional or interdisciplinary orientation was necessary to understand the experiential and life-world of the male batterer. According to this approach the batterer could be regarded as a dynamic, multi-faceted, unique and complex being with diverse potentialities, such as the ability to be “normal” and “abnormal”. Re-occurring themes with regard to the male batterer’s personality were manifested during the research and indicated that the batterer experienced psychological maladjustment, yet that he was not necessarily mentally disturbed. The following are distinctive characteristics of the male batterer: Emotional dependency, depression, aggression, guilt, low self-esteem, low frustration tolerance and impulsiveness.

The actuality and complexity of the phenomenon of battering indicate the necessity for further research.

OPSOMMING

Titel van verhandeling:	'n Psigokriminologiese benadering tot die vroueslaner
Deur:	D.A. Karras
Promotor:	Dr. R. Greyling
Departement:	Kriminologie
Graad:	Magister Artium

Die doel van hierdie navorsing was om meer insig te bekom ten opsigte van die lewens-wêreld van die vroueslaner. 'n Fenomenologiese metodologiese benaderingswyse is tydens die navorsing gevolg. Hierdie is 'n psigodinamiese en essensie-gerigte beskrywende studie wat spesifiek handel oor die vroueslaner.

Hierdie navorsing is geïnisiëer as gevolg van die aktualiteit van vrouemis-handeling. Nog 'n faktor wat tot hierdie navorsing gelei het, was die feit dat die meeste navorsing wat beskikbaar is, gebaseer is op navorsingsdata van onderhoude wat met die slagoffer gevoer is. Dié navorsing wou dus meer spesifiek bepaal hoe die vroueslaner self sy wêreld beleef en weergee.

Die studie is begin deur 'n deeglike literatuurstudie ten opsigte van vroueslanery te loots. Tydens die literatuurstudie is daar spesifieke kenmerkende eienskappe van die vroueslaner bekom. Daar is veral klem gelê op die bio-psigo-sosiokriminologiese faktore wat moontlik 'n veroorsakende bydrae tot vroueslanery sou lewer.

Anonieme telefoniese onderhoude is met verskeie vroueslaners gevoer om inligting omtrent hulle te bekom. Die anonieme telefoon onderhoudsvoering prosedure is gebruik omdat moontlike veroordeling en stigmatisering die vroueslaner weerhou van meer direkte persoonlike kontak. Die moontlikheid van persoonlike identifisering en kriminele vervolging kon direkte persoonlike kontak met die vroueslaner verder bemoeilik. Anonimiteit wat naamlose telefoon onderhoud bied, het daartoe bygedra dat vroueslaners hulle ondervinding en belewenisse as vroueslaners met die navorser kon deel. Anonieme telefoon onderhoudsvoering was gerig op die breë normale be-

volking en het die verdere voordeel ingehou dat dit vroueslaners wat in gevangnisse en psigiatriese hospitale behandel word, uitgesluit het en dus is die steekproef meer verteenwoordigend van die algemene bevolking.

Uit die navorsing was dit duidelik dat 'n multi-dimensionele of interdisciplinêre benadering noodsaaklik is om die ondervinding en lewens-wêreld van die vroueslaner te begryp. Volgens hierdie benadering word die vroueslaner beskou as 'n dinamiese, multi-fasette, unieke en komplekse wese wat oor diverse potensiaal beskik, soos “normaliteit” en “abnormaliteit”. Tydens die navorsing het daar herhaalde temas ten opsigte van die vroueslaner se persoonlikheid na vore gekom wat daarop dui dat die vroueslaner sielkundige aanpassingsprobleme ervaar, maar nie noodwendig sielkundig versteurd is nie. Die volgende is kenmerkende eienskappe van die vroueslaner: Emosionele afhanklikheid, depressie, aggressie, skuldgevoelens, lae self-esteem, lae frustrasie toleransie en impulsiewe gedrag.

Die aktualiteit en kompleksiteit van vroueslanery is aanduidend dat verdere navorsing op die gebied noodsaaklik is.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study employs a methodology which can be described as a phenomenological approach to gain insight into the essence of the reality of women battering. It is a psychodynamic and essence-directed descriptive study (Landman, 1988 : 83) which focuses specifically on the life-world (Landman, 1988 : 85) of the male batterer. Characteristics or traits of the batterer are taken into consideration and an endeavor is made to understand how the batterer perceives the battering relationship: in other words, how he conceives the precipitating factors of the abuse, his reactions, and how he experiences and interprets the aftermaths of battering. Thus a closer scientific inspection of the reality of battering or the life-world experience of the male batterer is undertaken (Denzin, 1984 : 485, 487).

Furthermore, an overview of some of the factors that may play a role in the causation of women battering is given and evaluated, as this is of importance if one is interested in understanding the possible origins of battering behaviour or treating the male batterer (Macdonald, 1976 : 119).

1.1.1 The actuality of women battering

The SA Law Reports depict the cases where the court comes up against the phenomenon itself. In *S v. H* (1985: 750-756) the husband or assailant bases his defence on the premise that he cannot be convicted of assault whilst raping his wife, and pleads not guilty. This is based on the presumption that rape by a husband on his wife is a legal impossibility. Nevertheless, there are numerous other court cases (see 1.1.1.1), and newspaper articles which portray that women battering is a serious problem, and that it is indeed pervasive. "This year 6000 wives will be beaten" (*The Pretoria News*, 20 March 1984); "Wife battering 'serious' in SA" (*The Cape Times*, 29 November 1984); "Wife abuse – tip of a frightening iceberg" (*The Star*, 30 November 1984). Martin points out with a reference to the USA that although it is difficult to obtain accurate and reliable statistics with regard to the incidence of women battering, from the "... evidence available and the educated guesses of experts who have conducted limited research or have come in direct contact with complaints from victims, we can say that the number of battered women nationwide reaches into the millions" (Martin, 1978 : 112).

The seriousness and actuality of battering become evident when we look at some of the consequences of the male batterer's behaviour.

1.1.1.1 Possible repercussions for the male batterer

The violent incident may culminate in homicide and the male batterer will have to bear the consequences if convicted for murder. “Man moor liever as om te skei” (*Die Transvaler*, 20 January 1988); “Women dies after alleged assault” (*The Pretoria News*, 1 February 1988); “Vrou sterf na skoot in bors” (*Die Transvaler*, 3 February 1988); “Vrou dood : Man voor” (*Die Transvaler*, 4 February 1988); “Alleged wife killer gets bail” (*The Pretoria News*, 11 February 1988); “Man faces 9 charges after alleged assault” (*The Pretoria News*, 11 February 1988); “Beware of paper tigers : A killing highlights the vulnerability of battered women” (*Time Magazine*, 27 March 1989).

It is apparent that battering is rarely confined to a single incident. Star (1983: xvi) states that even if the batterer becomes involved with a new partner, violent episodes are likely to be repeated if there is no intervention. This can be illustrated by the death of Pretoria model and beauty queen, Carla Schoeman. Carla, aged 19, was shot by her boyfriend Paul Bernstein, who then turned the gun on himself. In the newspaper article: “My hell with the beast who slew Carla” (*The Sunday Times*, 8 November 1987), there are allegations that Bernstein battered his ex-wife on numerous occasions and even tried physically to suffocate her. The battering reoccurred in his next relationship with Carla and ended in murder and suicide.

Furthermore, the male batterer may himself turn out to be the murdered victim. The case of a woman killing her battering spouse in a desperate attempt to escape from her violent situation has been recorded. For example, in the case – *The State v. Hendrika Niclasina Brink* (17 March 1989), the victim or accused is charged with murder in the Pretoria Supreme Court (TPD). She is duly found guilty of murder with extenuating circumstances, and sentenced to six years imprisonment, of which three years are suspended for a period of five years. The following newspaper articles are further illustrations: “‘Ek het my man geskiet’” (*Die Vaderland*, 19 January 1988); “Man geskiet” (*Die Vaderland*, 8 February 1988); “Murder accused had black eye, clerk tells court” (*The Citizen*, 7 March 1989). Moreover, even if the batterer is not confronted with charges brought against him, his self-perception may be affected. Roy (1982 : 10) depicts the situation as follows: “Every time someone strikes another person in anger, hatred, or jealousy – whether impulsively or calculatedly – that someone loses something of himself. That someone loses his control, loses his temper, loses his self-respect, loses the commendation of friends and relatives, loses an opportunity to resolve conflict (violence almost always compounds a problem, never simplifies it), ...”.

Battering is thus self-destructive and has adverse affects on the relationship with the battered woman. Other levels of functioning may also be effected;

for example, sociability and occupational performance. The male batterer also experiences pain, discomfort and psychic suffering and it is therefore essential that he receives empathetic understanding.

1.1.1.2 Physical and psychological effects of battering on the battered woman

The battered woman can sustain serious injuries and, in some instances, permanent disabilities. Broken limbs, miscarriages, various internal injuries and disfigurements are some of the physical consequences that are documented. And as stated in 1.1.1.1 the violent incident may even culminate in death.

Furthermore, the psychological or emotional impact of a battering relationship can be devastating for the battered woman. She may, for instance, develop what is termed the battered woman syndrome. This is the psychological sequel or symptoms developed as a survival technique to cope with the trauma of battering (Walker, 1983 : 82). Symptoms include for example, depression, apathy and a dramatic loss of self-esteem. Thorman (1980 : 118) states: “Women who undergo intensive and long periods of abuse become extremely depressed. Their sense of mental balance is gravely endangered, and their thinking becomes confused and distorted. Their feelings of self-doubt, of guilt, and of failure may result in suicide”. These symptoms can be compared to the complications resulting from the post-traumatic stress disorder which may occur after a severe physical and emotional trauma. Post-traumatic stress disorder is defined in the DSM—III as follows: “The essential feature is the development of characteristic symptoms after the experiencing of a psychologically traumatic event or events outside the range of human experience usually considered to be normal. The characteristic symptoms involve re-experiencing the traumatic event, numbing of responsiveness to, or involvement with, the external world, and a variety of other autonomic, dysphoric, or cognitive symptoms” (Kaplan & Sadock, 1981 : 446).

1.1.1.3 Effects of battering on children

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to conceal battering from children who are reared in a violent home. According to the spouse-abuse cycle (Straus, Steinmetz & Gelles, 1980 : 97–122) the male batterer, and the women who become victims, usually come from a violent home whereby behavioural patterns have for example been learned through identification with the aggressor and/or imitation. Thus, to grow up in a home where one’s mother is brutally attacked and humiliated can have disturbing and damaging consequences for a child. These children may become abusers/victims of violence,

exhibit delinquent/criminal behaviour and develop emotional disturbances such as enuresis. Carson, Butcher and Coleman (1988 : 121) state: “Undesirable parental models are undoubtedly an important reason why mental disorders, delinquency, crime, and other forms of maladaptive behaviour tend to run in families”. Davidson is of the opinion that children who witness women battering “ ... are the most pathetic victims of conjugal crime because their childhood conditioning will color their entire lives” (quoted in Thorman, 1980 : 119).

1.1.1.4 Consequences of battering on society

The male batterer and the victim suffer damages in diverse ways. Firstly, the batterer (should he be imprisoned), or the victim (if she is in hospital), may have to withdraw from the labour force; and medical and legal expenses may be incurred. According to a spokesman from the Legal Aid Board (E E Oosthuizen, personal communication, 3 April 1989), the legal fees in a Magistrates Court, for a case which is contested, can amount to R750-00 per party, per day.

Finally, it is society in the long run that is burdened with the crime of women battering. Criminal litigation and the incarceration of offenders, as well as the treatment of the victims of women battering – whether it be the battered woman who is treated for depression, or the child who grows up to be a delinquent and needs rehabilitation – is carried out at great public expense. There is an immense cost involved in running legal, medical and social services. For example, according to the annual report of the Department of Justice, and its task of preventing or solving crime in general, the total budget for Prison Services between 1 July 1986 and 30 June 1987 was R408 190 million.

1.1.2 The male batterer as a problem relevant to society

As expounded in 1.1.1, the impact that women battering has on society as a whole is both vast and complex in terms of physical, psychological and economic consequences.

The problem of women battering is thus very real in contemporary society. It therefore seems feasible to regard the development of effective preventative strategies and treatment programs for the male batterer as of paramount importance. “It is becoming increasingly evident that men who batter must be more effectively treated if the incidence of wife abuse is to be reduced” (Gondolf, 1985 : 48). However, according to Sonkin, Martin and Walker (1985 : 33) few formal studies have been conducted on the male batterer. Rehabilitation policies will prove to be inadequate without scientific knowledge about the batterer, his perceptions of battering, his frustrations and

conflicts, his background, and so forth. Successful intervention requires that the male batterer be taken into consideration. In order to help combat women battering, it is therefore important that research projects be undertaken relating specifically to the male batterer in order to design effective preventative and treatment strategies. Assisting the victims of women battering should be seen as only a part of an effective preventative program.

1.1.3 Theoretical significance of the study

The criminological implications of battering lie in the criminal prosecution and incarceration of offenders, as well as in the development of effective social services, preventative and treatment programs for offenders and the victims of violence. The study offered here is therefore relevant to the field of criminology.

With regard to women battering, criminology (which has traditionally focused on the offender) has given much attention to the victim. This is confirmed by Edleson, Eisikovits and Guttman (1985 : 229) who state that although women battering has come to the center of public attention in recent years, the men who batter and their perceptions of the battering relationship and their own behaviour have been largely overlooked.

Thus, the data available on women battering is mainly construed from interviews conducted with battered women. Valuable etiological insights and a more holistic picture of the phenomenon of women battering may be gained if more studies take the male batterer into consideration. "If we do not acknowledge the male, then the work will be one-sided" (Garnet & Lubell, 1982 : 135).

This study presents a psychocriminological approach (which incorporates sociological and physiological factors) towards the male batterer and is guided by the aims and research expectancies of the study. Chapter two will propose possible etiological factors with regard to battering behaviour. For instance, the chapter highlights aspects of Freud's psychoanalytic theory, Sykes and Matza's techniques of neutralization, Horney's psychosocial analysis, Sullivan's interpersonal theory, Bandura's social-learning theory, Sutherland's differential association theory, the intergrational transmission theory, the context-specific model of Dobash and Dobash, subculture violence theory, containment theory and various physiological factors that may play a role in women battering. Unfortunately, it seems as if no single theory can holistically account for the complex phenomenon of women battering and therefore the researcher propounds that multi-dimensional factors be taken into consideration.

1.1.4 Methodological problem

The methodological problem formulation of the study is closely related to the researcher's objective of gathering information or data directly from the male batterer. The batterer tends to negate or deny that his behaviour may have serious consequences and is therefore usually unwilling to seek help (Moore, 1979 : 19). In other words, there is a methodological problem in reaching respondents in order to interview them and to gain insight into the life-world of the male batterer. This means that for the purposes of the study, certain procedures and techniques such as an anonymous telephone interview (see 1.6) were utilized to accomplish the following:

- To determine certain characteristics of the male batterer.
- To determine the nature of the battering incident; precipitating factors; frequency of violence; nature of the abuse; resultant injuries; warning signals; as well as whether the male batterer regrets the battering and if he generally exhibits non-violent behaviour between the battering incidents.

1.2 THE AIMS OF THE STUDY

- 1.2.1 The first aim of the study is to examine whether psychocriminological, sociocriminological and physiological factors have etiological significance with regard to women battering.
- 1.2.2 The second aim of the study is to gather information which is descriptive in nature with regard to a personal profile and characteristics of the male batterer.
- 1.2.3 The third aim of the study is to determine the nature of the battering incident.

1.3 RESEARCH EXPECTANCIES

- 1.3.1 Substance abuse does not necessarily coexist with battering. In other words substance abuse is not a necessary or sufficient condition for battering to occur.
- 1.3.2 The male batterer comes from a violent home, where he either witnessed marital violence or was a victim of child abuse.

- 1.3.3 The precipitating factors leading to the violent incident are trivial.
- 1.3.4 The male batterer cannot control his violent behaviour.
- 1.3.5 The male batterer generally exhibits adaptive behaviour between the episodes of violence.

1.4 DEFINITION OF CENTRAL CONCEPTS

1.4.1 Women Battering

Gelles and Straus define women battering as being any “... act carried out with the intention of, or perceived as having the intention of, physically hurting another person” (quoted in Edleson et al., 1985 : 230). Edleson et al. (1985 : 230) state: “This definition is widely accepted as including two categories of battering: (1) physical battering and (2) psychological battering. The first category, physical battering is the use by a man of his body or other objects to inflict physical damage or pain upon his female partner. This type of battering includes forced sexual activity.’ The second and often less apparent category, psychological battering concerns the ‘intention’ and ‘perceived’ intention to do harm. Such battering is likely to include verbal or nonverbal threats of violence against a woman as well as her repeated humiliation and degradation. Another aspect of battering, generally included in the category of psychological battering is environmental abuse, such as punching walls, throwing objects near the woman, and destroying pets or other belongings”.

It is thus evident that women battering may be manifested in various forms of abusive tactics, namely physical abuse such as assault or sexual abuse, and psychological abuse such as verbal abuse, humiliating or depriving the battered woman (in other words keeping her from visiting or receiving friends, having a job), and environmental abuse. Often the male batterer employs a combination of abuse tactics.

This study concentrates on physical abuse such as assault because acts of physical abuse are easier to assess than acts of mental abuse or the “intention” of the offender. For example, bruises, cuts and fractures are visible and identifiable but it is difficult to assess repeated acts of degradation, deprivation of rights (Pagelow, 1984 : 27–28), or whether the offender intended to harm the victim. Nevertheless psychological abuse is usually inevitable, and the other variants of abuse may also be concomitant.

Snyman (1986 : 481) defines assault as follows: “Aanranding is die wederregtelike en opsetlike (a) regstreekse of onregstreekse toevoeging van geweld aan die liggaam van ’n ander persoon, of (b) dreigement van onmiddellike persoonlike geweld aan ’n ander onder omstandighede waarin die bedreigde beweeg word om te glo dat die persoon wat dreig die opset en die vermoë het om sy dreigement uit te voer”. Furthermore, states Snyman (1986 : 482): “Onderworpe aan die de minimis-reël, kan die geringste geweldtoevoeging voldoende wees, soos ’n stamp, of om ’n meisie se arm vas te hou. In die meeste gevalle word geweld regstreeks toegevoeg, soos ’n vuishou of ’n skop, maar dit kan ook onregstreeks toegevoeg word, soos om ’n trein te laat ontspoor, ’n boosaardige hond op iemand te laat afstorm, ...”.

Under the section on assault de Wet and Swanepoel (1985 : 236) define battering as follows: “Daadwerklike toevoeging van geweld aan ’n ander is die misdad van battery”. In this study the researcher utilizes a broader concept of battering than de Wet and Swanepoel.

Due to the fact that the study focuses on physical abuse, a contracted operational definition for women battering is formulated as follows: Women battering refers to the actual act of violence, in other words the use by a man of his body or other objects to inflict physical damage or pain upon his female partner – or any behaviour which is intended or is perceived as having the intention of causing personal injury.

1.4.2 The male batterer

For the purpose of this study the male batterer refers to a man who habitually or repeatedly batters a woman within a heterosexual relationship (that is, more than two or three episodes of violence) – be they married, cohabitant or unmarried. Other terms for the male batterer will include batterer, offender and abusive partner.

1.4.3 Aggression

Defining aggression can be problematic because it raises the question whether we should define aggression by its observable consequences, or by the intentions of the individual exhibiting aggressive behaviour.

Kutash, Kutash and Schlesinger (1978 : 30), define aggression as any behaviour which results in personal injury and in destruction of property. They state: “The injury may take the forms of psychological devaluation and degradation as well as physical harm”. Thus, a physical attack (such as a slap

or a punch), verbal attack (for instance swearing or ridiculing), or violation of another's rights (like locking a woman out of her home in the middle of the night), may all be seen as aggressive acts. A strength of this definition is that it is a workable definition, as it is objective in the sense that it refers to observable behaviour. However, it does not take into consideration whether or not the act is intentional or accidental.

A second definition describes aggression as “ ... behavior that is intended to harm another person or object. This definition takes into account the intentions of the actor, but it may be less objective, for it involves inferences about intentions” (Mussen, Conger, Kagan & Huston, 1984 : 367). In other words, this definition relies on subjective judgements. In addition, other variables such as sex, age, time and place, cultural background of the aggressor and value orientations of the labelers will affect the way in which certain acts are interpreted (Kutash et al., 1978). Take, for example, a riot situation. Depending on the set of values held by the individual, the police may either be applauded for maintaining law and order, or condemned for using coercion.

From the foregoing, an operational definition for aggression is compiled as follows: Aggression refers to any behaviour which is intended or is perceived as having the intention of causing personal injury or destruction of property.

1.4.4 Violence

Du Toit (1986 : 15–16) makes an important distinction between aggression and violence, namely, that to be violent, one need not be aggressive. This author makes use of the example of soldiers who are violent for the sake of a “noble cause” – who are driven because of loyalty to their country, and not necessarily because of aggression. He (1986 : 14) defines violence as “ ... behaviour that comprises the possibility of hurting or killing other people in an attempt to reach a goal”.

According to Kutash et al. (1978 : 464) the interpretation of an act as violent depends on four factors irrelevant of the act itself, namely, the actor, the victim, the situation and the degree of harm. If the actor is regarded as legitimate, then the act will be regarded as non-violent and appropriate, as in the case of a policeman who behaves violently in the line of duty. Secondly, there seems to be a trend towards the belief that the higher the status of the victim, the less society tolerates violence which is directed at that individual, and vice versa. The violent act of rape will, for instance, be interpreted differently according to whether the victim is a nun or a pros-

titute. Thirdly, the situation or circumstances under which the act occurs will determine if the act is violent or not. Killing someone in self-defence is not usually considered to be violent. Lastly, the degree of injury is also an important factor. Corporal punishment of children is generally accepted as non-violent; however, child abuse is not.

Furthermore, it is important to note that violence is time- and culture-bound. Denzin (1984 : 485) states: "Violence, it appears, is a generic, basic feature of all recorded societies, but the meanings that are brought to it are mediated by culture". Women battering used to be institutionally sanctioned (Martin, 1976; Davidson, 1977; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Moore, 1979; Pretorius, 1984), and therefore was not frowned upon. Today, Western society sees women battering in a different light.

For the purposes of this study, the definition for violence proposed by du Toit (1986 : 14) is used. Battering does have the possibility of hurting or killing the victim and there is an element of coercive control (Morgan, 1982 : 1; Okun, 1986 : 86–89, 115–133). Thus, the goal of battering may be to increase the victim's suggestibility, or to intimidate the victim to behave as instructed by the male batterer.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher applies a methodology based on phenomenological insights in order to gain the life-world experience of a scientific accountable understanding of the male batterer. A phenomenological approach implicates a revelation of the essential characteristics of human awareness and perception. Thus a phenomenological orientation analyses how the phenomenon of women battering is perceived and understood or interpreted by the individual (in other words, the male batterer) in a particular given time and space. Women battering is a dynamic phenomenon and therefore a transmission of the various structures of meaning is time- and culture-bound. For example a historical analysis of women battering depicts that laws from the 1800s regulated wife beating, in the sense that it was not criminalized, but permitted, expected, and accepted (Davidson, 1977 : 4).

The study, therefore, is designed to examine certain bio-psycho-socio-criminological factors with regard to women battering (1.2.1); to ascertain a personal profile and specific characteristics of the male batterer (1.2.2); and to bring understanding of how the male batterer experiences and perceives the battering relationship by probing into the nature of the battering incident (1.2.3). How he envisages the battering and what meanings he

attaches to these experiences is taken into consideration in order to understand and describe the given data. Binswanger states: “The task of a science of man is to understand the totality of man’s experience of himself in all his modes of existence” (quoted in Hall & Lindzey, 1978 : 326). A phenomenological approach proposes that an understanding can be gained because man shares a common world with others and can therefore understand the experience of others because it is subject-related (Kruger, 1979 : 28). The researcher will therefore endeavour to understand the male batterer’s experience of reality through his verbal report, as well as to describe it as accurately as language will permit (Hall & Lindzey, 1978 : 321–322; Kruger, 1979 : 119, 183) in order to reveal the essential characteristics thereof.

The study does not only limit itself to ideographic research, but also encompasses nomothetic research (Giorgi, 1983 : 137–138). In other words the unique attributes of the male batterer are taken into consideration, as well as essential themes of the batterers’ experience of reality, thus enabling the researcher to draw parallels and to make comparisons. The researcher acknowledges or recognizes the limitations of subjective interpretation, but subjective interpretation need not be subjectivistic (Giorgi, 1970 : 120; 1983 : 134–136).

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

1.6.1 Anonymous telephone interview

The researcher used the anonymous telephone interview to gather information from the respondents. To implement the gathering of data an appeal was made via certain newspapers that were willing to co-operate to those men who have experienced, or who were presently involved in a battering relationship, to contact the researcher at an unlisted telephone number and to partake in an anonymous telephone interview. The researcher utilized an unlisted telephone number to avoid the possible development of a personal relationship with the male batterer, thereby enhancing objectivity during the interview. Due to the expenditures involved in having several newspapers run an advertisement for a certain length of time in order to make this appeal to the general male public, the researcher decided to submit editorials (see Appendix A) that were printed free of charge. A problem was that the researcher had no control over the date of publication, as well as over any changes that were made to the original articles. Another limitation in using a medium such as the press was that the response would be reliant on those batterers who bought the newspaper and happened to read the editorial. This could lead to a biased sample as it is usually the middle to higher class individual who buys the daily newspaper.

1.6.2 Interview schedule

12

The interview was conducted in either English or Afrikaans with the aid of an interview schedule (see Appendix B). The interview schedule was compiled only after a thorough literature study (Landman, Bondesio, Coetzee & Jacobs, 1987 : 268). Characteristics were then carefully identified so as to yield a fruitful data. Although the researcher had presuppositions about what she had set about to understand, her preconceptions and judgements were bracketed (Giorgi, 1970 : 162; Landman, 1988 : 86). "Clearly, anyone setting out systematically and rigorously to investigate any phenomenon is, from the beginning, guided by what he already understands about the phenomenon" (Kruger, 1979 : 113). Unfortunately, the researcher was unable to do a pilot study as she was reliant on press coverage, and newspapers are usually reluctant to print material which has already been used. However, the researcher was of the opinion that this would not be detrimental to the study, because there would be a verbal rapport during the telephone interview and the respondent would be unrestricted to question an item should it appear ambiguous or vague. In total there were sixty-seven characteristics which consisted of structured as well as unstructured questions allowing the interview more flexibility and extensibility. The interview began with closed, unemotional questions which related to personal particulars such as age, race, and led on to more open, emotional or sensitive questions pertaining for example to the battering incident. The questions followed this pattern to guide and to prompt the respondent to speak about an emotional experience such as battering. The interview schedule was not followed rigidly so as to promote a more spontaneous communication between the researcher and the male batterer. Furthermore, the interview was conducted in an informal, non-directive manner in an attempt to influence the batterer as little as possible. The schedule enabled the researcher to gain insight into the unique characteristics of each batterer, as well as to make comparisons between the batterers thus facilitating the systematization of the information gathered.

The research commenced on 12 March 1987 and continued until 31 March 1987 when the effects of the editorials published diminished. The researcher could be contacted at any hour till 22 March 1987, and after that in the evenings only.

1.6.3 Rationale for implementing the anonymous telephone interview

There were two main reasons for employing the anonymous telephone interview:

Firstly, a major stumbling block with regard to collecting data which relates specifically to the male batterer is that most batterers will not recognize or admit that their behaviour is unacceptable. They usually feel that their

violence is justified and therefore do not seek outside help (Martin, 1978 : 123; Moore, 1979 : 19). Moreover, the male batterer is seldom apprehended or detained by the legal system (Martin, 1981 : 87–118). For these reasons, the primary source of information concerning the male batterer, comes from the victim. “Clearly, we need to begin devising means of obtaining information directly from batterers if we are to both understand and change their behavior” (Moore, 1979 : 19). Since the researcher was interested in obtaining information directly from the male batterer, it was hoped that a vehicle such as the anonymous telephone interview would encourage the batterer to come forward and explicate his experience of the battering relationship, as he would not be pressurized to disclose his identity which he is usually hesitant to do. Moreover, because the interview was voluntary, it was hoped that the batterer would express a willingness to discuss the subject matter freely and openly with the researcher. According to Kruger (1979 : 125) this is an important criterion with regard to the researcher’s choice of respondents or subjects. The anonymous telephone interview was seen as a means to promote communication between the male batterer and the researcher in order for the batterer to express or articulate his perception and experience of battering. Kruger (1979 : 126) states that “ ... it has been found that the spoken interview allows the subjects to be as near as possible to their lived-experience”.

Secondly the research utilized the procedure of the anonymous telephone interview because it is evident that those in the lower socio-economic groups are more likely to be apprehended by the criminal justice system, or to turn to social services. Also, in institutions like prison, or psychiatric hospitals, one tends to come across the more serious cases of women battering (where for example a man has brutally attacked his wife which resulted in severe injuries or even her death). Thus a sample obtained from the files where these cases are usually documented may have reflected a biased sample either consisting predominantly of those from the lower income brackets or the more extreme or pathological cases of women battering. Goldstein (1983 : 43) says that in addition to not knowing the comparability of sample populations from, for example, police records and hospital emergency rooms, to each other – the extent of generalizability between these select groups and the larger population of men and women who are involved in a battering relationship has been questioned. Since the male batterer comes from all socio-economic backgrounds, races and walks of life (Sonkin et al., 1985 : 41), the researcher was interested in the phenomenon of battering as it occurred in everyday life. In other words, the researcher wanted a sample drawn from the general population – and not from a population of inmates found in prison or patients in a mental institute. Compare Smithyman

(1979 : 99–119), who utilizes the anonymous telephone interview in order to obtain a sample of undetected rapists.

A major shortcoming of the anonymous telephone interview was that important information may have been lost due to the researcher's inability to observe the respondents' non-verbal communication and that descriptions of their experience of battering could be incomplete or imperfect because of factors such as poor vocabulary, inability to express oneself clearly and forgetfulness. Nevertheless, according to Kruger (1979 : 127) " ... imperfect descriptions would certainly not invalidate the subject's experience but may fail to reflect an essential part. This problem can largely be overcome by the use of more than one subject. By making use of a variety of subjects, the possibility of finding underlying constants or themes in the many forms of expression the experience takes is greatly increased. Thus, the problem of certain aspects being omitted is minimized and those aspects which are most important should appear most frequently, ...". Furthermore, only one interview average from 30 to 60 minutes was held with each respondent. Thus, information could not at a later stage be confirmed. To compensate for this deficiency the researcher made tape-recordings of each interview which were then transcribed in order to do a content-analysis (Landman et al., 1987 : 184–185; Landman, 1988 : 55) and interpretation of the data. Also, an extensive literature study had already been undertaken.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that information can be effectively gathered from a telephone interview. The efficiency and proficiency with which suicide prevention centres answer calls for help is proof of this fact. Crisis intervention helps the individual cope with an immediate life crisis and is one of the principal suicide preventive efforts. Suicide prevention centres are geared primarily toward crisis intervention, usually via a 24 hour-a-day availability of telephone contact and are often able to avert an actual suicide attempt (Carson et al., 1988 : 314–316). The Southern African Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect officially launched Childline on 6 June 1986. This is yet another example of the effectiveness of a telephone emergency service. Childline plays a major role in the prevention of child abuse. Moreover, van der Hoven (1988 : 38) states: "A Crisis Line which victims of family violence and people experiencing serious marital problems can phone could be invaluable, since it would provide an outlet for bottled-up emotions".

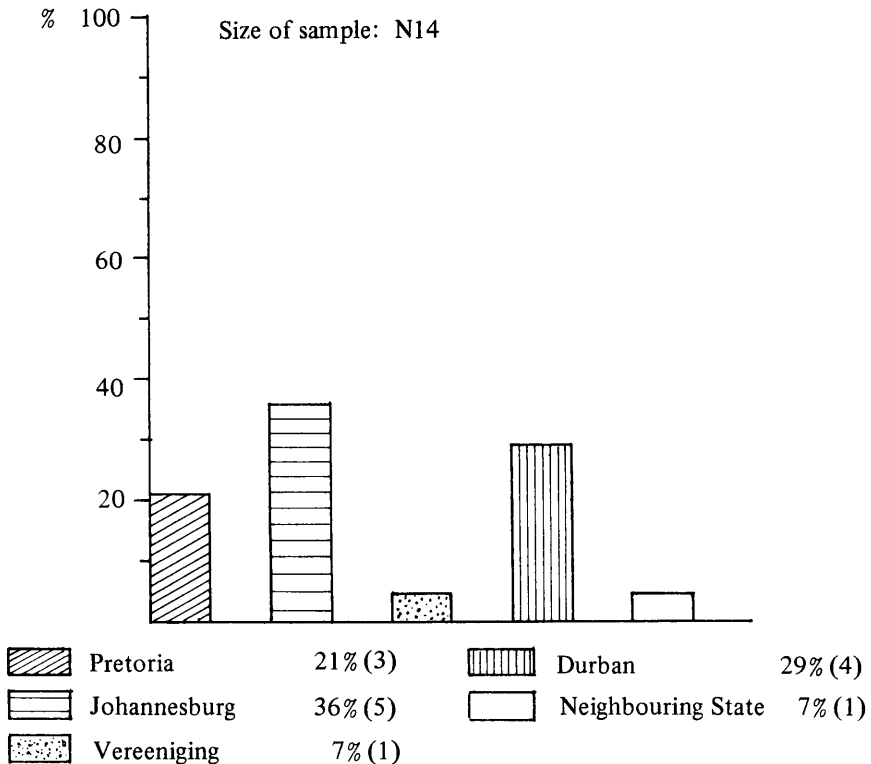
Telephone interviews have been employed by other researchers to conduct their research. Smith (1987 : 173–187) uses a telephone survey in his re-

search “ ... to provide new and more accurate estimates of the incidence and prevalence of woman abuse ...”. Gondolf and Hanneken (1987 : 177–189) utilize telephone interviews to evaluate a sample of reformed male batterers.

1.6.4 Delimitation of the field to be studied

The geographic areas included in the study were those that were affected by the circulation patterns of the newspapers that were willing to print the editorials. The various newspapers and dates when the editorials were printed are as follows: *Die Beeld*, 12 March 1987; *The Star* and *The Daily News*, 17 March 1987; *Die Transvaler*, 18 March 1987; *The Pretoria News*, 20 March 1987. Although other newspapers were also approached they were unwilling to print material which had already received coverage. The areas from where the telephone calls were received are illustrated by Bar Chart 1.

BAR CHART 1 – Delimitation of the Field to be Studied



From the above bar chart it is evident that the majority of respondents were from Johannesburg.

1.6.5 Characteristics of the sample

The editorials generated 36 telephone calls. For the purposes of this study 14 self-confessed Caucasian male batterers were included in the sample. The other respondents were excluded as they comprised, for example, battered women, a mother whose daughter was abused, a battered husband, men who admitted to only a single battering incident (see 1.4.2), other researchers and individuals from various organizations such as “The Woman’s Legal Status Committee”.

The researcher expected that the information collected would be reliable, as it would be unusual for a self-selected sample who would remain anonymous to have the need to be insincere. Nevertheless, the sample may be inclined to represent those batterers who were more motivated to respond to the appeal made to them because of factors such as an impending marital breakdown. They may also be wanting to rationalize their behaviour, for example, as an attempt to maintain a favourable self-concept by pointing out the victim’s role in her own victimization. Sykes and Matza propose that offenders neutralize the law for example through denial of the victim in order to maintain a non-criminal self-image (Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 254). However, the researcher did not expect this to have a negative influence on the research, but rather a positive influence. These batterers would be more inclined to think about their behaviour, and reveal by way of these denials how they perceive the battering relationship thereby enhancing the quality and significance of their responses. The chronological ages varied from 25 years to 57 years. The majority of respondents were married and had a middle to higher socio-economic status. This could reflect a sample bias as it is usually the middle to higher class individual who buys the daily newspaper as mentioned in 1.6.

Although the sample size used in this study was small and generalizations cannot be made, the data derived from the interviews serve as useful indicators with regard to certain characteristics and general trends amongst male batterers until further research is carried out. The sample should also give depth to the social reality of battering and how batterers perceive their deeds.

1.7 LITERATURE OVERVIEW

All the references consulted are of paramount importance with regard to the compilation of the study; however, the following books and articles are highlighted: The books “The Abusive Partner” by Roy (1982) and “The Male Batterer” (Sonkin et al., 1985) contribute significantly to the study as they relate specifically to the male batterer. These books discuss socio-pathology, psychopathology as well as neuro-or-physiopathology as possible contributors of battering behaviour. Women battering is a complex and dynamic phenomenon with manifold etiologies and therefore necessitates an integrated approach. Furthermore, both books provide valuable insights with regard to the unique characteristics and similarities with regard to the male batterer, as well as stress the importance of effective preventative strategies or programs designed to accommodate not only the victim – but also the batterer. This is noteworthy because if the male batterer is not helped, then violence against women will be perpetuated.

“The gender warrior: Reformed batterers on abuse, treatment, and change” (Gondolf & Hanneken, 1987 : 177–191) is an important article as it indicates that male batterers who partake in a group counseling program are able to learn how to control and stop their violent behaviour.

“Helping men who batter women” (Brisson, 1982 : 29–34) and “Fighting for control : A clinical assessment of men who batter” (Gondolf, 1985 : 48–54) are two articles which describe AMEND (Abusive Men Exploring New Directions) and RAVEN (Rape and Violence End Now) respectively – in other words these articles give practical examples of programs especially designed to help the male batterer. This is an essential component in breaking the vicious circle of battering.

“Considerations in diagnosis and management of violent behaviour” (Curtis, 1985 : 815–823) is another article which is pertinent to this study as it addresses women battering as a mental health problem – a major theme in the researcher’s recommendation in 4.1.

CHAPTER 2

A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH AS THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THIS STUDY

The theoretical aim of this chapter is to highlight certain perspectives derived from three major orientations – namely psychocriminology, sociocriminology, and physiology. The chapter does not attempt to include exhaustively all the existing or possible motivational explanations for battering because after a thorough literature study certain factors seemed to be prominent. A multi-dimensional approach is used as the theoretical framework for the study, as psychological, sociological, and physiological factors have all been found to be related to battering behaviour (Martin, 1981; Pagelow, 1984; Lystad, 1986; Dutton, 1988a).

2.1 PSYCHOCRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

The following psychocriminological notions are relevant and will be discussed.

2.1.1 An outline of Freud's defence mechanisms

An outline of Freud's defence mechanisms proves to be valuable in the elucidation of battering. Various authors (Martin, 1981 : 49; Pagelow, 1981 : 103; Pressman, 1984 : 12) give attention to unconscious factors which nurture battering.

Defence mechanisms help preserve identity and ego strength and serve as protection from conflicts and dilemmas encountered by the individual. Defence mechanisms have two main characteristics, namely, they operate on an unconscious level and therefore do not enter the conscious state of reasoning. Secondly, defence mechanisms enable the individual to deny or to distort reality (Bischof, 1970 : 52) so as to make reality less threatening. Defences need not be pathological and may serve an essential function in maintaining psychological well-being by supporting the ego's mediatory function between the id and superego. Nevertheless, psychopathology may emerge when defence mechanisms become maladaptive (Kaplan & Sadock, 1981 : 136). Thus, "... should their distortion of reality become too extreme or should they be used to the exclusion of other, more effective means of dealing with reality, defence mechanisms may become maladaptive and destructive" (Engler, 1985 : 64). A traumatic experience that would other-

wise overwhelm the ego may, for example, cause an individual to deny totally the existence of such a trauma through repression so as to avoid psychic pain. This denial or negation of reality may then find expression in one or other symptom such as aggression.

From the literature it is evident that the following defence mechanisms could contribute towards battering.

2.1.1.1 Repression

Freud firmly believed that the present is determined by past events such as early childhood trauma which is repressed in the unconscious mind. An important contribution therefore made by Freud is the discovery of unconscious motivations that influence present behaviour (Engler, 1985 : 35). Through the process of repression, undesirable thoughts, feelings and traumatic experiences are made unconscious in an effort to avoid psychic pain that would otherwise be intolerable and overwhelm the ego. However, these repressed emotions do not merely disappear but emerge indirectly in various ways, for example in asocial behaviour such as assault.

Various researchers (Straus et al., 1980 : 97–122; Roy, 1982 : 29; Pretorius, 1983 : 114–116; Sonkin et al., 1985 : 45) have noted that the majority of batterers come from violent homes. Even if the batterer did not experience a violent childhood, either having witnessed his father abusing his mother or having been a victim of child abuse – he often experienced an unhappy childhood, where “ ... at least serious neglect of loving investment in him, have been his background” (Ball, 1977 : 5). Gondolf and Hanneken (1987 : 182–183) confirm the above finding.

It is possible that many batterers have repressed these early traumatic experiences which then seek expression in aggressive behaviour such as battering. This gains confirmation when one looks at the intergenerational transmission of violence. “It is undoubtedly the most frequently mentioned theoretical framework in the literature on family violence” (Pagelow, 1984 : 223). The cycle of violence theory is discussed in 2.2.

2.1.1.2 Projection

The male batterer typically projects or externalizes the blame for his violent behaviour (Pressman, 1984 : 12). According to Engler (1985 : 64) projection “ ... refers to the unconscious attribution of an impulse, attitude or behavior onto someone else or some element in the environment”. Thus,

when the batterer is asked as to the causes of his violent outbursts, he is often quick to cite “everything she did to provoke him”. For example as quoted by Pressman (1984 : 12): “She nags and the only way to stop her is to hit her”.

2.1.1.3 Fixation

Freud distinguished five psychosexual stages of development. According to his theory, if the child is prevented from obtaining optimal satisfaction during one or more of these stages, he is likely to become fixated in a particular stage. Fixation can be defined as an arrestment of growth which causes an individual to have excessive needs characteristic of the particular stage in which he or she was either unduly frustrated or overindulged (Engler, 1985 : 53). This means that if the child, for example, experienced extreme frustration during the oral phase (a period when infants are totally dependent on others for the fulfilment of their needs), he or she may become fixated in this stage and feelings of dependency may arise. According to Freud, dependency is one of the character traits of an orally fixated person (Kaplan & Sadock, 1981 : 124). Batterers have been described as being emotionally dependent men (Thorman, 1980; Star, 1983) who experience intense anxiety at the thought of losing their partners. In the instances where the victim is murdered by the abusive partner, it is usually after she has divorced, or separated from him (*Time Magazine*, 27 March 1989). Aggression or violence, and threats of homicide and/or suicide (Klingbeil & Boyd, 1984 : 15), may thus be used to exert control and domination over the victim to overcome his unconscious feelings of dependency. Star (1983 : 35) is of the opinion that this may be linked to the batterer’s mother-son relationship where the ambivalence associated with being dependent and not wanting to be vulnerable triggers off violence (Horney and Sullivan both emphasize the importance of parent-child relationships with regard to human behaviour). Adjunctively Thorman (1980 : 109) states: “Other observers, noting the extreme jealousy of abusing husbands and their need to control all areas of their wives’ lives, have come to the conclusion that wife beaters are extremely dependent men who fear abandonment and feel that they cannot survive without the presence of the mate whom they abuse. Their extreme dependency on their wives triggers violence when the wife attempts to assert her independence or threatens to leave him”.

Furthermore, the batterer’s childhood has been described as one where his mother is domineering, rejecting (Langley & Levy, 1977 : 84), and emotionally depriving. In other words his early years have been characterized by his dependency needs being frustrated or thwarted, and this explains his

fixation in the oral phase. Reports moreover suggest that the child-mother relationship is often characterized by an unusual and ambivalent love-hate relationship (Walker, 1979a : 38–39). When a mother is rejecting, the child may find himself in a double bind situation and possibly competes with the father for unmet dependency needs in the form of love, attention and proper nurturance from the mother. In adulthood, early dependency needs may be unresolved and denied by trying to dominate others (Morgan, 1982 : 29–30). Battered women often admit that the batterer consumes much of their time by being domineering, demanding, possessive, and controlling. Thus, the psychogenesis of battering may be explained in terms of the batterer's dependency needs that have been transferred from the mother to the victim. The conflict is one between hostility to and dependency on the battered woman. A vicious circle may be set in motion whereby the batterer's aggressive behaviour results in the withdrawal or rejection of the batterer by the victim. This in turn reinforces or confirms the batterer's dependency on the battered woman, which he tries to negate through hostility.

2.1.1.4 Rationalization

Rationalization or intellectualization is another defence mechanism used by the male batterer. It involves faulty reasoning. Kaplan and Sadock (1981 : 138) define rationalization as follows: "Justification of attitudes, beliefs, or behavior that may otherwise be unacceptable by an incorrect application of justifying reasons or the invention of a convincing fallacy". The male batterer may thus justify his violent behaviour for example through the following faulty reasoning: "Why is she treating me like this? ... I deserve better than this" (Martin, 1981 : 49).

2.1.1.5 Displacement

This occurs when an impulse generated by a particular interpersonal interaction is shifted onto another person or object. Batterers who come from a violent home may experience a great deal of anger towards the abusing parent – and frequently the non-abusing parent for perhaps not protecting him or for tolerating the abuse. However, they are his parents and he cannot overtly express his anger towards them, especially if he is still dependent upon them. Due to the fear of rejection these aggressive impulses may be transferred or displaced onto another relationship or object which is less ego-threatening. Sonkin et al. (1985 : 45) confirm the above and state: "As a result, many of these men have a great deal of anger which they project onto other relationships. The target of violence is therefore in essence

symbolic of the frustrating or depriving parent. Thus, the end product may be women battering or the destruction of property.”

2.1.1.6 Evaluation

Freud's defence mechanisms are so much part of Western culture that they are even used with considerable accuracy by the layman (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1989 : 70). Defence mechanisms may be helpful in an explication of the psychodynamics of battering as they demonstrate subconscious motivations for this type of behaviour. Furthermore, Freud makes a substantial contribution with his emphasis on the importance of early childhood experiences (Bernard, 1974 : 163), as traumatic experiences may later result in possible psychopathology.

2.1.2 Sykes and Matza's techniques of neutralization

A comparison can be made between defence mechanisms and the five techniques of neutralization introduced by Sykes and Matza. The five techniques of neutralization are as follows:

- Denial of responsibility, whereby the individual does not take the responsibility for his or her own actions. Here the individual may claim that the criminal act was an accident or that it was caused by factors beyond his or her control, such as a broken home (Conklin, 1985 : 204–206).
- The second technique is denial of injury. Conklin (1986 : 206) states: “Those who violate the law may be less sensitive to the effect that their behavior has on victims, or may regard their victims as objects or means to their own ends rather than as individuals who suffer when victimized”.
- Denial of the victim is when the offender justifies the offence by for example claiming that the victim deserved to be victimized (Conklin, 1986 : 207–208).
- The fourth technique of neutralization is condemnation of the condemners. “In effect, this neutralization labels the officials and their institutions as hypocritical and one's own transgressions as minor by comparison” (Sanders, 1983 : 124).

- Finally, an appeal to higher loyalties is when the individual attempts to justify violation of the law by the demands of a group, for example, peer group pressure (Conklin, 1986 : 208–209).

As stated in 2.1.1, defence mechanisms preserve identity. Neutralization helps to preserve self-image. Women battering is not condoned by the law and can therefore be considered as unlawful and criminal behaviour. Vold and Bernard (1986 : 253) state: “One might expect that people who commit criminal behaviors would think of themselves as criminals – that is, have a criminal self-image. In fact, many of them do not”. The reason being that criminal behaviour may contradict an individual’s self-image and therefore the individual may justify his behaviour by employing general arguments about when violations are acceptable. This process can be compared with Freud’s defence mechanism, namely rationalization. Thus, the offender is free to continue committing a particular criminal behaviour without changing his self-image, thereby avoiding moral blame and maintaining his self-image while violating the law.

Although the batterer may believe that it is wrong to hit or assault a woman, his own battering behaviour may be neutralized or rationalized as being excusable through the process of neutralization. The five techniques of neutralization are discussed as follows with reference to women battering:

The first is the denial of responsibility. Here the blame for battering is placed on conditions over which the batterer has no control, such as an unhappy childhood. Second, is the denial of injury. For example, battering may be neutralized by arguing that the victim has no physical signs or marks of abuse. In other words, the batterer denies that the victim is hurt or injured. Hastings and Hamberger, (1988 : 42) confirm that batterers tend to minimize the intensity and impact of their violent acts. Okun (1986 : 67) is of the opinion that batterers minimize the scope and severity of their violence to protect their fragile self-image. Thirdly, is the denial of the victim. The batterer may claim that the victim hit him first or provoked him and therefore the battering is justified as a rightful retaliation against the victim. It is indicated in 2.1.1.2 that the male batterer typically projects or externalizes the blame for his violent behaviour. The batterers who adhere to patriarchal ideologies may also believe that women are legitimate targets of victimization. Fourthly, is the condemnation of the condemners. Here the batterer may declare that he may have hit his wife, but that he has never had an affair or cheated on his wife – which is far worse. The fifth

technique of neutralization is an appeal made to higher loyalties. The batterer may claim that sometimes a woman needs to be taught a lesson if she does not comply to his expectations (Dobash & Dobash, 1979 : 93). He may also maintain that he does not want his friends to think that he is hen-pecked. Pressman (1984 : 14) finds that the male batterer lacks empathy – this may facilitate the processes of neutralization.

2.1.2.1 Evaluation

Techniques of neutralization propose that the offender justify his actions prior to committing the deviant act. However, there is a lack of evidence as to whether this is the case. (Conklin, 1986 : 232). Nevertheless, (Conklin, 1986 : 203) states: “Individuals can avoid moral blame and maintain self-esteem while violating the law if they tell themselves and others that they had no criminal intent or that their behavior was justified”.

2.1.3 Psychosocial analytic theory of Horney

Psychosocial analysis stresses that parents, siblings or significant others and society as a whole are relevant to the way in which individuals learn to relate to each other. Thus, the accent is on human interaction in cultural and interpersonal settings.

Horney suggests that anxiety is a basic human condition with which the individual has to contend. However, unlike Freud, Horney does not see basic anxiety as an intrinsic part of human nature, but rather as acquired through close parent-child relationships. According to Horney, basic anxiety results from feelings of insecurity which can be brought about by defective interpersonal relationships or adverse environmental conditions such as economic or occupational stresses. Thus, the following factors may give rise to a lack of security or confidence in the self and others. “ ... domination, isolation, overprotection, hostility, indifference, inconsistent behavior, disparagement, parental discord, lack of respect and guidance, or the lack of encouragement and warmth” (Engler, 1985 : 123). Studies (Ball, 1977 : 5; Langley & Levy, 1977 : 84; Straus et. al., 1980 : 97–122; Caesar, 1988 : 49) indicate that the male batterer may have experienced an unhappy childhood which could nurture basic anxiety.

In order to cope with anxiety and to assist us in relating to others, the individual makes use of certain adjustment techniques which Horney refers to as neurotic trends – a major theme in her theory. Neurotic trends or needs are reflected in three primary modes of relating to others, namely, moving towards others (in the form of compliance), moving against others (in the form of hostility), and moving away from others (in the form of

detachment) (Bischof, 1970 : 212–220; Engler, 1985 : 124–125; Potkay & Allen, 1986 : 115–117). For Horney, normal development entails an integration of all three modes of relating, where the individual is able to express the appropriate mode of relating at the appropriate time. However, healthy relations are impeded when the individual resorts to one mode of relating at the expense of the other two (Engler, 1985 : 124–125).

With a psychosocial analytic framework, and depending upon the individual's particular personality constellation, battering may therefore be brought about by being reared in an environment of parental discord. Should the child for instance have witnessed marital violence, not only is there an exposure to aggressive models (Bandura points out the dangers of aggressive models), but susceptibility towards violence or battering would be heightened in a culture which fosters patriarchal domination and stereotyped male and female roles (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Pretorius, 1984). In addition, situational factors such as unemployment and stress at work could also play a role in creating a battering incident.

According to Engler (1985 : 125) Horney distinguishes between the real self (which represents that which the individual actually is), and the idealized self (which represents that which an individual thinks he is or should be). When basic anxiety is established as a result of feelings of insecurity or a lack of confidence in the self and others, and individual can become alienated from his or her real self and identify with the idealized self thereby causing the real self and the idealized self to become distinct or separated. In other words, this schism between the real self and the idealized self may lead to maladjustment. A well-adjusted individual's real self and idealized self on the other hand largely coincide. Bezuidenhout (1988 : 109) states: "Om die geïdealiseerde beeld van die self te behou, kan emosionele uitbarstings tot gevolg hê en die persoon selfs tot aggressiewe handeling en geweld laat oorgaan – veral in die aanwesigheid van frustrasie".

Horney proposes that there are four maladaptive ways to maintain the idealized self in an effort to escape from basic anxiety (Potkay & Allen, 1986 : 118). The person may deny (compare with the defence mechanism of repression in 2.1.1.1) or rationalize (compare with the defence mechanism of rationalization in 2.1.1.4) anxiety. Thirdly, the person may narcotize anxiety by overindulging in alcohol, drugs, sex, sleep or social activities. Alcohol abuse has, for instance, been related to women battering, but it is not necessarily characteristic of the male batterer (Pressman, 1984 : 14). Fourthly, the individual may avoid all situations, thoughts and feelings that arouse anxiety. According to Star (1983 : 35) the batterer often avoids

emotional closeness because he may “... feel vulnerable in a way reminiscent of childhood days”. Morgan (1982 : 26) states that some researchers believe that the male batterer utilizes violence “... to ward off feared intimate experiences ... They fear intimate relationships because the ones they had with their parents were disastrous”. (Compare with Sullivan’s malevolent transformation in 2.1.4.2). Thus, we see the avoidance by batterers of situations, thoughts or feelings that threaten their security and that arouse basic anxiety. The inability to express inner feelings and the fear of intimacy could also be due to a socialization process based on patriarchy (see sex-role stereotyping in 2.3.1; van der Hoven, 1988 : 35). The batterer may therefore have a distorted self-image when he lives a life of pretence or self-deception. Langley and Levy (1977 : 82) mention that often “... linked to a wife beater’s distorted self-image is a distorted view of what others should be like, particularly his wife. He has an idealized vision of what a woman, a wife, a lover, a mother should be, and invariably his wife fails to measure up. Indeed, some of the idealized roles may be in contradiction with each other”. Batterers generally have unrealistic expectations of their partners (Pressman, 1984 : 12). For example Martin (1981 : 51) states: “Men have been triggered to violence because their wives have raised their voices or talked ‘dirty’”. Thus, the battered woman does not conform to the male batterer’s ‘high standards’, and the battering may therefore be related to his idealized self being alienated from his real self.

2.1.3.1 Evaluation

In psychosocial analysis the emphasis is on cultural, interpersonal, and situational factors which influence behaviour. This compensates for Freud’s theoretical deficits, namely his accentuation of innate and biological factors with regard to human behaviour. The value of the discussion of some of the aspects of Horney’s psychosocial analytic theory therefore lies in the fact that behavioural patterns are definitely shaped by interactional processes and the mores, traditions and roles that a particular culture impresses upon an individual.

Furthermore, Horney maintains an optimistic view of human nature, where behaviour is not rigidly attributed to early infantile experiences. As Bischof (1970 : 209), says “... these are only part of the always ongoing structuring of the personality. Events may happen when one is twenty or thirty, for example, that are as crucial to the individual’s welfare as any earlier experience”. Behavioural patterns therefore depend on accumulated life experience. It is evident that although Horney recognizes the importance of

childhood experiences in psychological adjustment and maladjustment, her viewpoint is dynamic and reflects the human potential for change. She places greater emphasis on ego than Freud – the ego as the more conscious and purposeful aspect of personality. The phenomenological ontology is vested in the fact that man has a free will. Thus, Horney’s theory is specifically relevant to this study.

2.1.4 Aspects of Sullivan’s interpersonal theory of psychiatry

Interpersonal relations form the basic core of Sullivan’s theory. For Sullivan, interpersonal relationships are the foundation of personality. “No one can have a personality all by himself exclusive of the world about him” (Bischof, 1970 : 589). Sullivan emphasizes the role of anxiety and the individual’s endeavours to reduce tension throughout the six stages of development (namely, infancy, childhood, the juvenile era, preadolescence, early adolescence, late adolescence) prior to the final stage of maturity or adulthood as of primary importance in the formation of personality. Sullivan recognizes the significance of interpersonal relations during the formative years. However, he stresses that an individual develops throughout infancy, childhood, adolescence and adulthood. In other words, personality is the product of interpersonal contacts made during one’s life span. (Here Horney’s viewpoint is in accordance with Sullivan). Contacts may be actual, or fictional such as aggressive figures on television. Personality is therefore a dynamic concept within the framework of Sullivan’s theory (Bischof, 1970 : 589).

As stated in the above paragraph, the individual strives to reduce tension. In Sullivan’s interpersonal theory, tension and anxiety are so interwoven that “ ... anxiety causes tension, although it also seems that tension creates anxiety” (Bischof, 1970 : 599).

According to Sullivan, anxiety is originally transmitted from the mother to the infant (Horney also suggests that anxiety is acquired through close parent-child relationships). Anxiety can be described as any painful feeling or emotion that may arise from organic needs, for example physical neglect, or social insecurity, such as an absent or rejecting mother (Hall & Lindzey, 1978 : 185; Engler, 1985 : 137–138). If the initial interpersonal relationship – in other words, between mother and infant – involves satisfaction, then the infant will develop personifications of euphoria, good-nipple, good-mother, good-me, and security will prevail. Should the mother-child relationship cause dissatisfaction because of experiences with her that evoke anxiety, then personifications of dysphoria, bad-nipple, bad-mother, bad-me will be developed and insecurity will prevail. “A personification

is an image that an individual has of him or herself or of another person. It is a complex of feelings, attitudes, and conceptions that grows out of experiences with need-satisfaction and anxiety". (Hall & Lindzey, 1978 : 185). In other words, favourable personifications result from interpersonal experiences which are rewarding in character, and unfavourable personifications result in anxiety-arousing situations (Hall & Lindzey, 1978 : 186). Once these pictures or personifications are formed they usually persist and influence our orientation towards other people. Personifications which are fraught with anxiety may distort one's self-concept (compare with Horney's real self and idealized self in 2.1.3), and conceptions of currently significant others (Hall & Lindzey, 1978 : 186).

Anxiety is thus evoked by threats to one's security – either real or imagined (Bischof, 1970 : 591). In an attempt to reduce or alleviate the anxiety or tension, the individual may resort to psychotic, neurotic, or asocial behaviour such as battering (Bischof, 1970 : 592).

According to Sullivan, the individual is never " ... free for any appreciable time from the pressures of tension. Tension may be considered in two ways: as an interior system which holds man together to face the struggles of life, and externally as man is the recipient of pressures from the world outside himself" (Bischof, 1970 : 599). Compare with the containment theory described by Reckless in 2.3.3.

Bezuidenhout's (1988 : 76) research findings indicate the following: "Indien die mens egter deur omstandighede (onbevredigende gesinsverhoudinge) daartoe gedwing word om by die sosiale tipe van 'n 'slegte mens' in te pas, kan dit tot 'n ontoereikende selfbeeld aanleiding gee. Ontoereikend omdat die mens nie voldoende toegerus is om op 'n aanvaarbare sosiale wyse met die waardes en norme van die samelewing te konformeer nie. Diegene met 'n ontoereikende selfbeeld blyk 'n misdaadpotensiaal te openbaar". Compare with Sullivan's personification of "bad-me" described earlier in this section. According to the theme of labeling, individuals may come to view themselves as "bad" because others communicate this image to them. A process which is termed a self-fulfilling prophecy (otherwise known as Cooley's "looking-glass" self), may then set in motion a chain of events to validate the label. Should the male batterer for example experience himself as "bad" because of factors such as being rejected or abused as a child, then the imposition of this experience or label may activate behaviour such as aggression – so as to confirm the male batterer's self-image.

2.1.4.1 Evaluation

Like Horney, Sullivan enlarges on Freud's theory by providing social determinants of personality. Thus, the individual is not inherently anxious, but made anxious through social intercourse with, for example, hostile parents. Sullivan does not have a radical environmentalist viewpoint, as his theory incorporates social-psychological dimensions. Nevertheless, unconscious motivations and biological factors are largely overlooked.

A major contribution of interpersonal theory is the conviction that the individual and society are malleable and therefore have the ability to reform.

2.1.4.2 Similarities between Horney and Sullivan

Anxiety is a central theme in Sullivan's interpersonal theory, as it is for Horney. Both regard anxiety as being interpersonal in origin.

Although Horney recognizes the influence of the social context in which the individual lives, she stresses " ... the intimate factors within the family setting that shape personality" (Hall & Lindzey, 1978 : 198). Sullivan's interpersonal theory resembles Horney's views in the sense that it also regards social interaction during infancy, childhood and adolescence as of paramount importance (Hall & Lindzey, 1978 : 198). Both theorists consider cultural, societal, familial and interpersonal factors as determinants of behaviour (Potkay & Allen, 1986 : 144).

Furthermore, Horney and Sullivan are optimistic with regard to the individual's potential for change. They both recognize the crucial role of interpersonal experiences, not only during infancy, but throughout life. Should the individual, for example, undergo painful or anxiety provoking experiences during childhood, such as child abuse, then a process which Sullivan terms malevolent transformation may occur. Malevolent transformation instills a feeling of living amongst enemies and may make it " ... impossible for the child to respond positively to the affectionate advances of other people. The malevolent transformation distorts the child's interpersonal relations and causes the child to isolate itself" (Hall & Lindzey, 1978 : 190). A person will therefore characteristically relate to others in a hostile manner (Engler, 1985 : 140). This can be compared with Horney's neurotic trends, namely, moving against or away from others. In this way, certain aspects of one's personality may change at any age as new interpersonal situations arise and contacts are made.

2.1.5 Neutralization and self-concept

Self-concept is an important factor in the development of norm violation (Bezuidenhout, 1988), and plays a crucial role in containment theory discussed in 2.3.3. Reckless and Dinitz (Reckless, Dinitz & Murray, 1956 : 744–746; Dinitz, Scarpitti & Reckless, 1972 : 515–517) are of the opinion that a favourable self-concept insulates the individual from environmental pressures that can be conducive to norm violation. On the other hand, a poor self-concept is likely to make one vulnerable with regard to criminal behaviour. According to Sykes and Matza offenders usually do not conceive themselves as criminals, as stated in 2.1.2. In other words their criminal behaviour contradicts their self-image and thus, they often justify their deviant behaviour by neutralizing the law. “In order to maintain a noncriminal self-image, these persons ‘define the situation’ so that they can maintain that their actions are not really crimes. They are then free to continue committing criminal behaviours without changing their self-image” (Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 254). The male batterer typically negates or denies that his behaviour is deviant or unwarranted.

2.1.5.1 Evaluation

Notions on neutralization and self-concept point out that more attention should be given to interactive factors in the genesis of norm violation.

2.1.6 Bandura’s social-learning theory

Learning through the observation of others is critical to social-learning theory.

Bandura emphasizes the process of learning through observation or by example and points out that most human behaviour is learned by following a model rather than through the processes of classical and operant conditioning as proposed by Skinner (Engler, 1985 : 393). Learning through the observation of others, is a process referred to as modeling.

Bandura recognizes three factors which influence modeling (Engler, 1985 : 395). Firstly, the characteristics of the model affect imitation. For example, an individual is more likely to be influenced by a model who is similar to them in age or sex. The individual is also affected by the status, power or prestige of the model and the type of behaviour performed by the model. For instance, young children are inclined to imitate readily hostile or aggressive behaviour to which they are exposed to via observational learning.

Secondly, the attributes or personality constellation of the observer influence modeling. Individuals who for example are dependent or who have a low self-esteem are especially prone to imitation. Klingbeil and Boyd (1984 : 14) point out that the male batterer is characterized by emotional dependency and low self-esteem. Thirdly, reward or punishment associated with a certain behaviour influence the effectiveness of modeling. Long-term rewarding effects may, for example, be seen when the battered woman takes on a more submissive role in an attempt to avoid a violent confrontation. She may respond to the batterer's every beck and call and seek solace within the confines of her home rather than risk public humiliation. This passive stance may be interpreted by the batterer as compliance and enhance his sense of control and power (Pagelow, 1981a : 45; Sonkin et al., 1985 : 47), thereby reinforcing his learned aggressive behavioural patterns. The male batterer therefore uses coercive techniques such as violence or threats of violence to control the battered woman (Gondolf & Hanneken, 1987 : 184). In addition, behaviour may be reinforced through its sensory effects, physiological effect, or how one feels about a certain behaviour. Thus, the individual may through trial and error experience that aggressive behaviour reduces bodily tension, stress or anxiety. The batterer's behaviour may also be reinforced by the sense of well-being following a discharge of aggressive tension (Langley & Levy, 1977 : 91).

2.1.6.1 Evaluation

Although Bandura recognizes individual factors such as beliefs and expectations, behaviouristic notions largely overlook important psychodynamic concepts, for example, conflict and unconscious motivation with regard to human behaviour. Individuals are unique and complex beings with behavioural patterns that are often unpredictable. Bandura's theory on modeling also provides no concrete explanations for human pathology or emotions. It also does not explain why some men with violent backgrounds do not resort to violent or aggressive behaviour.

Nevertheless, Bandura points out the dangers of aggressive models. Violence may be a learned behavioural pattern. From 2.1.1.1. and 2.2 it is evident that certain researchers are of the opinion that the majority of batterers come from violent homes, where they were either the victims of child abuse, witnesses of spouse abuse, or both. Thus, in the cases where the batterer's childhood is tinged with violence, he possibly has identified with the aggressor or abusive parent.

Bandura's inclusion of the cognitive dimension of personality has important implications. He suggests that acts committed in the name of religious principles, righteous ideology, and social order are " ... best explained not by character flaws but by self-exonerative processes – cognitive activities that allow people to dissociate themselves from the consequences of their actions" (Potkay & Allen, 1986 : 218). Also compare with du Toit's (1986 : 15–16) "noble cause". The male batterer often demonstrates little insight into the consequences of his aggressive behaviour. According to Bandura, cognitive activities which enable people to dissociate themselves from the consequences of " ... reprehensible behavior include exaggerated comparisons, euphemistic labelling, minimization of consequences, attribution of the blame to victims, and diffusion of responsibility" (Potkay & Allen, 1986 : 219; compare with Sykes and Matza's techniques of neutralization). The male batterer frequently blames the victim for his violent outbursts.

2.1.7 Sutherland's differential association theory

Social-learning theory can be compared with Sutherland's theory of differential association. Both theories stress learning through the observation of others. Differential association theory can be regarded as a historical explanation of criminal behaviour.

The nine propositions of Sutherland's theory as to how an individual comes to engage in criminal behaviour is set out concisely as follows (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974 : 75–77; Sanders, 1983 : 142–143; Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 210–211):

- Criminal behaviour is learned.
- Criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.
- The principal part of the learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups or face to face contact.
- When criminal behaviour is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques for committing criminal acts; (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes.

Intergenerational transmission of violence proposes that witnessing marital violence can lead to women battering. Kalmuss (in Dutton, 1988b : 8) suggests that the following two types of

modeling may occur: Firstly, specific modeling, which teaches specific actions and targets – and secondly, generalized modeling, which communicates the acceptability of battering amongst the family members. Thus, the family dynamics that are at play within violent families of origin, and that encourage males to be assaultive, can be described as including the learning of techniques, targets, defence mechanisms and attitudes which tolerate violent behaviour.

- The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favourable or unfavourable.
- A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to the violation of the law over definitions unfavourable to the violation of the law.
- Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity.
- The process of learning criminal behaviour by association with criminal and anticriminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning process.
- While criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values, since noncriminal behaviour is an expression of the same needs and values.

2.1.7.1 Evaluation

General points of criticism (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974 : 82–86; Sanders, 1983 : 147–148) concerning the differential association theory are as follows:

- The theory is general and imprecise and therefore it is difficult to operationalize concepts.
- Terms such as “excess” are not defined.
- Individual differences and psychological variables are ignored.
- Biological factors are not taken into account.

- There is an over-emphasise on environmental factors in the learning of criminal behaviour.
- The theory ignores primitive impulses such as aggression.
- The theory does not provide an explanation for all types of crime, for example the “accidental” criminal or the so-called crimes of passion.
- Opportunity is regarded as a constant factor.
- The theory oversimplifies the process by which criminal behaviour is learned.
- The role of the victim is ignored.
- The origin of criminal behaviour is not explained.
- The theory does not make provision for policy recommendations.
- And finally, another limitation of Sutherland’s differential association theory is that not everyone who comes into contact with criminals adopts or follows a criminal pattern.

The sixth proposition implies that if the definitions favourable to violating the law are greater than the definitions unfavourable to violating the law, then there will not be criminal behaviour. However, holding an unfavourable definition of one specific law may be enough to bring about criminal behaviour. For example with reference to battering Roy (1982 : 23) finds that the male batterer is in general not criminally inclined, except for his battering behaviour.

Two important modifications have been made to Sutherland’s differential association theory in an attempt to rectify the shortcomings of the theory.

The first such reformulation is Glaser’s differential identification theory which suggests that criminal learning involves identification with criminal roles (in other words, modeling) rather than face-to-face interaction with criminals. Glaser later revised his theory which he called differential anticipation theory which assumes that expectations determine conduct (Conklin, 1986 : 244; Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 222–223).

A second modification of differential association theory is Burgess and Akers's differential association-reinforcement theory which proposes that learning occurs through operant conditioning in both nonsocial and social situations. In other words, aside from social interactions, the environment itself can reinforce criminality through positive reinforcement (rewards) and negative reinforcement (punishments). Akers later expanded the principles of operant conditioning to include modeling or vicarious reinforcement. In other words learning through the observation of consequences that certain behaviours have for other people (Conklin, 1986 : 244–245; Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 223–224). Burgess and Akers's ideas are contiguous to those of Skinner (Engler, 1985 : 371). That is, in operant conditioning, the effect of the behaviour is the reinforcement.

2.2 THE INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VIOLENCE

The cycle of violence theory supports the social-learning theory of Bandura, as it stresses that modeling of parents' behaviour can be a means of passing aggressive or violent behavioural patterns down to the next generation. The intergenerational transmission of violence theory has generated much empirical research and studies (Straus et al., 1980 : 97–122; Roy, 1982 : 29; Pretorius, 1984 : 114–116; Sonkin et al., 1985 : 45; Gondolf & Hanneken, 1987 : Caesar, 1988 : 49) repeatedly cite that violence in the family of origin is a typical characteristic of the male batterer's background. Gayford makes the following deterministic statement: "One must realise that if there is a background of family violence the children are at risk, and unless something is done for these children they will become the battering husbands of the next generation" (quoted in Renvoize, 1978 : 60). Renvoize (1978 : 61) is in agreement with Gayford when she states: "What is clear is that violence undoubtedly breeds violence". Straus et al. (1980 : 97–122) propose a social heredity of family violence and comment as follows: "Generally, those who grew up in homes in which parents were violent to each other tended to be violent in their own marriage. It made no difference whether it was the father or mother who was violent, or whether the child was a boy or a girl" (Straus et al., 1980 : 101). Roy's findings also corroborate the cycle of violence theory (Roy, 1977 : 30–31; 1982 : 29).

2.2.1 Evaluation

Although there is substantial data supporting an intergenerational transmission of violence with regard to women battering, there are certain points of criticism.

According to Stark and Flitcraft (1985 : 155) studies on intergenerational violence do not offer concrete empirical evidence to substantiate the findings. The reasons being a lack of longitudinal studies tracing children from violent homes into adult life, and the fact that many studies are “ ... based exclusively on self-reports from small criminal subgroups, anecdotal information from battered women about their assailants, individual case histories and reports from service providers”. Stark and Flitcraft contend further, that another limitation to these studies is that “ ... definitions of ‘abuse’ and ‘violence’ differ too widely to make studies comparable” (1985 : 156). This, the lack of control groups, representativeness and the quality of the information gathered puts a question mark behind the cycle of violence theory.

Pagelow makes the following two points with regard to the cycle of violence. Firstly, in contrast to Straus et al. (1980 : 101) who find no evidence for sex-specific learning of aggression – her study “ ... supports the idea that men, more than women are influenced by and likely to imitate violent role models, encountered during childhood, particularly if they witnessed their fathers beating their mothers” (Pagelow, 1984 : 247). Her study is in accordance with Walker’s findings, namely that “ ... sex-role stereotyping in childhood is a major factor in determining the power relationship between men and women, which allows battering behavior to take place” (Walker, 1979b : 62). Numerous authors and researchers (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, 1981; Pagelow, 1981a; Pretorius, 1984) present detailed evidence on how a sexist society may facilitate women battering. Secondly Pagelow (1981b : 411) is of the opinion that observing parental violence and being victims of parental violence are two distinct phenomena and should be treated as such. The implication being that it cannot be assumed that witnessing spouse abuse and being abused as a child has the same impact and effect in adulthood.

However, with regard to child abuse trauma and battering Dutton (1988b : 23) states: “One perspective that could enrich assault research is the relatively new literature on post-traumatic stress reactions, which suggests that physical abuse produces long-term difficulties in modulating affect and aggression. The affective problems appear as affective numbing and constriction occasionally described as ‘alexithymia’ or the inability to recognize and make use of emotional reactions. This is followed by hyperarousal and aggressive outbursts”. Dutton (1988b : 23) indicates that the male batterer and trauma victims share similar characteristics, such as exaggerated separation anxiety. Star (1983 : 34) states: “Individuation or any type of separation is threatening. ... If the wife leaves, it is like losing a part of themselves; they become desperate”. The article: “Beware of paper tigers :

A killing highlights the vulnerability of battered women” (*Time Magazine*, 27 March 1989) illustrates how a batterer broke into his ex-wife’s home and then beat her to death with the butt of a shot gun. This has important implications for the criminal justice system – as the effectiveness of restraining orders is questioned with regard to the male batterer. The male batterer has also been described as having poor impulse control (Star, 1983 : 34; Klingbeil & Boyd, 1984 : 14; Pressman, 1984 : 13), dependent (Thorman, 1980 : 109; Klingbeil & Boyd, 1984 : 14), and poor monitors of affect. “Many spouse abuses never learned to deal with emotional closeness and nonsexual intimacy. They are not in touch with their feelings” (Star, 1983 : 35). “They express most feelings (hurt, frustrations, stress, sadness, fear) as anger; and anger, external from their wives (pertaining, for example, to employer, work, parent, finances) is displaced onto her” (Pressman, 1984 : 12). Furthermore, “ ... they cannot empathize with their victims’ feelings or perceptions of the abusive situation” (Pressman, 1984 : 14).

According to Pagelow (1984 : 229) “ ... even if a strong relationship is established as existing between childhood violence and later deviant behavior, this cannot be interpreted to mean there is necessarily a causal relationship”. She points out that today there is a tendency amongst researchers who adopt the theoretical framework of intergenerational violence to study multiple factors in families of origin besides parental violence (Pagelow, 1984 : 228).

In addition, another major limitation of the intergenerational transmission of violence theory is that it cannot explain why women battering occurs in families where the batterer and/or victim neither witnessed or experienced interpersonal violence in his or her family of origin (Edleson et al., 1985 : 234).

It may therefore be more accurate to conclude that parental family violence may predispose an individual to batter his partner, rather than to predetermine such behaviour.

2.3 SOCIOCRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this section the context-specific model proposed by Dobash and Dobash (1979) will be discussed as it is one of the major sociological themes with regard to women battering. Patriarchal domination is included in this study as contributing towards women battering because violence should be under-

stood within the wider social arena and not only per se. Violence is instigated by various levels of interaction with other people.

2.3.1 Patriarchal domination

Dobash and Dobash (1979 : 45) believe that the subordination of females and their subjection to male authority in society and marriage lies at the kernel of wife battering. Historically, the patriarchal system has been supported by the various societal institutions such as political, religious, economic, and legal services. These authors state the following: “The legal right of a man to beat his wife is no longer explicitly recognized in most western countries but the legacy of the patriarchy continues to generate the conditions and relationships that lead to a husband’s use of force against his wife” (Dobash & Dobash, 1979 : ix; see also Okun, 1986 : 2–10). The legacy of patriarchy is still clearly seen in the marital hierarchy. Dobash and Dobash (1979 : 75–76) are of the opinion that marriage reflects a man’s growing authority over, and possessiveness towards his wife – and a woman’s radical constriction of independency and social activities. They propose that these conditions can give rise to wife battering. For example, failure to meet the husband’s expectations which are often unrealistic, may cause him inconvenience, annoyance or disappointment, and may be seen as efforts to undermine his authority. Violence is then used to assert and maintain his position of power (Dobash & Dobash, 1979 : 93). The male batterer may then justify his violent behaviour through wanting to teach the victim a lesson. This can be compared to the “noble cause” as outlined by du Toit (1986 : 15–16), in other words, when violence becomes justifiable for the sake of a “good cause”, or when an ideal or an ideology such as patriarchal domination becomes an end in itself. To eliminate wife beating, patriarchal domination, that is, the acceptance and internalization of traditional ideology where men believe that they have the right to exert control over women, must be eliminated (Dobash & Dobash, 1979 : 243).

Sex-role stereotyping goes hand in hand with male domination and the acceptance of the patriarchal hierarchical social structure leading to the socialization of boys to be dominant and aggressive, and girls to be subservient and submissive. Child rearing practices usually centre around this differentiated treatment of boys and girls and begin at a very early age. Boys are in this manner rewarded for behaviour which conforms to male stereotyped roles. The same is true for girls. Mothers tend to be more permissive with their sons than with their daughters, and “ ... may allow sons more freedom to engage in active, aggressive behaviour, while expecting

their daughters to avoid verbal and physical aggression and to express dependency, passivity and conformity” (Pressman, 1984 : 7). In addition, boys are encouraged to control their emotions and hide their feelings. Consequently, in adulthood, men are often unable to express their inner feelings and may even fear intimacy (van der Hoven, 1988 : 35). Other researcher’s (Dobash & Dobash, 1979 : 77–81; Pretorius, 1984 : 68–69) findings also support the idea that sex-role stereotyping may promote women battering.

2.3.1.1 Evaluation

The researcher is of the opinion that one of the major limitations of the context-specific model advocated by Dobash and Dobash (1979) is that it does not clearly account for the psychodynamic processes or biological factors that may play a role in the manifestation of aggressive behaviour. Hansen and Barnhill (1982 : 37) for example state that “ ... most sociological studies of the subject have paid little more than lip service to biological factors such as genetics, hormonal disorders, developmental defects, and acquired damage, which effect literally millions in the United States and which necessarily impair the adaptive potential of many”.

Another limitation of the context-specific model is that it does not explain why there are men who are not batterers and are presumably exposed to similar patriarchal principles (Dutton, 1988a : 17). It also does not account for the phenomenon of husband battering, which according to Steinmetz (1978 : 501) “ ... constitutes a sizeable proportion of marital violence”. Violence is not sex-bound. For example, Spitzer, Skodol, Gibbon and Williams (1981 : 223–225) illustrate, by way of a case study the angry outbursts of a 31 year old housewife suffering from an intermittent explosive disorder. One or two times a month she would experience episodes of loss of control and destroy property, or become violent towards her husband or children. “Following the outburst she felt depressed and remorseful, ... In between these episodes the patient was generally calm and displayed no signs of aggressiveness (Spitzer et al., 1981 : 224).

Nevertheless, the context-specific model puts women battering in context and provides an explanation and understanding of women battering which is not eclectic in nature. This model also provides a possible solution to one of the major problems with the intergenerational transmission of family violence, namely why “ ... there is a much stronger and consistent association between boys who witness or are subjected to violence and later adult violent behavior than is true for girls” (Pagelow, 1984 : 253). The

answer may well be because of the tacit cultural approval of male domination and violence.

2.3.2 Subculture of violence

Another theory that uses norms and values as an explanation for the origin of violent crimes (such as assault) is the subculture of violence theory developed by Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1982). The theory is a cultural explanation and suggests that violence may represent a value system or subculture of violence – a value system that views violence as tolerable, expected, and even required. The individuals who share this value system may therefore define violence as an appropriate response to certain circumstances such as the use of violence in the home or restricted to specific, intimate relationships (this can be compared with specific and generalized modeling discussed in 2.1.7). Thus, the implication is that values, norms or beliefs originate from social conditions, either prevailing in society, or home environment. According to the subculture of violence theory, then, the ideology of patriarchal domination or being reared in a violent home may play a crucial role in the causation of women battering. Underlying conflicts of values between the dominant culture and the subculture of violence may occur (Sanders, 1983 : 237–238; Conklin, 1986 : 193–197; Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 214–219).

The findings of Shields, McCall and Hanneke (1988) support the notion that violence is culturally transmitted and that violent men hold favourable attitudes towards the use of violence. “Acceptance of the use of violence seems to be passed on to younger generations by the family, as well as by social groups outside the family. ... Perhaps it is socialization to a ‘subculture of violence’ that shapes one’s general attitudes about and participation in violence, while it is one’s specific ‘family culture’ that inclines him toward or against violence at home” (Shields et al., 1988 : 92–93).

Subculture of violence theory also relies “ ... heavily on expectations of behaviour in certain situations, together with social rewards and punishments backing up those expectations” (Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 228). Compare with social-learning theory (2.1.6), differential anticipation theory and differential association-reinforcement theory (2.1.7.1). Carmody and Williams (1987) are of the opinion that men in general perceive sanctions against the use of violence towards women as uncertain. They state: “This perception may result from a shared belief that assaultive behavior

is not very objectionable; therefore, nothing of great consequence will happen” (Carmody & Williams, 1987 : 36).

2.3.2.1 Evaluation

As with the context-specific model, the subculture of violence theory does not clearly account for intrapsychic processes and biological factors that may play a role in violent behaviour. Furthermore, it does not explicate why there are individuals who are exposed to a violent subculture, and yet do not resort to violence – nor does it explain why some violent men never become violent towards their wives.

2.3.3 Containment theory as propounded by Reckless

Containment theory states that individuals are motivated by a variety of forces either driving them towards, or restraining them from criminal behaviour. The driving forces include:

- Environmental pressures such as adverse living conditions and family conflicts (Reckless, 1961 : 45).
- Environmental pulls, for example, a criminal subculture or mass media such as pornography (Reckless, 1961 : 45), which has been found to promote woman battering (Patai, 1982 : 91–97; Sommers & Check, 1987 : 205).
- Finally, there “ ... are also biological or psychological pushes from within each individual that drive him or her toward crime and delinquency” (Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 237). These pushes include inner tensions, hostility, aggressiveness, a need for immediate gratification, frustrations, disappointments and feelings of inferiority, (Reckless, 1961 : 45; Reckless, 1973 : 56; Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 237).

Aligned against these driving forces are the restraining forces of internal and external containment. Thus, containment theory “ ... proposes that people are insulated to various degrees against pressures to commit deviant acts by ‘external’ and ‘internal’ factors. External containment results from attachments to family, community, and other parts of the social structure” (Conklin, 1986 : 252). Compare external containment with the social control theory developed by Hirschi which assumes that individuals who are tightly bonded to social groups such as the family, the school and peers, are less

likely to commit criminal acts. (Sanders, 1983 : 125–128; Conklin, 1986 : 213–215). Reckless described four components of internal containment, namely (a) a favourable self-image, (b) an awareness of being goal orientated, (c) a high frustration tolerance, and (d) norm retention (Sanders, 1983 : 128). Inner containment is therefore the product of internalization and consists of self-control, ego strength, well-developed superego, high sense of responsibility, tension-reducing rationalizations and so forth (Reckless, 1961 : 44–45; Reckless, 1973 : 55; Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 237). Inner containment may be weakened by the process of norm erosion or neutralization (originally proposed by Sykes and Matza as an explanation for norm violation), whereby the individual neutralizes or becomes “ ... alienated from the social norms and is freed to deviate” (Sanders, 1983 : 128). Ball (1983 : 78) remarks that the individual who commits a criminal act, need not necessarily reject conventional norms, but may merely apply to his/her action an excuse(s) that effectively neutralizes the norm in a given situation. The male batterer, for instance, usually adheres to conventional norms. Roy (1982 : 23) states that the majority of batterers are “ ... reportedly not atypically socially deviant or hardened criminals”. However, with regard to their battering behaviour they tend to neutralize the law, for example, through denial of the victim.

2.3.3.1 Evaluation

Containment theory manages to overcome the psychological and sociological dualism as it incorporates both disciplines.

2.4 PHYSIOLOGICAL FACTORS

Schauss (1982 : 76–88) clearly demonstrates how various nutrient deficiencies and related biochemical imbalances, indirectly or directly contribute towards battering behaviour. In other words, aggressive behaviour may in some instances owe as much, if not more, to nature as to nurture. Thoday states: “Every character of an individual is acquired during the development of that individual. Likewise, every character is genetic, for to acquire a character during development in any particular environment the individual must have the necessary genetic endowment ...” (quoted in Hall, 1983 : 67). Thus the abusive partner may have a natural proclivity or tendency towards violence or aggressive behaviour.

Hansen and Barnhill (1982) are of the contention that battering is often a case of pathophysiology, rather than psycho- or sociopathology. The follow-

ing are some conditions which are related to violent behaviour: Head injuries which, according to Hansen and Barnhill (1982 : 40–41), “ ... contribute more to intrafamilial violence than any other acquired condition in this group, as a result of chronic irritability and episodic dyscontrol”. Other sources of such pathophysiology are epilepsy, minimal brain dysfunction (Hansen & Barnhill, 1982 : 46–47), brain tumors, stroke, encephalitis, multiple sclerosis, Alzheimer’s disease, cardiorespiratory arrest, Huntington’s chorea and hypoglycemia (Hansen & Barnhill, 1982 : 51). Elliot (1977 : 98–108) describes explosive rage triggered by minimal provocation as being either psychogenic (for example, functional psychoses and personality disorders), or organic (for example, neurological and metabolic diseases), in origin. Bach-y-rita, Lion, Climent and Ervin (1971 : 49–54) also accentuate pathophysiological factors in their study on violent patients who exhibited episodic dyscontrol.

According to Sonkin (1988 : 71) “ ... in addition to psychological effects, there may also be neurophysiological effects from either witnessing or being a victim of violence as a child. Research in the area of posttraumatic stress disorder now suggests that physiological changes may occur with traumatized children and that these changes may be prolonged rather than fleeting”. As stated in 2.2, empirical research and studies repeatedly cite that violence in the family of origin is a typical characteristic of the male batterer’s background.

Refer to the following articles which highlight biological factors as contributors of crime and aggressive behaviour: “The criminal mind: Body chemistry and nutrition may look at the roots of crime” (*Cosmopolitan*, March 1985), “Exploring the traits of twins: A new study shows that key characteristic may be inherited” (*Time Magazine*, 12 January 1987).

2.4.1 Evaluation

It is true that a neurological investigation can illuminate certain behavioural patterns, however constitutional factors alone do not embrace human existence.

Nevertheless, a physical examination of the offender is important as it may shed light or criminal responsibility (Macdonald, 1976).

2.5 THE SELF, SELF-CONCEPT, AND SELF-ESTEEM

The self, self-concept, and self-esteem are useful constructs for understanding human behaviour, and are specifically relevant to the present study:

According to Freud, defence mechanisms protect the ego from conflicts and dilemmas encountered by the individual, and therefore help preserve identity (Meyer et al., 1989 : 51).

Sykes and Matza are of the opinion that neutralization techniques are employed by offenders to maintain a non-criminal self-image. Thus, they are able to avoid moral blame and secure a positive self-concept while violating the law (Vold & Bernard, 1986 : 253).

Horney differentiates between the real self and the idealized self. Sociopathy may occur when these selves become distinct or separate (Engler, 1985 : 126).

Sullivan develops personifications which incorporate the “good-me” and the “bad-me”. A process known as the self-fulfilling prophecy may come into operation whereby the individual, for example, believes that he/she is bad (Meyer et al. 1989 : 135).

Reckless and Dinitz establish that a favourable self-concept insulates the individual from, for instance, environmental pressures that can be conducive to norm violation (Reckless et al., 1956 : 746; Dinitz et al. 1972 : 517).

- ✱ Sutherland’s differential association theory postulates that all criminal behavioural patterns are learned in intimate interaction or face to face contact with other persons. Bandura states that individuals who have low self-esteems are especially prone to imitation (Engler, 1985 : 395).

One of the consequences of being reared in a violent home is self-depreciation.

Abundant literature reveals that the male batterer has a low self-esteem (Langley & Levy, 1977 : 81; Star, 1983 : 34; Klingbeil & Boyd, 1984 : 14; Pressman, 1984 : 15; Okun, 1986 : 66, 68). According to the context-specific model advanced by Dobash and Dobash (1979), batterers may therefore be particularly vulnerable to situations which threaten their male authority or identity, and feelings of adequacy. The male batterer may thus resort to violence in an effort to restore his sense of control within the family.

With reference to the subculture of violence theory – witnessing spouse abuse can communicate to the child that violence is acceptable. Containment theory suggests that a negative self-concept will compound this problem as it will leave the child more susceptible to this external influence.

With regard to physiological factors – the epileptic may experience frequent discrimination or social ostracism, which may lead to the development of a low self-esteem and adjustment problems or crime. Moreover, Bezuidenhout (1988 : 73) elaborates on the importance of a positive evaluation of the body to enhance the individual's self-respect and self-concept. She states that “ ... ’n lae agting van die self met ’n gepaardgaande negatiewe selfbeeld (voortvloeiend uit die ongunstige belewenis en vertolking van die liggaam) ’n veroorsakende verband met misdaad toon”.

The importance of the self, self-concept, and self-esteem in the study, therefore, warrants a description of these terms. However, it is important to note that these terms are used by various theorists in various ways. Therefore, the following descriptions of these constructs should not be seen as the alpha and omega.

According to Coan (1983 : 73–75), components of the self include the following:

The material self, for example the body and other objects in the material realm that we experience as extensions of ourselves. For instance, our clothes, car or other possessions. “To be aware of the material self is to be aware of the body and related material things, ...” (Coan, 1983 : 75).

The psychological self, or self as an experiencing being. Coan (1983 : 72) states: “The self is represented in all those experiential contents that involve our perceptions and thoughts about ourselves as physical organisms and as psychological entities”. Furthermore, “ ... to be aware of the psychological self is to be aware that one is aware” (Coan, 1983 : 75).

The interactive self is developed out of the individual's interaction or relationship with others, and is therefore interpersonal in nature. The interactive self is particularly subject to the influence or responses of other people. There are three dimensions of the interactive self, namely, (a) the public self or image that we wish to present to others; (b) the actual or private self, in other words that what we really are. It includes our fears, insecurities and inadequacies. Brodsky contends that when individuals are nondefensive and

secure within their private selves, then there is a reduction in the image-sustaining aspects of their public selves. “However, people who are defensive and insecure in their private selves increase the image-sustaining aspects of their public selves because they are unable to reveal their underlying characteristics to others. In turn, they may become so caught up with the public presentation of their selves that they become alienated from their private selves. Such people are interpersonally limited by their public self presentation” (Brodsky, 1988 : 79). (c) Finally, the ideal self or that which we wish we were. Ideally, the actual and ideal selves largely coincide and security, contentment, and psychological well-being prevails. (The actual and ideal self can be compared with Horney’s real and idealized self).

Numerous authors comment on man’s metaphysical (unseen) existence.

- As previously mentioned, Horney recognizes the real self, and the idealized self (Engler, 1985 : 125–128), and sees estrangement or alienation from one’s real self as the cause of maladjustment.
- Jung differentiates between the persona or mask that one presents to the world, and the real self (Engler, 1985 : 87).
- Jourard distinguishes between the false public self, and the real self. He states: “Every maladjusted person is a person who has not made himself known to another human being and in consequence does not know himself (Jourard, 1971 : 32).
- Laing acknowledges social roles and also distinguishes between the “inner” or true self, and the false self, mask, “front”, or persona (Laing, 1965 : 73). Laing is of the opinion that if man is not two-dimensional, in other words, has an identity-for-himself and an identity-for-others, he cannot be real. “A man without a mask is indeed very rare. One even doubts the possibility of such a man” (Laing, 1965 : 95).

The self is therefore multi-dimensional and conscious of being – in a common world which we share with other individuals.

Brodsky defines self-concept “ ... as the totality of beliefs, perceptions, and feelings people hold about themselves” (Brodsky, 1988 : 65). In other words, self-concept is the idea individual has of what he/she is.

According to Brodsky (1988 : 66–72) there are three important elements of the self-concept: (a) The self-concept is the sum or totality of our beliefs, perceptions, and understanding about ourselves. It contains both the positive, as well as the negative characteristic which we may attribute to ourselves. Within the total self-concept, there are also subcategories. For example, the social self-concept, the physical self-concept, and so forth. (b) The self-concept is consistent over time. It is thus developed over the years through interpersonal experience and remains fairly congruent with what the individual already believes about himself/herself. Should the individual, for example, regard himself/herself as unlikable or “bad”, then the individual will usually be consistent in holding this view. (c) However, the self-concept is dynamic and may change or evolve as the individual encounters new experiences. Psychotherapy may for example change an individual’s self-concept.

Physical features, social interaction, common beliefs (such as people who are wealthy are held in higher esteem), and others’ expectations influence our self-concept. The process by which we come to see ourselves as we believe others see us, is referred to as the “looking-glass” self. Others’ expectations may therefore activate a self-fulfilling prophecy. Furthermore, Coan (1983 : 73) points out that individuals may focus defensively, for example, through defence mechanisms or neutralization techniques, on one part of the self (self-deception), in order to maintain a positive self-concept.

Self-esteem refers to the extent to which the individual likes or values himself/herself. Self-evaluation may be positive or negative and effects the way in which we relate to other people.

2.6 AN INTERDISCIPLINARY MODEL

There are numerous origins of violence. Violence may be precipitated by a psychosocial event, for example as seen during rioting. Violence may be spurred on by a situational factor as in the case of seriously injuring another individual in self-defence. Violence may be a symptom of underlying psychopathology. According to Dutton (1988a : 12), the DSM–III contains diverse disorders that share symptomatologies with descriptions of the male batterer. These include conjugal paranoia which is characterized by delusions that involve only the spouse (Kaplan & Sadock, 1981 : 347–348), and an intermittent explosive disorder. Lion (1987 : 2) states: “Violence is an integral part of disorders of impulse control such as intermittent explosive disorder”. Distinctive features of an intermittent explosive disorder are as follows:

- Several discrete episodes of loss of control of aggressive impulses that result in serious assault or destruction of property (American Psychiatric Association, 1987 : 179; Louw & Louw, 1989 : 491).
- The degree of aggressiveness expressed during an episode is grossly out of proportion to any precipitating psychosocial stressor (American Psychiatric Association, 1987 : 179; Louw & Louw, 1989 : 491).
- The symptoms appear within minutes or hours and, regardless of duration, remit almost as quickly (Rowe, 1984 : 158).
- Genuine regret or self-reproach at the consequences of the action and the inability to control the aggressive impulse may follow each episode (Rowe, 1984 : 158).
- There are no signs of generalized impulsivity or aggressiveness between the episodes (American Psychiatric Association, 1987 : 179; Louw & Louw, 1989 : 491).

Other disorders mentioned by Dutton (1988a : 12) are organic disorders such as temporal lobe epilepsy with increased psychomotor activity and toxic psychoses; and personality disorders such as the borderline personality disorder. The borderline personality has been described as manifesting intense anger; argumentative and demanding; experiences intense moods of anger and depression, both accompanied by chronic feelings of emptiness and boredom; has short-lived psychotic episodes; dependence and hostility are felt intensely and therefore interpersonal relationships are tumultuous; tolerates being alone poorly (Kaplan & Sadock, 1981 : 488–489).

Furthermore, violence may be a component of schizophrenia, affective disorders, attention deficit disorders, and psychosexual dysfunction (Lion, 1987 : 2).

The above discussion is to emphasize the point that the male batterer should not be viewed as belonging to an uniform genre. The origins of violence are many and therefore a careful assessment should be made in every case of battering. Lion (1987 : 3) exemplifies this point as follows: “ ... an abused wife may be clinically depressed; her abusing husband may have a disorder of impulse control; both may come from family backgrounds in which they were abused; both may live in a subculture that perpetuates family violence

as a norm". According to Lion (1987 : 2–3) this example is purposely to demonstrate that battering is embedded in a complex dyadic relationship requiring detailed psychological and social understanding, and illustrates the assessment challenges that may arise in effective treatment strategies.

Due to the fact that psychological, sociological, and physiological factors have been found to be related to women battering (Dutton, 1988a : 20), the researcher takes the viewpoint that using solely the one or the other perspective will not expose battering. This has important implications for treatment strategies. For example, should violence be due to epilepsy, then an effective treatment program would include the administration of medication. A requisite will therefore entail teamwork within the various disciplines. Thus, a multi-dimensional or interdisciplinary model, which regards the male batterer as a dynamic multi-faceted, unique and complex being with diverse potentialities may reflect a more holistic orientation towards the phenomenon of women battering.

During a life span, a multitude of influences impinge upon the individual. Behaviour and personality constellation is firstly shaped by innate or constitutional factors such as genetic make-up and developmental experiences which can be defined as " ... a continuous complex interaction between the developing organism and its environment, a process that goes on from conception to death" (Hall, 1983 : 133). Horney and Sullivan are of the same opinion. However, the years between birth and five are critical or particularly formative. Secondly, there is psychodynamic influence such as subconscious motivations, (Freud) which may nurture hostility and evoke violent outbursts. Thirdly, the individual reacts to the structural characteristics of society and to his own internalization of society's norms, values, and attitudes which are in turn molded by cultural background and social intercourse (Bern, 1982 : 43–44). This is also upheld by the context-specific model and subculture of violence theory. Thus, psychological, sociological and physiological factors manifest themselves as possible contributing factors with regard to battering behaviour and present a complex network of interaction.

To exemplify the complexity and multi-dimensional features of battering behaviour a speculative or hypothetical case study which illustrates that several factors may predispose an individual to battering will be given:

Mr X has a happy childhood and is reared according to the stereotypic male role. Patriarchal principles are furthermore propagated by the pornography he now enjoys reading which reinforces a belief that women are legitimate

targets for degradation and violence (Roy, 1982 : 93; Sommers and Check, 1987 : 189). At the age of thirty, Mr X has a motor accident which results in a serious head injury. There is a mild degree of intellectual impairment and Mr X complains of suffering from severe headaches resulting in chronic irritability. Mrs X tolerates his abuse because she has four children and nowhere to go. Furthermore, she feels that it is her duty to stand by her husband, especially if he is ill. Mr X is aware of this. There is, therefore, no need for him to seek treatment or to change his behaviour. In any event, according to Mr X, it is his wife who provokes his violent insults. She is forever trying to undermine his authority, and she can't even keep the children quiet. Mr X finds loud noises unbearable.

From the above hypothetical example, it is evident that an interplay of psychological factors (for instance, Mr X projects or externalizes the blame for his violent behaviour onto Mrs X), sociological factors (for example, sex-role stereotyping), and physiological factors (in other words, possible soft neurological signs acquired through a head injury), may contribute to Mr X's battering behaviour.

This interdisciplinary model can be compared with Dutton's (1988 : 20–32) interactionist explanation or nested ecological approach which seeks to account for battering through the interaction of factors at the individual, microsystem, exosystem, and macrosystem levels. The individual or ontogenetic level refers to individual development. The microsystem refers to the family unit or immediate context in which the battering occurs, in other words, the interactional pattern of the family members or couple. The exosystem refers to social structures such as peer groups, work groups, friendships or other social groups that connect the family to the larger culture. Finally, the macrosystem refers to the cultural values and belief systems (for example, patriarchy), that influence both ontogeny and the exosystem and microsystem.

2.7 SUMMARY

Due to the researcher's concern with the possible relevance of certain concepts pertaining to the male batterer as highlighted by various authors (Langley & Levy, 1977; Walker, 1979a; Straus et al., 1980; Thorman, 1980; Martin, 1981; Pagelow, 1981a; Morgan, 1982; Roy, 1982; Star, 1983; Pagelow, 1984; Pressman, 1984; Sonkin et al., 1985; Lystad, 1986; Carmody & Williams, 1987; Caesar, 1988) – the theoretical chapter does not include all the contributions made by each theorist, let alone the aggregate contribution made to psychoanalytic thinking or behaviourism.

Nevertheless, this chapter demonstrates that a myriad of bio-psycho-socio-criminological factors may play a role in the elucidation of battering. Innate, interpersonal, situational, environmental, cultural, and physiological factors may all have bearing on this phenomenon.

A recapitulation of the chapter is thus as follows:

Intrapsychic factors may nurture battering such as faulty defence mechanisms (Freud) which help preserve identity, or neutralization techniques (Sykes and Matza) which help the individual to maintain a favourable self-concept. Horney and Sullivan both emphasize the role of anxiety and interactive processes with regard to human behaviour. Bandura points out the dangers of aggressive models and positive reinforcement of learned aggressive behavioural patterns. Social-learning theory can be compared with Sutherland's differential association theory which regards criminal behaviour as learned behaviour. The intergenerational transmission of violence theory concludes that witnessing marital violence, or being a victim of child abuse, contributes towards women battering. The context-specific model is a major sociological explanation for the causation of woman battering and states that patriarchal ideology forms a sound foundation for the genesis of such behaviour. Another cultural explanation for the origin of violent crimes is the subculture of violence theory. Containment theory includes adverse living conditions, criminal subculture and psychological maladjustment as possible factors conducive to criminal behaviour. Finally, there are numerous physical conditions which are causally linked to violent behaviour such as epilepsy and brain tumours.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter three, a content analysis and discussion of the research findings will include the following:

- A personal profile of the male batterer.
- Characteristics of the male batterer.
- Aspects of the battering incident.

Thus insight will be gained into the life-world experience of the batterer and how he perceives the battering relationship,

An exposition of the research findings will include tables and bar charts to facilitate the reading thereof, by adding a visual dimension to the analysis and discussion.

3.2 PERSONAL PROFILE OF THE MALE BATTERER

3.2.1 Age

The chronological age groups for the male batterer were arbitrarily divided into four subgroups and are shown in the table below.

TABLE 1 Age Group of the Male Batterer

Group	Age	N	%
Group 1	25 – 29	2	15
Group 2	30 – 39	6	39
Group 3	40 – 49	4	31
Group 4	50 and over	2	15
TOTAL		14	100

Table 1 indicates that the majority of male batterers in the sample were in their thirties.

These results may indicate that sociopsychological factors may play a role in battering. At these ages the individual is usually either married or having an intimate relationship with the victim. As stated in 3.2.3, an important criterion for battering to take place may be intimate or sexual involvement. Violence in a marriage can occur as a consequence of a number of different events. For example, jealousy, economic uncertainty because of unemployment or job dissatisfaction, increasing financial and emotional demands especially if there are children, and arguments over drinking, sex, money, and contradictory expectations concerning the wife's responsibilities can lead to violent confrontations (Gelles, 1977 : 57; 1982 : 30–33). Dobash and Dobash state “ ... that marriage itself, based as it is on a hierarchy of power vested in the patriarchy that legitimizes wife beating, sets the stage for violence” (quoted in Pagelow, 1984 : 286).

3.2.2 Occupation

The various occupations are shown in the table below.

TABLE 2 Occupation of the Male Batterer

Occupation	N	%
Director, owner	7	44
Professional	2	16
Salesman	2	16
Technician	2	16
Other	1	8
TOTAL	14	100

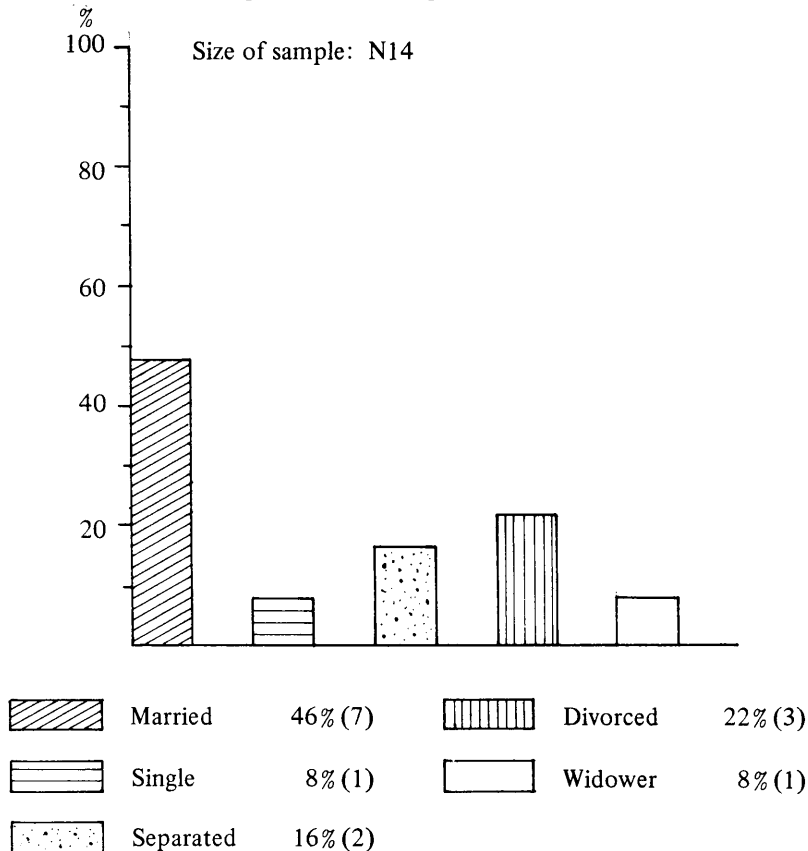
Table 2 indicates that the majority of batterers in the sample represented the middle to higher income bracket groups. These findings merit the research procedure, namely the anonymous telephone interview. Although women battering is more visible amongst the poorer class, the male batterer comes from all socio-economic backgrounds. However, the results may reflect sample bias because of using a medium such as the press. Individuals from the middle to higher class are usually able to afford the daily newspaper.

Walker (1978 : 145) is of the opinion that only about 20 percent of battered women come from poor environments, and 80 percent of the cases have gone unrecognized because of lower visibility in more privileged environments. Langley and Levy (1977 : 46) and Star (1983 : 32) arrive at the same findings, namely that most abusive partners represent middle to blue-collar income groups.

3.2.3 Status

Bar Chart 2 indicates the relative percentage of the various types of heterogeneous relationships in the study and shows that most of the battering occurred within a conjugal relationship. Nevertheless, battering also occurred between unmarried couples.

BAR CHART 2 – Type of Relationship



Dobash and Dobash (1979 : ix) assume that the legacy of patriarchy, of male domination and control, continues and manifests itself in the phenomenon of women battering. The findings in this study were in accordance with these assumptions, as marriage was the most common type of relationship found in the sample. Secondly, 43 percent of the batterers demonstrated through various statements and innuendos that they valued the traditional stereotypic male and female roles and were therefore concerned with maintaining a masculine image. For example: “I’m the man in the house and a man needs respect”; “Somebody has got to make the decisions”. Thirdly, a man’s primary commitment to a marriage is traditionally seen as that of the breadwinner and 46 percent of the batterers indicated that their partners were housewives. These battered women were therefore economically dependent on their abusive partners, which may be one of the reasons why they seemed to endure the battering (Pretorius, 1984 : 171). Table 3 indicates that the majority of the relationships in the sample were long-standing relationships. The shortest relationship lasted for 22 months – the longest relationship lasted for 21 years. The duration of the relationship was arbitrarily divided into four subgroups.

TABLE 3 **Duration of Relationship**

Group	Duration of relationship	N	%
Group 1	0–2 years	2	17
Group 2	3–5 years	6	42
Group 3	6–10 years	5	33
Group 4	Over 10 years	1	8
TOTAL		14	100

Areas of conflict that may have arisen for the abusive partners who held stereotypic notions of male and female roles may be the rapid changing role definition for men and women, spurred on by Feminism and the Women’s Liberation Movement. An offender could see a woman who tried to assert her independence, for example, by securing a job, as defiant causing him annoyance or anger as it could threaten his sense of control (Steinmetz, 1980 : 348; Pretorius, 1984 : 72), and perhaps evoke feelings of jealousy as it will be more difficult to surveil her movements. Another area of conflict could be that failure to meet the batterer’s expectations may have

caused him disappointment and be interpreted as efforts to undermine his authority. The abusive partner may expect his wife to fulfil diverse roles, such as to be his friend, his sister, his mother, his lover. Often these roles that he expects her to fulfil are ambivalent (Langley & Levy, 1977 : 82), and unrealistic (Pressman, 1984 : 12; Okun, 1986 : 70), such as wanting her to be dependent and subservient, and at other times an independent career girl. Thus, the disappointment of the battered woman not living up to his expectations could have been translated into anger and he may have become abusive in order to assert his position of power (Dobash & Dobash, 1979 : 93). According to Pressman (1984 : 12), the male batterer experiences most emotions as anger.

The implication of patriarchal domination as generating the conditions under which women battering occurs, goes hand in hand with Gelles' often cited assumption that the marriage licence is also a hitting licence (in Pagelow, 1984 : 285). However, battering also occurred between unmarried couples (Okun, 1986 : 49). Fifty percent of the batterers in the sample admitted to the fact that they battered their wives already before marriage, in other words during courtship. Pagelow (1984 : 297) states that research seems to indicate that much higher rates of violence is found between unmarried couples as compared to married couples. An important criterion for a battering relationship may therefore be intimate or sexual involvement, rather than male domination or the institution of marriage. Research indicates " ... that as intimacy grows, so does the possibility of violence between males and females" (Pagelow, 1984 : 298). Star (1983 : 35) contends that abusers often do not know how to deal with emotional closeness because they fear feelings of vulnerability and/or dependancy recollective of childhood days (Morgan, 1982 : 26). Violence is then used systematically to break down intimacy. The batterer is therefore usually not in touch with his feelings, and emotions such as hate, disappointment, sadness could have been transposed into anger or violence.

3.2.4 Family of origin background

In the study 50 percent of the batterers admitted that they came from violent homes, where they either witnessed marital violence or were the victims of child abuse. Thus the following factors may play a role in women battering: Faulty defence mechanisms such as the repression of a traumatic childhood (2.1.1.1); defective interpersonal interaction acquired through close parent-child relationships (2.1.3 and 2.1.4); modeling (2.1.6), or learning (2.1.7); an intergeneration transmission of violence (2.2); or a post-

traumatic stress reaction (2.2.1); patriarchy (2.3.1), or a subculture of violence (2.3.2), adverse living conditions which can be described as environmental pressures (2.3.3) that drive the individual towards sociopathy; and finally, child abuse may cause trauma to the brain which may result in post-traumatic epilepsy (Goldstein, Baker & Jamison, 1986 : 317). However, the fact that the other 50 percent of the batterers in the sample stated that they came from stable or happy home environments raises the question whether theories such as the intergenerational transmission of violence plays such an important role in battering as generally believed. (An evaluation of the intergenerational transmission of violence theory is given in 2.2.1). Van der Hoven (1988 : 36) states: “Although experience of violence during childhood could be a factor in wife battering, this has not yet been conclusively established”.

Nevertheless, 88 percent of the batterers in the sample who have children confessed that the violence had a negative influence on the child(ren), for example the child(ren) was/were insecure, performed poorly at school or suffered from enuresis. Thus, even though a violent family of origin background does not necessarily lead to women battering, it may promote other emotional or behavioural problems such as delinquency.

3.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MALE BATTERER

3.3.1 Substance abuse

Bar Chart 3 indicates whether substance abuse played a role in the present study.

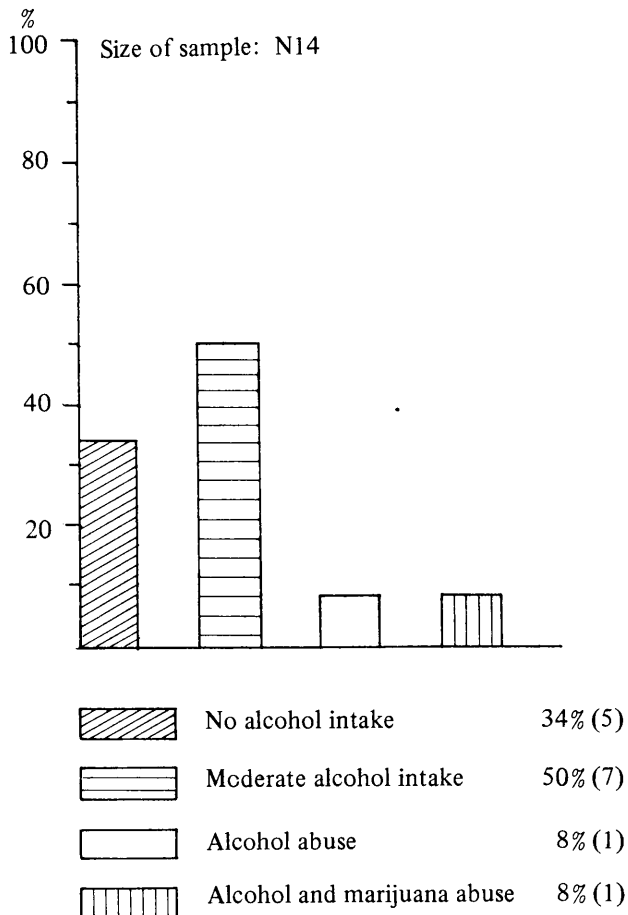
In the present study 66 percent of the batterers stated that they used/abused alcohol.

Although various studies have proved a high correlation between alcohol use and violence (Borkowski, Murch & Walker, 1983 : 75; Pretorius, 1984 : 121), the researcher is of the contention that alcohol is best considered as a possible contributor to women battering (34 percent of the batterers did not use alcohol at all) – rather than the cause. The disinhibiting effects of alcohol on behaviour is not new. Alcohol may therefore facilitate an expression of violence and used as an excuse for the violent episode (Pagelow, 1984 : 93; Reid, 1985 : 274; Okun, 1986 : 58; van der Hoven, 1988 : 36–37). In other words, the batterer may shift (project or externalize) the blame for his violent

outburst from himself to the alcohol. Alcohol may furthermore camouflage deep rooted feelings of dependency (batterers are often described as being emotionally dependent); insecurity (acquired through for example defective parent-child relationships); and anxiety (according to Horney the individual may narcotize anxiety by overindulging in alcohol and drugs). Alcohol may even be used to alleviate depression (discussed in 3.3.3).

Alcohol is therefore not causally linked to women battering and is not a necessary or sufficient condition for battering to occur. To stop the batterer from drinking will not end the violence. Martin (1981 : 57) and Roy (1982 : 40) conclude similarly.

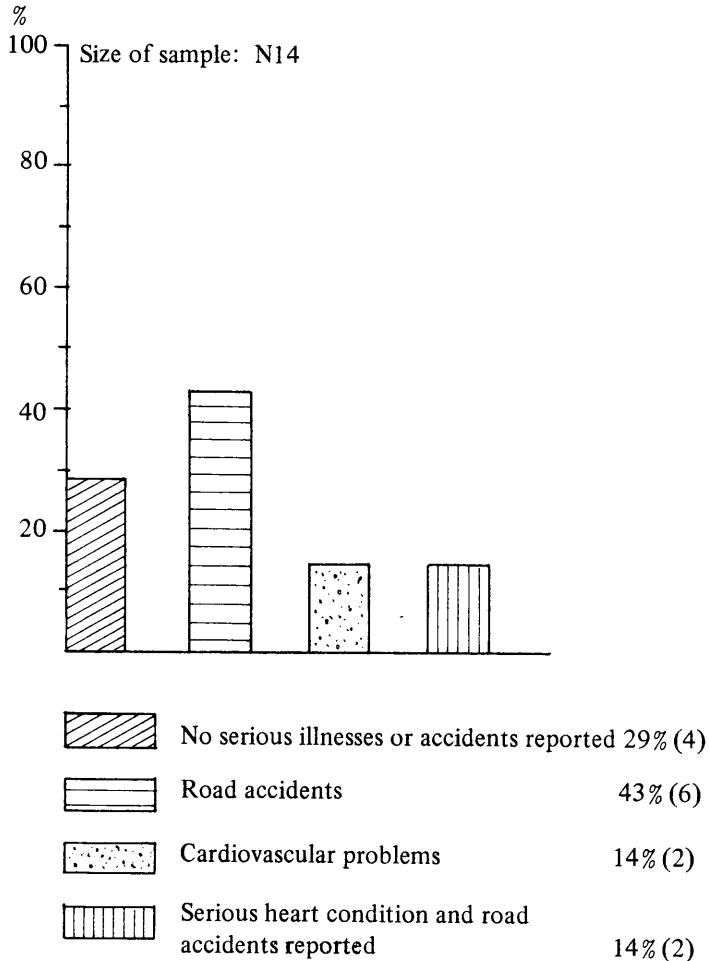
BAR CHART 3 – Substance Abuse



3.3.2 Serious illnesses or accidents

In this study, cardiovascular problems were the only serious illnesses mentioned, and as indicated by Bar Chart 4 the serious accidents reported refer to road accidents.

BAR CHART 4 – Serious Illnesses or Accidents



Due to the nature of the telephone interview, no definite conclusions can be drawn from these results as it was impossible to check medical histories. These findings nevertheless suggest that physiological factors such as a head injury acquired through, for example, a serious road accident could possibly contribute towards the batterer's violent behaviour. One batterer, aged 38 stated: "This is where all my problems began. In 1980, I had a serious motor-car accident – everyone thought I was going to die. I've been to see the best neuropsychologist because I suffer from amnesia. I can't remember anything before my accident and I seemed to have got the mentality of a 20 year old – sometimes even a 10 year old".

3.3.3 Depression

Table 4 indicates that an overwhelming majority of the batterers in the sample stated that they frequently felt depressed (Pressman, 1984 : 14; Hastings & Hamberger, 1988 : 43).

TABLE 4 Depression as a symptom

Depression	N	%
Yes	11	82
No	3	18
TOTAL	14	100

To substantiate this affective complaint the researcher incorporated the following question in her interview schedule: "Do you sometimes wake up in a bad mood"? Seventy-three percent of the batterers answered in the affirmative. According to Huston (1975 : 1049), diurnal rhythm commonly occurs in depressed states; upon arising, the individual may feel "blue"; anxious or retarded.

In this study, depression, guilt (discussed in 3.4.6) and aggression are found to be important characteristics of the male batterer. The psychodynamics of this triad can be interpreted as follows.

According to Hammer (1972 : 157) depression can be the result of an unconscious feeling of frustration " ... experienced as a loss which tends to intensify an already existing inner feeling of deficiency, emptiness and

worthlessness". The male batterer's early years has been characterized by his dependency needs being frustrated (Langley & Levy, 1977 : 84). Furthermore, he has been described as having a low frustration tolerance (Klingbeil & Boyd, 1984 : 14).

The majority of male batterers in the sample seemed to have feelings of inadequacy and self-worthlessness (Okun, 1986 : 66, 68). This was measured as follows. Sonkin et al. (1985 : 44) make the observation that the male batterer finds it difficult to say "no" to his partner (in other words he usually does not refuse the victim anything), and that this may be indicative of a low self-esteem. Thus, the researcher incorporated this question in her interview schedule and found that 86 percent of the batterers in the sample had difficulty in saying "no" to their partners. Furthermore, other characteristics which are related to a lack of self-esteem are feelings of dependency (Thorman, 1980 : 109; Star, 1983 : 35; Sonkin et al., 1985 : 43; Okun, 1986 : 66-67, 69), possessiveness – 80 percent of the batterers in the sample stated that they were possessive of their partners (Walker, 1979a : 37; Star, 1983 : 34; Pressman, 1984 : 12; Okun, 1986 : 68), and jealousy – 90 percent of the batterers stated that they were jealous of their partners (Langley & Levy, 1977 : 81; Walker, 1979a : 37; Okun, 1986 : 68). Abundant literature (Langley & Levy, 1977 : 81; Star, 1983 : 34; Klingbeil & Boyd, 1984 : 14; Pressman, 1984 : 15) reveals that the male batterer has a low self-esteem. Bezuidenhout's (1988 : 145) research findings reveal: " 'n Hoë waardering van die self wat 'n positiewe selfbeeld veronderstel – 'n misdaad voorkomende betekenis het".

Hammer (1972 : 157) states that depression can be " ... precipitated by any event which produces a significant feeling of loss. The loss may be one of various types. For example, it may be the loss of a sense of security, ... control or influence over the elements and events of one's life ... ". In the researcher's sample, every single batterer testified to having no control over their aggression. According to Hammer (1972 : 157) then, this inability to exert control over certain elements of one's life (such as battering) may result in depression because it produces feelings of ego disintegration. Thus, whereas depression signifies an experience of the diminishing of the self, anxiety may be understood as " ... the reaction of fear that such a diminishing of self is about to occur, ..." (Hammer, 1972 : 157). Associated with depression, therefore, is anxiety or tension caused by an impending depression. Attempting to alleviate or narcotize anxiety, the individual – particularly if he has a weak ego – may resort to artificially induced states of elation produced for example by alcohol, drugs (3.3.1),

gambling. The male batterer is described as being impulsive (Klingbeil & Boyd, 1984 : 14), and “ ... impulsivity generally takes the forms of low frustration tolerance, substance abuse, promiscuity, and/or spending sprees” (Okun, 1986 : 67). In other instances the individual may attempt to escape from depression by draining the tension associated with it through asocial behaviour such as aggressive outbursts or battering (Hammer, 1972 : 158–159). According to Sullivan a primary task of living is to reduce tension (Bischof, 1970 : 599). The batterer’s behaviour may thus be reinforced because of the sense of well-being following a discharge of tension (2.1.6).

According to Hammer (1972 : 159) another factor frequently found in depression relates to events, feelings or thoughts which produce guilt – like battering (see 3.4.6) – “ ... and the depression reflects the attempt to expiate this guilt through the discomfort that it brings”.

Thus, guilt coexists with aggression and depression. Aggression coexists with depression and guilt. Depression coexists with guilt and aggression. Resolve the one in this triadic cycle and you resolve the others.

3.3.4 Isolation

Seventy-three percent of the batterers in the sample testified to being loners and having acquaintances rather than friends, which suggested that their involvement with others is often superficial (Langley & Levy, 1977 : 76; Walker, 1979a : 39; Pagelow, 1984 : 327; Pressman, 1984 : 13; Gondolf & Hanneken, 1987 : 183). This may confirm that the batterer experiences anxiety, (which is associated with depression). According to Horney (2.1.3), the individual may cope with anxiety by means of isolation, and through substance abuse (3.3.1). Sullivan also suggests that anxiety may result in what is termed malevolent transformation (2.1.4.2), whereby the person is unable to relate to the affectionate advances of other people, and therefore seeks to isolate himself/herself. Furthermore, according to Reckless (2.3.3) external attachments such as friends and other supportive systems may cause an individual to refrain from deviant behaviour. Thus, isolation may be a factor why battering transpires.

Battering tends to alienate the couple from others because of embarrassment (van der Hoven, 1988 : 35) and shame, and isolation promotes dependency of which jealousy is often an end-product, which in turn promotes isolation (Sonkin et al., 1985 : 43) – which promotes battering (Gelles, 1982 : 222), and a vicious circle may be set in motion.

The researcher is also of the opinion that the male batterer usually does not need others, because of the diverse roles which he expects his partner to fulfil (Langley & Levy, 1977 : 82).

3.4 THE BATTERING INCIDENT

3.4.1 Precipitating factors

In the replies from the batterers as to what precipitated the abuse, the following features were evident:

Firstly, there were stereotypic notions of male and female roles as typified by the following remark: "If she wants to wear the pants and be liberated she should be treated like a man in all other respects". Thus patriarchal ideology could be a contributing factor of battering (Pressman, 1984 : 13). These notions could also be used to rationalize and thereby justify such violent behaviour.

Secondly, derogative remarks were made about the battered woman, for example: "She is lazy". By denigrating their partners, the male batterer evades his own feelings of vulnerability and dependence (Pressman, 1984 : 14).

Thirdly, the victim was usually blamed for the abuse. For example: "She drives me to it"; "Do you know how many ways there are to ask a man to batter you"? Blame was thus projected or externalized (Sykes and Matza's contention of the denial of the victim also gains confirmation). This could be an attempt to account for behaviour which they seemed to have no control over and that would otherwise seem irrational and bizarre (Morgan, 1982 : 41; Geller, 1982 : 200; Pressman, 1984 : 12; Sonkin et al., 1985 : 42).

Fourthly, the batterers tended to deny or minimize (Pressman, 1984 : 12; Hastings & Hamberger, 1988 : 42) their aggressive behaviour. According to Sonkin et al. (1985 : 42) the reason for this may be because of the guilt they experience as a result of their actions. They may realize that their behaviour is hurtful and ineffective. Denial may also be utilized to avoid the reality of the pain and fear that they inflict upon the victim (denial of injury is a neutralization technique described by Sykes and Matza in 2.1.2). It may furthermore be in their best interest if they are facing criminal charges. Furthermore, denial may possibly be related to the batterer's loss of memory during a violent incident.

Finally, the reasons given for the abuse or the precipitating factors, were trivial in the extreme and in no way warranted the violent reaction. For example: “She tells stories”; “She eventually didn’t have to do much to get a beating, you know if the supper wasn’t ready”; “Sou eintlik begin oor onbenullighede”; “There is normally something on my mind and she ignores me”; “I don’t know, she’ll tell me something. At times I can’t stand anything”; “It’s something little and I get angry. Maybe something she said and I think it’s wrong”; “I don’t know. Sometimes just talking and I lift up my hand and hit her”; “This is the most peculiar thing. It always just happens all over nothing”.

Martin (1981 : 49) also established that the triggering of violent incidents are almost always trivial. Okun (1986 : 49) states: “Often the victim will be assaulted no matter what, ...”. Thus, the adherence to victimological theories, in which the victim is blamed for the abuse was seriously questioned in the study. An individual who feels inadequate or insecure, who has weak ego boundaries and who is impulsive (Star, 1983 : 34; Pressman, 1984 : 13), can become violent – regardless of the victim’s action or inertia.

3.4.2 Frequency of violence

Battering occurred as often as nightly, twice a week, monthly, to three, four or five times per year. In other words, there were several discrete episodes of loss of control of aggressive impulses.

The majority of batterers in the sample also indicated that with time the battering incident occurred more frequently and/or became more severe.

3.4.3 Nature of the abuse

The nature of the battering incidents included shaking, pushing, pulling, throwing (one batterer in the sample for instance threw his wife off the balcony of their double-storey home), slapping, hitting (also with instruments such as wire, cord or an iron object), kicking, and stabbing. Environmental abuse such as the destruction of property also occurred. Renvoise (1978 : 21) also found that the male batterer at times destroyed property such as furniture, glass, and so forth.

It is important to note, though, that psychological abuse is usually inevitable in battering relationships. Psychological abuse takes on various forms, such as verbal abuse, or a process which Walker (in Okun, 1986 : 69) refers to as social battering. Social battering are the measures taken by batterers to isolate the woman socially, for example, by humiliating her in public, by becoming intoxicated at social events or when entertaining guests.

3.4.4 Resultant injuries

Injuries sustained were for example bruises, cuts, fractures (such as a broken leg or nose), kidney problems and stab wounds.

3.4.5 Warning signals

Eighty-six percent of the batterers in the sample stated that they can feel beforehand that they are going to become aggressive. For example: “This is the worst part. It comes to a stage when I know that at any time I am going to lash out”. A sense of impending doom accompanied by physical symptoms such as shaking or a drop in body temperature was also reported. Other batterers in the sample described a dreadful feeling of not being able to hear or see which suddenly culminated in a blind rage. For example: “I don’t know which way to turn. I get very confused – there is no cohesion”. According to Kaplan and Sadock (1981 : 588), prodromal affective or autonomic symptoms, and subtle changes in sensorium, may signal an impending paroxysmal episode of aggression with regard to an intermittent explosive disorder. Adams and McCormick (1982 : 178) state: “Men often describe themselves as being ‘uncomfortable’ before they are abusive ... what they feel uncomfortable about is not being in control”. Eating habits and/or sleeping patterns were also affected and could signal an attack. Sleep disturbance such as early morning awakening is considered as almost pathognomic for depression. This may be another indicator of the fact that the male batterer may suffer from depression (see 3.3.3). Ninety-three percent of the batterers reported that this blind rage would appear within minutes and remit almost as quickly.

3.4.6 Remorse

Seventy-five percent of the male batterers in the sample showed compunction after the violent incident. In other words, they experienced remorse, guilt (which may nurture depression as discussed in 3.3.3), and regret with regard to their aggressive behaviour. For example: “I cannot reconcile that I did what I did”, “Yes, I feel very guilty. I ask myself why am I doing this, and there is no logical answer”; “I feel terrible”; “I feel lousy that I should lose control at home because in the business world I don’t”. Here there is evidence that the batterer seems to be able to exert a certain amount of control in front of colleagues or friends. Okun (1986 : 70) also finds that the batterer can present his good side – when necessary. For example, in order to gain or maintain the loyalty and respect of family members, friends or intervenors such as the police or pastor. In a study conducted by Dobash and Dobash (1984 : 277) it is evident that few violent events occurred in public settings.

Hastings and Hamberger (1988 : 44) state: “The test profiles suggest pervasive unhappiness with life and with the continuation of maladaptive behaviour patterns of which battering is a part. This assertion is quantitatively supportive by the high levels of depression observed among batterers. Qualitatively, the frequent observation by male abusers of intense remorse and embarrassment following incidents of violence further suggests such unhappiness”.

3.4.7 Other areas of functioning

Thirty-six percent of the batterers stated that they are aggressively inclined. The other 64 percent stated that they are generally non-violent between the battering incidents. The fact that the majority of batterers in the sample were successful business men and even owned their own companies (as depicted in 3.2.2), verified that they were relatively well-adjusted men, except that they lacked adequate impulse control when it came to their intimate relationships. As stated in 3.2.3, an important criterion for battering to occur may be emotional or sexual involvement.

The male batterer tends to conform to society’s mores and values, is usually a good citizen, relates normally to the battered woman when he is not abusive, and many are excellent fathers (Geller, 1982 : 200). Pressman (1984 : 14) concurs that the male batterer appears “ ... normal in all other areas of

functioning except for their marital relationships”. According to Hastings and Hamberger (1988 : 43) “ ... batterers may appear entirely ‘normal’, appropriate, and even charming”. Finally, Okun (1986 : 70) states: “Their female partners often perceive the men as exciting, vibrant, and passionate. Batterers have adequate social skills much more often than not; they can be very charming and appealing”.

3.4.8 Parallels which can be drawn with regard to the research findings and an intermittent explosive disorder

In this chapter the following characteristics correlate with aspects of an intermittent explosive disorder:

- The precipitating factors were trivial in the extreme and in no way warranted the violent reaction, in other words the battering was grossly out of proportion to any precipitating psychosocial stressors (3.4.1).
- There were several discrete episodes of battering behaviour (3.4.2) or loss of control of aggressive impulses. All the batterers in the sample testified to having no control over their aggressive impulses (3.3.3).
- The batterers reported that their rage would appear within minutes, and remit almost as quickly (3.4.5).
- Seventy-five percent of the batterers in the sample expressed genuine regret after battering the victim (3.4.6).
- Sixty-four percent of the batterers stated that they were generally non-aggressive between the battering incidents (3.4.7) (Rowe, 1984 : 158).

3.5 SUMMARY

An overview of the research findings are as follows:

- The majority of abusive partners were between 30 and 39 years of age.
- The majority of batterers represented the middle to higher income bracket groups.
- Battering usually occurred within a conjugal relationship, however 50 percent of the batterers indicated that the onset of battering took place already before marriage.

- Most of the battering relationships were long-standing ones.
- Fifty percent of the batterers stated that they came from violent homes, the other 50 percent stated that they had happy home environments.
- Alcohol is not causally linked to women battering – 34 percent the batterers did not use alcohol at all.
- Eighty-two percent of the male batterers stated that they frequently felt depressed.
- Seventy-three percent of the batterers admitted that they usually woke up in a bad mood, and diurnal rhythm commonly occurs in depressed states.
- Eighty-six percent of the batterers had difficulty in saying “no” to their partners which may be indicative of a low self-esteem.
- Eighty percent of the batterers stated that they were possessive over their partners, 90 percent stated that they were jealous of their partners. These are two further characteristic which are related to a lack of self-esteem.
- All the abusive partners testified to having no control over their aggressive impulses.
- Seventy-three percent of the male batterers testified to being loners.
- The precipitating factors of the abuse were trivial.
- All the batterers reported at least several distinct episodes of battering, and the majority of batterers indicated that with time the battering incident occurred more frequently and/or became more severe.
- The nature of the abuse ranged from shaking and pushing to serious assault.
- Injuries sustained varied from bruises, cuts and fractures to stab wounds.

- Eighty-six percent of the batterers stated that there were prodromal affective or autonomic symptoms just before the violent incident.
- Ninety-three percent of the batterers stated that their aggressive outbursts would appear within minutes and remit almost as quickly.
- Seventy-five percent of the male batterers regretted their violent behaviour.
- Sixty-four percent of the batterers were generally non-violent between the battering incidents.
- Possible causes for the battering included: Defective defence mechanisms or neutralization of the law, psychodynamic influences such as depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, modeling, a violent family of origin, sex-role stereotyping, physiological factors such as a head injury – and finally an impulse control disorder such as intermittent explosive disorder.

3.6 GENERAL

- 3.6.1 The study confirmed research expectancy 1.3.1 which stated that substance abuse does not necessarily coexist with battering. Only 16 percent of the batterers abused alcohol and/or drugs.

Other authors (Pagelow, 1984; Reid, 1985; Okun, 1986; van der Hoven, 1988) also conclude that alcohol is generally only a component of battering, and not necessarily a precipitating cause.

Alcohol may disinhibit aggressive impulses, as well as have cognitive side-effects such as a distortion in perception, whereby the victim's remark or action is misunderstood. Paradoxically, alcohol may be used to alleviate tension or anxiety, however – heightened irritability or excitative effects may be concomitant. The individual may also unexpectedly experience a negative internal state such as guilt, which may result in an aggressive outburst (Powers & Kutash, 1982 : 43–49).

- 3.6.2 Research expectancy 1.3.2 stated that the male batterer comes from a violent home. The research findings with regard to this point were not conclusive as 50 percent of the batterers stated that they come from stable or happy home environments.

Abundant literature (Straus et al., 1980; Roy, 1982; Klingbeil & Boyd, 1984; Pretorius, 1984; Sonkin et al., 1985; Gondolf & Hanneken, 1987; Caesar, 1988) reveals that violence in the family of origin is a typical characteristic of the male batterer's background. Studies cite that the batterer is often a victim of child abuse, or a witness of spouse abuse. Furthermore, the batterer's childhood has been described as one where his mother is domineering, rejecting (Langley & Levy, 1977), and emotionally depriving – where his dependency needs have been frustrated. Horney and Sullivan regard healthy parent-child relationships as of paramount importance in the development of healthy interpersonal interaction.

The researchers results with regard to research expectancy 1.3.2, may therefore be due to the fact that the sample size was small, even though the researcher tried to obtain a more representative sample of the general population by utilizing the procedure of the anonymous telephone interview. Leedy (1985 : 152) states: "Sample size depends largely on the degree to which the sample population approximates the qualities and characteristics resident in the general population". Furthermore, this is a study which was conducted in South Africa, and therefore cross-cultural differences may play a role. It is also possible that the respondents minimized or repressed early traumatic experiences.

Nevertheless, van der Hoven (1988) is also of the opinion that the experience of violence during childhood has not yet been conclusively established.

- 3.6.3 Research expectancy 1.3.3, namely that the precipitating factors leading to the abuse will be trivial, was confirmed in the study. All the respondents were culpable of this trait.

This is confirmed by other researchers (Martin, 1978, 1981; Klingbeil & Boyd, 1984; Okun, 1986). Battering may occur at

any time for whatever reason the male batterer has at the moment. The victim may be his excuse – but she is usually not to blame for the battering incident.

- 3.6.4 In all cases the male batterer was unable to control his violent behaviour, and this confirmed research expectancy 1.3.4.

The male batterer does also not seem to be in control of his life, and a reassertion of control may thus be gained through battering the victim. This is especially evident when violence, or threats of violence, is used to prevent the battered women from leaving the batterer. In this manner, the male batterer maintains control as far as this is concerned, as the victim's “ ... departure would create a void and force him to confront his dependency on her; a prospect which elicits fear in many men” (Adams & McCormick, 1982 : 178).

According to Hammer (1972 : 157), the loss of a sense of security, or control over the elements and events of one's life, may precipitate a state of depression – which may result in aggression – guilt – and depression. A vicious triadic cycle.

- 3.6.5 Research expectancy 1.3.5 which stated that the male batterer is generally non-violent between the aggressive spells and exhibits adaptive behaviour between the episodes of violence also gained confirmation in the study. Sixty-four percent of the respondents testified to this.

Other researchers (Geller, 1982; Pressman, 1984; Hastings & Hamberger, 1988) corroborate this finding.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

4.1 RECOMMENDATION

It is of paramount importance that battering be studied by way of different approaches, such as an interactional model, social-learning theory, and so forth. All the theories that are relevant to women battering have important implications pertaining to how mental health and social functioning is assessed – as well as to the development of effective preventative and treatment strategies. A collaboration amongst the various disciplines is therefore required. The conglomerate contributions need not be seen as competitive, but rather as complementary (Sonkin, 1988 : 76). However, with regard to the recommendation, the researcher will focus on the medical model, and discuss the strengths and limitations of using a classification system such as the DSM–III, with regard to battering behaviour.

The researcher is of the contention that there should be an increased awareness that the mental health services have some responsibility in assisting society with regard to the phenomenon of women battering.

Efforts to help the male batterer is an essential component in endeavours to combat women battering. Firstly, it may prevent the reoccurrence of violence within an established battering relationship. Secondly, it may deter these men from establishing new battering relationship. Thus, the crux of the issue is that battering will not subside or end unless the batterer receives help. Psychologists Ganely and Harris comment, “ ... it is our assumption that battering men will continue to be violent even if they change partners, unless a major change occurs within the individual men” (quoted in Pagelow, 1981a : 108). Sonkin (1988 : 66) has a similar viewpoint.

Programs to help the male batterer may be divided into short-term programs, such as hotlines or the establishment of a batterer’s anonymous in order to treat the immediate crisis – and long-term programs such as therapeutic intervention. These long-term programs may include major social changes such as legal reform, or a community education program.

Services for battered women have received much attention. However, programs or “ ... services for men who batter, an essential component in break-

ing the pattern of spousal abuse, have received little attention” (Feazell, Mayers & Deschner, 1984 : 217). Furthermore, “ ... if programs can begin to attract and help just a small portion of the men who batter, progress will be made toward a movement much like the one mounted by women’s shelters. The more visibility and acceptance such efforts manage, the more men will feel inclined to come forward and do something about their abusiveness” (Gondolf, 1985 : 54; Gondolf & Hanneken, 1987 : 180).

The researcher is of the opinion that the key element in preventative strategies for women battering lies in the development of treatment programs for the male batterer which has come into vogue in the last eight years (Sonkin, 1988 : 66). Accordingly, a rapid interest has been growing in the area of clinical assessment. However, due to the meagre research conducted on the male batterer, “ ... it is uncertain which assessment tools are the most effective in describing the male batterer”. To date, there is also “ ... no formal clinical syndrome that adequately describes the male batterer” (Sonkin et al., 1985 : 88).

Sonkin (1988 : 70) makes the following statement: “Given the large number of men who batter and their social and psychological differences, research in the typology of male batterers appears to be a fruitful endeavour”. The researcher proposes that it may be sensible to use a classification system like the DSM–III (American Psychiatric Association, 1980). She proposes the following rationale for such a medical model.

Firstly, the categories are based on empirical scientific research, thereby increasing the validity (in other words, more accurate statements and predictions can be made about a category which has already been formed), and reliability (in other words, consenses among clinicians with regard to diagnosis) of the DSM–III. Nathan states that an important feature of the DSM–III “ ... is the extensive pilot-testing it will have been accorded at more than a hundred psychiatric facilities around the country. As a result, its drafters will have tested the adequacy of both new and altered classifications, established the extent of reliability of diagnosis based on the operational criteria, and assessed the utility of the multi-axial system” (Nathan, 1979 : 477). Thus, the strengths and limitations of the DSM–III have been made available to the authors responsible for the DSM–IV which is at this point of time not yet in use (Spitzer, Williams & Skodol, 1980 : 151).

Secondly, the practical utility of the DSM–III must be emphasized. The DSM–III makes provision not only for the diagnosis of mental, medical,

and psychosocial conditions, but also sheds light on the etiology, treatment and prognosis of a particular condition.

Violence is a symptom of number of conditions (Lion, 1987 : 2–3). For instance “ ... functional symptoms may sometimes be the earliest clinical features of serious physical diseases” (Adebimpe, 1978 : 853). According to Blumer and Benson personality changes may follow otherwise silent frontal lobe lesions, especially tumours (in Adebimpe, 1978 : 853). The medical model may therefore serve as an important guide to the administration of psychotropic drugs. Thus, the cause of the violent behaviour may be unveiled, and light may be shed on an appropriate treatment strategy in an effort to restore healthier modes of relating. Schlesinger, Benson and Zornitzer, (1982 : 164) state: “Without an appropriate system of classification out of which therapy grows, treatment of the violent individual may be haphazard, inconsistent, and most of all inappropriate”. Improved consistency in diagnosis and clinical management (Curtis, 1985 : 822) could therefore be an important step towards curbing women battering.

Although the researcher recommends that a diagnostic tool such as the DSM–III (or DSM–III–R (American Psychiatric Association, 1987) which is now available), should be utilized with regard to the clinical management of the male batterer, it is important to note that the DSM–III contains a variety of disorders that share symptomatology or characteristics that have also been attributed to the male batterer. In other words, there is not single psychiatric profile that adequately describes all male batterers. One of the reasons being vested in the complexity of the nature of violence. Furthermore, it is not the intention of the researcher to view all batterers as being mentally disturbed – but rather that they may be experiencing psychological maladjustment.

An obstacle that may be encountered with regard to the treatment or prevention of battering, is that the male batterer denies or minimizes his violent behaviour. Thus, it is difficult to motivate him to seek help and to co-operate (Pressman, 1984 : 56). Langley and Levy (1977 : 20) state that the willingness of the batterer to undergo treatment or counselling is the key to success. However, Martin recommends that the unwilling abusive partner should be legally forced to undergo treatment. She states: “If the batterer receives help at the outset, his erratic behavior might be corrected; he may even learn to control his rage. Since most batterers refuse to seek therapy voluntarily, the court must mandate therapy. ... Others reject the concept of enforced therapy, arguing that unless a client initiates therapy out of the desire to

change, the treatment will be ineffective. But what are the alternatives? How else is the cycle of marital violence to be broken? I am aware that the alternatives have shortcomings, but the risk of failure is preferable to doing nothing at all and allowing husbands to beat their wives with impunity” (Martin, 1976 : 180).

Carmody and Williams (1987 : 36) are in agreement with Martin when they contend that “ ... wife assault can never be deterred through sanctions as long as men believe that such sanctions are not certain and severe”.

One of the limitations inherent in a classification system such as the DSM–III is that it is time- and culture-bound. A classification system cannot reflect the dynamic nature of trends, ideas, knowledge, and of course man and his pathology. Furthermore, the DSM–III is compiled more for the USA or Western society. According to Schacht and Nathan (1977 : 1019). “ ... current controversies over culture-fair assessment, is an unfortunate one for the authors of DSM–III to have failed to consider, since variables like socio-economic status, ethnicity, and cultural milieu are clearly germane to considerations of level of adaptive functioning”.

Critics like the Anti-psychiatrists comment that man cannot be compartmentalized or put into watertight categories, as one loses information and tends to overlook the uniqueness of the person being diagnosed (Davison & Neale, 1982 : 74). However, the authors of the DSM–III do not deny the fact that man is a complex, multi-dimensional being with numerous potentialities. One notes that the DSM–III is less stringent than the previous editions, through the incorporation of an useful innovation, namely the multi-axial system (Davison & Neale, 1982 : 68–70), lending this manual or edition more flexibility. It is not the intention of the DSM–III authors to offer precise boundaries for “normal” and “abnormal” behaviour (Spitzer et al., 1980 : 153). The fact that human pathology lies on a continuum is not disputed – nor the fact that individual pathology is part of an intricate web of interaction between others and one’s environment. Furthermore, labelling theorists and Anti-psychiatrists warn that the drafters of the DSM–III can be faulted for failing to consider the iatrogenic impact of labelling an individual (Davison & Neale, 1982 : 75, 78).

Nonetheless, the DSM–III is an influential and significant accomplishment.

4.2 GENERAL

- 4.2.1 The first objective (1.2.1) of the study was to examine whether psychocriminological, sociocriminological and physiological factors have etiological significance with regard to women battering. The researcher is of the opinion that she succeeded both theoretically (see chapter two) and empirically as far as aim 1.2.1 is concerned.
- 4.2.2 The second aim (1.2.2) of the study was to gather information which was descriptive in nature with regard to a personal profile and characteristics of the male batterer. This aim has been accomplished as the data compiled included aspects such as age, occupation, status, family of origin background – as well as certain characteristics of the male batterer: For example, whether substance abuse and possible physiological factors such as a head injury contributed towards battering behaviour. Characteristic such as depression and isolation was also investigated.
- 4.2.3 The third aim (1.2.3) of the study was to determine the nature of the battering incident. Precipitating factors, frequency of violence, nature of the abuse, resultant injuries, warning signals, remorse, whether the male batterer was generally non-violent between the battering incidents was examined. The findings would seem to indicate that the researcher was successful with regard to this aim, and that the information gathered concerning the violent event sheds light on how the male batterer perceived the battering relationship.

4.3 IDENTIFICATION OF FURTHER RESEARCH THEMES

4.3.1 Treatment programs

Research on treatment programs specifically designed for the male batterer could prove to be valuable and challenging. The male batterer is often undetected because even if he should seek professional help, he is treated for depression or substance abuse and his violent behaviour goes unnoticed (Sonkin, 1988 : 67). Otherwise, he may be treated for substance abuse in the hope that if this problem is eliminated, then so will his violent behavioural patterns. It will not be easy to assist the batterer if he denies that he has a problem and/or feels justified in being abusive.

A need for – and possible outcome of court-mandated therapy could also be researched.

4.3.2 Hotlines, Batterer's Anonymous

The establishment and organization of various services for the male batterer demands attention, as these may contribute substantially towards the prevention of the victimization of women – as Childline has in the prevention of child abuse.

4.3.3 Impulse control disorder

Although the study showed a strong correspondence between certain facets of battering and an intermittent explosive disorder, further research is required before any inferences can be made. A research project whereby the researcher works in collaboration with professionals, or paraprofessionals representing other disciplines could prove valuable. Furthermore, larger samples, where respondents are willing to have personal contact with the researcher, so that personal interviews can be held and medical histories be assessed, could yield a fruitful data.

REFERENCES

- ADAMS, D.C. & McCORMICK, A.J. 1982. Men unlearning violence : A group approach based on the collective model. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *The abusive partner : An analysis of domestic battering* (pp. 170–197). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- ADEBIMPE, V. 1978. A rationale for DSM–III's medical model. *American Psychologist*, 33 : 853–854.
- AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION. 1980. *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (3rd ed.). Washington, D.C. : Author.
- AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION. 1987. *Desk reference to the diagnostic criteria from DSM–III–R*. Washington, D.C. : Author.
- BACH-Y-RITA, G., LION, J.R., CLIMENT, C.E. & ERVIN, F.R. 1971. Episodic dyscontrol : A study of 130 violent patients. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 127 (11) : 49–54.
- BALL, MARGARET. 1977. Issues of violence in family casework. *Social Casework*, 58 (1) : 3–12.
- BALL, R.A. 1983. Development of basic norm violation : Neutralization and self-concept within a male cohort. *Criminology*, 21 (1) : 75–94.
- BERN, E.H. 1982. From violent incident to spouse abuse syndrome. *Social Casework*, 63 : 41–45.
- BERNARD, H.W. 1974. *Personality : Applying theory*. Boston : Holbrook.
- BEZUIDENHOUT, JACOMINA, A.J. 1988. *Die aard van die selfbeeld in kriminologiese perspektief*. Ongepubliseerde Magisterverhandeling. Pretoria : Universiteit van Pretoria.
- BISCHOF, L.J. 1970. *Interpreting personality theories* (2nd ed.). New York : Harper & Row.
- BORKOWSKI, MARGARET. MURCH, M. & WALKER, VAL. 1983. *Marital violence : The community response*. London : Tavistock.

- BRISSON, N. 1982. Helping men who batter women. *Public Welfare*, 40 (2) : 29–34.
- BRODSKY, S.L. 1988. *The psychology of adjustment and well-being*. New York : Holt, Rinehart, Winston.
- CAESAR, P. LYNN. 1988. Exposure to violence in the families-of-origin among wife-abusers and maritally nonviolent men. *Violence and Victims*, 3 (1) : 49–63.
- CARMODY, DIANNE C. & WILLIAMS, K.R. 1987. Wife assault and perceptions of sanctions. *Violence and Victims*, 2 (1) : 25–38.
- CARSON, R.C., BUTCHER, J.N. & COLEMAN, J.C. 1988. *Abnormal psychology and modern life* (8th ed.). Glenview, IL : Scott, Foresman.
- CHAPMAN, JANE R. & GATES, MARGARET. (Eds.). 1978. *The victimization of women*. Beverly Hills : Sage.
- CHILDLINE. 1988. *Report on childline activities : 1987–1988*. Durban : Southern African Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect.
- COAN, R.W. 1983. *Psychology of adjustment : Personal experience and development*. New York : Wiley.
- CONKLIN, J.E. 1986. *Criminology* (2nd ed.). New York : Macmillan.
- CURTIS, J.M. 1985. Considerations in diagnosis and management of violent behavior. *Psychological Reports*, 57 : 815–823.
- DAVIDSON, TERRY. 1977. Wifebeating : A recurring phenomenon throughout history. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *Battered women : A psychosociological study of domestic violence* (pp. 2–23). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- DAVISON, G.C. & NEALE, J.M. 1982. *Abnormal psychology : An experimental clinical approach* (3rd ed.). New York : Wiley.
- DE WET, J.C. & SWANEPOEL, H.L. 1985. *Strafreg* (4de uitgawe). Durban: Butterworth.
- DENZIN, N.K. 1984. Toward a phenomenology of domestic family violence. *American Journal of Sociology*, 20 (3) : 483–513.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 1987. *Report : 1 July 1986 – 30 June 1987*. Pretoria : Government Printer.

DINITZ, S., SCARPITTI, F.R. & RECKLESS, W.C. 1962. Delinquency vulnerability : A cross group and longitudinal analysis. *American Sociological Review*, 27 (4) : 515–517.

DOBASH, R. EMERSON & DOBASH, R. 1979. *Violence against wives*. London : Open Book.

DOBASH, R. EMERSON & DOBASH, R.P. 1984. The nature and antecedents of violent events. *British Journal of Criminology*, 24 (3) : 269–288.

DU TOIT, S.J. 1986. *Geweld in the samelewing*. Intreerede, Universiteit van Pretoria.

DUTTON, D.G. 1988a. *The domestic assault of women : Psychological and criminal justice perspectives*. Boston : Allyn and Bacon.

DUTTON, D.G. 1988b. Profiling of wife assaulters : Preliminary evidence for a trimodal analysis. *Violence and Victims*, 3 (1) : 5–29.

EDLESON, J.L., EISIKOVITS, Z. & GUTTMANN, EDNA. 1985. Men who batter women : A critical review of the evidence. *Journal of Family Issues*, 6 (2) : 229–247.

ELLIOTT, F.A. 1977. The neurology of explosive rage : The dyscontrol syndrome. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *Battered women : A psychosociological study of domestic violence* (pp. 98–109). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.

ENGLER, BARBARA. 1985. *Personality theories : An introduction* (2nd ed.). Boston : Houghton Mifflin.

FEAZELL, CARANN S., MAYERS, R.S. & DESCHNER, JEANNE. 1984. Services for men who batter : Implications for programs and policies. *Family Relations*, 33 : 217–223.

FREEDMAN, A.M., KAPLAN, H.I. & SADOCK, B.J. (Eds.). 1975. *Comprehensive textbook of psychiatry/II* (2nd ed.). (Vol. I). Baltimore : Williams & Wilkins.

GARNET, SHELLY E. & LUBELL, I.L. 1982. From inmate to ex-offender : A prevention program for abusive partners in transition. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *The abusive partner : An analysis of domestic battering* (pp. 126–135). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.

GELLER, JANET. 1982. Conjoint therapy : Staff training and treatment of the abuser and the abused. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *The abusive partner : An analysis of domestic battering* (pp. 198–215). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.

GELLES, R.J. 1977. No place to go : The social dynamics of marital violence. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *Battered women : A psychosociological study of domestic violence* (pp. 46–63). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.

GELLES, R.J. 1982. Domestic criminal violence. In M.E. Wolfgang & N.A. Weiner (Eds.), *Criminal violence* (pp. 201–235). Beverly Hills : Sage.

GIORGI, A. 1970. *Psychology as a human science : A phenomenologically based approach*. New York : Harper & Row.

GIORGI, A. 1983. Concerning the possibility of phenomenological psychological research. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 14: 129–169.

GOLDSTEIN, DIANE. 1983. Spouse abuse. In A.P. Goldstein & L. Krasner (Eds.), *Prevention and control of aggression* (pp. 37–65). New York : Pergamon Press.

GOLDSTEIN, A.P. & KRASNER, L. (Eds.). 1983. *Prevention and control of aggression*. New York : Pergamon Press.

GOLDSTEIN, M.J., BAKER, B.L. & JAMISON, KAY R. 1986. *Abnormal psychology : Experiences, origins, and interventions* (2nd ed.). Boston : Little, Brown and Company.

GONDOLF, E.W. 1985. Fighting for control : A clinical assessment of men who batter. *Social Casework*, 66 (1) : 48–54.

GONDOLF, E.W. & HANNEKEN, J. 1987. The gender warrior : Reformed batterers on abuse, treatment, and change. *Journal of Family Violence*, 2 (1) : 177–191.

- HALL, G. 1983. *Behaviour : An introduction to psychology as a biological science*. London : Academic Press.
- HALL, C.S. & LINDZEY, G. 1978. *Theories of personality* (3rd ed.). New York : Wiley.
- HAMMER, M. 1972. *The theory and practice of psychotherapy with specific disorders*. Springfield, IL : Charles C. Thomas.
- HANSEN, J.C. & BARNHILL, L.R. 1982. *Clinical approaches to family violence*. London : Aspen.
- HASTINGS, J.E. & HAMBERGER, L.K. 1988. Personality characteristics of spouse abusers : A controlled comparison. *Violence and Victims*, 3 (1) : 31–48.
- HUSTON, P.E. 1975. Psychotic depressive reaction. In A.M. Freedman, H.I. Kaplan & B.J. Sadock (Eds.), *Comprehensive textbook of psychiatry/II* (2nd ed.) (Vol. I) (pp. 1043–1055). Baltimore : Williams & Wilkins.
- JOHNSON, N. (Ed.). 1985. *Marital violence*. London : Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- JOURARD, S.M. (1971). *The transparent self*. New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- KAPLAN, H.I. & SADOCK, B.J. 1981. *Modern synopsis of comprehensive textbook of psychiatry/III* (3rd ed.). Baltimore : Williams & Wilkins.
- KLINGBEIL, K.S. & BOYD, VICKI D. 1984. Emergency room intervention : Detection, assessment, and treatment. In A.R. Roberts (Ed.), *Battered women and their families : Intervention strategies and treatment programs* (pp. 7–32). New York : Springer.
- KRUGER, D. 1979. *An introduction to phenomenological psychology*. Cape Town : Juta.
- KUTASH, I.L., KUTASH, S.B. & SCHLESINGER, L.B. 1978. *Violence : Perspectives on murder and aggression*. San Francisco : Jossey-Bass.

- LAING, R.D. 1965. *The divided self*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex : Penguin.
- LANDMAN, W.A. 1988. *Basic concepts in research methodology*. Pretoria : Serva.
- LANDMAN, W.A., BONDESIO, M.J., COETZEE, R.A. & JACOBS, C.D. 1987. *Die navorsingsprogram vir geesteswetenskaplike navorsing*. Johannesburg : Perskor.
- LANGLEY, R. & LEVY, R.C. 1977. *Wife beating : The silent crisis*. New York : A Sunrise Book.
- LEEDY, P.D. 1985. *Practical research : Planning and design* (3rd ed.). New York : Macmillan.
- LION, J.R. 1987. Clinical assessment of violent patients. In L.H. Roth (Ed.), *Clinical treatment of the violent person* (pp. 1–19). New York : Guilford Press.
- LOUW, D.A. (Red.). 1989. *Suid-Afrikaanse handboek van abnormale gedrag*. Johannesburg : Southern Boekuitgewers.
- LOUW, D.A. & LOUW, A.E. 1989. Diverse psigopatologiese toestande. In D.A. Louw (Red.), *Suid-Afrikaanse handboek van abnormale gedrag* (pp. 471–497). Johannesburg : Southern Boekuitgewers.
- LYSTAD, MARY. (Ed.). 1986. *Violence in the home : Interdisciplinary perspectives*. New York : Brunner/Mazel.
- MACDONALD, J.M. 1976. *Psychiatry and the criminal : A guide to psychiatric examinations for the criminal courts* (3rd ed.). Springfield, IL : Charles C. Thomas.
- MARTIN, DEL. 1976. *Battered wives*. San Francisco : Gljide.
- MARTIN, DEL. 1978. Battered women : Society's problem. In Jane R. Chapman & Margaret Gates (Eds.), *The victimization of women* (pp. 111–141). Beverly Hills : Sage.
- MARTIN, DEL. 1981. *Battered wives* (rev. ed.). San Francisco : Volcano Press.

- MEYER, W.F., MOORE, CORA & VILJOEN, H.G. 1989. *Personality theories : From Freud to Frankl*. Johannesburg : Lexicon.
- MCORE, DONNA M. (Ed.). 1979. *Battered women*. Beverly Hills : Sage.
- MORGAN, S.M. 1982. *Conjugal terrorism : A psychological and community treatment model of wife abuse*. Palo Alto, CA : R & F Research Associates.
- MUSSEN, P.H., CONGER, J.J., KAGAN, J. & HUSTON, ALETHA C. 1984. *Child development and personality* (6th ed.). New York : Harper & Row.
- NATHAN, P.E. 1979. DSM-III and schizophrenia : Diagnostic delight or nosological nightmare. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 35 : 477–479.
- OKUN, L. 1986. *Woman abuse : Facts replacing myths*. New York : State University of New York Press.
- PAGELOW, MILDRED D. 1981a. *Woman-battering : Victims and their experiences*. Beverly Hills : Sage.
- PAGELOW, MILDRED D. 1981b. Factors affecting women's decisions to leave violent relationships. *Journal of Family Issues*, 2 (4) : 391–414.
- PAGELOW, MILDRED D. 1984. *Family violence*. New York : Praeger.
- PARSONAGE, E.H. (Ed.). 1979. *Perspectives on victimology*. Beverly Hills : Sage.
- PATAI, FRANCES. (1982). Pornography and woman battering : Dynamic similarities. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *The abusive partner : An analysis of domestic battering* (pp. 91–99). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- POTKAY, C.R. & ALLEN, B.P. 1986. *Personality : Theory, research and applications*. Monterey, CA : Brooks/Cole.
- POWERS, R.J. & KUTASH, I.L. 1982. Alcohol, drugs, and partner abuse. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *The abusive partner : An analysis of domestic battering* (pp. 39–75). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.

PRESSMAN, BARBARA M. 1984. *Family violence : Origins and treatment*. Canada : Children's Aid Society of the City of Guelph and the County of Wellington.

PRETORIUS, RONELLE. 1984. *Die vrou as slagoffer van geweld binne huweliksverband : 'n Viktimologiese ondersoek*. Ongepubliseerde Dokterale-proefskrif. Pretoria. Universiteit van Pretoria.

RECKLESS, W.C. 1961. A new theory of delinquency and crime. *Federal Probation*, 25 (4) : 42–46.

RECKLESS, W.C. 1973. *The crime problem* (5th ed.). Pacific Palisades : Goodyear.

RECKLESS, W.C., DINITZ, S. & MURRAY, ELLEN. 1956. Self-concept as an insulator against delinquency. *American Sociological Review*, 21 (6) : 744–746.

REID, SUE T. 1985. *Crime and criminology* (4th ed.). New York : Holt, Rinehart, Winston.

RENVOIZE, JEAN. 1978. *Web of violence*. London : Routledge & Kegan Paul.

ROBERTS, A.R. (Ed.). 1984. *Battered women and their families : Intervention strategies and treatment programs*. New York : Springer.

ROTH, L.H. (Ed.) 1987. *Clinical treatment of the violent person*. New York : Guilford Press.

ROWE, C.J. 1984. *An outline of psychiatry* (8th ed.). Dubuque, IA : Wm. C. Brown.

ROY, MARIA. (Ed.). 1977. *Battered women : A psychosociological study of domestic violence*. New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.

ROY, MARIA. (Ed.). 1982. *The abusive partner : An analysis of domestic battering* : New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.

S v. H 1985. *South African Law Reports*. (2) : 750–756.

SANDERS, W.B. 1983. *Criminology*. Reading, MA : Addison-Wesley.

SCHACHT, T. & NATHAN, P.E. 1977. But is it good for the psychologist? Appraisal and status of DSM–III. *American Psychologist*, 32 : 1017–1025.

SCHAUSS, A.G. (1982). Effects of environmental and nutritional factors on potential and actual batterers. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *The abusive partner : An analysis of domestic battering* (pp. 76–90). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.

SCHLESINGER, L.B., BENSON, M. & ZORNITZER, M. 1982. Classification of violent behavior for purposes of treatment planning : A three-pronged approach. In Maria Roy (Ed.), *The abusive partner : An analysis of domestic battering* (pp. 148–169). New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.

SHIELDS, NANCY M., McCALL, G.J. & HANNEKE, CHRISTINE R. 1988. Patterns of family and nonfamily violence : Violent husbands and violent men. *Violence and Victims*, 3 (2) : 83–97.

SMITH, M.D. 1987. The incidence and prevalence of woman abuse in Toronto. *Violence and Victims*, 2 (3) : 173–187.

SMITHYMAN, S.D. 1979. Characteristics of “undetected” rapists. In W.H. Parsonage (Ed.), *Perspectives on victimology* (pp. 99–120). Beverly Hills : Sage.

SNYMAN, C.R. 1986. *Strafreg* (2de uitgawe). Durban : Butterworth.

SOMMERS, EVELYN K. & CHECK, J.V.P. 1987. An empirical investigation of the role of pornography in the verbal and physical abuse of women. *Violence and Victims*, 2 (3) : 189–209.

SONKIN, D.J. 1988. The male batterer : Clinical and research issues. *Violence and Victims*, 3 (1) : 65–79.

SONKIN, D.J., MARTIN, DEL & WALKER, LENORE E. 1985. *The male batterer : A treatment approach*. New York : Springer.

SPITZER, R.L., SKODOL, A.E., GIBBON, MIRIAM & WILLIAMS, JANET B.W. 1981. *DSM–III – case book : A learning companion to the diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders*. Washington, D.C. : American Psychiatric Association.

- SPITZER, R.L., WILLIAMS, JANET B.W. & SKODOL, A.E. 1980. DSM-III : The major achievements and an overview. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 137 : 151–164.
- STAR, BARBARA. 1983. *Helping the abuser : Intervening effectively in family violence*. New York : Family Service Association of America.
- STARK, E. & FLITCRAFT, ANNE. 1985. Woman battering, child abuse and social heredity : what is the relationship? In N. Johnson (Ed.), *Marital violence* (pp. 147–171). London : Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- STEINMETZ, SUZANNE K. 1978. The battered husband syndrome. *Victimology : An International Journal*, 2 (3–4) : 499–509.
- STEINMETZ, SUZANNE K. 1980. Women and violence : Victims and perpetrators. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 34 (3) : 334–350.
- STRAUS, M.A., GELLES, R.J. & STEINMETZ, SUZANNE K. 1980. *Behind closed doors : Violence in the American family*. New York : Anchor.
- SUTHERLAND, E.H. & CRESSEY, D.R. 1974. *Criminology* (9th ed.). Philadelphia : J.B. Lippincott.
- THORMAN, G. 1980. *Family Violence*. Springfield, IL : Charles C. Thomas.
- VAN DER HOVEN, ANNA E. 1988. Social factors conducive to family violence. *Acta Criminologica : Southern African Journal of Criminology*, 1 (1) : 34–38.
- VOLD, G.B. & BERNARD, T.J. 1986. *Theoretical criminology* (3rd ed.). New York : Oxford University Press.
- WALKER, LENORE E. 1978. Treatment alternatives for battered women. In Jane Chapman & Margaret Gates (Eds.), *The victimization of women* (pp. 143–174). Beverly Hills : Sage.
- WALKER, LENORE E. 1979a. *The battered woman*. New York : Harper & Row.
- WALKER, LENORE E. 1979b. How battering happens and how to stop it. In Donna M. Moore (Ed.), *Battered women* (pp. 59–78). Beverly Hills : Sage.

WALKER, LENORE E. 1983. Victimology and the psychological perspectives of battered women. *Victimology : An International Journal*, 8 (1–2) : 82–104.

WOLFGANG, M.E. & FERRACUTI, F. 1982. *The subculture of violence : Towards an intergrated theory in criminology*. Beverly Hills : Sage.

WOLFGANG, M.E. & WEINER, N.A. (Eds.). 1982. *Criminal violence*. Beverly Hills : Sage.

APPENDIX A
NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS

BEELD, DONDERDAG, 12 MAART 1987

NAVORSING

● 'n Navorsing wat die verskynsel van vrouemishandeling ondersoek, vra dat enige man wat bereid is om 'n naamlose onderhoud telefonies met haar te voer haar opbel by ☎ (012) 34-89721 (enige tyd, maar ná 22 Maart net saans).

The Star Tuesday March 17 1987

Call if you're a woman batterer

By Marika Sboros

Are you a woman batterer? Do you profess to love the woman you physically abuse? Do you suffer just as much as she does, after the violence?

If the answer is yes to any or all of these questions, Pretoria criminology student Miss Delia Karras would like to hear from you — anonymously.

Miss Karras is doing her masters thesis on a psycho-criminological approach to women battering through the University of Pretoria.

She is using the anonymous telephone interview method as it has proved successful in the United States with research into undetected rapists, and because, she said, if a man was battering a woman, he was unlikely to want anyone to know about it.

"He may not even recognise he is doing anything wrong," she said.

Research has focused on interviews with the women, but the question is now being asked whether men batterers suffer just as much as the woman they profess to love, Miss Karras said.

"Violence in the home is a frequent occurrence and is disproportionately directed against women."

She quoted American statistics indicating that:

- In one out of two marriages at least one incident of violence, and maybe more will occur;
- In one out of five, the violence will be ongoing with five or more incidents a year. Extreme episodes occur monthly, weekly or even more frequently.

"Battered women often reveal these men can be loving, caring and gentle partners. They may be excellent parents and can be charming, humorous, sensitive and emotional."

She would be grateful to any male prepared to be interviewed anonymously over the telephone in an effort to help her understand the motivation behind woman battering.

She can be reached anytime at (012) 348-9721 until March 22; after that on evenings only.

DIE TRANSVALER WOENSDAG 18 MAART 1987

Mans wat hul vroue slaan — die volle verhaal

PRETORIA. — Vroueslaners . . . sjar-
mant, humoristies, sensitief en saggeaard?

Mishandelde vrouens meld dikwels aan
dat hierdie mans wel die vermoë het om lief-
devol en besorgd te wees.

Tog is daar bevind dat geweld binne die
gesin dikwels voorkom en oneweredig teen
vrouens gerig is. Navorsers beraam dat daar
in een uit elke twee huwelike ten minste een
voerval van geweld — en waarskynlik meer
— voorkom.

In een uit elke vyf huwelike, sal geweld

voortgaan met vyf of meer insidente per
jaar. Geweld kan selfs maandeliks, weekliks
en meer voorkom.

In 'n poging om vrouemishandeling beter
te verstaan, help dit egter nie om net die een
sy van die saak aan te hoor nie. Mej. Delia
Karras; wat besig is om haar verhandeling
hieroor te doen, wil graag die mans se me-
ning hieroor hoor.

Manlike verweerders wat al gewelddadig-
heid binne 'n liefdesverhouding ondervind
het, word gevra om haar te kontak vir 'n
anonieme telefoniese onderhoud.

As u bereid is om só 'n anonieme onder-
houd te voer, kan mej. Karras enige tyd ge-
skakel word by (012) 348 9721, maar ná 22
Maart net in die aand.

PRETORIA NEWS Friday March 20 1987

Victims of violence

THE causes of women-battering
are as numerous as explanations
for any other human behaviour.
However, legal, historical, literary
and religious writings all contrib-
ute to the understanding of the
unique status of women, a status
that lies at the core of why women
have become the "appropriate"
victims of marital violence.

The subordination of women
and their subjection to male au-
thority and control is an age-old
phenomenon. It is time that soci-
ety realises that this is not legiti-
mate, and that nobody has the
right to "chastise" a woman. Re-
marks like: "If she was my wife,
I'd also hit her," should be looked
upon with disdain.

Men who batter women will of-
ten see the woman as the cause of
their violent responses. "If she
had only done this or not done
that, then I wouldn't have hit
her." Women are certainly not

perfect, and arguments will arise
— however, nobody deserves the
humiliation and degradation of
physical abuse.

Regardless of a battered wom-
an's action or inaction, she is usu-
ally unable to avoid a violent epi-
sode, contrary to victim
precipitation theories which
blame the victim. Furthermore,
notions that women enjoy being
hit, should be regarded as naive.

Reform is needed to combat
women-battering, which causes
untold misery, not only for mil-
lions of women and children —
but also, for the batterer himself.

● A study of women battering
is being done, and the researcher
is especially interested in hearing
the batterer's side of the story.
Any male respondents who are
willing to be anonymously inter-
viewed over the phone, should
contact ☎ 348 9721 at any hour.
(In the evenings, from March 23.)

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Date:

Time:

- Age: 1
- Race: 2
- Religion: 3
- Status:

Married	Single	Separated	Divorced	Widower
---------	--------	-----------	----------	---------

 4
- Qualifications: 5
- Have you completed your military training?

Yes	No
-----	----

 6
- Occupation: 7
- Previous Occupation(s): 8
- Are you presently employed?

Yes	No
-----	----

 9
- Parents' Marital Status:

Married	Separated	Divorced	Widower
---------	-----------	----------	---------

 10
- Father's Occupation: 11
- Mother's Occupation: 12
- How old is your partner? How old is your wife? 13
- What is her occupation? 14
- Do you have children?

Yes	No
-----	----

 15
- No: 16
- Age(s): 17

- How do you believe children should be disciplined? 18
- Does/Do your child(ren) have behavioural problems at home?
 Yes No
- Can you please elaborate 19
- Does/Do your child(ren) have behavioural problems at school?
 Yes No
- Can you please elaborate 20
- Tell me a little about your own childhood 21
- Were you very restless as a child? Yes No 22
- Did you enjoy school? Yes No 23
- Did you have any learning difficulties? Yes No 24
- Did you have any behavioural problems as a child/teenager?
 Yes No
- Can you please elaborate 25
- Have you had any serious illnesses/head injuries/accidents?
 Yes No
- Please be more specific 26
- Do you use alcohol? Yes No 27
- Would you say that your alcohol intake is Moderate or Excessive 28
- Do you take any drugs? Yes No 29
- Do you sometimes feel depressed? Yes No 30
- Do you sometimes wake up in a bad mood? Yes No 31

Can you please tell me more about your parents 32

Did you ever see your father being aggressive? Yes No
 Can you please elaborate on this point 33

Were you ever severely punished as a child? Yes No 34

Can you please describe your relationship with your partner	Can you please describe your relationship with your wife	<input type="checkbox"/> 35
--	---	-----------------------------

When did your first abuse your wife? Before and/or After marriage 36

How long after marriage? . . . 37

For how long have you been married? 38

Do you feel that your partner tries to undermine you in any way? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No How?.....	Do you feel that your wife tries to undermine you in any way? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No How?	<input type="checkbox"/> 39
---	---	-----------------------------

Do you and your partner have many friends?	Do you and your wife have many friends?	<input type="checkbox"/> 40
--	---	-----------------------------

Are you possessive over your partner? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Are you possessive over your Wife? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 41
--	---	-----------------------------

Are you jealous over her?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 42
---------------------------	--	-----------------------------

Do you have difficulty in say “no” to her?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 43
--	--	-----------------------------

Has/have your child(ren) ever witnessed an aggressive episode between yourself and your wife?
 Yes No 44

What would you say precipitates the abuse? 45

	94
Would you say that your aggression has become more frequent?	<input type="checkbox"/> 46
Would you say that your aggression has become more severe?	<input type="checkbox"/> 47
When you get aggressive, what do you usually resort to?	<input type="checkbox"/> 48
Have you ever been aggressive towards your wife during preg- nancy? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 49
Has your partner ever sustained any injuries during a violent episode?..... Has your wife ever sustained any injuries during a violent episode?	<input type="checkbox"/> 50
Was medical attention ever necessary? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 51
Can you feel beforehand that you are going to become aggressive? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 52
Do you experience any tension or frustration beforehand? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 53
Do you think that you can control your aggression?	<input type="checkbox"/> 54
Does your aggression appear within minutes and remit almost as quickly? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 55
Between these aggressive spells, are you generally non-violent? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 56
Do you feel relieved once the aggressive spell is over? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 57
Do you feel any remorse/regret afterwards? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> 58
Has there been any outside intervention?	<input type="checkbox"/> 59
Have you and your partner broken-up before because of your aggression? Has your wife ever left or threatening to leave you because of your aggression?	<input type="checkbox"/> 60

- Has your partner ever sought help? Yes No Has your wife ever sought help? Yes No 61
- What kind of help? 62
- Have you had any other violent relationships? Yes No 63
- How do you feel about yourself in general? 64
- What is your attitude towards women in general? 65
- May I please ask you where you are phoning from? 66
- And lastly, is there anything that you would like to add or ask with regard to this subject? 67

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND CO-OPERATION

ONDERHOUD SKEDULE

Datum:

Tyd:

- Oouderdom: 1
- Ras: 2
- Geloof: 3
- Status:

Getroud	Ongetroud	Uitmekaar	Geskei	Wewenaar
---------	-----------	-----------	--------	----------

 4
- Kwalifikasies: 5
- Is u al klaar met u diensplig:

Ja	Nee
----	-----

 6
- Beroep: 7
- Vorige beroep(e): 8
- Is u huidiglik werksaam?

Ja	Nee
----	-----

 9
- Ouers se huwelikstatus:

Getroud	Uitmekaar	Geskei	Wewenaar/Weduwee
---------	-----------	--------	------------------

 10
- Pa se beroep: 11
- Ma se beroep: 12
- Hoe oud is u vriendin? Hoe oud is u vrou? 13
- Wat is haar beroep? 14
- Het u kinders?

Ja	Nee
----	-----

 15
- Nr 16
- Oouderdom(me): 17

- Hoe voel u behoort gesag beoefen te word oor kinders? 18
- Het u kind(ers) enige gedragsprobleme by die huis? Ja Nee
 Kan u asseblief hierop uitbrei 19
- Het u kind(ers) enige gedragsprobleme op skool? Ja Nee
 Kan u asseblief hierop uitbrei 20
- ✓ Vertel my asseblief meer oor u kinderdae 21
- Dink u dat u baie rusteloos was as 'n kind? Ja Nee 22
- Het u, u skooldae geniet? Ja Nee 23
- Het u enige studie probleme ondervind? Ja Nee 24
- ✓ Het u enige gedragsprobleme gehad as 'n kind/tiener tydens u puberteitsjare? Ja Nee
 Kan u asseblief meer hierop uitbrei 25
- Het u enige ernstige siektes/kopbeserings/ongelukke al opgedoen? Ja Nee
 Kan u dit asseblief meer omskryf 26
- ✓ Gebruik u alkohol? Ja Nee 27
- Sou u sê dat u alkohol Matig gebruik of Verbruik 28
- Neem u enige dwelmmiddels? Ja Nee 29
- Voel u soms depressief? Ja Nee 30
- Word u soms wakker in 'n slegte bui? Ja Nee 31
- Kan u my asseblief meer van u ouers vertel? 32
- Was u pa ooit aggressief? Ja Nee
 Kan u asseblief meer op hierdie punt uitbrei 33

Was u as 'n kind streng getugtig?	<table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Ja</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Nee</td> </tr> </table>	Ja	Nee	<input type="checkbox"/>	34		
Ja	Nee						
Kan u my asseblief meer vertel van u verhouding met u vriendin	Kan u my asseblief meer vertel van u verhouding met u vrou	<input type="checkbox"/>	35				
	Wanneer het u vir die eerste keer u vrou mishandel? <table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Voor</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">of</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Na</td> </tr> </table> die huwelik?	Voor	of	Na	<input type="checkbox"/>	36	
Voor	of	Na					
	Hoe lank na die huwelik?	<input type="checkbox"/>	37				
	✓ Vir hoe lank is u alreeds getroud?	<input type="checkbox"/>	38				
Voel u dat u vriendin u soms probeer ondermyn: <table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Ja</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Nee</td> </tr> </table> Hoe?	Ja	Nee	Voel u dat u vrou u soms probeer ondermyn? <table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Ja</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Nee</td> </tr> </table> Hoe?	Ja	Nee	<input type="checkbox"/>	39
Ja	Nee						
Ja	Nee						
Het julle 'n groot vriendekring?		<input type="checkbox"/>	40				
Is u besitlik oor u vriendin? <table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Ja</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Nee</td> </tr> </table>	Ja	Nee	Is u besitlik oor u vrou? <table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Ja</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Nee</td> </tr> </table>	Ja	Nee	<input type="checkbox"/>	41
Ja	Nee						
Ja	Nee						
Is u jaloers op haar?	<table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Ja</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Nee</td> </tr> </table>	Ja	Nee	<input type="checkbox"/>	42		
Ja	Nee						
Vind u dit moeilik om "nee" vir haar te sê?	<table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Ja</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Nee</td> </tr> </table>	Ja	Nee	<input type="checkbox"/>	43		
Ja	Nee						
	Was u kind(ers) ooit teenwoordig tydens 'n aggressiewe konfrontasie tussen u en u vrou? <table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Ja</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Nee</td> </tr> </table>	Ja	Nee	<input type="checkbox"/>	44		
Ja	Nee						
Wat sou u sê veroorsaak so 'n konfrontasie?		<input type="checkbox"/>	45				
Sou u sê dat u aggressie enigins toegeneem het?		<input type="checkbox"/>	46				
Sou u sê dat u aggressie meer ernstig van aard geraak het?		<input type="checkbox"/>	47				
Wat doen u gewoonlik wanneer u aggressief word?		<input type="checkbox"/>	48				

- Het u al u vrou met geweld gedreig tydens swangerskap?**
- Ja Nee 49
- Het u vriendin enige beserings ooit opgedoen? **Het u vrou enige beserings ooit opgedoen?** 50
- Was mediese aandag ooit nodig? Ja Nee 51
- Kan u voor die tyd voel dat u aggressief gaan word? Ja Nee 52
- Ondervind u enige spanning/frustrasie voor die tyd? Ja Nee 53
- Dink u dat u, u aggressie ooit sal kan baasraak? 54
- Verskyn u aggressie binne enkele minute en neem dit af net so vinnig? Ja Nee 55
- Is u oor die algemeen nie gewelddadig tussen hierdie aggressiewe rukke nie? Ja Nee 56
- Voel u verlig wanneer u aggressie bedaar? Ja Nee 57
- Voel u enige selfverwyf/berou na die tyd? Ja Nee 58
- Was daar enige ingryping van buitekant af? 59
- Het u en u vriendin voorheen uitgemaak as gevolg van geweld? **Het u vrou ooit u verlaat of daartoe gedreig as gevolg van geweld?** 60
- Het u vriendin ooit hulp aangevra? Ja Nee **Het u vrou ooit hulp aangevra?** Ja Nee 61
- Watter tipe hulp? 62
- Het u enige vorige gewelddadige verhoudings gehad? Ja Nee 63
- Hoe voel u oor uself in die algemeen? 64
- Wat is u houding teenoor vrouens in die algemeen? 65

Mag ek asseblief vra waarvandaan u skakel? 66

En laastens, is daar enigiets wat u wil byvoeg of vra betreffende hierdie onderwerp? 67

BAIE DANKIE VIR U SAMEWERKING