POLITICAL VIOLENCE OF THE UNENFRANCHISED

For societal or personal liberation?

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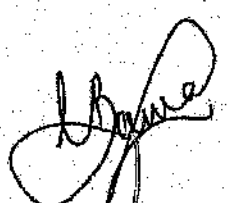
I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that I have not submitted it, nor any part of it, for a degree at any other university.



Umesh Bawa

For Leilah,

my wild

and wonderful pôhree

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

The study focused on the perceptions and experiences of youth in relation to participation in political violence. It examined the relationship between exposure to state violence, exposure to domestic violence, ideological support for violence and participation in political violence;and explored the extcat to which gender, age and socio-economic status influenced participation in political violence.

The traditional and contextual theories of violence that forward explanations for participation in political violence were reviewed and their merit relative to violence participation critically examined.

A structured self questionnaire was developed after an initial pool of items pertaining to violence were generated, their psychometric properties of internal consistency assessed and these clustered into the various violence scales. The revised questionnaire was administered to first entry undergraduate students (n=1902, N=2677) at the University of the Western Cape. The data was analysed using quantitative methods, such as chi-square analyses, t-tests and correlation matrices. Data that showed a high degree of self-reported untruthfulness was discarded from further analysis. The level of statistical significance was set at $p < 0,0001$.

The results reveal that the majority of respondents were victims of state violence. Participation in political violence is significantly related to exposure to state violence, an ideological support of violence, as well as to being male and older.

Gender and age differences were noted for participation in political violence with older males being politically violent. There was no significant difference for socio-economic status and participation in political violence.

The variable that showed the strongest relationship to participation in political violence was exposure to state violence (r=0,77), followed by ideological support of violence (r=0,2). The relationship of participation in political violence to exposure to domestic violence though significant was poor.(r=0,08).

Thus the study found that participation in political violence is mainly a function of exposure to state violence and is context specific. The youth had not learnt to be politically violent by being involved in domestic violence.

Contextual theories seemed to offer a better explanation for participation in political violence for youth in South Africa. Future research should focus on the interrelationships between political violence and interpersonal violence.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Because South Africa is a society structured by the system of apartheid-capitalism, terms and expressions often used within the society are not universal and which therefore need clarification. Since many of these terms are artificial creations of the apartheid system, they are mostly presented throughout this study in quotation marks. The meanings of these words are explained below.

1.	unenfranchised:	refers to the majority of South Africans who are classified as either "coloured", "Indian" or "Black" according to state legislation. They do not have the franchise. In this study the terms unenfranchised, black, disadvantaged, majority and oppressed are employed interchangeably.
2.	"Coloured":	A term employed by the goverment to classify people of mixed origin.
3.	"Indian":	A term used by the government to classify people of Indian ancestry.
4.	"Black":	A term used by the government to classify people of African origin.
5.	White:	A term used by the government to classify people of European origin. They represent the enfranchised.
6.	apartheid-capitalism:	A term used to denote a form of race, class and gender oppression.
7.	necklacing:	A term used to describe a method of counterviolence that involves the placing of a motor car tyre around the neck of a victim, and setting it alight.
8.	youth:	In this study, the term denotes all young people between the ages of 16 and 24 years.
9.	gender:	For the purpose of this study the male gender is used for grammatical convenience. In this sense the word `man' or `he' usually connotes a phenomenological quality of humanness, inclusive of man and woman.
10.	counterviolence:	A term used to describe violent responses to actual or perceived attack.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Even though South Africa has negotiated a peaceful transition to a democratic society, it remains a society interpenetrated by violence. Against the backdrop of declining political violence in the post-election era, other forms of interpersonal violence continue unabated. Violence certainly has not ceased.

South Africa remains a society in which it is impossible to separate violence from the daily activities of its members. During the war against apartheid the rate of political violence in South Africa was higher than that in Beirut and Northern Ireland (Gurr, 1988; Thompson, 1989); with both being viewed as societies immersed in violence and confrontation. The incidence of political violence in South Africa was second only to that in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip in Palestine ("Political violence",1990).

In 1988 Gurr asserted that the number of people who died annually in civil strife varied from 1.7 per 1 million inhabitants in developed countries, to 1604 in elitist political systems. In South Africa John Kane Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations estimated that 4000 political deaths occurred in 1990, an average of 10 persons per day having died in the period from January to March alone (Robertson, 1990).

In 1985, a pattern of violent clashes between the security forces and township residents spread to over 100 townships and suburbs throughout the country (Gibson, 1986). Damage to property in this year amounted to about R140 million according to official figures (Minister of Law and Order, Cape Times, 7 February 1986). The death toll from September 1984 onwards rose to about 1000 with roughly two thirds of this number being killed by security forces. The number of those injured by sjamboks, teargas, birdshot, buckshot and live ammunition used by troops in the townships was unknown.

Counting the cost in human life beginning with the 1985 State of Emergency to 1990, 5085 persons were killed. According to the Indicator Project of the University of Natal political violence claimed the lives of over 4000 people between September 1984 and December 1988. The annual death toll peaked in 1986 when 1352 people were killed (Indicator Project, 1989). These figures included victims of conflict between security and insurgent forces and bomb attacks. Of the 4012 people killed in political violence between 1984 and 1988, almost ninety percent were township residents. The number of people maimed and injured as a consequence of violence in this period was almost 10 000 ("Editorial", 1989). The average daily death rate as a result of political violence for the first three months of 1990 alone was 10,7 persons (Robertson, 1990).

This violence continues. In April 1994 as South Africa prepared for its first democratic election, political violence claimed many lives. Car bombs placed in many of the country's major cities resulted in many people being killed. This had been foreshadowed by several years of internecine and inter-organisational conflict in which many people had died in the quest for political hegemony and control. A statistic reported at that time placed South Africa amid the five most violent and murderous countries of the world ("Murder capital", 1994). It is therefore clear that the study of violence including political violence must have a high priority on the social science agenda in South Africa.

The purpose of this research project is to focus specifically on political violence and to examine the relationship between participation in political violence and exposure to both domestic and state violence, as well as the relationship between ideologies supporting violence and participation in political violence. A review of the various theoretical explanations of political violence will also be undertaken.

The findings of this research study could promote an understanding of how youth who are involved in political violence may be enmeshed in other forms of violence and how ideologies which support political violence are related to participation in this violence. In addition an exploration of these variables could provide an opportunity to examine critically the relative merits of various theories concerning political violence. Each theory posits different reasons for individual's participation in political violence. It is to an exploration

of these theories including their particular definitions of political violence, to which this thesis now turns.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL REVIEW OF VIOLENCE

2.1 MAJOR RESEARCH DEFINITIONS OF VIOLENCE

In this section, some of the major definitions of violence and the dominant issues surrounding the problem of aggression will be considered.

The primary problem in defining violence is in the ambiguity and multiple meaning of the word. The terms aggression and violence have been widely used in the behavioural sciences. These words have many meanings and conjure up a variety of images. The ambiguity of the words is a perplexing stumbling block to analytic clarity and empirical work. Uncertainty about their meaning engenders uncertainty with regard to their content and study as a social phenomenon. Consequently the phenomenon of violence remains inadequately conceptualised (Tedeschi, 1984), a contested concept (Adele Jinadu, 1986) and a function of the investigator's ideological and ethical biases (Wolff, 1969).

Many definitions of violence and aggression which include intentionality are still problematic due to an adequate scientific definition of `intention'. Furthermore, no criteria have been proposed for establishing when inferences of intent should be made.

Furthermore these definitions often reduce violence to a narrow zone of interpersonal and social experience, making individual intention to do harm as their defining criterion thereby neglecting important social and political concerns. The common view that violence is constituted of discrete acts of individuals pervades ordinary as well as legal conceptions of violence (Vogelman, 1989).

The contestation surrounding the definition of violence becomes very clear when we examine the views of Bulhan (1989); Mummendey (1984); Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears (1939); and various other writers cited throughout the study. Bulhan (1989) asserts that all social orders and theories concerning the psychological adaptation of individuals seem to take cognisance of only the obvious and subtle use of a few

manifestations of violence, but ignore, repress, or distance most social and political expressions of it, as can be seen in the definitions advanced by the psychological theories mentioned below.

Behaviourists use the criteria of harm done to define violence. Any behaviour that has the effect of harming another living organism is an instance of aggression. This definition also includes accidental harm done (Mummendey, 1984). In line with this Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears (1939) defined aggression as "any sequence of behaviour, the goal response of which is the injury of the person toward which it is directed" (p.51). Thus injurious intent is regarded as an essential feature of aggression in this and other definitions of aggression advanced by behaviourists (Bandura, 1973; Berkowitz 1962; Feshbach 1964). Strictly interpreted these definitions assume that physical injury is always the goal of aggressive behaviour, and they therefore fail to include either verbal or symbolic forms of aggression, or aggression that is instrumental in obtaining other goals (Archer & Browne, 1989).

One of the first distinctions to be made between different types of aggression in psychological studies was between `instrumental' aggression, which is directed towards the achievement of non-aggressive goals, and `hostile' aggression, for which the goal response is injury to a person or object (Sears, Maccoby & Levin, 1957). This definitional distinction however does not clarify the difference between goal directedness of aggressive behaviour, and the learning of aggressive behaviour as an instrumental response in order to obtain a wider range of goals rather than the removal of such an event and as such is unsatisfactory. Valzelli (1969), Buss (1961), Kaufmann (1970) and Feshbach (1964) have also forwarded several definitions of aggression which have not been entirely satisfactory but for different reasons. Their definitions omit intentionality, injurious behaviour and emotion.

In the South African context however the term `violence' is often used to refer to aggressive behaviour of groups acting within a particular social and political context. Nevertheless, whether referring to `violence on the picket line' or to `police violence' or to `marital violence', a negative social judgement is usually implicated and the illegitimate

and unlawful nature of the act is usually emphasised in hegemonic discourse while the same acts of physical aggression are referred to in a different discourse as `defence of trade union rights' or maintenance of law and order' or `punishing an errant wife'.

How a researcher approaches the problem of aggression and violence will of necessity reflect his or her theoretical background, and the particular method used will in turn affect how the subject is conceptualized. (Archer & Browne, 1989). As Bulhan (1989) indicated the essential point is that how one defines violence and who one identifies as the violent person depends on where one stands in the social order and where one's interests lie. He argues that much of human violence occurs with neither the conscious intention nor full control of individuals. Thus, the view that an act is violent only if an individual wilfully intended to do harm, although it is a widely prevalent view, is a very limited one which fits narrow conceptions of morality and justice. It does not deal with the violence of nations, particularly the superpowers, which amass staggering arsenal of weapons only in `defence' against unprovoked threats or attacks and as such reveals its bias in favour of the powerful against the powerless. (Bulhan, 1989).

Gil (1981) defines violence as "human-originated relations, processes and conditions which obstruct the free and spontaneous unfolding of human potential, the human drive towards growth, development and self-actualization, by interfering with the fulfilment of inherent biological, psychological and social needs" (p.339).

This definition permits the study of violence in its various manifestations - without excluding legitimate violence or unintended violence from consideration.

Bulhan (1985) proposes a more succinct but related definition:

> **Violence is any relation or condition by which an individual or a group violates, the physical social and/or psychological integrity of another person or group.** (p.135)

From this perspective, violence inhibits human growth, negates inherent potential, limits productive living and causes injury and death.

The proposed definition rests on several assumptions. Firstly, violence is not simply an isolated physical act or a discrete random event. It is a relation, process or condition undermining, exploiting, and curtailing the well-being of the victim. Secondly, these violations are not simply moral or ethical, but also physical, social and/or psychological. They involve demonstrable assault on or injury of and damage to the victim. Thirdly, violence in any of the three domains - physical, social or psychological - has significant repercussions in the other two domains. Fourthly, violence occurs not only between individuals, but also between groups and societies. Fifthly, intention is less critical than consequence in most forms of violence. Thus, any relation, process or condition imposed by someone that injures the health and well-being of others is by definition violent (Bulhan 1985,1989).

Cooper (1990) added that a realistic definition of violence should include acts of commission as well as acts of omission which aggress, which are intended to hurt `the other', and which cause harm and pain. The omission of nurturance, access to resources, and other necessary ingredients that enhance healthy human functioning, let alone the quality of life, are also central to consideration of violence.

A definition of violence put forward by Greenson (1968, cited in Cooper,1990) included the indignities felt by those who resort to such behaviour and the oppression of helplessness. To that perspective may be added social oppression (Bulhan, 1985) and the conditions of historic socio-economic and political inequalities, as both experienced and perceived (Biko, 1978). In addition, the assumption of a perspective of circular causality in the consideration of violence enables an appreciation of the complexity and dynamism of violence (Archer, 1989; Bulhan, 1985,1989).

By introducing concepts such as social oppression and political inequality in the equation one is of course introducing the notion of political violence. Nieburg (1969) defines political violence as "acts of disruption, destruction and injury whose purpose, choice of

targets or victims, surrounding circumstances, implementation, and/or effects have political significance. They modify the behaviour of others in a bargaining situation that has consequences for the social system" (p.13).

The political violence in South Africa during the 1980's could be divided into two areas viz. the violence of the state and the counterviolence of the people. However both these forms of violence could be conceptualised within Nieburg's (1969) proposed definition of political violence. Hence this study accepts Nieburg's proposed framework in its focus on counterviolence and the viewpoint of the disenfranchised. The voices of the unenfranchised historically silenced by apartheid-capitalism[2] will thus be sought in this study and the information gathered given expression.

The discussion on the terminological and definitional problems surrounding violence is now followed by a review of some of the dominant theories of violence in some detail in the next section.

2.2 THEORIES OF VIOLENCE

The dominant theories of violence can be divided into two groups. Firstly, those which derive from the traditional literature on aggression; and secondly, those which derive from contextual theories that locate violence within the interactional dynamic of the oppressed and the oppressor. The interactionist hypothesis arises from the latter while the genetic-biological hypothesis, the subjective hypothesis and the environmental hypothesis arise from the former.

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2 Apartheid-Capitalism - Saul (1986) proposes that in South Africa the linkage between racial domination and capitalist exploitation is mutually reinforcing and also potentially contradictory. For a more detailed analysis of this debate about the precise form of this interaction between racial oppression - the apartheid option - and capitalist relations of production, see J.S. Saul and Stephen Gelb The Crisis in South Africa revised edition, New York and London 1986.

2.2.1 TRADITIONAL THEORIES OF VIOLENCE

2.2.1.1 THE GENETIC BIOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS

The Genetic-Biological hypothesis maintains that heredity or constitutional factors account for violent behaviour. According to this position, the criminal was a "born type" characterized by a low forehead, head, and jaw with unusual shape, protruding ears and eyebrows unbroken above the bridge of the nose.

This approach to crime has been abandoned but other hypotheses implicating abnormal genes, brain lesions, atypical brain cells and other biologic anomalies have been entertained (Jarvik, Klodin & Matsuyama, 1973), hypotheses which have been used to justify the administration of irreversible medical interventions (Mark & Ervin, 1970).

Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) are newer proponents of the genetic-biological hypothesis, and have emphasised "age, sex, intelligence and other individual factors that vary within races" (p.79) rather than emphasising race itself as the pre-eminent genetic-biologic predisposing factor for violence and dominance as had the founding theorists.

Wilson and Herrnstein (1985, p. 79) emphasize the importance of biological determinants by suggesting that age and gender differences in criminal behaviour have been repeatedly and cross-culturally demonstrated. They explain that adolescence and young adulthood have higher risks of crime because of "powerful new drives awakened" in these ages which results in "youthful rowdiness" among a majority and in violent "crime" among a minority of persons. They also assert that human aggression is directly linked to sex hormones, particularly male sex hormones. They argue that lower IQ and a characteristic temperament, both assumed to be significantly based on heredity are critical factors which predispose people to crime and violence.

Bulhan (1989) notes that this position has "historically been espoused during periods of resistance to reform and resurgence of conservative politics" (p.8), when it has "been used

to indict whole categories of people because of their race, gender, or other biological givens" (Bulhan, 1989, p.34).

2.2.1.2 THE SUBJECTIVE HYPOTHESES

The major Subjective positions are the Frustration-Aggression hypothesis and the Instinctual hypothesis. These tend to assert that frustration and/or an enduring state of deprivation leads to aggression.

2.2.1.2.1 THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS

Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears (1939) posited that "aggression is always a consequence of frustration" (p.51). They proposed that frustration is the condition where an ongoing goal response is blocked or thwarted, and leads to a build-up of aggressive energy within the organism. This energy is noxious and must be released by the organism in the form of aggressive behaviour. Any response that releases this aggressive energy is an instance of aggression (Mummendey, 1984).

To leave no ambiguity, Dollard et al.(1939) restated the hypothesis that "the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and ... the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression" (p.59).

Miller (1941) in reassessing his previous formulation realized that it was `unclear and misleading'. He thus asserted that frustration could result in other consequences besides aggression.

Berkowitz (1962) reformulated the frustration-aggression hypothesis by substituting the simple stimulus response framework for a cognitive one that emphasized emotional arousal as an intervening variable. He also distinguished instrumental and learned aggression from reactive aggression and posited "releaser cues" for aggressive behaviour. In the final

analysis there was not much departure from the original position and objective social conditions were ignored (Bulhan, 1989; Goldstein, 1975; Schellenberg, 1982).

2.2.1.2.2 RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

Rule (1988) proposes that most lay explanations for violence tend to be psychologistic, "When people are pushed too far, they explode" is one such belief. Another is that "When people's basic rights and dignity are trampled upon, they're likely to strike back".

This extension from individual experience to collective process has held considerable appeal for certain social scientists as well (Nieburg, 1969). Their explanations of collective violence have focused on shared psychic states of imagination, resentment or frustration as the essential cause of popular strife and civil unrest. Most popular amongst such explanations have been those that identify relative deprivation as the cause of an unbalanced psychic state (Feierabend and Feierabend, 1972; Schellenberg, 1982).

Thompson (1989) asserts that the central formulation of deprivation theory is the DFA linkage: deprivation leads to frustration, which in turn produces aggression when pent-up hostility against a perceived aggressor is released by an immediate stimulus.

Gurr (1970, 1980) has utilised frustration-aggression precepts in his sociological treatment of political violence rising out of the civil rights, anti-war and political strife in Northern Ireland and the United States. For Gurr (1970) the discontent that arises from the perception of relative deprivation is the "basic, integrating condition for participants in collective violence" (p.13). Thompson (1989) supports this view and asserts that a gap between expected and achieved welfare on some dimension produces the collective discontent that generates violence.

The connection between discontent and deprivation underline the psychological state in Gurr's notion of relative deprivation. He defines this as "a perceived discrepancy between men's values, expectations and their value capabilities" (Gurr, 1970, p.14). However, even

relative deprivation does not explain why some will not utilize violence when others do. In not locating violence in a social system which directly promotes ingredients of violence and which is controlled by the few, the relative deprivation variation of frustration-aggression ends up viewing social structure and behaviour from an elitist, self-perpetuating position.

This hypothesis acknowledges only an enduring state of deprivation (frustration) as leading to violence, whereas violence is not the preserve of any particular socio-economic status group (Cooper, 1989; Finkel & Rule, 1986; McPhail, 1971). The relative deprivation hypothesis may explain collective violence, but not specific cases of violence, particularly individual violence across all situations (Turner & Killian, 1987).

2.2.1.3 THE INSTINCTUAL HYPOTHESIS

According to Siann (1985), three assumptions underpin the instinctual hypothesis of aggression. The first assumption is that violence and aggression are derived from innate sources. Secondly, that the manner in which an individual displays aggression in later life is dependent on early emotional experiences. Finally that these experiences can cause pathological and malignant aggression.

Freud (1960) posited that rage, anger and hostility were emotions that may spring from frustration of the erotic urge. Later he was to change his views and postulate a new dichotomy of instincts, the life instinct and the death instinct. He asserted that every living cell is endowed with two basic qualities of living matter, the life force and sexual drive (Eros) and the striving for death (Thanatos).

Freud (1960) attributed the impulse to destructiveness to Thanatos, the death instinct. According to him, the death instinct, displaced from the self to external objects is the cause of all aggressive actions like destruction of material objects, hatred, anger, murder and war.

The individual is forced to consume aggressive energy in some form or other, because unconsumed energy may be turned back towards the individual: possibly taking the form of severe guilt feelings, various kinds of self-punishment, accidental injuries and suicide (Meyer, 1982).

Freud (1960) in a letter to Einstein on war, asserts that "there is no question of getting rid entirely of human aggressive impulses" (p.46). This deterministic view, that we cannot escape from violence, which is inextricably interwoven with the human condition, can lead to the cynicism that posits violence as something shared with our predecessors and which we will share with our successors (Cotta, 1985).

Erich Fromm produced the most comprehensive theory of aggression to emerge from within the ranks of psychoanalysis. The approach Fromm adopts rests on four premises. First, there are aspects of aggression that are innately built-in but are basically benign. Secondly, malignant aggression, while not innately built-in, is rooted in the human condition. Thirdly, the predisposition to malignant aggression can be woven into the character structure. Finally, the second and third principles can be substantiated by reference to case histories (Storr, 1985).

Lorenz (1966) describes aggression as a survival - enhancing instinct within species, wherein there is an autonomous source of aggressive impulses, a drive to aggress that exhibits "irresistible outbreaks which recur with rhythmical regularity" (p.59).

Meyer (1982) supports Barnett (1967) and Schenkel (1967) in their criticism of Lorenz on the grounds that his view of human aggression is based only on the observation of the behaviour of birds and fish, and that no cognisance of psychological findings is taken. This in Meyer's (1982) view is serious when one considers that Lorenz's theories rests on the assumption that people possess a specific amount of aggressive energy which has to be consumed.

In examining the instinctual hypothesis of Lorenz and the psychoanalytic approaches of Freud and his followers it would seem that they can deepen our understanding of aggressive

feelings and the violent behaviour of individuals and certain group processes, but they are limited in that not all aggressive emotion and violent behaviour is explicable in such terms.

2.2.1.4 THE ENVIRONMENTAL HYPOTHESES

This hypothesis emphasises external, environmental factors and regards these as the most important or even as the sole determinants of aggressive behaviour.

2.2.1.4.1 THE LEARNING HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis that there is an intergenerational transmission of learnt violent behaviour (Carroll,1977; Kalmuss, 1984) that has its roots in social learning theory warrants some discussion. Bandura (1973, 1977) views aggression as behaviour patterns that are learned, largely through reinforcement and modelling. He sees aggressive behaviour as an acquired skill that can be used to intentionally harm others. Thus learned aggression is a pattern of response or "habit" acquired through imitation of a model or "identification" with the aggressor.

Demaris (1990) asserts that observing one's parents being violent with each other provides a model for subsequent violent behaviour. Parents provide salient models for aggressive behaviour because, in the eyes of the child, they have higher status, competence and power. It is these attributes that enhance the likelihood that modelling will occur (Bandura, 1977). Demaris (1990) points out that aggressive models provide instruction in the tactics to be used in the event of conflict or anger.

The learning position assumes that aggressive behaviour is learned and used strategically in the service of particular goals. Children and adolescents aggress to gain attention, groups compete for scarce resources and soldiers aggress in the interests of national policy (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Bandura, 1973; Newman, 1979; Sadoff, 1978).

Kornadt (1984) proposes a social theory of motivation to explain aggression. He asserts that the concepts of motive and motivation must be understood as functioning only in interaction with situational conditions as they are subjectively perceived. He adds that "every motive is a system of enduring dispositions which in themselves are developed in interaction between person and environment, with needs, hopes and fears on one hand, and incentives, threats, and positive and negative rewards on the other hand" (Kornadt, 1984, p.30). He remains convinced that neither the pure individualistic approach, as in the instinct theories, nor the pure social psychological approach with its focus on situational factors and general rules can be correct (Kornadt, 1984). He is supported in this by those theorists who focus on the occurrence of violence in subcultures.

2.2.1.4.2 THE SUBCULTURE OF VIOLENCE

This hypothesis attributes causality of violence to certain subcultures that approve of violence as a problem solving strategy. Newman (1979) asserts that the subcultural way of life of some ethnic groups may in itself contribute to violence. In such lower subcultures "toleration - if not encouragement - of violence is part of the normative structure" (Wolfgang, 1958, p.329). Violence is thus encouraged and even lauded.

These 'subcultures of violence' consequently have significantly higher rates of violent crime. Furthermore, the social life of these cultures foster the transmission from generation to generation of values which favour the use of violence (Gastil, 1971).

Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) assert that where there exists a "subculture of violence", or a shared system of norms values and beliefs about violence, which sets the group who hold those norms aside from the dominant culture, then it is likely that members of that subculture will use violence as a central strategy in their interpersonal relations (Siann, 1985). Violence is caused largely by belonging to a particular subculture because such group identification leads to a violent style of life.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) propose that violent behaviour results largely from a commitment to a subcultural value and attitude pattern which endorses the use of violence

in interpersonal behaviour. They reject the notion of aggressive instinct or drive, claiming that there is no indication that any physiological substrates are reliably implicated in violent behaviour. They argue that overt (and often illicit) expressions of violence become part of a subcultural normative system, and that in this situation the values of the subculture are then reflected in the psychological traits of the participants in that subculture.

Bulhan (1989, p.10) criticises the class bias and ethnocentric essence of the subculture of violence hypothesis. He claims that the recommendations of this hypothesis can be convenient justifications for class as well as ethnic dominance on the one hand, and alienation as well as deracination of blacks on the other. He points out that Wolfgang and associates explain the excess of homicide among blacks and lower socio-economic status groups by the existence of a subcultural value system in these groups, which fosters a violent ethos and limited social controls. This subcultural value system is said to approve, even valorise, physical aggression as a problem-solving strategem and an accepted way of life. This is contrasted to the value system of the dominant and presumably middle-class culture of which the subculture is a part. The latter is characterised as essentially non-violent or at least one in which members have adopted rational and prudent means of resolving interpersonal conflict (Wolfgang & Ferracutti, 1967; Wolfgang & Weiner, 1982).

The subculture of violence, which is identified with a "certain portion of the lower socio-economic groups ... especially comprised of males and Negroes", is said to encourage violent aggression and retaliation. Even a trivial insult in this subculture is said to provoke homicidal stabbing without compunction of the offender and the attribution of wrong to him by other members. In the subculture of violence hypothesis while the middle class and dominant culture is seen to be characterised by nationality, morality and prudence, the subculture is considered an "id dominated collective" (Wolfgang, 1958, p.329). Intercultural interaction is not acknowledged in this hypothesis of subcultural violence.

In line with this view Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) recommend the disruption, dispersal and disorganisation of the subculture of violence along with an intensive programme of introduction and rehabilitation so that members may be integrated into middle class morality and behaviour which would solve the problem of violence.

Bulhan (1989) characterises this position of deracination and forced integration into the `dominant culture' as a "new form of internal colonialism; an example of how science is confused with ideology and dominance" (p.7). He therefore opposes the views of Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) as well as their successors such as Miller (1980) who believe that aggressive behaviour is more likely among persons who have strong beliefs in the efficacy of collective violence. They further claim that they can get what they want through violence thus espousing a more sophisticated version of the subculture of violence hypothesis. Such individuals are believed by Miller (1980) to be exposed to `facilitative' social norms for aggressive action and are motivated to comply with these norms. They regard aggressive behaviour as normatively justifiable, based on either ideological beliefs, or on generalised alienation from the political system.

2.2.1.5 SUMMARY AND CRITIQUE OF TRADITIONAL THEORIES OF VIOLENCE

The Genetic Biological hypothesis proposes that aggressive and violent behaviour, whether individual or social, can be accounted for by heredity and pathology. For Siann (1985) however, this position fails to take into account either the subjective experience of individuals or the social circumstances in which they live.

The Subjective hypothesis proposes that violence can be accounted for by the build up of frustration that inevitably leads to aggression. In addition, the deprivation model explains violence as emanating from an enduring state of deprivation and inequity. Violence is seen as emerging from innate sources.

Siann (1985) asserts that the subjective hypotheses though valuable in understanding aggressive feelings and certain group processes, do not take cognisance of the social milieu that impacts on behaviour.

The Environmental hypothesis on the other hand, even though cognisant of the impact of social learning and cultural background, fails to factor in the contextual elements that result in violent behaviour.

In essence then, the traditional theories of violence fail to posit a holistic understanding of aggression and violence as they disregard the impact of the social milieu in the development of violent behaviour. They place emphasis on the individual and her motivation in a social setting rather than on the interplay between social forces such as ideology, values and power and the individual experience (Siann, 1985).

2.2.2 CONTEXTUAL THEORIES OF VIOLENCE

In this last section of the chapter, the contextual theories of violence will be discussed in some detail. Special attention will be given to the dynamics of oppression and the theories of violence proposed by Fanon (1968) and Bulhan (1985).

2.2.2.1 THE INTERACTIONIST HYPOTHESIS

The interactionist hypothesis posits that the theories that explain violence in mystifying instinctual or organic terms obscure the fact that it is above all people and the social systems they create and the technology of death they develop that bring about oppression and violence.

This interactionist position exposes this fact by its emphasis on historical and contextual factors and by its focus on the expression of violence, the aggressor, the victim accuser and judge. This perspective while it takes into account the psychological and biological factors that may provoke varying responses among individuals in the same environment also synthesises the insights obtained from other hypotheses and attempts to avoid their limitations. (Bulhan,1987; Cooper, 1990).

Furthermore, the interactionist view of violence presumes that the basic structure of social and economic institutions fundamentally shape the behaviour of individuals in any given society. Thus, to understand the behaviour of individuals, it is paramount that the structures and biases of the major "system-defining institutions be understood" (Biko, 1978; Bulhan, 1987).

Contrary to traditional conceptions which isolate acts and persons from their social context, violence is seen to occur in an interpersonal and social milieu. Violence is thus regarded not merely as a single act or a behaviour of one person but is constituted from a sequence of acts involving at least two persons in an escalating spiral of conflict. This paradigm thus permits the consideration of the psychological and social forces driving a specific person to violent behaviours. It also allows articulation of the subjective and objective factors which engender violence in the relationship of two or more persons. It acknowledges that the act selected for designation as "violent", the actor identified as "offender", and the target considered as "victim" depends on where a researcher chooses to punctuate a complex sequence of behaviours and relationships provoking, reinforcing and constricting one another (Bulhan, 1989). This choice is in turn affected by where one is positioned within the social order as oppressor or oppressed.

2.2.2.2 THE DYNAMICS OF OPPRESSION

> **A situation of oppression is essentially a cauldron of violence. It is brought into existence and is maintained by dint of violence. The violence gradually permeates the social order to affect everyday living. In time, the violence takes on different guises and becomes less blatant and more integral to the institutional as well as interpersonal reality. It even invades the deeper recesses of the individual psyche, permeating fantasies and dreams.**
>
> **(Bulhan, 1985, p. 131).**

The foregoing quotation emphasises that the problem of oppression is essentially a problem of violence, which reverberates throughout the entire fabric of society. Thus to study oppression is, in the final analysis, to delve into the problem of violence in both its subtle and crude manifestations.

Human violence occurs at a personal, institutional and structural level. Oppression and all of its expressions, including racism, legitimises structural violence, rationalises institutional violence and impersonalises personal violence. Its abuses, humiliations and suffocating repression permeate daily life, wrecking and dehumanizing the oppressed (Bulhan, 1980, 1985). Apartheid-capitalism, an insidiously cultivated form of racist, gender and class oppression, perpetuates a specific pattern of relations and practices that are deeply ingrained in and dominate everyday living, leading people to play out their ascribed roles, either as perpetrators or victims.

Bulhan (1985) asserts that in its most subtle form, prolonged oppression permeates the world of people to the extent that it confines and severely restricts their actional world. It confines people to a narrow world of ideas and prohibitions, not allowing psychological autonomy to prevail. He continues, that in oppressive conditions like South Africa, the unenfranchised have been coerced into fashioning their images at a pace, and only in terms, allowed to them by the dominant culture. This entire process involves the dislocation and uprooting of psyches from their own culture and immersing them into another.

It is the immersion into a foreign antagonistic culture which obliterates the history, genealogy, biography and world view of the oppressed. Biko (1978) asserted that when the history and biography of the oppressed is obliterated, they cannot escape what happens to them, and feel victorious when they escape the ever-present peril. This cultural deracination militates strongly against group cohesion, distorting the individual's relationship with family, next of kin, community, body and objects in general (Bulhan, 1985, 1989; Manganyi, 1973).

Althusser (1971) adds that this cultural deracination is not an end in itself but is dialectically connected with the prevailing mode of production. For as Bulhan (1985) points outs, economic exploitation can only be advanced when the culture of the oppressed is annihilated, blunted and sequestrated.

Stripped of their own frame of reference, collective aura and psychological autonomy, the oppressed experience deep feelings of inferiority. Howard (1971) and Poussaint and Atkinson (1971) propose that the cumulative experience of oppression contains the seeds of self doubt and group hatred. It evokes a process of self-denigration and self-rejection, often coalescing into a drive towards imitating the oppressor. It leads to the oppressed internalising and assimilating the values, norms, restrictions, prohibitions and images of the oppressor, thus recalling the well-known psychological process of `identification with the aggressor' (Bulhan, 1980; Cooper, 1985). This process of acquiescence not only invokes intense alienation, but also makes the oppressed agents of their own oppression. The oppressor without becomes an intropressor, an oppressor within (Bulhan, 1980, 1985, 1989; Fanon, 1968).

The process whereby the ruling elite seek to make people willing partners to their own oppression and exploitation, can according to Althusser (1971) be explained by a particular ideology. Hall (1981) defines ideology, which is created and recreated through social practices as:

> Those images, concepts, and premises which provide the framework through which we represent, interpret, understand and `make sense' of some aspect of social existence.

In historically repressive societies like South Africa, wherein relations were predicated on domination of one class by another, the ruling class ideology operated to make sense of and naturalise oppression. It operated by way of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) like schools, the media, and professional associations which function to maintain and reproduce the status quo (Fay, 1974; Seedat, 1987). In effect, ruling class ideology creates individuals through interpellation or induction which essentially entails recruiting individuals

and transforming them into subjected beings who submit to the higher authority (Cloete, Pillay & Swart, 1986). Essentially, it creates individuals who submit to the authority of the dominant class.

Bulhan (1985) elucidates the Fanonian position that when the oppressed find themselves in situations wherein they cannot legitimately cannot defend themselves against physical, psychological and social abuses for fear of further reprisal, they consequently repress their attendant rage and anger. He adds that they are only able to muster up an ego-dystonic submission and compliance to the condition of oppression. Unable to sublimate these repressed feelings and find expression over a prolonged period through conscious social praxis, their capacity for human tolerance is eventually saturated.

Thus, unable to find meaning in the wider social context, the oppressed become autodestructive. In becoming autodestructive, the oppressed engage in behaviour that is debilitating to themselves, their loved ones, their family and their community (Bulhan, 1980, 1985, 1989; Fanon, 1968). Paulo Freire (1970) called aspects of these autodestructive experiences "horizontal violence" and explained that "the oppressed cannot perceive clearly the `order' which serves the interests of the oppressors whose image they have internalised. Chafing under restrictions of this order, they often manifest a type of horizontal violence, striking out at their own comrades for the pettiest reasons" (p.11).

Sarason (1974), Lazarus (1983) and Panzetta (1983) also point out that such autodestructive behaviour is manifested in the high rates of substance abuse, suicide, wife battering, criminal behaviour and sudden eruptions of rage. Butchart, Johnson, Radebe and Anderson (1989); as well as Seedat (1987) have noted similar trends in their research on interpersonal violence.

In essence then, oppressed people unable to defend themselves within the larger social context, must for psychic survival defend what is left in their only refuge: within the circle of their own family, community, partners, friends, relatives or even their own lives. It would however be misleading to believe that autodestructive behaviour and submission are permanent characteristics of oppressed communities for as Fanon (1968) points out these

characteristics are not only developed in oppression but are sustained by it in an ongoing manner. Through collective mobilisation and proactive struggle the trend towards autodestructive behaviour may be reversed (Fanon, 1968).

2.2.2.3 MANNONI'S THEORY OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF COLONIALISM

Both Mannoni (1962) and Fanon (1967a) wrestled with the legacy of colonialism and the destiny of the colonised. Each lived opposing aspects of the colonial system: Mannoni as coloniser, Fanon as colonised.

Mannoni (1962) attempted to produce a systematic psychology of colonialism, albeit his deep identification with the European view of the colonised other.

Mannoni (1962) stresses the colonized's degradation, humiliation and long periods of acquiescence, and the unstable and volatile nature of the coloniser-colonised relationship. He asserts that the rebellion of the colonised stems less from exploitation and oppression per se than from the coloniser's inability, at a certain point to deliver the protection and security which function as perceived quid pro quo for submission to authority (Fox-Genovese & Genovese, 1980).

Mannoni deals more explicitly with the colonised individual's identity in terms of the group in conflict in society. This strategy permits him to mobilise psychoanalytic theory in the service of class and racist attitudes. The essence of Mannoni's contribution lies in his thesis of the centrality of dependence - the recognition that both the colonised and the coloniser participate in the colonial relationship. He asserts that there are strong elements of dependency that characterise the psychology of the coloniser himself. He perceives the relationship of oppressor to oppressed as being organic - that one constantly responds to the other. He adds that the colonial situation emerges as the mutual construction of two social groups. He however does not accept the implications of an all encompassing system of social relations of production and reproduction. In his judgement, South African racism

should not be understood as the organic product of South African society, but rather as the particular weakness of the South African petty-bourgeoisie (Fox-Genovese & Genovese, 1980).

Fox-Genovese and Genovese (1980) suggest Mannoni's theory is not primarily concerned with the socio-political issues of society. He is primarily concerned with the psychological, all too often abstracted from the socio-political. They add that his liberalism argues for bourgeois freedom.

In his critique of Mannoni, Fanon (1967a) rightly emphasizes the importance of socio-economic relations to any psychoanalytic interpretation. He further insists on the complicity of all members of a nation in the overt racist practices of some of its members.

Finally, Mannoni (1962) asserts that the only choice the oppressed Malagasy has is either an inferiority or a dependence on the European master. Mannoni's two alternatives for the oppressed were vehemently criticised by Fanon (1968), and his work has sometimes been dismissed as colonialist or even racist apologetics (Fox-Genovese & Genovese, 1980). However embedded in Mannoni's conservative views of the colonial situation, remain some deep insights and valuable theoretical advances in the understanding of the relationship of the oppressor and the oppressed.

2.2.2.4 FANON'S THEORY OF VIOLENCE

Fanon has been described as "the most eloquent panegryst of ... violence, a writer who celebrates it with savage lyricism (Kedouri, 1970; cited in Adele Jinadu, 1986). Critics have characterised him as an "apostle of violence" and a "prisoner of hate" who "glorified violence for violence sake" (Arendt, 1970). Frantz Fanon's treatise on violence is the most controversial of his contributions to the understanding of the human psyche in a situation of oppression.

He was concerned with how the oppressed could free themselves from the legacy of an inferiority complex, reclaim their identity, reconstitute their bonding and take control of their destiny (Fanon, 1968). Fanon (1968) elaborated the crude and subtle processes by which the coloniser usurps power and property all the while reducing the colonised into objects to be used, misused and destroyed at will. The means to usurpation and dehumanization were not reasoning, persuading or cajoling. They were rather by a series of brutally violent acts. Guns, cannons, and a technology of death were used along with deception (Bulhan, 1980, 1985).

The occupation of land by the oppressor thus entailed the occupation of psyches too. Marcuse (1969) asserts that "...if oppressed and overpowered minorities ... use violence, they do not start a new chain of violence but try to break an established one" (p.130). Fanon (1968) asserts that to liberate the oppressed person, not only the coloniser residing without, but also that residing within had to be confronted.

For Bulhan (1985), to battle the coloniser without assumes a degree of self-respect and self-validation, a conviction that one is at least as good and as human as he[3] is. It also assumes the existence of a bond with others, a sharing of similar experiences of determination. He asserts that either assumption is usually tenable under conditions of prolonged oppression.

How does a community of the oppressed and alienated regain its self-respect and confidence in order to challenge the coloniser without?

Fanon was convinced that the coloniser without and the coloniser within are best confronted simultaneously and by the same means - namely, violence.

He asserts that collective action alone can question, harness and re-direct structural violence. He adds that psychic and cultural revitalization emerge as the oppressed begin to take control of their destiny by violent confrontation of the oppressor (McCulloch, 1983).

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3 The pronoun `he' is used throughout the study merely for reading convenience. Sometimes `he' is used interchangeably with the pronoun `she'.

The oppressor's violence, which has been institutionalised and internalised among the oppressed is henceforth externalised and re-directed in the service of personal and collective liberation (Bulhan, 1980, 1985; Fanon, 1968; Zahar, 1974).

Fanon also suggested that during this revolutionary period of self-affirmation and de-objectification, new identities unfold, creative energies long repressed are revitalized and stagnant traditions transformed into dynamic cultures (Fanon, 1968). An act of violence against the unrelenting oppressor, an irrevocable action against his world strewn with prohibitions, demystify the power of the oppressor, restore self- and group-confidence, and promote group cohesion among the oppressed. They regain their identity, reclaim their history, reconstitute their bonding and forge their future through violence. Through violence they remove the primary barrier to their humanity and rehabilitate themselves (Fanon, 1968; Gendzier, 1973; McCulloch, 1983).

Pivotal to Fanon's theory is the notion that a Manichean psychology underlies human violence and oppression. A Manichean view is "one that divides the world into compartments and people into different "species" (Bulhan, 1985, p.213). This division is based not on reciprocal affirmations, but rather on irreconcilable opposites cast into good versus evil, beautiful versus ugly, intelligent versus stupid, black versus white, human versus subhuman modes (Bulhan, 1980, 1985; Zahar, 1974). Oppression creates such a psychology. At the same time violence too emerges from and reinforces the Manichean psychology.

The oppressed assumes the role in the Manichean psychology thrust upon her. The victim of oppression feels 'hemmed in' when she internalises the self-negating prohibitions of the oppressor. Fanon (1968) concludes that those who profit by violence can be made to change only through greater violence. The oppressed who are dehumanized by the violence of the oppressor also turn that violence against themselves when they lack the political consciousness and organization to fight back. He however observed that when political consciousness and organization to fight back takes hold and the struggle for freedom is well under way, the rate and character of this violence would be strikingly modified.

Fanon was accused of glorifying violence in an irresponsible manner (Arendt, 1970). That he did not celebrate violence for its own sake is illustrated by his remark:

> Because we want a democratic and renovated Algeria, we cannot arise and liberate ourself in one area and sink in another. We condemn with pain in our hearts, those brothers who have flung themselves into revolutionary action with the almost psychological brutality that centuries of oppression give rise to and feed. (Fanon, 1967b, p.25)

Fanon was well aware that violent actions have residual effects on perpetrators and their families. His clinical cases reveal keen realization that catharsis in itself is not therapeutic - least of all when one's actions directly injure and dehumanize others (Fanon, 1968). Fanon asserts that it is the stubborn refusal and violence of the oppressor that leaves no option but to resist and fight him. And in fighting him, the oppressed is collectively and individually `disintoxified'. In other words, the recovery of the alcoholic begins in his detoxification. The cure of the phobic lies in confronting the very object of his fears. Thus the self-rehabilitation of the oppressed begins in directly confronting the source of their dehumanisation (Bulhan, 1985; Fanon, 1967b, 1968).

Fanon makes a distinction between physical, structural and psychological violence (Fanon, 1967a, 1968). This threefold categorization incorporates the sociopolitical phenomena that constitute violence in a colonial situation.

Physical violence involves somatic injury inflicted on human beings, the most radical manifestation of which is the killing of an individual. Structural violence is what Fanon (1968) refers to as the manicheism of the colonial situation and is a condition of social injustice that reflects exploitation with its necessary institutional forms and props in the colonial situation. Psychological violence is injury or harm done to the human psyche, which also constitutes what Galtung (1969) describes as "violence that works on the soul" (Adele Jinadu, 1986, Galtung, 1969). This psychological violence represents the attempt, conscious or unconscious, by the coloniser to create alienated colonised individuals who

reject indigenous values and institutions and who as a result of this "psychic alienation" become strangers to themselves (Fanon, 1967a).

Fanon (1968) asserted that once the process of political consciousness roots itself, the oppressed begin to redirect their previously internalised rage and aggression. Fredericks (1970) similarly claimed that aggression that had previously been turned inwards to distort the psyche and physical integrity of the oppressed, now begins to be redirected at the oppressors and their symbols. Thus, the oppressor's violence, which had been internalised and institutionalised among the oppressed, is henceforth externalised and redirected in the service of personal and collective liberation. Horizontal violence changes into vertical violence (Freire, 1970; Gendzier, 1973).

In essence then, Fanon merges two questions: the liberation of the colonized from the agony of colonial oppression; and the liberation of the individual personality for an autonomous existence (Bulhan, 1985; Fox-Genovese & Genovese, 1980, 1985; Zahar, 1974).

Fox-Genovese and Genovese (1980, 1985) argue against the merging of such disparate and patently distinct questions. They assert that there is no reason to believe that the revolt [illegible] colonialism, represents a triumph for personal liberty and individual autonomy - over authority; except in the special vital sense that it removes the particularly debilitating element of racist degradation. It cannot resolve the conflict of the individual (and his claims to autonomy) with society (and its claims to order and submission.) They add that the destruction of colonialism and the destruction of all classes and social oppression cannot be expected to psychologically liberate the human personality from dependence. They seem to suggest that the individual and the collective are two separate immutable givens.

The validity of Fanon's conception of revolutionary violence as a totally transformative event with both societal and personal liberation is thus questioned (Fox-Genovese & Genovese, 1985).

2.2.2.5 BULHAN'S CONSTRAINED-STRAINED THEORY

This theory aims to provide a conceptual framework for the study of violence and "deviant" behaviour in the context of oppressive social systems. It does not seek to explain all human violence. But attempts to answer primarily the question:

> **Why do the oppressed, who obviously live in a violent system imposed on them, turn, in certain historical periods, the violence against themselves, hurting and killing each other at an appalling rate?** (Bulhan, 1989, p.13).

Bulhan's (1987) constrained-strained theory proposes three central considerations for any explanation of violent or "deviant" behaviour. Explanations of violence are firstly located in the prevailing conditions of social structural constraint, secondly, in experienced psychological strain and thirdly, in the prevailing threshold of social tolerance.

Social Structural Constraint refers to the social and historical conditions which create, maintain, and justify limits on rights and privileges within a given social system. Such social structural constraints can have the cumulative effect of hampering the fulfilment of basic human needs, including those of nutrition, shelter, affiliation and work (Bulhan, 1987). These constraints segregate and perpetuate systemic denial of rights to a given social group. Concurrent with this, is the dislocation of the group's cultural life, which leaves its members racinated and alienated. It also blurs the social boundaries which facilitate daily intrusion into the family's health by agents of social control. Thus it allows for imposition of systemic violence in the form of frequent police harassment and brutality (Bulhan, 1987; 1989). This process impinges destructively on individuation and healthy personality growth, for as Felson (1984) points out, social structure influence the behaviour of youthful offenders.

Secondly, Strain refers to the actual or perceived experience of reductions of sensory, cognitive and/or affective psychological resources and capacities to below optimal functioning levels. Such disequilibrium diminishes the individual's coping strategies to meet both personal needs and adequately respond to external stimuli and social demands. This

orientation recognizes individual variation in vulnerability to strain and in the ability to cope with it. Bulhan (1987:6) asserts that the source of such variance includes "genetic and constitutional predispositions, prenatal and postnatal insults, nutritional and environmental influences, family dynamics, and generally learned reactions". Thus, constraint refers to the objective social conditions which impose limits on rights and privileges while strain refers to the subjective world of perception, feeling and meaning.

Thirdly, the threshold of social tolerance refers to the numerous sanctions, both legal and extra-legal, which regulate and control "deviant" behaviour. This threshold reflects the cultural norms, mores, and laws which define the kind and limits of socially acceptable behaviour including violent behaviour. These norms influence not only the occurrence and perception of violence but also related phenomena such as the "bystander effect" and "learned helplessness" which reflect habituation to conditions of oppression and deprivation rather than personal characteristics of individuals.

Thus Bulhan (1987, p.6) indicates that the "joint and synergic influences" of these three constantly interacting realms of external structure, individual experience, and the degree of tolerance and internalization of the prevailing rules governing behaviour "determine the identification, occurrence and punishment" of violence and other forms of deviant behaviour. Furthermore, the stimulation of one domain impacts on the other two in a "spiral and triadic progression" (Bulhan, 1987, p.7). In interacting and reinforcing one another, these domains thus create cycles of escalation.

This theory offers some insight into the analysis of internecine violence and horizontal violence in situations of oppression especially when it is explained in tandem with how ideology operates to rationalise and legitimise violence.

2.3 VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

2.3.1 THE IDEOLOGY OF VIOLENCE

> Ideology ... allows people to make sense of their experiences of reality and provide the framework for them to formulate courses of action in a way which enables them to survive and function as social beings ...
>
> (O'Meara, 1983, pp.14-15).

Ideologies of violence refer to public justifications of violent behaviour in the political process. Ideologies serve the purpose of integrating human communities (defending, established normative orders), furthering the position of conflict groups in the process of goal attainment (expanding or creating normative orders), and strengthening the resolve of human beings to engage in political acts aimed at the maintenance or change of normative orders (Nieburg, 1969). Therborn (1980) succinctly unravels the modes of ideological induction:

> Ideologies subject and qualify subjects by telling them, relating them to, and making them recognise what exists, what is good and what is possible and impossible (and their negations).
>
> (Therborn, 1980, p.3)

The power of ideology in the process of promoting social change which is aimed at the transformation of the social and political regime also requires some exploration. Therborn (1980, p.17) observes that "a situation of acute crisis emerges when, for whatever reason, the matrix of affirmations and sanctions underpinning the given regime and the ruling ideology breaks up. Additionally, if the regime is faced with organized counter-claims to legitimacy, or a profound disorganisation of its legitimacy in the eyes of significant sections

of the state apparatus, or dissent from these, then the regime faces a revolutionary situation" (Therborn, 1980, p.116).

A subjection-qualification dialectic is also however proposed by Therborn (1980), in that though ideology subjects agents to the relations of exploitation, in the process it qualifies people for creative action within their positions in society (including agents of social change and revolution). This was noted in South Africa where the increasing use of violence by the state from 1976, which reflected a failure of state ideology and its apparatuses was met with increased militancy, radicalisation and politicisation of youth.

The increasing use of repressive state apparatus, like the emergency legislation, the army and police indicated that the state has failed to interpellate the current generation of militant youth. It had not succeeded in its attempts to make the youth partners in their own oppression (Seedat, 1987).

Fanon (1967b) cautioned against minimizing the importance of ideology or political struggle in the process of liberation. He asserts that:

> For my part, the deeper I enter into cultures and the political circles, the surer I am that the great danger that threatens Africa is the absence of ideology. (p.186)

Nghe (1963) drawing from his experience of the Vietnamese liberation war adds that it is essential that the oppressed confronting the oppressor be armed with ideology and have a developed political consciousness. He points out that armed struggle, however crucial, is only a phase, a passing moment in the revolutionary struggle of a people. Underlying the resolve to take up arms and guiding the armed struggle must be a well-defined political struggle. Nghe (1963) further argued that to emphasize the existential over the political aspects of armed struggle is to risk oversimplification of complex social problems, romanticism of the spectacular, and lack of preparedness when peace at last prevails and the task of reconstruction begins.

He warned that so long as the political consciousness of people is left undeveloped and only martial arts are emphasized, the very political goals for which arms were taken up are lost (Nghe, 1963). And only a legacy of wrecked psyches and antidemocratic tendencies is left behind (Bulhan, 1985).

2.4 SUMMARY AND CRITIQUE OF THE CONTEXTUAL THEORIES OF VIOLENCE

The contextual theories of violence all share one particular assumption; that aggression and violence are best understood in terms of interpersonal relationships within a social perspective. They place the emphasis, not on individual predisposition (whether innately, physiologically, or environmentally determined), but on social processes.

Mannoni's contribution to the psychology of colonialism rests on his notion of the dependency complex amongst the colonised and the unravelling of specific psychology at play within it. He adds the notion of a Prospero Complex amongst the coloniser: a basic personality which utilizes the projection of unacceptable impulses in the form of the Negro myth.

Fanon's theory of violence is located in that intermediate terrain where the sciences of personality and society merge. Fanon (1968) treats violence as a psychic force that can be directed against the self, lateralised against the fellow oppressed, or re-directed within counterviolent struggle against the oppressor. The oppressed can thus free themselves from a legacy of racist oppression - both personally and societally.

Bulhan (1985) proposes the constrained-strained theory to explain the autodestructive violence of the oppressed. He locates the explanations of violence in the prevailing societal conditions, together with the oppressed's experience of psychological strain and threshold of social tolerance.

Siann (1985, p.219) in her critique of these contextual theories asserts that these theories by explaining violence exclusively in terms of a by-product of structural forces within society, fail to explain how group violence relates to individual violence. Furthermore, she adds, that these approaches are deterministic and tend to regard as of comparatively minor importance, those meanings, motives and intentions of violent individuals that are not related to the rectification of economic inequalities. Thus critics of this contextual approach to the understanding of violence argue that though poverty and inequality may explain some forms of violence in all societies, - they offer little understanding as to why only some people commit such violence, and why some people do harm with so much more violence than do others. They thus place too much emphasis on the social, political and economic circumstances, and too little on individual factors.

Finally, a significant shortcoming of the contextual theories is their lack of a materialist critique of oppression. The economic dimension of power relations and its consequent violence is untheorized and absent from any explanation of violence and political violence.

2.5 SUMMARY OF THEORIES OF VIOLENCE

A summary of the theories of violence can be seen in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Dominant Theories of Violence

	TRADITIONAL THEORIES	
I	GENETIC BIOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS	
II	SUBJECTIVE HYPOTHESIS	* Frustration Aggression * Relative Deprivation * Instinctual Hypothesis
III	ENVIRONMENTAL HYPOTHESIS	* Learning Hypothesis * Subculture of Violence
	CONTEXTUAL THEORIES	
I	INTERACTIONIST HYPOTHESIS	
II	MANNONI'S THEORY OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF COLONIALISM	
III	FANON'S THEORY OF VIOLENCE	
IV	BULHAN'S CONSTRAINED-STRAINED THEORY	

However as a concluding comment on the above theories, it is important to note Rule's (1988) assertion that theories strive not only to interpret reality but also to predict and explain. They entail identifying forces, influences, or conditions that will result in similar consequences in new and different settings.

Cooper (1990) cautions that it is essential for researchers to guard against elevating notions that they may have about behaviour to universal truths. A variable does not have independent effect except in relation to a specified set of comparisons. He continues, that unfortunately, most theorizing about violence overlooks these factors, largely isolating the perpetrator and the act of violence from the objective social conditions in which they arise.

There are various hypotheses that attempt to explain some aspect of violent behaviour. Psychological hypotheses, while they are of the "If x... then y... " conceptualization, tend to be ahistorical. Such hypotheses focus on specific timebound typologies of violence and are largely unable to explain why others do not resort to violence under similar conditions. No hypothesis is able to predict each case and across all situations (Cooper, 1990; Bulhan, 1985; Zimmerman, 1983).

Siann (1985) adds that although both the traditional and the contextual theories have yielded some important findings regarding violence and aggression; neither of the theories can exclusively provide an adequate theory of violence. A synthesis of the traditional and the contextual theories of violence would thus provide a fuller understanding of this phenomenon. While it is too ambitious a project for the present study to attempt such a synthesis it would seem that a contribution to the area could be made by examining the kinds of interrelationships that exist between participation in political violence and exposure to violence in particular contexts.

The following chapter explores the implications of these relationships for traditional and contextual explanations theories of violence and outlines the aims and rationale of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

AIMS AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

As indicated in the previous chapter the traditional and contextual theories of violence implicate different factors for explaining why individuals participate in violence, In this study, the variables derived from these theories whose relationship to participation in political violence that will be scrutinised are as follows:

(a) Exposure to state violence
(b) Exposure to domestic violence, and
(c) Ideological support of violence

In addition gender, age and socio-economic status will be included as background variables.

In explaining why individuals participate in political violence, traditional and contextual theories of violence highlight different variables. Thus if one examines each of the variables in tandem with the propositions that traditional and contextual theories would make in regard to their relationship to participation in political violence, the following pertains.

3.1 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEORIES OF VIOLENCE AND PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE

3.1.1 Exposure to State violence and the relationship to political violence

Traditional theories

The assumption prevalent in these theories is that violence is both innate and learnt. Priority is however, given to learning within the home rather than in the larger context. Thus while these theories might predict a positive relationship between participation in political violence and exposure to state violence they would put less emphasis on this than contextual theories. These

theories would be more inclined to see participation in political violence as provoking state violence rather than being provoked by it.

Contextual theories

These theories propose that participation in political violence is inevitable and is the only solution available to those subject to harsh conditions. Furthermore, those exposed to state violence as victims would in these theories be seen to have few non-violent options to rectify the iniquitous situation. These theories would therefore predict a strong relationship between exposure to state violence and involvement in political violence.

3.1.2 Exposure to Domestic violence and the relationship to political violence

Traditional theories

These theories predict that exposure to violence in the home will increase the propensity of individuals behaving aggressively in other situations. These assume that parents act as positive role models and through modelling and reinforcement they socialise their children. Individuals thus would behave violently given their learning context. Both learnt behaviour and innate violent personality traits are cited as causal factors in aggressive behaviour.

These theories also predict that violence in the home is predicated on the parents violent traits. These genetic suppositions would thus be inherited by the children. By implication traditional theories predict that violent parental behaviour in the home would predispose and incline individuals to participation in political violence.

Contextual theories

These theories do not support the notion that exposure to domestic violence would result in a generalisation of violent behaviour into other contexts. Further they do not support the idea that violence is transmitted

intergenerationally. They would thus not predict that exposure to domestic violence would lead to participation in political violence.

3.1.3 Ideological support of Political violence and the relationship to political violence

Traditional theories

These theories emphasise the intrapsychic construction of violence and thus would not consider the relationship between an ideological support of violence and participation in violence. They might however predict that ideology could be involved in the rationalisation of violent behaviour.

Contextual theories

These theories are predicated on the notion that a belief in the legitimacy of violence as a means of social change would increase the likelihood of participation in political violence. Thus contextual theories of violence predict that support for an ideology of violence would result in increased participation in political violence. These theories would see ideology as a motivating force and not as a rationalisation for the expression of instinctual aggression and/or intrapsychic conflict.

Thus in summary, when examining the relationship between the various theories of violence and participation in political violence; traditional theories place greater emphasis on the variable of exposure to domestic violence while contextual theories would place greater weight on ideological support and exposure to state violence to explain participation in political violence.

3.2 GENDER, AGE, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE

While no predictions may be read off the theories of violence concerning the relationship of the variables of gender, age and socio-economic status to participation in political violence, a great deal of evidence exists to indicate that they do have a bearing on participation in political violence.

Gender and Age

Newman (1979) asserts that there are two universal truths about crime and violence. Firstly, it is usually committed by the young persons of any culture, and secondly, that those involved are commonly male. A similar proposition is assumed for involvement in political violence.

The phenomenon of youth culture is well known in the social sciences. In South Africa, the youth have historically been integrally involved in the struggle for political liberation. This involvement has included activism in the African National Congress Youth League in the early 1950s and in the political uprisings in Soweto 1976, to the militancy of the 1980s. Thus the relationship between age and involvement in political violence in the South African context merits close examination.

Socio-Economic Status

Poverty is considered a cause of political instability and political violence (Cnuddle, 1972; Flanigan and Fogelman, 1971; Hurwitz, 1971). Furthermore, Gurr (1972, 1980) also posits socio-economic development as an important determinant of political violence. Skewness of median family income has been found by McElroy and Singel (1973) to contribute to rioting during political violence. Jiobu (1974) cites poverty, unemployment, poor housing and less educational achievement as contributory factors in riot occurrence.

In sum, socio-economic status is seen in the literature to be associated with political violence. In the South African context it appears that most of those involved in the political struggle would also be from the lower income groups.

In sum the variables of Gender, Age, and Socio-economic Status seem to be important as background variables to participation in political violence. Hence their inclusion in the present study.

3.3 AIMS AND RATIONALE

In summary the present study aims to:

(1) explore the relationship between participation in political violence and exposure to state violence, exposure to domestic violence, and ideological support of violence;

(2) examine the differences in the strength of these relationships,

(3) understand which of these aforementioned variables are in fact more heavily implicated in the individual's choice to participate in political violence,

(4) provide comment on the relative merit of traditional and contextual explanations of participation in violence, and

(5) examine the relationship between gender, age, and socio-economic status to participation in political violence.

Clearly however the results obtained are open to a variety of interpretations and no firm conclusions will flow from them. The outcome of the study may carry clear implications for the design and initiation of intervention strategies aimed at addressing the issues of violence more fully. An understanding of the underlying motives, driving forces, intentions and

associated factors that propel young people towards political violence is vital for the designing of and development of intervention strategies at the preventative and curative levels.

Having outlined the aims and rationale for the present investigation, the construction of the measuring instruments and the research study may now be considered.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MEASURING INSTRUMENTS AND THE RESEARCH STUDY

4.1 CONSTRUCTION OF THE MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

The variables of interest in this study were a number of dimensions pertaining both to exposure and participation in political violence; and gender, age and socio-economic status. The questionnaire used in this study was constructed in four steps.

Firstly, in order to tap the latter set of variables, a large number of biographical questions were generated. Secondly questions were generated pertaining to the violence variables of interest namely, participation in political violence, exposure to state violence, exposure to domestic violence and ideological support of violence. These were compiled in consultation with five other psychologists who had worked in the area of children and violence. This step included a review of various violence scales.Some of the items were similar to those in scales which have been used by researchers of violence in other countries, including the Violence Scale of Strauss (1979) and Blumenthal, Kahn, Andrews and Head's (1972) Conflict Tactics Scale which was based on their research on the Approval of Violence for Social Change. However as political violence is context specific, and as the above mentioned scales have not been tailored for use with the South African population they were not used in their totality, but were used to inform the selection of items for the questionnaire.

Thirdly, as indicated a large number of items were initially generated by a method of consultation with psychologists and a review of the above-mentioned scales. These items were administered to the subject pool. Fourthly, their responses to these items were then analysed to assess their psychometric properties at least in regard to internal consistency. Items were grouped into scales on rational grounds and items which failed to correlate with the total were discarded. Furthermore, where items were reverse keyed (negatively scored) eg. " I disapprove of all forms of violence"; these were reverse scored during the data capture phase. Data from questions

where there was evidence of self-reported untruthfulness were discarded. The method whereby this was established will be elaborated upon in the next section.

The questionnaire as it was originally formulated is presented in Appendix A. The items that were finally used in the present study are presented in Appendix B.

The items that were included in the questionnaire specifically in regard to participation and exposure to political violence, exposure to domestic violence, as well an ideological support of violence, are presented below along with the correlation coefficients or Cronbach alphas which established the internal consistency of the items pertaining to each of the above. It should be noted that each of the scales generally met the criterion of an alpha coefficient equal to 0,6 set as an acceptable level of internal consistency for research purposes (Anastasi,1982). Where two or three questions represented a specific research dimension, the correlation between them is reported. In the final data analysis however the research responses were added to form a composite score (Ghiselli, Campbell & Zedeck,1981).

4.1.1 THE VIOLENCE SCALES

4.1.1.1 PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE SCALE

The items used to measure **Participation in Violence** were:

I have participated in political violence.

I have participated in community political violence.

The Phi coefficient between them is ϕ (N = 1653) = 0.62, p < 0.001. (For further information see **Appendix C.**)

An important shortcoming of the participation in violence score is that it is very small.

4.1.1.2 EXPOSURE TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SCALE

The items used to measure **Exposure to domestic violence** include:

I have observed my father being violent toward my mother.

I have observed my mother being violent towards my father.

The Phi coefficient between them ϕ ($\underline{N}$ = 1641) = 0.50, p < 0.001. (For further information see **Appendix C.**)

The major shortcoming of this scale as in regard to all the other scales was its small size.

Although Phi is not very large, it was decided to keep these two measures together, as they are essential for the testing of the exposure to domestic violence hypothesis.

4.1.1.3 IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF VIOLENCE SCALE

The items used to measure **Ideological Support of Violence** were:

1 **I disapprove of all forms of violence**$^{+}$
2 **The African National Congress (ANC), Pan African Congress (PAC), Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) should renounce violence.**$^{+}$
3 **Violence is understandable in some circumstances**
4 **Necklacing should be condemned in all circumstances.**$^{+}$
5 **There are good reasons why violence is a necessary means to change things.**
6 **I hate any form of political violence.**$^{+}$
7 **I believe that non-violent protest does not bring about political change.**
8 **Political counterviolence will solve the country's problems.**

$^{+}$ denotes items that were negatively coded.

The alpha coefficient for these items was **0,83.** (For further information see **Appendix C.**)

It important to note that the `ideological support of violence scale' is an amalgam of general violence related sentiments on the one hand and opinions specific to the South African political situation on the other.

4.1.1.4 EXPOSURE TO STATE VIOLENCE SCALE

The item used to measure Exposure to State Violence was:

Q16 **I have been attacked by the police.**

It was unfortunate that only one item was included to measure this theme. Items which might have been useful such as `have you been detained, or evicted etc'. were not included in the initial pool given that when the study was first conceived its focus was somewhat different. Items which were in fact included pertained to a subjective sense of danger eg. `I have often felt my life was in danger.' However these items did not show an internal consistency of an acceptable standard with one another and also did not correlate with the most direct measure of exposure state violence namely, `I have been attacked by the police.' This latter measure was thus retained on its own. (For further information see Appendix C.)

The implications of the uneven quality of the scales for the results are particularly important. The findings regarding the relationship of the variables to participation in political violence would thus need to be generalised with much care and caution.

A table summarising the Cronbach alphas and Phi coefficients is presented below.

TABLE 2

INTERNAL CONSISTENCY OF THEMATIC CONSTRUCTS OF VIOLENCE USING CRONBACH'S ALPHA COEFF.

CONSTRUCT	ITEM	COEFF.	N	P<
Violence Participation	(I) 13, 15	Phi ϕ 0,62	1653	p<0.001
Ideological support	(I) 4, 5, 6, 9, 18, 24	Alpha 0,83	.	.
Exposure to domestic violence	(I) 10, 12	Phi ϕ 0.50	1641	p<0.001
Exposure to state violence	(I) 16	.	1657	.

Having outlined the instrumentation used in this study, the study itself may now be outlined.

4.2 THE RESEARCH STUDY

4.2.1 SUBJECTS

The sample for this study was selected from the population of full-time students of the year 1990 who had enrolled for first year undergraduate studies at the Unive . of the Western Cape. Being a tertiary institution, this sample would generally articulate their ideological position on violence much more clearly than a non-student sample. The sample consisted of 1902 students (n = 1902) who were present for the study from the new first year student population of 2677

(N = 2677). This large population was targeted so as to provide an opportunity to canvas as extensive a representation of youth as was feasible within the scope of this study. The size of the study also enhances the importance of its findings.

Given the massive political upheaval that largely affected secondary education nationally, this particular sample group was also selected for their potential experience, exposure and participation in incidences of violence during their high school career.

The distribution of geographical locations, home languages, and gender distribution in the population to be studied is reflected in the table presented below.

TABLE 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION, LANGUAGE AND GENDER

AREAS	N	%
Cape Province	2123	79,3
Natal	55	2,0
Orange Free State	46	1,7
Transvaal	249	9,3
Namibia	19	0,7
Zimbabwe	1	0,03
Lesotho	1	0,03
Transkei	68	2,5
Venda	1	0,03
Bophuthatswana	20	0,07
Ciskei	94	3,5

GENDER	N	%
Female	1373	51,3
Male	1304	48,7

HOME LANGUAGE	N	%
Unknown	5	0,2
Afrikaans	887	33,1
English	524	19,6
Afrik & Eng	218	8,1
Sotho	120	4,5
Tswana	88	3,3
Venda	5	0,2
Xhosa	721	26,9
Zulu	71	2,6
Other	38	1,4

POPULATION: All first year students at UWC in 1990 N = 2677

SAMPLE: All first year students at UWC that participated in the research n = 1902

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POPULATION: All first year students at UWC in 1990 N = 2677

SAMPLE: All first year students at UWC that participated in the research n = 1902

TABLE 3A

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FULL SAMPLE

GENDER	Freq	Percent
Male	938	49.5 %
Female	958	50.5 %
Missing	6	
Total	1902	

AGE	Freq	Percent
17	211	11.2%
18	670	35.5%
19	314	16.6%
20	179	9.5%
21+	512	27.1%
Missing	16	
Total	1902	

LANGUAGE	Freq	Percent
Afrikaans	793	42.9%
English	480	26.0%
African	485	26.3%
Other	89	4.8%
Missing	55	

INCOME

Average monthly income of parents

	Freq	Percent
R500 or less	483	26.0%
R501- R1000	556	30.0%
R1001-R1500	311	18.9%
R1501-R2000	199	10.7%
R2001-R2500	116	6.2%
R2501 or more	152	8.2%
Missing		46

From this table it is clear that the students are not a homogeneous group but rather display differences in gender and ethnicity and language.

Gender distribution in the population was generally equally balanced between males (51,3%) and females (48,7%). The predominant home language in the population was Afrikaans (33,1%). Xhosa (26,9%) and English (19,6%) speakers were also fairly represented. The frequency distribution of the other home languages, can be seen in Table 3.

Almost four fifths of the population was located in the geographical area of the Cape Province (79,3%), while the remainder reside in Gauteng and the larger Transvaal (9,3%), "Bophuthatswana", (0,7%), "Transkei" (2,5%), Natal (2,0%), the Orange Free State (1,7%) and Namibia (0,7%).

Table 3a details the characteristics of the sample. The sample consisted of 1902 students, whose gender distribution was also generally balanced between males (49,5%) and females (50,5%). The predominant home language in the population was Afrikaans (42,9%) while African language speakers (26,3%) and English speakers (26,0%) were also fairly represented.

While 26% of the sample were from poor socio-economic circumstances, family income of (R500 or less), only 8,2% were from a higher socio-economic background (R2501 or more). The majority (56,0%) of the sample were 18 years of age and below while 27,1% were over the age of 21.

From Table 3a one can see that the sample was fairly representative of the population being studied.

4.2.2 PROCEDURES

The subjects were approached by the researcher during the Orientation Programme at the University and asked to fill in the questionnaire. The university has a set policy to train senior students to work with incoming new students in small groups in order to facilitate their assimilation to the university. The orientation group leader accompanies this group throughout the orientation week, introducing students to various aspects of student life. Rapport and trust are thus developed and fostered.

During structured time on the third day of the Orientation Programme, the students were all simultaneously placed in a testing situation at various venues on the campus. The questionnaires were administered to the students by the orientation group leaders under the supervision of a psychologist and the staff of the Student Counselling Centre. Students were informed that the study was about their views on participation, exposure and ideological support of political violence. They were told clearly that they were free not to participate in the research at any stage, even though the value of their contribution by way of the information gathered for knowledge production and programme development around violence was emphasised.

All subjects were free to raise questions and make comments to ensure that they obtained absolute clarity about the instructions and procedures during the process of research. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity during the data gathering phase, the questionnaires were unsigned and the subjects remained anonymous. It was emphasized that the students should not write their names on the questionnaires.

In addition to filling in the questionnaire subjects were asked to fill in a post- interview scale developed by Delamater (1974) which assesses whether individuals told the truth on the original questionnaire. The data for the degree of truthfulness of the responses given by the sample is presented below and those questionnaires that indicated that the subjects that indicated that they lied all or most of the time were not included in the statistical analyses.

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY RESPONSE OF REPORTED TRUTHFULNESS ACCORDING TO GENDER, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND AGE

	TOTAL Freq	%[1]	UNTRUE n	%[2]	TRUE n	%[2]	DF	Chi-Square p<
ALL SUBJECTS	179	283.4%	206	11.5%	1586	88.5%		
Missing values	110	5.8%						
GENDER: Male	879	49.2%	99	11.3%	780	88.7%	1	0.125
Female	907	50.8%	107	11.8%	800	88.2%		p=0.724
Missing Values	115							
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS:							3	11.143 p=0.011**
R 0-500	437	25.0%	62	14.2%	375	85.8%		
R 500-1000	522	29.8%	63	12.1%	459	87.9%		
R1000-1500	321	19.5%	42	12.3%	299	87.7%		
R1500+	449	25.7%	33	7.3%	416	92.7%		
Missing Values	153							
AGE:							4	20.526
up to 17 years	210	11.7%	22	10.5%	188	89.5%		
18 years	648	36.5%	54	8.3%	594	91.7%		p=0.0004
19 years	300	16.9%	32	10.7%	268	89.3%		***
20 years	161	9.1%	19	11.8%	142	88.2%		
21 years plus	458	25.8%	78	17.0%	380	83.0%		
Missing Values	125							

1 Percentage of total group who answered the question
2 Percentage within variable spread across true and false answers
DF Degrees of freedom
** Significant below the 0.05 level
*** Significant below the 0.001 level

The majority of students (n=1586, or 88.5% - see Table 4) consistently indicated that they were responding truthfully to the questions posed to them in the study. A breakdown of the data by gender, age and socio-economic status is shown to establish if the exclusion of "untruthful" subjects is likely to have biased the sample in terms of these biographical variables.

It appears that there are no significant differences with regard to gender (0.125 p=0.724) χ^2 (1, N = 1786) = 0.125, p < 0.75. However there are significant differences with regard to age and socio-economic status. The higher age groups χ^2 (4, N = 1777) = 20.526, p < 0.001 and the lower income groups χ^2 (3, N = 1749) = 11.143, p < 0.05, have admitted to more untrue responses. This could be because the older age groups comprise more mature and independent students who would have less trouble admitting to being dishonest. The lower income groups can be expected to be more suspicious of probing questions, especially regarding a political system which they experienced to be unjust.

It is of note that the overall percentage of students who indicated that they were responding truthfully compares favourably with other studies (Delamater, 1974; Johnson & Delamater, 1976). The exclusion of almost twelve percent (11.5%, n=206) of the sample compares favourably with other studies that have used this procedure (Delamater, 1974; Johnson & Delamater, 1976). Although there is some loss of data these losses take place in the high frequency categories of older students and students from a lower socio-economic background. The data gathered can thus be interpreted with some measure of confidence.

4.3 SCORING PROCEDURE

The questionnaire was scored either using a three point scale with the anchors being Yes/Uncertain/ No; or using a two point scale with the anchors being Yes/No. (see Appendix B for more detail in this regard.)

4.4 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The relationships between participation in violence and the variables pertaining to exposure to state and domestic violence, and ideological support of violence were examined using

correlational matrices. The biographical variables of gender, socio-economic status and age were analysed using frequency counts and chi-squares.

The data was statistically analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie et al, 1975). Given the large sample size, results were only considered significant if $p<0,001$.

In the next chapter we turn to examine the outcome of the study project.

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CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the outcome of the study is reported by means of summary tables, frequency distributions, percentages, chi-square tests and t-tests. Each table is followed by a brief summary comment. Data indicating the relationship between participation in political violence and exposure to state violence, exposure to domestic violence, ideological support of violence; and gender, age and socio-economic status differences are presented in turn below.

For the CHI-square tests : the upper and lower class intervals of age and parental income were used.

5.2 VIOLENCE RELATED VARIABLES ACCORDING TO GENDER, AGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

The violence related variables of exposure to state violence, exposure to domestic violence and ideological support of violence are presented in terms of gender, age and socio-economic status, in Tables 5, 6 and 7 below.

5.2.1 EXPOSURE TO STATE VIOLENCE

The results show a significant gender and age difference for exposure to state violence.

As can be seen from Table 5, of the 38,3% of the sample that reported exposure to state violence, male respondents were more than twice as likely than females to have been assaulted by the police. Similarly older subjects (21 years and older - 51,2%) reported greater exposure to state violence than younger subjects (29,3%). There were no significant differences in socio-economic status for participation in political violence.

Table 5 shows the data in detail.

TABLE 5

EXPOSURE TO STATE VIOLENCE ACCORDING TO GENDER, AGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

	Exposure to State Violence		DF	CHI-square	p<
	No freq perc	Yes freq perc			
Male	377 46.4%[1]	435 53.6%	1	156.79	0.000
Female	641 76.4%	198 23.6%			***
Below 501	218 54.8%	180 45.2%	1	5.77	0.02
Above 2500	93 66.4%	47 33.6%			*
17	133 70.7%	55 29.3%	1	25.19	0.000
21 AND OLDER	200 48.8%	210 51.2%			***

[1] Row percentages

* Significant on the 0.05 level
*** Significant on the 0.001 level

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17	133 70.7%	55 29.3%	1	25.19	0.000
21 AND OLDER	200 48.8%	210 51.2%			***

[1] Row percentages

* Significant on the 0.05 level
*** Significant on the 0.001 level

5.2.2 EXPOSURE TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The results show a significant age difference for exposure to domestic violence.

From Table 6 it can be seen that there were no significant gender differences for exposure to domestic violence, with 30,7% of families of both males and females experiencing violence in the home. There was a trend towards the 21 and older age group (15,8%) experiencing greater exposure to domestic violence ($p < 0,05$). Furthermore though not significant at the level of acceptance for this study, there was a trend towards the lower income groups (R501-15,6%) observing parental violence more often than their high income peers.

TABLE 6

EXPOSURE TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ACCORDING TO GENDER, AGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

	EXP TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE Violence perpetrated by			DF	CHI-square	p<
	None freq perc	One Parent freq perc	Both Parents freq perc			
Male	560 67.7%[1]	155 19.1%	107 13.2%	2	2.36	0.31
Female	591 70.9%	151 18.1%	92 11.0%			
Below 501	266 66.8%	70 17.6%	62 15.6%	2	8.43	0.015
Above 2500	111 78.7%	20 14.2%	10 7.1%			*
17	140 74.5%	32 17.0%	16 8.5%	2	6.59	0.04
21 AND OLDER	267 65.8%	75 18.5%	64 15.8%			*

[1] Row percentages
* Significant on the 0.05 level
*** Significant on the 0.001 level

5.2.3 IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

T-tests are used to compare the relationship of the demographic variables with ideological orientation toward political violence. Table 7 below reports the data in some detail.

TABLE 7

IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF VIOLENCE ACCORDING TO GENDER, AGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

	Ideology					
	N	Mean	SDStderr	t-test	DF	p<
Male	756	0.53	1.79 0.07	7.3383	1619.0	0.0000
Female	765	-0.14	1.79 0.06			****
17	170	-0.35	1.72 0.13	-8.364	556.0	0.0000
21 AND OLDER	388	0.96	1.69 0.09			****
Below 501	377	0.76	1.72 0.088	3.1274	475.0	0.0019
Above 2500	100	0.15	1.78 0.178			***

*** Significant on the 0.01 level
**** Significant on the 0.001 level

The results show significant differences for participation in political violence and an ideological support of violence on the means for all three demographic variables of gender, age and socio-economic status.

Table 7 reports that males, as well as the older(age 21+) and poorer subjects show higher ideological support levels for violence as an instrument of political change. Interestingly, females and the age 17 groups indicated a resistance to using violence for political means.

5.3 PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND GENDER, AGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

The results of the relationship between participation in political violence and the demographic variables of gender, socio-economic status and age are presented in Table 8 below.

TABLE 8

PARTICIPATION IN VIOLENCE ACCORDING TO GENDER, AGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

	Participation in Political violence						DF	CHI-square	p<
	None (0) freq	perc	Some (1) freq	perc	Most (2) freq	perc			
Male	250	30.6%[1]	320	39.2%	246	30.1%	2	108.55	0.000
Female	440	52.3%	296	35.2%	106	12.6%			***
Below 501	156	38,9%	138	34.4%	107	26.7%	2	6.49	0.04
Above 2500	59	41.8%	59	41.8%	23	16.3%			*
17	94	49.7%	70	37.0%	25	13.2%	2	19.73	0.000
21 AND OLDER	141	34.1%	158	38.3%	114	27.6%			***

[1] Row percentages

* Significant on the 0.05 level
*** Significant on the 0.001 level

There was a significant gender and age difference for participation in political violence.

The majority (52.3%) of the sample reported participation in political violence , with 69,3% male participation as compared to 47,8% female participation. While 65,9% of older students were politically violent, only 50,2% of the younger students were politically violent.

There is also a significant difference in participation in violence according to age. Those in the age group 21 years and older were twice as likely to get involved in political violence than those in the 17 year old age group.

There were no significant differences for socio-economic status and participation in violence at the level of statistical acceptance for this study. This may well have been because the sample as a whole had a relatively low socio-economic status, ranging from a monthly family income of below R500 to that of R2500+. Nevertheless, the results do show a trend towards socio-economic difference ($p < 0,05$) for participation in political violence, with those from poorer socio-economic backgrounds being more often associated with political violence.

5.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND GENDER, AGE, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

The relationship between participation in violence and the background variables of gender, age and socio-economic status is reported in Table 9 below.

TABLE 9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL VIOLENCE PARTICIPATION AND GENDER, AGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS - USING SPEARMAN CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	Violence participation (r = Correlation p = Probability)
Gender	r= -0.25 p< 0,0001 **** % variance=6,25%
Socioeco status	r= -0,07 p< 0.001 *** % variance=0,49%
Age	r= 0.12 p< 0.0001 **** %variance=1,44%

*** Significant on the 0,01 level
**** Significant on the 0,001 level

There is generally a poor correlation (r= -0,25, p<0,001; r=0,07,p<0,05; r=0,12; p<0,001) for gender, age and socio-economic status and participation in political violence. Gender and socio-economic status show a negative correlation(with males being coded 1 and females 2; and low-, mid-, and high- income being coded 1, 2, and 3 respectively). This indicates a correlation between poorer males and high political violence scores; and females from higher socio-economic backgrounds and lower political violence scores.

Thus older males from a lower socio-economic background are more likely to participate in violence. However, the percentage of variance that each of these correlations explains is quite low (gender = 6.25%, socio-economic status=0.49%, age = 1.44%). The demographic variables do not adequately explain participation in political violence in this study. There are thus other major factors that will better explain participation in political violence in this study.

5.5 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND THE CONSTRUCTED SCALES OF VIOLENCE

The relationship between participation in political violence and the variables of exposure to state and domestic violence, as well as ideological support of violence is presented in Table 10 below.

TABLE 10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VIOLENCE PARTICIPATION AND VIOLENCE SUPPORT, EXPOSURE TO DOMESTIC AND STATE VIOLENCE - USING SPEARMAN CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	VIOLENCE PARTICIPATION	EXPOSURE TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	EXPOSURE TO STATE VIOLENCE
IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF VIOLENCE	r=0.2 p<0.0001 Variance= 4,0%	r=0.03 p<0.277 Variance= 0,19%	r=0.29 p<0.0001 Variance= 8,4%
EXPOSURE TO STATE VIOLENCE	r=0.77 p<0.0001 Variance= 59,3%	r=0.06 p<0.01 Variance= 0,4%	.
EXPOSURE TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	r=0.08 p<0.001 Variance= 0,6%	.	.

A very strong correlation ($r=0,77$, $p<0,0001$) exists between exposure to state violence and participation in political violence (variance explained = 59.3%). This relationship though strong is not necessarily a causal one, as the directionality of this relationship is unknown.

The correlation between participation in political violence and ideological support of violence as a means to political change is a poor one ($r=0,2$, $p<0,0001$). Only 8.4% of the variance for participation in political violence isaccompanied by ideological support of violence. Thus although there is support for political violence subjects do not always engage in political violence.

There is a very small correlation ($r=0,08$,$p<0,01$) between exposure to domestic violence and participation in violence (variance explained = 0.6%). Thus exposure to violence in the home does not necessarily extend to violent political participation.

A poor correlation is noted for both the relationship between exposure to state violence and exposure to domestic violence ($r=0,06$, $p<0,01$), and exposure to state violence and an ideological support of violence ($r=0,29$ $p<0.0001$).

5.6 FINAL SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The results of the study reveal that participation in political violence is significantly related to exposure to state violence and support of an ideology that justifies violence, as well as being male and being older.

The results of the study in regard to the constructed scales reveal that the variable which shows the strongest relationship to participation in political violence is exposure to state violence. This is followed by ideological support of violence.

Though participation in political violence is also significantly related to exposure to domestic violence, the amount of variance that the correlation accounts for is very low. The relationship is thus a poor one. Exposure to violence in the home thus cannot offer an explanation for participation in political violence.

The extremely poor relationship between exposure to domestic violence and an ideological support of violence suggests that justification of an ideology of violence is not forthcoming

from the study despite the learning experience of observing parental violence.

The implications of these results will be discussed in the following chapter, wh.. the present findings are employed to implicitly discuss the merits of the major theories of violence and the predisposing factors associated with participation in political violence among the youth in South Africa.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The present study explores a student population's views on violence and political violence, and how and to what extent exposure to state violence, ideological support of violence, exposure to domestic violence, gender, age and socio-economic status influence participation in political violence in South Africa.

The findings presented in the preceding chapter are utilised to understand the associated and underlying factors that inform young people's decisions to participate in political violence.

The theoretical and practical implications of the study are also reviewed.

6.2 PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE

A sizable percentage of young men and women in this study reported both exposure, ideological support and participation in political violence. The majority (69,3%) of the respondents reported participating in political violence.

6.2.1 EXPOSURE TO STATE VIOLENCE

The majority of youth in this sample had not only participated in political violence but had also been exposed to state violence.

The good correlation ($r=0,77$, $p<0,0001$) between exposure to state violence and participation in political vio. ace suggests that many of the youth may have confronted the violence of the

state with counterviolence or that conversely their violence had been met with state repression. However, a causal relationship cannot be assumed to exist between the variables as the results are unable to offer information as to the direction of this relationship. While the direction of the causal relationship is unclear the high positive correlation is consistent with the predictions made by the contextual theories of violence that explanations of violence are linked to social and political factors.

It is unclear whether the youth had participated in political violence as a consequence of their exposure to state violence, or whether their exposure to the violence was a result of their participation in acts of violence. At best it may be safe to say that the state is significantly associated with the use of political violence among a select group of first year students in the Western Cape.

6.2.2 EXPOSURE TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Unlike exposure to state violence, exposure to domestic violence is not significantly associated with participation in political violence among respondents of this study. Even though 30,7% of all respondents were exposed to domestic violence Pearson's correlation coefficients ($r=0,06$, $p<0,0001$) show that there is no significant statistical relationship between exposure to domestic violence and participation in political violence. By implication violence is not a generalised behavioural choice among the respondents.

These results are again consistent with the predictions made by contextual theories for participation in political violence. Traditional theories of violence would predict a high correlation between exposure to domestic violence and participation in political violence. According to the traditional view, violence is learnt mainly in the immediate family environment would generalise to other settings. The findings of the study do not support this assumption.

6.2.3 IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF VIOLENCE

Support of an ideology that justifies the use of violence under certain circumstances, appears to have a significant association with use of political violence among the respondents of the study.

Significantly, respondents who are older than 21 years, male and from lower socio-economic backgrounds showed strong support for ideologies that justify political violence in the struggle for human rights.

However a nuanced examination of the correlational statistics for ideological support of domestic violence and participation in political violence ($r=0,2$, $p<0,0001$) indicate that despite their ideological beliefs not all respondents engaged in political violence. This suggests that participation in political violence was seen as an informed choice stemming from a particular ideological position rather than an irrational destructive act.

In sum, participation in political violence is most significantly associated with exposure to state violence, and then with an ideological support of violence. Violence participation does not seem to be linked to exposure to domestic violence in any direct way.

6.3 GENDER, AGE, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Gender, age and socio-economic status influence individuals perceptions of and participation in political violence. The current study's findings for gender, age and socio-economic status are consistent with other research findings.

6.3.1 GENDER

There were significant gender differences in relation to exposure to violence, ideological support for violence and participation in violence. Both males and females participated in political violence, with males showing significantly greater involvement as compared to females.

The literature reviewed in terms of gender and political violence predicts that males would generally be more likely than females to respond with violence in most situations. Males consistently have higher exposure to political violence, stronger support for an ideological position on violence and greater participation in violence. Gender differences in relation to exposure to political violence and participation in political violence may be accounted for by the fact that in the South African context, a far greater number of males have been involved in political organisations and political struggles.

The patriarchal nature of South African society and the consequent differential gender socialisation may also encourage males to be more aggressive in their interactions with others. This propensity to aggressive behaviour when coupled with the high levels of stress that characterise South African society increases the likelihood of participation in politically violent behaviour. A similar assumption is made for the South African political context which is both frustrating and highly stressful. The findings of this study support this notion of male involvement in violence.

It is nevertheless interesting that while many more males were involved in violence, the number of females participating in political violence was higher than expected from the studies reviewed. Their increased exposure to state violence may also have been as a result of their increased politicisation and the central role that they played in the struggle for political rights.

6.3.2 AGE

There were also significant age differences in relation to exposure to political violence, ideological support for violence and participation in political violence. Older males (21+) had greater exposure to violence and greater participation in political violence. This is contrary to the prediction made by various other studies reported in the literature.

The literature on violence and age proposes that the younger members of society are generally more violent and would in the context of political violence show more participation and involvement. This prediction is not supported by the results of the study. The fact that the majority of the sample in the under 20 age group had also participated in political violence indicates that degree to which participation in political violence is normative.

This is probably due to the fact that during the 1980's and early 1990's the educational system has been a site of intense state repression and violence, with the elementary and secondary schools bearing the brunt of this. In regard to age, the age group of 21+ were more involved in political violence than those under 18 years of age. This older group that had probably been in school during the student unrest of 1980 and 1985. When the State of Emergency was imposed these young people were probably propelled into the political arena and its attendant violence.

6.2.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

With regard to socio-economic status the findings reveal that the majority of respondents from all socio-economic levels participated in and experienced state violence.

Numerous studies have documented the relationship between socio-economic status and political violence (Cnuddle, 1972; Flanigan and Fogelman, 1971; Hurwitz, 1970, Gurr, 1972, 1989;)

predicting that individuals from poorer socio-economic backgrounds would be more violent in society than those from higher income backgrounds.

However in the study, the socio-economic status variable did not feature as expected. There was a statistically significant result between socio-economic status and ideological support for violence and participation in political violence but this was at lower confidence intervals (0.01 and 0.05 respectively). This may be due to the fact that only parental income was used as a measure of socio-economic status and it is not a very accurate measure of socio-economic status. Thus a stronger relationship could be expected if socio-economic status was more carefully measured.

The literature proposes that poverty and poor socio-economic status increase the likelihood of violent behaviour. The findings do not support this view entirely. Although a statistically poor relationship was noted for socio-economic status and participation in political violence in the study, the trend seems to be that the poor tended to report being more violent in a political context. In this regard then the results for socio-economic status parallel the general trend for class violence in that those individuals from poor socio-economic backgrounds tend to be more violent in society than those from higher income backgrounds. This may well be because for this group the redressing of social inequity and poverty is of crucial importance in ameliorating violence in society. In the present study it is possible that the range of income levels assessed was too narrow to clearly demonstrate relationships between socio-economic status and participation in political violence.

6.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR CONTEXTUAL AND TRADITIONAL THEORIES OF VIOLENCE

Traditional and contextual theories of violence offer differing explanations for why individuals participate in political violence. Traditional theories do not offer specific explanations of political violence and conceptualise political violence as being very similar to other forms of violence.

Contextual theories by comparison regard social and political factors as central in understanding political violence.

The present study also tested some of the predictions these theories make about individual's reasons for participation in political violence. The findings of the study suggest that the ideas and explanations of the contextual theories enjoy a great deal of currency among the respondents of the present study. Violence appears to be constructed primarily as a political phenomenon which occurs in conjunction with or in reaction to state engineered violence. By implication once social equality, political stability and economic equity are established violence will either be reduced or eliminated. In this view the solution for violence is a political one.

Contextual and traditional theories offer different accounts on the role of the demographic variables in participation in political violence. Traditional theories would explain gender differences in terms of two hypotheses. Firstly inherent biological differences which make males more aggressive and secondly violent behaviour is often learnt from violent male role models. Contextual theories by focusing on the social and political factors associated with political violence do not take into account the gender differences that are present.

Contextual theories provide a better account of age and socio-economic status differences in the present study. According to the interactionist view of violence the basic structure of social and economic institutions fundamentally shape the behaviour of individuals in any given society. Hence, the behaviour of older age groups (age 21+) in the South African context have been shaped by their exposure to the student unrest of the 1980s and early 1990s. Similarly, the most oppressed and exploited group would entertain political violence as a legitimate choice to change their subordinate position.

In terms of the violence related variables there was a significant correlation between ideological support of violence and participation in political violence and exposure to state violence, with a variance estimates of 4,0% and 59,3% respectively. This suggests that respondents views on violence were informed by their experiences with and exposure to state violence rather than

exposure to violence within the home environment. There was no relationship between exposure to domestic violence and ideological support of violence. These findings are consistent with contextual theories of violence. Traditional theories of violence would predict a relationship between domestic violence and ideological support of violence.

There was a very strong correlation ($r=0,77$, $p<0,0001$) between exposure to state violence and violence participation which accounted for 59.3% of the variance. However, the direction of the relationship is unclear and two possibilities exist. Firstly, state violence may have resulted in respondents resorting to violence. Secondly, violence against the state may have been met by state repression and retaliation.

While the direction of the relationship is unclear it suggests that context plays a crucial role in participation in political violence. It supports the notion that social institutions shape the behaviour of individuals. This is in contrast to traditional views on violence which would locate reasons for participation in political violence within the individual and view state violence as being provoked by individual violence.

Participation in political violence is thus related and directed against a very specific target, the state. The findings of this study support this context specific nature of political violence that is emphasised by the contextual theories of violence. Support for the contextual theories of violence is also forthcoming from the significant albeit poor correlation between participation in violence and ideological support of violence.

An important finding that refutes the social learning theory for exposure to domestic violence is the poor correlation between participation in political violence and exposure to violence in the home, as well as the poor correlation of exposure to state violence with an ideological support of violence. This would seem to indicate that the youth have <u>not</u> learnt to be politically violent by being involved in domestic violence. Nor have they responded violently in the home as a result of their support and participation in political violence.

In summary, recent epidemiological studies suggest that the views of the respondents that tend to to converge primarily towards the contextual theories must be considered cautiously as violence is not only a political problem. Violence is a public health problem which primarily arises out of everyday acts of interpersonal behaviour. Whereas 81,1% of all violence in South Africa is related to domestic conflicts, gang warfare, criminal behaviour, child abuse and assaults, political violence accounts for only 11,9% of all violence in South Africa (Seedat, M., Terreblanche, M., Butchart, A., & Nell, V.; 1992).

The contextual theories would therefore be enriched if they focus on high risk victim and perpetrator relationship, contextual determinants of violence, the function of substance abuse and on the mechanisms involved in inflicting injury through violence (Butchart, A., Seedat, M., & Nell, V., 1995).

6.5 SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

A description of the factors influencing participation in political violence has been offered above as has a description of the implications for the contextual and traditional theories in understanding violence.

This study seems to favour the assumptions forwarded by contextual theories of violence for participation in political violence. The results show that the vast majority of youth in the sample were affected by the violence in the country, either as passive agents and victims or as perpetrators of violence.

The findings suggest that the contextual theories of violence seem to offer a better explanation for understanding violence and political violence in South Africa than do the traditional theories of violence.

Opposition to apartheid has resulted in altering of the relational patterns of power and gender. The degree of participation by females in political violence in this study as compared to other investigations, reflects this change in the role definition of women from the traditional role as passive and docile to one of greater empowerment and activism. This has important implications for the perception of women and their role in the socialisation process.

The implications for interventions implicit in the findings will now be discussed.

6.6 IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERVENTION

Since the majority of first year undergraduate students experienced some degree of violence, the implications for the educational environment are many fold.

Firstly, it has an implication for the university in that the manner in which students solve problems may be influenced by their experiences of violence. Students' negative expectations of authority figures following their adverse interactions with the police will also influence their behaviour with staff at the university.

Secondly, there is an implication for the provision of psychological services for this particularly vulnerable group at the university. Counselling centres at university should also have promotive and preventative programmes that focus on violence and its psychological sequelae. Students would thus be afforded an opportunity to resolve any issues emergent from their previous experiences of state and domestic violence.

Thirdly, the information gathered on violence should be fed back to guidance teachers at secondary schools. This would then help inform the development of projects designed to remediate the impact of violence and apartheid on the lives of school-pupils. Curricula at tertiary institutions involved in teacher training that include components focussing on conflict resolution and violence may be useful.

Fourthly, many of the youth in the community involved in violence may not have had the opportunity to complete their education due to the disruption and closure of secondary schools by the state. They would nevertheless also have been affected by the violence as have their peers at university. The information gathered in the study would thus be of value to those organisations in the community that offer social services for youthful survivors of violence. In attempting to ameliorate the effects of the pervasive violence in the society and effect national development and reconstruction, programmes need to be tailored to incorporate the oppression equation and highlight the impact that apartheid has on the life of the youth.

Furthermore, programme designers need to confront the source of the violence and be sensitive to ways in which this may be curtailed and eradicated. Failure to address violence in its overt and subtle forms may result in interventions not being as effective as the process demands.

In order to generate self-development and empowerment, programme designers need to ensure that the community is intricately involved in the planning and development of these programmes.

Finally, in addressing the problem of violence, it is imperative that violence also be viewed in a contextual way, and that interventions take cognisance of the sociopolitical realities facing the majority of historically unenfranchised youth in South Africa.

6.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One limitation of this study was its reliance on self-reports and questionnaires. Questionnaires can only provide answers to the questions asked and thus they limit a priora the nature of the data obtained. Structured questionnaires are further limiting because the answers given need to fit into predetermined categories which limit the rich information that could have been solicited by unstructured interviews.

Self reports have clear pitfalls like self-serving bias and social desirability responses. The lack of adequate checks in the questionnaire to guard against this occurring was a shortcoming. Nevertheless, certain procedures were instituted to increase confidence in the results. These included firstly, ensuring anonymity and secondly, implementing a check for self-reported untruthfulness.

A further shortcoming of this study pertained to the generalisability of the results as the sample came predominantly from within the Cape Province. The sample was also limited by its exclusively quantitative nature. The study would have been enhanced by further researching the phenomenon of violence using qualitative methods. This would have facilitated a greater understanding of the sample and the effect of violence on it. It seems that a methodology that included both an open-ended questionnaire and an in-depth interview would have yielded richer results.

Furthermore, the study was limited because the data gathered reflected a particular time frame wherein intense political violence was prevalent in the society. The incidence and nature of political violence may have changed following the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and following the first democratic election in South Africa. The advent of majority rule will certainly have had an impact on the use of political violence for political change by the historically unenfranchised.

This study nevertheless, provides important information and baseline data on a sample that has not been investigated adequately in South Africa.

In summary then the limitations of this study pertained to its exclusive use of self-reports and questionnaires, the circumscribed nature of the sample, the time frame of the study and the absence of more in-depth qualitative data.

6.8 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Implicit in the findings of the study are various pointers for future research in the field of psychology and violence. Most significant is the suggestion that the present study be replicated in a more elaborate way in other historically unenfranchised communities, so as to provide some comparative literature and contribute towards a body of knowledge, concerned specifically with the impact of violence and oppression on the historically unenfranchised. Such a study could also elaborate upon the manifestations of violence to be investigated by including problems like rape, domestic violence, child abuse, homicide, assassinations, torture, poverty, exile, incest and malnutrition.

Another area of possible future research would be the manner in which attitudes to violence influence interpersonal relationships. Courtship violence and date rape are increasingly becoming major problems at South African universities. In the arena of interpersonal gender violence, it would also be interesting to explore the effect of sexist ideology on explanations of violence. The relationship between political violence and interpersonal violence, especially within this politically violent group of young people would make both fascinating and important research. Given the patriarchal nature of South African society, the issue of intrafamilial violence would be an interesting area of of research.

It is also urgent that the controversial issue of counterviolence be investigated in greater detail. The large scale internecine violence experienced in South Africa presently and especially before the 1994 elections, evidences the need for research and interventions in this area. The particularly brutal phenomenon of necklacing that had been common during political upheaval, especially in historically oppressed communities also requires more in-depth analysis. The psychological effect of this form of violence on the perpetrators and on those close to them has not been adequately researched.

In essence then, every theme of violence investigated in this study could be elaborated upon with greater rigour and depth. Furthermore, the influence of other variables like religion require

closer scrutiny. In this way, a better understanding of the problem of violence can be sought and effective intervention programmes may be designed.

6.9 CONCLUSION

The issue of violence and political violence is a very serious one. This study has attempted to explore violence beyond the confines of the traditional and contextual definitions of violence. It has attempted to begin to fill the vacuum in knowledge on the variables influencing participation in political violence in South Africa.

The last few years have been rather traumatic, to say the least. The experience of violence has been pervasive and tragic. Thousands of people saw and smelt human beings actually being burnt alive in grotesque dances in front of their eyes, saw people being shot for throwing stones at armoured vehicles, saw little children being hauled off to prison, and thousands themselves experienced the trauma of being abused, beaten up and incarcerated. This has led to a tremendous amount of brutalisation of a society already traumatized by several hundred years of oppression.

The research in this study affirms that from the perspective of the historically unenfranchised the violence is largely located in the socio-political structures of the society. Psychology, in and of itself cannot adequately or holistically address the phenomenon of political violence. Any intervention that attempts to address the problem of violence would thus need to be constituted not only at an interdisciplinary level, but also at an infrastructural level.

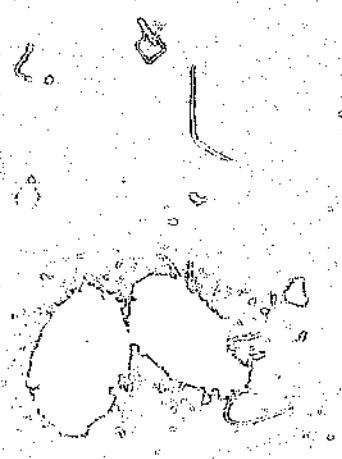
This study also attempts to be of practical value. Besides contributing to theory and generating debate and discussion, it seeks to give voice to the silenced generation of youth that has been immersed in the tumult, turmoil and terror of Apartheid South Africa.

This study will have served its purpose, if it refocuses the spotlight of violence from the laboratories of science and the sanctity of academic journals to the riot gas and stench of burning flesh in the street.

The poignant words of the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda resonate for those affected by the violence of Apartheid South Africa. For as he invoked during the terror filled days of the Spanish civil war:

> You will ask: And where are the lilacs?
> And the metaphysical blanket of poppies?
>
> I am going to tell you all that is happening to me.
>
> I lived in a quarter
> of Madrid, with bells,
> with clocks, with trees.
>
> My house was called
> the house of flowers, because it was bursting
> everywhere with geraniums: it was
> a fine house
> with dogs and children.
>
> One morning all was aflame
> and one morning the fires
> came out of the earth
> devouring people,
> and from then on fire,
> gunpowder from then on,
> and from then on blood.
>
> Bandits with airplanes and with Moors,
> bandits with rings and duchesses,
> bandits with black-robed friars blessing
> came through the air to kill children,
> and through the streets the blood of the children
> ran simply, like children's blood.
>
> You will ask: why does your poetry
> not speak to us of sleep, of the leaves,
> of the great volcanoes of your native land?

Come and see the blood in the streets,
come and see
the blood in the streets,
come and see the blood
in the streets!



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A : ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of the questionnaire:

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain a comprehensive picture of your background and to find out how you feel about matters concerning violence, and political violence.

It is understandable that you might be concerned about what happens to this information because much of it is highly personal. **NO OUTSIDER IS PERMITTED TO SEE YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE.** The information will be used to assess the needs of the total population of students. Please answer each question to the best of your ability.

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

Thank you for completing the questionnaire.

Instructions

1 Mark **ONLY ONE** item per question, except where you are requested to mark more than one.

2 In Section B, mark whether you Agree or Disagree with the statements. If you really do not know, mark Uncertain.

3 All the questions are answered on the questionnaire by means of a cross over the figure in the block which corresponds to the answer you want to give, e.g.

X

SECTION A

1 **Sex**

Male .....

Female .....

2 **Age**

17 years old .....
18 years old .....
19 years old .....
20 years old .....
21 years old and older .....

3 **Home language**

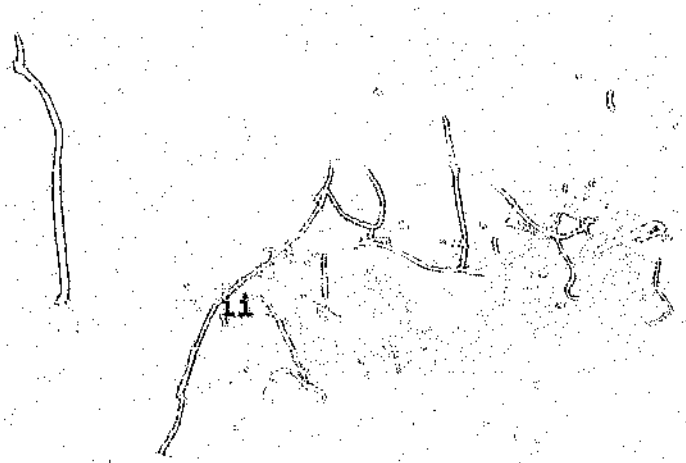
Afrikaans
English
African language
Other

4 **What is the approximate monthly income of your parents?**

Less than R500
R501 - R1000
R1001 - R1500
R1501 - R2000
R2001 - R2500
R2501 and more

5 **How would you describe the financial position of your family?**

Rich, affluent
Comfortable
Poor
Very Poor
Destitute



In answering Section A of the Questionnaire, list how much of the time you felt:

a	Comfortable			
b	Annoyed			
c	Embarrassed			
d	That it was easy to be frank			
e	You did not want to answer			
f	Worried about confidentiality			
g	Interested			
h	That your privacy was being invaded			
i	How much of the time did you answer truthfully			

SECTION B

PLEASE MARK WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS. (IF YOU REALLY DON'T KNOW, MARK UNCERTAIN).

1 **My religious beliefs prevent me from using violence as a means of solving our country's political problems.**

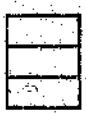
Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

2 **I am a committed pacifist.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

3 **Violence permeates our society.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree



4 **I disapprove of all forms of violence.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

5 **The African National Congress (ANC), Pan African Congress (PAC), Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) should renounce violence.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

6 **Violence is understandable in some circumstances.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

7 I am always able to control my violent tendencies within myself.

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

8 Necklacing should be condemned in all circumstances.

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

9 There are good reasons why violence is a necessary means to change things.

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

10 I have observed my father being violent toward my mother.

Yes
No

11 I have been violent in a stable personal relationship.

Yes
No

12 I have observed my mother being violent towards my father.

Yes
No

13 I have participated in political violence.

Yes
No

14 I have participated in school political demonstrations.

Yes
No

15 I have participated in community political violence.

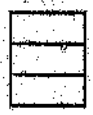
Yes
No

16 **I have been attacked by the police.**

Yes
No

17 **I hate any form of interpersonal violence.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

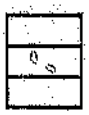


18 **I hate any form of political violence.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

19 **I have contemplated engaging in violent acts in retaliation to violence perpetrated against me.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree



20 **I have engaged in violent acts and subsequently experienced great remorse.**

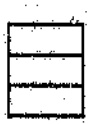
Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

21 **I believe that non-violent protest does not bring about political change.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

22 **I have often felt that my life was in danger.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree



23 **I have rarely experienced physical danger.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

24 **Political counter violence will solve the country's problems.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

25 **People who engage in political violence to liberate their country are:**

	Agree	Uncer-tain	Dis-agree	
Mostly human				Mostly inhumane
Mostly healthy				Mostly unhealthy
Mostly mature				Mostly immature
Mostly responsible				Mostly responsible
Mostly inhibited				Mostly ninhibited
Mostly aggressive				Mostly timid
Mostly realistic				Mostly nrealistic
Mostly talkative				Mostly quiet
Mostly unconflicted				Mostly conflicted
Mostly young				Mostly old
Mostly caring				Mostly uncaring
Mostly fearless				Mostly fearful
Mostly respectful				Mostly disrespectful
Mostly brave				Mostly cowardly
Mostly strong				Mostly weak

In answering Section B of the Questionnaire, list how much of the time you felt:

		All the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	Never
a	Comfortable				
b	Annoyed				
c	Embarrassed				
d	That it was easy to be frank				
e	You did not want to answer				
f	Worried about confidentiality				
g	Interested				
h	That your privacy was being invaded				
i	How much of the time did you answer truthfully				

APPENDIX B: REVISED QUESTIONNAIRE

BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of the questionnaire:

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain a comprehensive picture of your background and to find out how you feel about matters concerning violence, and political violence.

It is understandable that you might be concerned about what happens to this information because much of it is highly personal. NO OUTSIDER IS PERMITTED TO SEE YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE. The information will be used to assess the needs of the total population of students. Please answer each question to the best of your ability.

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

Thank you for completing the questionnaire.

Instructions

1 Mark ONLY ONE item per question, except where you are requested to mark more than one.

2 In Section B, mark whether you Agree or Disagree with the statements. If you really do not know, mark Uncertain.

3 All the questions are answered on the questionnaire by means of a cross over the figure in the block which corresponds to the answer you want to give, e.g.

X

SECTION A

1 **Sex**

Male .....

Female .....

2 **Age**

17 years old .....
18 years old .....
19 years old .....
20 years old .....
21 years old and older .....

3 **Home language**

Afrikaans
English
African language
Other

4 **What is the approximate monthly income of your parents?**

Less than R500
R501 - R1000
R1001 - R1500
R1501 - R2000
R2001 - R2500
R2501 and more

5 **How would you describe the financial position of your family?**

Rich, affluent
Comfortable
Poor
Very Poor
Destitute

In answering Section A of the Questionnaire, list how much of the time you felt:

a	Comfortable			
b	Annoyed			
c	Embarrassed			
d	That it was easy to be frank			
e	You did not want to answer			
f	Worried about confidentiality			
g	Interested			
h	That your privacy was being invaded			
i	How much of the time did you answer truthfully			

SECTION B

PLEASE MARK WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS. (IF YOU REALLY DON'T KNOW, MARK UNCERTAIN).

1 **I disapprove of all forms of violence.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

2 **The African National Congress (ANC), Pan African Congress (PAC), Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) should renounce violence.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

3 **Violence is understandable in some circumstances.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

4 **Necklacing should be condemned in all circumstances.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

5 **There are good reasons why violence is a necessary means to change things.**

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

6 **I have observed my father being violent toward my mother.**

Yes
No

7 I have observed my mother being violent towards my father.

Yes
No

8 I have participated in political violence.

Yes
No

9 I have participated in community political violence.

Yes
No

10 I have been attacked by the police.

Yes
No

11 I hate any form of political violence.

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

12 I believe that non-violent protest does not bring about political change.

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

13 Political counter violence will solve the country's problems.

Agree
Uncertain
Disagree

In answering Section B of the Questionnaire, list how much of the time you felt:

		All the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	Never
a	Comfortable				
b	Annoyed				
c	Embarrassed				
d	That it was easy to be frank				
e	You did not want to answer				
f	Worried about confidentiality				
g	Interested				
h	That your privacy was being invaded				
i	How much of the time did you answer truthfully				

APPENDIX C :

THE VIOLENCE SCALES

COMPOSITE SCORES FOR ALL SCALES

PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE SCALE

	Value	Frequency	Valid Percent
None	,00	693	41,6
Some	1,00	618	37,1
Most	2,00	353	21,2
Missing	,	32	
	Total	1696	100,0

IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF VIOLENCE SCALE

	Value	Frequency	Valid Percent
Against use of violence	-3,00	131	8,6
	-2,00	207	13,6
	-1,00	244	16,0
Ambivalent	,00	215	14,1
	1,00	262	17,2
	2,00	320	21,0
For the use of violence	3,00	148	9,7
	,	169	Missing

EXPOSURE TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SCALE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	,00	1144	67,5	69,2	69,2
	1,00	308	18,2	18,6	87,9
	2,00	200	11,8	12,1	100,0
	.	44	2,6	Missing	
	Total	1696	100,0	100,0	

EXPOSURE TO STATE VIOLENCE SCALE

Value	Frequency	Valid Percent
,00	1021	61,6
1,00	636	38,4
.	39	Missing
Total	1696	100,0

APPENDIX D

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FULL SAMPLE

GENDER	Frequency	Percent
Male	938	49.5 %
Female	958	50.5 %
Missing	6	
Total	1902	

AGE	Frequency	Percent
17	211	11.2%
18	670	3 5%
19	314	16.6%
20	179	9.5%
21+	512	27.1%
Missing	16	
Total	1902	

LANGUAGE	Frequency	Percent
Afrikaans	793	42.9%
English	480	26.0%
African	485	26.3%
Other	89	4.8%
Missing	55	

INCOME:

Average monthly income of parents	Frequency	Percent
R500 or less	483	26.0%
R501- R1000	556	30.0%
R1001-R1500	311	18.9%
R1501-R2000	199	10.7%
R2001-R2500	116	6.2%
R2501 or more	152	8.2%
Missing	46	