

https://dspace.org/

Attitudes towards wife battering amongst South African police officers.

Fisher, Catherine.

1998
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/24508

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WIFE BATTERING AMONGST SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE OFFICERS

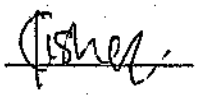
CATHERINE FISHER

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts (Clinical Psychology).

Degree awarded with distinction on 10 December 1998

MARCH 1998

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (Clinical Psychology) University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed 

Date 31/3/98

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following for making this research possible:

Gill Eagle who supervised this study.

Lesley Wiener for her assistance and input.

Stefan Gottlieb for his moral and technical support.

Merle Werbeloff for her help with the statistics.

My family for their support throughout my studies.

ABSTRACT

The study aimed to assess the hypothetical conditions under which battery is justified by a sample of 225 police officers within the Gauteng area and to explore how these justifications were related to sex role attitude. The study employed a questionnaire design with the "Justification of Abuse Scale" used to measure justification, the "Attitude Towards Women Scale" used to measure sex role attitude and additional demographic questions posed to subjects. The results showed that the majority of police officers are opposed to the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife, but that a substantial minority accept that there are situations in which beatings are justified. Two distinct factors emerged from a factor analysis computed on the justification scale. These factors were termed Major provocation (Factor 1) and Minor provocation (Factor 2) Sex role attitude was found to be significantly related to justification, with police officers holding traditional attitudes being less opposed to the use of physical force and police officers holding egalitarian attitudes being more opposed to the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife. The demographic variables that were found to be related to justification beliefs were: age, language group, years of service, rank and level of education.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER ONE
LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Definition and incidence of wife abuse 4
1.1. Definition of wife abuse 4
1.2. Incidence of wife abuse 4
1.2.1. International statistics 5
1.2.2 South African statistics 5
1.3. Who is at risk? 7

2. Perspectives on wife abuse 8
2.1. The evolution of research into wife abuse 8
2.2. Theories on wife abuse 10
2.2.1 Individual theories 11
2.2.2 Situational theories 12
2.2.3 Societal theories 13

Summary

3. Sex Roles 19
3.1. Sex role development 20
3.1.1. Biological theories 20
3.1.2. Environmental theories 22
3.2. Traditional versus egalitarian sex role attitudes 24
3.3. Research into sex role attitude and the justification of wife abuse 26

4. Police responses to domestic violence 28
4.1. Battered women's perceptions of police intervention 28
4.2. Police response to domestic violence calls 30
4.3. Police attitudes towards domestic violence and the victim of abuse 33
4.3.1. International research 33
4.3.2. Police officer's attitudes in the South African context 35
4.4. The gender of the police officer and attitudes towards domestic violence 38

5. Defining attitudes and justification 39
5.1 Attitudes 39
5.2. Justification 40

Conclusion 45

CHAPTER TWO
METHOD 47

1. Aims 47

2. Research Questions 47

3. Sample 48

4. Measuring instruments 50
4.1. Demographic and autobiographical details 50
4.2. Attitudes Towards Women Scale 51
4.3. Justification of Abuse Scale 52

5. Procedure 52

6. Scoring and statistical analysis 53

CHAPTER THREE
RESULTS 56

1. Analysis of the justification scale at the item level with comparisons between male and female respondents. 56

2. Factor Analysis of the justification scale 58

3. Analyses involving the Attitude Towards Women Scale 59

4. The relationship between biographical variables and justification scores 61

4.1 Regression Findings 66

CHAPTER FOUR
DISCUSSION 67

1. Under what circumstances do police officers believe that the use of force is justified ? 67
1.1 The relationship between sex of the subject and justification 71

2. Factors underlying the situations under which wife beating is justified by the police. 75

3. The relationship between sex role orientation and the justification of abuse. 76
3.1. Interaction effects of sex role attitudes on beliefs about justification 78

4. The relationship between demographic variables and the justification of wife abuse 78
4.1. Age 79
4.2. Sex 80
4.3. Language group 80
4.4. Marital status 81
4.5. Length of service 81
4.6. Rank 81
4.7. Education 82
4.8. Additional questions: exposure to domestic violence and officer's arrest policy 82
4.9. Regression findings 84

5. Implications of the research 85

6. Limitations of the study 87

7. Concluding remark 88

APPENDIX 89

REFERENCES 95

INTRODUCTION

Research and interest in the area of wife abuse was first initiated by feminists in the early seventies and the study thereof has gradually been adopted by traditional mental health professionals. Research into a number of aspects regarding battered wives has flourished over the past twenty years, however there has been relatively little research into the specific area of *attitudes* towards wife abuse. This is an important area and should not be neglected as such attitudes form the background to a context that either accepts or opposes the phenomenon.

The focus of this study is to examine the attitudes that are held by police officers towards wife abuse. More specifically it intends to explore the circumstances under which police officers justify the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife and to examine whether there is a relationship between these justifications and the sex role attitudes held by police officers.

It is hoped that an understanding of the relationship between these attitudes will have useful, educational implications for police training programmes and in turn, for police intervention in the future. It is hoped that this research will have particular relevance to the South African context at this point in time while government as well as non governmental organisations are focusing on crime, crime prevention, victim empowerment and policing reforms.

Rationale for this study

As will be indicated in the literature review, there has been a fair degree of interest in police policy towards wife abuse. There is evidence that police often demonstrate anti-victim behaviour either through non- involvement or direct blaming of the victim (Pagelow 1992;

Brown, 1984; Carlson, 1984). Saunders (1995) suggests that by gaining an understanding of the attitudes underlying this behaviour, officer selection and training can be improved. Police attitudes, however, have not been the focus of extensive study, and more specifically, it appears that there is little literature examining the extent to which police justify abuse. It therefore follows that a study aimed at exploring these attitudes and justifications would have important implications for developing training that would best address these attitudes and the behaviour that may stem from them.

Police intervention has an impact on both the victim's self-image and self-esteem as well as on her willingness to go through with criminal proceedings against the perpetrator (Brown, 1984). Police officers are often the first people that the abused wife turns to, (Lavoie, Jacob, Hardy, & Martin, 1989; Stith, 1990) and therefore play a key role in determining what future action the wife may take. It is therefore important that police officers respond in an appropriate manner so as to ensure that the abused wife has a positive experience in her first interaction with help providers.

The Human Rights Watch of 1995 set out various recommendations for the government in order to address the issue of domestic violence in South Africa. One of the many recommendations was that police receive training directed at eliminating gender, class and race prejudices in their responses to abuse and in addition that they are trained not to excuse, tolerate or condone domestic violence. A study examining the current attitudes held by police officers, as well as the relationship between sex role orientation and these attitudes, will be useful in that it can help in directing future training.

Format of the research report

Chapter one provides a literature review in which the literature relevant to this research will be discussed. The first part of this chapter provides some indication of the scope of the problem. It looks at the difficulties in defining the issue of wife battery and in estimating its prevalence. The discussion then moves on to explore a range of theories about wife abuse that have been developed over the years. The discussion then focuses more narrowly on concepts that are more specifically related to this study namely: the development of sex roles, research into police officers and domestic violence, and a brief discussion on attitudes and the mechanisms of justification.

Chapter two provides information about the methodology that was used for this research. It describes the sample, provides information about the measuring instruments that were used and gives a summary of how the responses obtained on these instruments were scored and analysed. Chapter three provides a summary and description of the results. It is hoped that chapter four, which is the discussion, provides an understanding of the results by synthesising them with pre-existing theory and extracting key points of interest.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Definition and incidence of wife abuse

1.1. Definition of wife abuse

There are a number of different terms used to describe the phenomenon of husbands using emotional, psychological, financial, sexual or physical force against their wives. Wife abuse, domestic violence, spouse abuse and wife- battering are a few examples of such terms. There are also a number of definitions of wife battery that vary in terms of the extent, type, degree and subject of the abuse. (Walker 1979; Straus, 1980; Pagelow, 1981).

The expressions "wife abuse" and "wife battery" will be used interchangeably through out this study and will be used to refer to abuse as defined by Brown, (1984). He defines wife abuse as a man intentionally inflicting physical pain on a woman within a non-transient, male - female relationship regardless of whether or not the couple are officially married.

For the purpose of this study the term "physical pain" will be restricted to slapping and beating which is less ambiguous than other forms of abuse and thus easier to measure.

1.2. Incidence of wife abuse

Establishing exact figures about the incidence of wife abuse is problematic for a number of reasons: The differing definitions of violence contribute to the lack of consistency in gathering statistical information. Abuse occurs within a private domain and is generally under reported. Among the reasons why victims do not report to official channels are the attitudes they are faced with by police and law enforcement personnel. In addition it has been noted that the shame and the threats of revenge that the victim of domestic violence is faced with, often

results in her choosing to suffer in silence (Crump, 1987). It is for these and other reasons that the exact extent of battery cannot be accurately established.

1.2.1. International Statistics

Estimates in the United States suggest that family violence is widespread (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). Straus et al interviewed a random sample of 2143 American couples and found that 28% had experienced marital violence at some stage of their marriage. They suggest that this figure is in fact an under estimation due to the lack of full disclosure. Harris and Cook (1994) cite figures estimating that three to four million women in the USA experience physical abuse by their intimate partners.

In Israel it is estimated that there are 100 000 battered women out of a population of four million (Avni, 1991). A Home Office report on Domestic violence in Britain stated that 500 000 women may be battered annually (Grant, 1989). Britain has over 200 shelters for battered women with the inmates ranging from age 16 to 67. British findings suggested that batterers come from all racial groups and that there is a considerable range in terms of level of education across batterers (Crump, 1987). Thus it appears that the incidence of battery appears to be high across a whole range of developed countries. In addition it would seem that the battery within such countries is not limited to specific sectors of the population.

1.2.2. South African Statistics

There is little existing documentation about the incidence of domestic violence in South Africa. Police statistics do not distinguish domestic violence cases from other assaults and

there appear to have been no governmental endeavours taken to estimate the exact incidence of wife abuse in South Africa.

Vogelman and Eagle (1991) cite research conducted by Lawrence (1984) in which it was found that 25% of social workers' case loads were battery related and that wife abuse accounted for 15% of all crimes reported between 1981 and 1982, in South Africa. A number of non governmental organisations which are geared to assist victims of domestic violence have attempted to estimate the scope of the problem. These organisations suggest that a substantial proportion of women are facing domestic violence on a regular basis (Human Rights Watch, 1995). The current figures suggested by these organisations are estimates that one in six women are abused by their partners. Mogwe, (1994) cites figures released by the Co-ordinated Action For Battered Women Organisation supporting the estimate that one out of six women is regularly battered by her male partner. In addition, on the basis of these figures, Mogwe claims that four women a week are forced to flee their homes because their lives are endangered by battery and suggests that 70% of violence committed nationally takes place within homes.

The Human Right's Watch (1995) cites a pilot study that was conducted by the organisation People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) into the area of violence against women by their spouses that ultimately resulted in death. It was found that out of 115 inquests into the deaths of women in the Johannesburg area in 1994, 25% were related to homicide and of these homicides 41% of victims were either killed by their partners or suspected to have been killed by their partners. The same study also cited forty-five cases reported in the newspapers between 1993 and 1994 in which women had been killed by their partners. Thus it would

appear that wife abuse is a pervasive problem in South Africa with serious consequences, in many cases resulting in severe injury or even death.

South African women face the same type of abuse as other women all over the world, namely: verbal abuse, emotional abuse, economic deprivation and physical abuse. Motsei, (1993) found in her study carried out in Alexandra township that physical injuries had been inflicted on women by a number of means including fists and weapons such as knives, bricks, knobkerries, bottles, hammers, axes and screwdrivers. She also found that in addition to the physical injuries that battered women were faced with, they often developed somatic complaints, recurrent vaginal infections, sexual dysfunctions, sleep disorders, eating disorders and depression. The scope of the problem is being recognised as serious in terms of health costs to the state and the focus will have to be on prevention by the establishment of more equitable gender relations.

1.3. Who is at risk ?

The fact that domestic violence takes place at all levels of society is documented extensively (Bascelli, 1985; Crump 1987; Avni 1991; Stalans and Lurigio, 1995). Such research has indicated that wife battering is not determined by race, ethnicity, income or religious factors. Zawitz (1994, cited in Stalans and Lurigio 1995), however, found in the United States that younger women with less education and lower incomes are vulnerable to much higher rates of victimisation by intimate partners than older women, and women with higher incomes and more education. It must be noted however that the battery that takes place among lower socio-economic classes is more likely to become known because women from the middle class

are less likely to seek shelter and are more likely to receive medical help from private institutions (Crump, 1987; Avni 1991).

Having established that battery is a widespread and serious social problem, both internationally and within the South African context more specifically, it is useful to examine some of the theory as to what underpins the problem.

2. Perspectives on wife abuse

The focus of this research is to examine the attitudes of police officers towards wife abuse. In order to better understand these attitudes it is important to have some theoretical understanding of the phenomenon and to place it in it's historical context. This section will look at the evolution of research into the issue of wife abuse and some of the theoretical perspectives that have been formulated in order to explain the problem of wife abuse.

2.1. The evolution of research into wife abuse

The history of a husband's "right" to beat his wife is an old one. In the 17th and 18th century women could be bought, sold and disciplined through physical punishment. Women had no rights and were unable to vote or own property (Dobash and Dobash 1979). In 1851 laws were passed in England making it illegal to beat wives - prior to this husbands could use the defence of chastisement (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Unfortunately these laws opposing the defence of chastisement were not enforced and in the early nineteen hundreds domestic violence was viewed as a private affair. Legal statutes, criminal justice authorities and community members regarded wife abuse as a "private matter of the family," that was best handled through mediation or advice (Stalans and Lurigio, 1995, p. 391).

The plight of the battered woman was first made public in England in the 1970's with the publication of Erin Pizzey's book "Scream Quietly or the Neighbours Will Hear" (Crump, 1987; Avni, 1991). Research and interest in the area of wife abuse was originally initiated by feminists. During the seventies awareness spread to the European continent and the USA and a number of shelters were developed for battered women. The research of the seventies tended to focus on the battered women themselves. In the eighties there was a tendency to focus more on abusive husbands. The study of domestic violence has gradually moved from the domain of advocacy community professions into the more traditional mental health professions (Jacobson, 1994). Research into a number of aspects regarding battery has continued to flourish during the nineties.

Pagelow, (1992) puts forward an argument that is important to keep in mind while reviewing the current literature on domestic violence. She points to the fact that general research findings may be affected by extraneous factors other than scientific evidence. She cites research by Schacht and Eitzen, (1990) who propose that there is a link between research findings and the sources that fund the particular research. She argues that state funded research has tended to move the focus of research away from the original focus of the woman's movement. Research that is funded by the government tends to focus on the individual characteristics of victims and perpetrators whereas research funded by non governmental institutions tends to focus on the patriarchal and structural basis of wife battery. The different foci of research may yield different results which in turn have different implications for social policy development (Pagelow, 1992).

Kurz (1993) (in Stalans and Lurigio, 1995) proposes that not only do the different funding resources potentially yield different research results, but so too do the different perspectives that underpin the research. Kurz describes two theoretical approaches that domestic violence research can broadly be divided into. These two perspectives have been described as the family violence perspective and the feminist perspective. The family violence perspective looks at the family as the unit of analysis whereas the feminist perspective looks at the relationship between men and women in general as the unit of analysis. The family violence focus views the problem as originating in the pathology of the individual and the family, whereas the feminist focus places emphasis on male domination and male violence against women in the home and in society at large (ibid, 1993). These two perspectives broadly inform most of the research and theory relating to causative factors in wife abuse.

2.2. Theories on wife abuse

Over the past few decades numerous theories relating to wife battery have developed. All these theories have been criticised and contradicted, however this range of theory has also contributed to current understanding of the phenomenon. Wife abuse is complex in nature and therefore a comprehensive theory needs to be based on research which uses a variety of methods and takes into account numerous perspectives (Finkelhor, Gelles, Hotaling, & Straus, 1982). Finkelhor et al (1982), suggest that three broad contributory variables have emerged as salient from the literature, namely "individual" factors, "situational" factors and "societal" factors (p.29). What follows is a brief summary of examples of the key theoretical perspectives that are relevant in contextualising the present study. These examples are couched within Finkelhor et al's (1982) categories of major contributing variables.

2.2.1. Individual Factors

a) Intrapsychic and personality theories

These theories of wife battering look for a *cause* for wife abuse which they are able to locate within the individual personality of the victim or abuser (Giles-Sims, 1983) . The basic tenet of these views is that personality explains social behaviour. The notion of female masochism and the view that abusers and victims have psychological problems are such constructs which are used to explain battering relationships. This view, derived primarily from psychoanalytic theory, provided the earliest explanations of women abuse. A clinical study by Snell, Rosenwold and Robey (1964) has contributed to this intrapsychic view of wife battery and is often used to support the idea of female masochism. Although much of this research has been contradicted it is important because it has contributed to the still widely held belief that abused women are masochistic and are largely to blame for their situation (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Greenblat 1985).

b) Learned Helplessness

Walker (1979) developed a theory based on Seligman's notion of learned helplessness that has become known as the "Cycle Theory of Violence". The theory refers to a three-stage sequence of events that occurs repeatedly in violent relationships and is used to explain why women often stay in such relationships (Barnett and La Viollette, 1993). Phase one is described as the tension building phase where minor battery incidents take place. The abused woman behaves in a passive way - minimising and denying the battery in the hope that she may contain her partner's violence. During this phase she tends to take full responsibility for the situation. The second phase is described as the explosion or acute battery stage which involves an uncontrollable release of tension and a loss of control on the part of the abuser. The third

phase is referred to as the honeymoon phase and is the phase in which the abuser shows remorse for his actions. This third phase provides the woman with a reason to hope and has been termed the 'learned hopefulness' phase by Muldary (1983, cited in Barnett and La Viollette, 1993). Couched in learning theory, Walker's theory suggests that through such patterning and reinforcement a woman becomes conditioned to this violent situation and therefore feels powerless to effect change in the interaction. Walker argues that women become "psychologically paralysed" and are therefore u to leave their abusive situation.

The learned helplessness hypothesis has received much criticism in that it tends to propound a view of women as passive victims of abuse who do not attempt to leave the abusive situation. It also failed to take into account other reasons accounting for why women might stay in abusive relationships, such as economic or societal factors. Research by Pagelow (1981), Bowker (1984) and Walker (1985) found strong support for the notion that battered women do attempt to seek help and do not merely passively remain in their abusive situations. However, situational factors may prevent their escape despite such help seeking.

2.2.3. Situational Factors

a) Systemic and ecological theories of wife abuse

The systemic approach, instead of searching for a linear- causal explanation of *why* wife battering occurs, focuses on the process of conflict, i.e., *how* conflict occurs (Giles-Sims, 1983). Systems theory views the spousal relationship as part of a system and it proposes that violence is a result of attempting to maintain homeostasis within this system. The focus is removed from the individual and the system is labelled as dysfunctional instead. Systemic explanations for wife abuse have faced considerable criticism. Systems formulations are said to

continue to either implicate the battered woman or merely spread the responsibility for male violence (Lamb, 1991 cited in Bograd, 1992) without taking into account social or structural relations beyond the system.

Carlson, (1984) presents an ecological analysis of domestic violence based on Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of human development. Carlson looks at variables that cause and maintain domestic violence at the individual level (family background, personality, world view), family level (dynamics, roles and interaction patterns, quality of spousal relationship, connectedness to kin), social-structural level (economic realities and trends, neighbourhood characteristics and norms, law enforcement practices) and sociocultural level (cultural norms, values and beliefs). The model's major strength is that it is multidimensional and therefore more comprehensive than previous theories. Carlson's own criticism of the model is that there is no indication as to how the various contributing factors of wife abuse should be weighted once they have been identified. Feminist theories argue that it is at what Carlson describes as the sociocultural level, that the aetiology of domestic violence lies.

2.2.4. Societal Factors

a) Feminist theories

Feminist research has contributed a great deal to the body of literature on wife abuse. Dobash and Dobash, who have been involved in the study of wife abuse since 1974, are major proponents of the feminist theory of wife abuse. They claim that society is patriarchal and that the use of violence to maintain domination is accepted within such a gender imbalanced social system.

Feminist researchers see the maintenance of patriarchy and patriarchal institutions as the primary basis for wife abuse (Dutton, 1994). Violence against women in general is viewed as the result of unequal gender relations (Okun, 1986). Feminist writers view wife battering as an expression of power rather than as primarily related to aggressive impulses or masochism (Mahoney, 1991). The emphasis is placed on the batterer's struggle for control and battery is seen as a point on a continuum of domination in male - female relationships. Mahoney points out that viewing battery in this light explains why women's attempts at establishing independence or autonomy are met with control moves (including violence) by the batterer. This would further explain the fact that often when women attempt to leave abusive relationships they are met with increasingly harsh forms of violence. Feminists argue for a gender based, politicised view of battering relationships and maintain that marriage is a socially sanctioned institution that oppresses women (Jacobson, 1994).

It would appear that there is a spectrum of theory on wife abuse, ranging in its extremes from intrapsychic models to ideological understandings. In addition to the formal theory there is also a body of popular knowledge about battery which carries considerable overlap with material discussed thus far. This, what has been termed "mythology" of wife abuse, has been the focus of critique in much feminist theory.

b) Existing stereotypes and "myths" about wife battering

Over the years there have been a number of myths and stereotypes about wife abuse that have lead people to condone or ignore the issue and in the worst instance have even contributed to the phenomenon. Feminist writers argue that these stereotypes are a product of patriarchal

society. What will follow is a brief summary of some of these key myths and how they have contributed and continue to contribute to the plight of the battered woman.

The Home is Private:

Avni, (1991) argues that social norms and ideology conform to the notion that the home is a private domain in contrast to the public world. This perception aggravates the plight of the battered wife for a number of reasons. Often she has internalised such norms and will refrain from seeking help. Institutions that could help battered women are not willing to do so because they believe that what takes place in the home is a private matter. Shutting domestic violence out of the public eye cuts the woman off from potential help and furthermore leads to public ignorance and an underestimation of the degree of the problem. (Bascelli, 1985; Avni, 1991)

Women are masochistic:

One of the most detrimental myths about wife battering is that wife battering involves psychopathological individuals described as sadistic men and masochistic women (Pagelow, 1992). This construction lead to the public view that battered women masochisticaly sought out their abuse for the purposes of unconscious arousal and therefore such women deserved their beatings (Okun, 1986). In a study by Aubrey and Ewing (1987) it was found that the general public subscribed to the factitious stereotypes that battered women could easily leave the battering relationship, but were masochistic, crazy and deserved to get beaten. Current literature has re-evaluated and rejected these views, however this myth is still held by some law enforcement officers, medical professionals and others (Pagelow, 1992).

The Generational Cycle of Violence:

This myth claims that pathological families transmit violence from generation to generation (Pagelow 1992). There has been some support in the literature for the finding that a history of family violence increases the likelihood of wife beating in the next generation. However there is also considerable literature refuting this (Pagelow, 1992). A history of family violence should therefore be seen as only one factor that may increase the likelihood of wife abuse. The view that there is an inherent cycle of violence has lead, and still does lead, the public to view the phenomenon as hopeless and inevitable.

Other myths that are held by society include the myths that intervention into domestic violence disputes are the most dangerous for police officers; that the battered husband syndrome is as prevalent as the battered wife syndrome; that wife abuse is no more than mutual combat between spouses and that once a battered woman always a battered woman (Pagelow, 1992). Holding onto any of the above mentioned myths, all of which have been debunked by empirical research, undermines the problem of battery and places these women at risk for their plight to be ignored.

Perhaps the most comprehensive model to explain battery proposed within the literature is that of Heise, Raikes, Watts and Zwi (1994). Its perspective is that wife abuse is related to structural patterns in gender relations. The model is located within a feminist framework but examines gender relations across a broad spectrum of localities from the macro to the micro level, as illustrated in the table that follows.

c) Structural patterns in gender relations

Heise, et al. (1994) in their discussion of violence against women, cite recent cross cultural studies that suggest that hierarchical gender relations which are reinforced through gender socialisation and the socio-economic inequalities of society are integrally related to violence against women. Levinson, (1989) in an ethnographic study from 90 cities throughout the world found four factors that he suggested worked together as strong predictors of violence against women (in Heise et al, 1994). These are: 1) economic inequality between men and women; 2) a pattern of using physical violence for conflict resolution; 3) male authority and decision making in the home, and 4) divorce restrictions for women. Sanday, (1981) and Counts (1992) (in Heise et. al., 1994), in their cross cultural studies found that rigid gender roles especially definitions of masculinity linked to dominance, toughness or male honour, are highly correlated with violence against women. Table 1 summarises what Heise et al, (1994) view as the structural factors within patriarchal societies that work together to perpetuate gender based abuse.

Table 1

Cultural	Gender -specific socialisation:
	cultural definitions of appropriate sex roles
	expectations of roles within relationships
	belief in the inherent superiority of males
	Values that give men proprietary rights over women
	Notions of the family as private/under male control
	Customs of marriage (bride price/dowry/exogamy)
	Acceptability/glorification of violence as a means to resolve conflict
Economic	Women's economic dependence on men
	Limited access to cash and credit
	Discriminatory laws regarding inheritance, property rights, use of communal lands and maintenance after divorce
	Limited access to employment in the formal/ informal sector
	Limited access to education and training for women
Legal	Plural systems of law in place: customary, common religious
	Lesser legal status of women
	Legal definitions of rape and domestic abuse
	Laws regarding divorce, child custody, maintenance and inheritance
	Low level of legal literacy among women
	Insensitive treatment of women by police and judiciary
Political	Under-representaion of women in power, politics and in legal and medical professions
	Domestic violence not taken seriously
	Notion of the family being 'private' and beyond the control of the state
	Risk of challenge to status quo/ religious laws
	Limited organisation of women as a political force (e.g. through autonomous women's organisations)
	Limited participation of women in organised /formal political system

(Cited in Heise et al, 1994 p 1170.)

It can be seen from this table that the model does justice to the complexity of causative factors that contribute to the phenomenon of wife abuse. Not only does this model describe these causative factors but it also provides some indication of how they may be inter-related.

Summary

This section has hopefully placed the phenomenon of wife battering in an historical context. It has argued that the ideological positions of researchers may have influenced the outcome of research into the area and has summarised some of the theoretical explanations of wife abuse that are relevant for this research. The theoretical perspective that underpins this study is a combination of Carlson's ecological theory (with an emphasis on the social-structural and the sociocultural levels), the central tenets of feminist theory and Heise et al's comprehensive model.

Having discussed some of the theoretical perspectives that have been put forward as explanations of wife battery the literature review now turns to a discussion of sex roles and their relevance for this study.

3. Sex Roles

One of the primary aims of this research is to investigate whether the sex role attitudes held by individuals are directly related to their views on the justification of wife beating. Sex role attitude has been pin-pointed as a crucial variable in the explanations of wife abuse (Finn, 1986). As mentioned in the section above, feminist theorists and theorists using a sociocultural analysis, describe an association between violence and unequal power distribution, sexual inequality and sex-role stereotyping (Straus 1978; Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Heise et al,

1994). What follows is a very brief summary of the biological and environmental theories of sex role development, an explanation of traditional versus egalitarian sex role attitudes and an exploration of how theories of sex role development are associated with the justification of wife abuse.

3.1. Sex Role Development

The study of sex roles is concerned with the development of behaviours, values and attitudes which are generally considered to be acceptable and appropriate for females or for males.

Two distinct factors have been identified as playing key roles in the development of a sex role identity. These factors have been broadly termed biological and environmental factors. Different theorists place different emphasis on the role that each factor plays in the development of sex role identity (Lewis and Weinraub, 1979). These two orientations impact significantly on the way differences between the sexes are viewed.

3.1.1. Biological Theories

Theorists who view biological factors as being primary in influencing sex role development see human sexual dimorphism as the cause of differences in sex-role development (Archer, 1978). These theorists attempt to explain psychological sex differences in terms of biological characteristics such as neurological development and the influence of sex hormones. Biological arguments include for example evolutionary theory, suggesting that sex-roles are adaptive features resulting from natural selection through evolution (Archer, 1978). Theorists who support the biological view obtain evidence from studies carried out on both humans and animals and their theoretical premises can be generally broken up into hormone theories, brain development theories and evolutionary theories.

Theorists holding these views argue that there is a biological basis for the different traits that they find characteristic of males and females. For example observations made on a variety of species of animals have found that males tend to be more dominant and aggressive that females (Hamburg and Lunde, 1966) (in Lewis and Weinraub, 1979). Results from experiments conducted on rats have shown that manipulation of hormones has led to sex differences in mating behaviour, maternal behaviour and play behaviour (Goy, 1970) (cited in Lewis and Weinraub 1979). High levels of androgens have been implicated by many writers as an explanation for male aggression (Archer, 1978). These types of studies have lead people to believe that women are *naturally* more suited to child care, that they are more caring, nurturant and capable of self sacrifice than men and that men are more aggressive, explorative and vigorous than women (Eagly and Steffen, 1984; Griffin, 1991). Thus various aspects of gender behaviour become naturalised in these kinds of formulations.

Physiologically there are a number of differences between the sexes (e.g. size and strength). These are present from birth through to adulthood (Lewis and Weinraub, 1979). There is however much literature that opposes the notion that there is a biological basis for psychological and behavioural differences between the sexes (Archer, 1978; Griffin, 1991;). Archer (1978) argues that psychological differences between the sexes are made to appear greater than they actually are and that the supposed sex differences could be regarded as conforming more closely to sex role stereotypes than a close examination of the evidence would actually justify. He argues that the findings with regard to male aggression were largely derived from experiments with rodents and that there is no adequate basis for determining the relationship between androgens and aggression in humans. Archer also points to the issue of labelling and terminology as being the cause of misinterpretations of the biological literature.

Griffin (1991) points out that even where sex differences do seem to be apparent, closer examination reveals greater within sex variations than between the sexes. She also points out that the sex differences that have been identified tend to be dependent on social context.

Archer, (1978) argues that biological theories have social interpretations and are used to support the notion of traditional sex role attitudes. Archer points out three reasons why biological explanations of sex role development are so readily accepted:

1) they imply the existence of a simple natural order " It is reassuring for many people to believe that their own particular norm, although perhaps considered old-fashioned by some members of society, is nevertheless the one which is consistent with the natural order." (p.9).

2) they are easily understood.

3) they follow directly from a reductionist philosophy (cf.p.9)

Thus biological theories have pointed to the biological differences between the sexes as the primary factor in sex role development, however these theorists have come under severe criticism.

3.1.2. Environmental Influences

Theorists who place emphasis on environmental influences on the other hand view socialisation as the primary factor in the development of a sex role identity. Socialisation is the means by which behaviour, roles, beliefs and attitudes are transmitted from one generation to the next by agents such as the family, teachers, peer- group and the media (Weinreich, 1982). Feminists draw largely on socialisation theory and view socialising agents as holding stereotypical beliefs about sex-appropriate behaviour and characteristics. Sex role stereotypes are rigid, over simplified, over generalised or biased perceptions and conceptions of men and

women and their typical traits (Gerdes, Moore, Ochse, & Van Ede, 1988). Some of these beliefs are based on actual sex differences, whereas many others are unfounded and are based on one widely quoted study which has not been replicated (Weinreich, 1978). A study by Macoby and Jacklin (1975) found that there have been misinterpretations, over generalisations and even myths about sex differences and that often both the publics' and researchers' views on sex differences are incorrect. Weinreich, (1978) argues that these incorrect assumptions about sex differences influence beliefs about what sex roles should be and also influence the various agents of socialisation thus a circular relationship of influence is perpetuated. There have been many studies that highlight these widely held beliefs about sex differences. A study by Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz (1972) cited in Gerdes et. al., (1988) tried to establish what qualities are seen as typically masculine and what qualities as typically feminine amongst a group of college students. They found that men were described as having qualities such as aggressiveness, independence and activeness whereas females were described as having qualities such as gentleness and empathy by 75% of the sample. Information reinforcing these stereotypical messages is constantly available to socialising agents and to children.

From the above discussion it can be seen that there are two key factors (biological and environmental) that have been identified as playing key roles in the development of sex role identity. Different theorists place different emphasis on each factor and this in turn influences the way that differences between the sexes are viewed and the expectations about what roles the different sexes should play in society. What follows is a discussion of the different attitudes towards sex roles, i.e., more clearly value oriented perception.

3.2. Traditional versus egalitarian sex role attitudes

Sex role attitudes can be viewed as lying on a continuum with conservative attitudes at the one extreme and liberal attitudes at the other extreme. These two extremes have been described as traditional and egalitarian sex role attitudes.

Traditional sex role attitudes have been reinforced by biological theories of sex role development. The belief is that men and women should *naturally* perform different roles in society and the family. For example Rapoport (1978) describes the traditional model of the husband -wife relationship in the following way:

> " the husband /father is normally expected to carry out the economic provider role. He is ... engaged in instrumental activities, oriented to the external world and establishes the social as well as the economic position of the family in society. The wife/ mother, in contrast, is assumed to be confined to the home and her role is seen as, expressive: it is implied that she is responsible for the husband - wife relationship, the morale of the breadwinner/ husband and for all the domestic care taking activities." (P64)

Rapoport, (1978) describes how research has tended to be biased towards male oriented values and has contributed to the maintenance of traditional role prescriptions by interpreting any divergence from these roles as deviant. The traditional model has also been described as the "complementary model" in that the more subordinate female role is said to complement the masculine dominant role. Theorists who support the traditional model argue that the complementary roles are assumed to fit the biological differences between men and women as well as being an adaptive response to industrialisation (Rapoport, 1978).

The implications of this are that if the woman does not fulfil her role she is viewed as deviant and as going against what is natural and adaptive. The complementary model legitimises the husband's right to establish himself as the leader in the family, and a man's use of force to establish such family leadership would be more readily condoned than a wife trying to be assertive or establish order in a similar manner. In addition, the general impression from the biological research is that men are innately more aggressive than females (Archer and Loyd, 1987). If this view is taken, wife beating may be justified by both men and women in terms of being a natural male impulse and males can be excused for losing control (Gelles, 1972).

Egalitarian sex role attitudes have primarily grown out of the feminist movement. Sex role egalitarianism has been described as an attitude that enables one to respond to another person independently of the other person's sex (Beer and King 1984 cited in Crossman, Stith and Bender, 1990). Egalitarian views stress the inequality in present day differences between males and females. Those holding egalitarian views believe that sex differences are largely a result of sex role stereotyping, i.e., environmental influences and they challenge the emphasis placed on differences between the sexes and the belief that the traits ascribed to males are more desirable (Archer and Loyd, 1987).

From the above discussion it would seem that individuals holding traditional sex role attitudes would be more likely to justify the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife than individuals holding egalitarian attitudes. What will follow is a brief overview of the literature examining the relationship between sex role attitude and the justification of wife abuse.

3.3. Research into sex role attitude and the justification of wife - abuse

Finn (1986) suggests that men who hold traditional sex -role attitudes are more likely to approve of the use of physical force against wives. In his study using 300 college undergraduate students he found that men were more likely than women to hold traditional sex -role attitudes and were more likely to endorse the use of physical force in marital relationships. Finn also found that traditional sex-role attitudes were the most powerful predictors of attitudes supporting marital violence, while race and sex were less important predictors.

Greenblat (1985) using a sample of 124 college students, found that respondents who obtained high scores on the measure for traditional sex role orientation showed higher degrees of approval and tolerance of husband's beating and slapping their wives than did those with more egalitarian sex role orientations. Greenblat found that even when aggressive husbands were believed to be wrong they, were less severely condemned by subjects holding traditional sex role attitudes.

Gentmann (1984) in her study using a non- clinical population, found that people with traditional sex- role attitudes were more likely than people with egalitarian attitudes to justify wife abuse. Similar findings have been suggested by Coleman (1980) and Straus et al (1980). Such studies tend to support feminist perspectives which suggest that the prevalence of battery and its acceptance is related to the assumption of patriarchal power relations.

Crossman, Stith and Bender (1990) conducted a study examining the relationship between sex role egalitarianism and the use of physical violence, and/or approval of violence in marriage, amongst a sample of men who were enrolled in either substance abuse programmes or anger

control treatment programs. The results of their study suggest that sex role orientation may be a meaningful indicator of spouse abuse. Crossman, et al (1990) cite literature indicating that results in this area of research are contradictory. However they suggest an explanation for these conflicting sets of results stressing the importance of separating minor acts of violence from severe acts of violence when conducting research into this area. They argue that acts that are classified as severe violence, i.e. using a knife or gun, are beyond the level of "permissible violence" in our society (p.301). They suggest that minor and major acts of violence should therefore be looked at separately in future studies examining the relationship between sex role attitude and marital violence.

Summary

From the above discussion it appears that a considerable portion of the research on the development of sex roles has led to various beliefs about sex differences that are not necessarily based on empirical evidence or scientific neutrality. Some of the differences that have been noted between the sexes in fact conform to stereotypical beliefs about sex differences rather than actual differences. People holding traditional sex role attitudes may justify these attitudes on the basis that they are part of the natural order rather than seeing them as arising out of biased sex- role socialising agents. It would appear that those holding traditional sex role attitudes are more likely to justify wife abuse than those holding egalitarian views, because: 1) any movement away from what is seen as the norm is viewed as deviant and unnatural, and: 2) males are viewed as being "biologically / naturally" more aggressive and dominant than females. An overview of the literature on sex role attitude and its influence on beliefs about the justification of wife battering lends support to the notion that those holding

traditional sex role attitudes are more likely to justify abuse than those holding egalitarian views.

What follows is a discussion of the literature on police officers and domestic violence with specific focus on the attitudes of police officers toward battery as well as the perceptions of battered women with regard to police intervention.

4. Police responses to domestic violence

Research into the area of police services for battered women started with the work of Parnas (1967) and Bard (1970) (cited in Bowker 1984). The areas that have been researched over the years have included police response to domestic violence; battered women's perceptions of police intervention; police policy with regards to domestic violence; attitudes of police towards battered women and most recently the issue of arresting victims of domestic violence.

This section provides a brief overview of some of the international literature that is relevant to this research, as well as the limited South African findings in the area.

4.1. Battered woman's perceptions of police intervention

Homant and Kennedy (1985) found that the qualities that abused women most desire in police officers include:

a) being understanding without giving up firmness

b) showing concern, while remaining fair and impartial.

c) providing information - about legal rights, options and shelter homes.

These authors go on to say that the concept that best describes these ideals is involvement. It appears from the literature that police involvement in domestic violence cases is inadequate. Historically, victims of wife abuse have complained that police have done little or nothing helpful when responding to calls (Martin, 1976: Pagelow, 1980, 1981, cited in Pagelow 1992)

Robert's (1984b) found in his survey of shelter homes for battered woman that: 1) 43% of woman felt that they had generally had positive experiences of police with regard to referrals, protection and transportation 2) 44% had a mixed reaction and 3) 13% reported mainly negative experiences, distinguished by non involvement, a negation that abuse had occurred and a failure to accompany victims (In Homant, 1984) .

The most extensive study of battered women's perceptions of the police was Bowker's (1984) study conducted in America. Eight hundred and fifty four questionnaires were obtained from a national sample of Women's Day readers and combined with interviews from one hundred and forty six women in the Wisconsin area. Fifty- three percent of Bowker's sample had used police services at least once, and of these only 39% found the police to be either somewhat, or very, effective.

South African women's perceptions of police appear to be even more negative than the findings of international studies. The apartheid era continues to have an impact on female victims of violence. Not only has this history led to a very high incidence of violence at every level of society but the legacy of institutionalised sexism and racism has prejudiced black women in particular in their interactions with police (Human Rights Watch, 1995). South African studies, although limited, suggest that women victims of domestic violence have

negative perceptions of the police. This in turn makes women reluctant to report abuse, perpetuates the problem and reinforces their feeling of disempowerment (Human Rights Watch, 1995).

Padayachee (1993) in a survey of 111 battered woman, found that only 6% tried to obtain help by going to the police (In Human Rights Watch ,1995) A survey conducted by the Advice Desk for Abused Women found that abused women's unwillingness to report abuse stemmed out of their negative experiences with the police and the inadequacy and fragmentation of the legal system (Fedler, 1995)

In summary it appears that the literature from both international studies as well as South African surveys supports the notion that on the whole battered women have negative perceptions of police intervention.

4.2. Police response to domestic violence calls

There appears to be general agreement that the police have two basic options when faced with domestic violence cases: the one response being arrest oriented and the other being mediation oriented (Homant, 1984).

In 1984 Sherman and Berk released results of a study that they had conducted which provided strong evidence supporting the contention that arrest is the most effective intervention in cases of marital violence. Their research became known as the "Minneapolis Police Experiment" and is reported to have revolutionised police policy throughout the United States. The police started to adopt a policy of mandatory arrest for cases of family violence. In the U.S., Gelles

(1993) argued that the reason the study had such a dramatic impact on policing policies was that it was released at a time when the ground was fertile for results yielding this type of information. He suggests that during the early eighties, feminist and women's movement studies were revealing that police did not see domestic violence as a criminal offence and that they tended to avoid arresting perpetrators of domestic violence. At this time there were a number of cases filed against police by victims of domestic violence which Gelles (1993) argues also contributed to the willingness of policing policy makers to adopt a mandatory arrest approach. The final reason he cites for the adoption of the arrest approach was that the Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence was published in 1984 and drew heavily on the results of the Minneapolis Police Experiment. Subsequently empirical research has found that reactive arrests are not as effective in preventing perpetrators of domestic violence from perpetuating future abuse as the results of the Minneapolis Police Experiment had previously indicated (Gelles,1993; Reiner, 1996). Mederer and Gelles (1989) (In Gelles, 1993) found that arrest might be a general deterrent, in that although it does not necessarily reduce violence amongst existing offenders, it may in fact reduce initial battering because of the perceived likelihood that battering may result in arrest.

Brown (1984) suggests that inadequate police responses to domestic abuse are a result of both institutional / organisational problems as well as individual level problems. He suggests that police do not view intervention into domestic violence cases as a legitimate police function. There is empirical evidence indicating that not only do the public at large view crimes between strangers as being more important and more worthy of intervention than crimes between intimates, but that police themselves tend to arrest those committing a crime against a stranger more readily than offenders in cases of crimes between intimates (Saunders

and Size, 1986). Common reasons suggested for the treatment of wife battering as non-criminal include the view that domestic violence is a matter of civil law, that arrests are counter-productive and that violence under these circumstances is justified (Brown, 1984). There has also been some evidence suggesting that domestic disturbances are unusually dangerous for police officers (Bowker, 1982), which is possibly another reason for reluctance to get involved in domestic violence cases.

In the past decade the South African women's movement has made a number of significant contributions in an attempt to improve the state response to domestic violence. In Pretoria at the Sunnyside police station a trauma centre has been established. The centre calls upon female detectives when sexual abuse or domestic violence cases are reported. A crisis centre has been established in Kwazulu-Natal for women victims of abuse and violence. A specialised sexual offences court has been set up at the Wynberg Court in Cape Town and a centralised rape reporting centre was started in Hillbrow but has subsequently closed down because of poor government support (Human Rights watch, 1995). Since 1996 there have been further proposals and initiatives taken by both governmental and non governmental organisation in an attempt to better address the issue. The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) identified gender violence as one of the areas of particular concern. Among the many programs proposed by the NCPS is a Victim Empowerment Program which will include police training in the area of victim sensitivity. In January 1996, the first SAP support centre (Ncedo Care Centre) for victims of domestic and sexual violence was opened in the Eastern Cape. It is reported that although it lacks support from other governmental organisations, it has improved service for the victims that have been referred there (Human Rights watch, 1997).

In 1996 a three day "Gender Sensitivity Programme" was initiated within the SAPS with the aim of sensitising and providing information to police officers on gender based crimes. One of the most recent initiatives by the SAPS is the introduction of Family violence, Child abuse, and Sexual assault units ("FCS" units) which will take over from the Child Protection Units and will handle crimes related to family violence, child abuse and sexual assault (Human Rights watch, 1997).

Despite all the above mentioned initiatives and proposals, it appears that police response to domestic violence remains poor. Police officers are often unaware of the laws protecting women from domestic violence which makes their responses ineffective. Barnes (1997) in her evaluation of the effectiveness of the family violence interdict cites police failure to arrest perpetrators of abuse as one of the interdict's deepest pitfalls. It is apparent from the literature however, that poor police response to victims of domestic violence runs deeper than just police ignorance or inadequate resources, but in addition stems from prejudiced attitudes held by police officers.

4.3. Police attitudes towards domestic violence and the victim of abuse

4.3.1. International Research

Underlying poor response to domestic violence calls, as well as anti-victim behaviour by the police, may be particular attitudes about violence, women in general and about victims themselves (Saunders, 1995).

The idea that police officers sometimes support the perpetrators or blame the victim is apparent from research. In many instances police officers tend to consider the wife in some

way responsible for her abuse, particularly when there is ostensible antagonism from her when the man threatens that he will harm her (Lavoie, Jacob, Hardy & Martin, 1989).

Literature in the area has indicated that there is a relationship between victim blaming (and non-involvement by police), and sex-role attitudes held by policemen. Saunders and Size (1986) found that victim blaming by police officers was related to their holding traditional views of women's roles. An earlier study by Saunders (1980) (cited in Saunders and Size, 1986) revealed that police officers who took the least amount of action in wife battering cases were more likely to hold traditional sex-role attitudes and to approve of marital violence to a greater extent than their more effective colleagues. Saunders (1995) suggests that the issue of arresting victims of domestic violence is a matter of growing concern. He suggests that the particular attitudes about victims, women in general, and the acceptability of violence underlies anti-victim behaviour. Stith (1990) found that rigid sex-role beliefs and greater approval of marital violence were related to stronger anti-victim attitudes. Thus it seems that victim blaming, justification of abuse and negative responses by police to wife battering cases, are related to the sex-role attitudes held by police. In addition Saunders (1995) suggests that the non-involvement of police may stem out of the idea that domestic violence is a "private matter" and may reflect acceptance of the patriarchal attitude that a "man's home is his castle." (p.148.).

A further factor that may explain why police officers tend not to get involved in domestic violence cases is that police officers themselves may exhibit qualities of learned helplessness (Gondolf, 1988 in Erez 1997) in that they feel that their attempts to intervene in domestic violence cases are futile. For reasons that have previously been discussed battered women

often withdraw charges or return to the perpetrator. Police officers may be unaware of or unsympathetic to the reasons why women return to the abusive relationship and therefore remain unwilling to intervene on subsequent calls.

Based on international research it would appear that sex role orientation, perceptions about battered women's reluctance to leave the abusive relationship, as well as beliefs about the family being a private institution, all contribute to police officers attitudes towards domestic violence cases and the victim of abuse. Although most of the literature reveals generally negative attitudes, responses and involvement in relation to spouse abuse there is some literature which has a more positive undertone. Walter (1981) using a small sample of thirty police officers found that 74% of the officers held positive attitudes towards police involvement in domestic violence cases. Homant and Kennedy (1985) found that 78% of their sample of 85 policemen agreed that responding to domestic fights was an important part of a police officers job. It must be noted however, that in both the above mentioned studies the sample size was relatively small and the researchers caution about the generalisability of the results.

4.3.2. Police officer's attitudes in the South African context

South African law derives it's principles from both Roman Dutch and English law in which the right to beat one's wife was previously recognised (Crump, 1987). The Human Rights Watch argues that customary law practices, such as the payment of Lobola to the bride's family are also often seen by the husband as entitling him to beat his wife. Both civil and customary law affect how wife abuse is viewed in the South African context and impact on police officers' attitudes to wife abuse. As previously mentioned, domestic violence has historically been seen

as a private affair. Today traditional values at all levels of society tend to reinforce the attitude that wife abuse is a private matter. Police unwillingness to get involved in domestic violence cases is often a result of the complex background constellated around these values. The problems of non-intervention are highlighted by the following example taken from an interview in Durban in 1995: A coloured housewife, married for eighteen years, was granted an interdict because her husband regularly became violent when he was drunk.

> " My husband beats me when he is drunk. I always call the police - they come and warn my husband. But then they say that they can't do anything more because it is a domestic affair and leave. I did get an interdict, but I think my husband destroyed it". (Human Rights Watch ,1995, p77).

Battered women in South Africa often experience indifferent and even hostile treatment from police officers when they try to report cases of domestic violence. Nathoo (1997) in her study found that battered women who were interviewed after having killed their perpetrators, reported hostile and inconsistent involvement from the police throughout the abusive relationship.

Human Rights Watch 1995 indicated that women of all races felt unwilling to seek police intervention because of the widespread assumption that the police were unhelpful. The attitudes and assumptions held by police officers toward wife battering were revealed in a number of interviews conducted by the Human Rights Watch.

"Police station commanders expressed outright hostility when informed of the provisions of the Prevention of Family Violence Act. A female police officer from the station at Hammarsdale, acknowledged that she had not heard about the act. After being shown a copy of the government gazette, she reportedly added that the act would " make wives be rude about their husbands and cases of divorce will be more if women know about the gazette". At Umalazi police station the station commander, who admitted ignorance of the act, refused to read the law on the grounds that " he had no time to look at such forms"." (Human Rights Watch 1995, p79)

Such attitudes tend to reinforce the notion that many South African police personnel view wife beating as a husband's right and not as a criminal act.

Police delays in responding to domestic violence calls reflect the negative attitudes held by police officers with regard to getting involved with these types of cases. Negative attitudes held by police, however, may result in more that just a reluctance to get involved but can in fact be harmful to a woman by placing her in greater danger (Human Rights Watch, 1997).

Another area that has been identified as problematic in the South African context is that of battered wives or partners of police officers. Perpetrators of domestic violence are often police officers themselves. In these cases or cases where the perpetrator is a friend of a police officer, the abused partner may find it impossible to seek or receive help from the police (Human Rights Watch, 1997)

4.4. The gender of the police officer and attitudes to domestic violence.

As previously mentioned it has been argued that the sex-role attitudes held by police officers affects their response and involvement in domestic violence cases. There has been some research into policewomen and their role in the police force more specifically. Homant and Kennedy (1981) (In Homant and Kennedy, 1985) found that a significant number of policewomen brought " modern" as opposed to "traditional" values, as well as heightened sensitivity to women's issues, into policing. Homant and Kennedy (1981) found that of the 90 battered women that they interviewed 61% were more likely to view policewomen as capable, which is a significantly higher percentage than was found in relation to their perception of policemen. In a follow up study, Homant and Kennedy (1985) found that policewomen have different sets of values and goals from policemen when dealing with domestic violence. They noted the following three reasons for why policewomen were more likely to get involved in domestic violence cases : 1) they were more educated; 2) they had stronger pro-feminist attitudes; 3) they had greater awareness of the vulnerability of the female victim.

From examining the literature in the area, it is apparent that there are inadequacies in police intervention into domestic violence cases. Among the reasons cited for these inadequacies is approval of marital violence and the holding of traditional sexist attitudes. The focus of this research is to further extend the examination of the sex-role attitudes of police officers and the relationship of such attitudes to the acceptance of marital violence. It is hoped that an understanding of the relationship between these attitudes will have useful, educational implications for police training programmes and in turn, for police intervention in the future. Thus the research is also intended to have particular value in South Africa at this point in time, when police training appears to be more open to gender/victim sensitive input.

The report now goes on to provide some theoretical input on attitudes in general and more specifically on justifications and their psychological function.

5. Defining attitudes and justification

The aims of this study are to look at the *justification* of wife beating as well as how sex role *attitudes* affect views on justification. This section will define an attitude as it is understood in the context of this study and will attempt to provide an explanation of the mechanisms of justification in order to enhance understanding of the results.

5.1. Attitudes

"An attitude is a relatively enduring organisation of beliefs, feelings and behavioural tendencies toward socially significant objects, groups, events or symbols" (Himmelfarb and Eagly, 1974 in Sogin Pallack, Pittman & Pallack, 1984, p82). This definition appears to capture the fairly widely accepted use of the concept within psychological literature. A further definition is offered by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975). They define an attitude as a "learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object" (p6). This latter description tends to emphasise the evaluative dimension of attitudes.

Attitudes have been described to have three distinguishable components namely a belief component, an evaluative or affective component and a behavioural component. Individuals construct their attitudes through their experiences of the world and although attitudes tend to be are relatively consistent, they can change as peoples' experiences in the world change (Fishbein et al, 1975)

5.2. Justification

In order to obtain a complete understanding of the process of justification it is useful to look at the work of Tedeschi and Reiss (1981), specifically their work on verbal strategies in impression management. They suggest that the social identities that people adopt in social interactions have a marked impact on how others react to them. People actively promote and maintain a particular social identity by using a number of tactics that convey desired impressions to others. The process of maintaining and conveying these desired impressions they term impression management. Impression management tactics are required when an individual is faced with a social predicament. A social predicament can be defined as "any event that casts undesired aspersions on the lineage, character, conduct, skills or motives of an actor" (Schlenker, 1980, in Tedeschi and Reiss, 1981 p.271). Tedeschi and Reiss view justifications as one of the tactics used by people to maintain and promote their social identity. What is important in the realisation that one is facing a social predicament is the belief that others place blame and responsibility on the actor for the event in question. It can be said that an actor faces a predicament whenever he or she behaves in a way that he or she believes others to consider morally blameworthy. Given some of the prior discussion of battery, it is apparent that both batterer and partner may be vulnerable to this kind of scrutiny.

A predicament can be resolved if in some way it is shown that the unfavourable action in question does not reveal some defect in the actor's character. Tedeschi and Reiss (1981) describe six types of behaviours that individuals engage in when they are faced with social predicaments: 1) excuses, 2) meta-accounts 3) disclaimers 4) apologies 5) blame and 6) justifications. What follows is a discussion of the types and uses of the sixth type of behaviour namely justifications.

Justifications have been defined as " verbal accounts used by actors in an attempt to reverse or neutralise an unwanted identity arising from negative actions" (Tedeschi and Reiss, 1981 p.287). Scott and Lyman (1989) define justification as an account in which one accepts responsibility for the act in question but denies the negative attributions associated with it. They say that "to justify an act is to assert its positive value in the face of a claim to the contrary" (p.113).

The variety of justifications are classified into ten major categories see (table 2). In each of these cases the actor accepts that he or she is responsible for situation but denies that the action was wrong or bad. By using a justification the actor provides a socially acceptable description of the action that might originally have been thought to be wrong or immoral by others.

Table 2. A typology of justifications (cited in Tedeschi & Reiss(1981) p288)

1)	Appeal to higher Authority God Satan or Spirits commanded government officials commanded high status or high prestige person commanded organisational rules stipulated
2)	Appeal to ideology nationalism or patriotism for the revolution to protect society or mankind to promote the religion or sect against oppression
3)	Appeal to norm of self-defence self-defence reciprocity revenge on associate of provoker clan and gang wars guilt by association
4)	Reputation building protection from coercion credibility maintenance machismo
5)	Appeal to loyalties friends long-standing understanding or relationship gang or group peer group, sex, race, etc
6)	Appeals to norms of justice derogation of the victim equity, equality and social welfare norms law and order
7)	Effect misrepresented no harm done (no victim) benefits outweigh harm
8)	Social comparisons condemn the condemners scapegoating
9)	Appeal to humanistic values love peace truth beauty
10)	Self fulfilment psychological health catharsis of pent up emotions personal growth exerting individuality mind expansion and self actualisation conscience and ego- ideal

What follows is a brief explanation of the types of justifications listed in table 2 that are relevant to this study:

1. Appeals to higher authority shifts accountability for the actions that have been performed to a person or body that is generally respected, thereby rendering the action legitimate.

2. Appeals to ideology shift accountability for the actions onto a set of symbols. The idea is that the action was performed in order to fulfil some greater cause.

3. Appeals to norms elf- defence proposes that unprovoked harmful actions of another person warrants coun action. The norm of self -defence entitles a person to use force in order to protect himself, his property or family. Acts of self- defence can also be justified as reputation building in that an individual may justify his use of force by claiming that it was necessary in order to maintain his public image.

4. Justifying the use of violence in terms of reputation building may involve acts that are characterised as macho. Males may find it necessary to show that they are potent and tough and may do so by engaging in violent activities.

5. Actors who find themselves in social predicaments may use the norms of justice to neutralise their actions. For example they might denigrate the victim and imply that the victim deserved the action.

6. Another type of justification is the argument that the action resulting in a social predicament has in fact been misrepresented. The person either denies that any injury occurred or that the amount of harm caused warrants concern.

7. Justifications may take the form of comparing the negative issue at hand with the negative behaviour of others, thereby neutralising its negativity, i.e., the actor attempts to remove the basis for viewing the behaviour as negative or wrong.

8. Negative actions may be justified by appeals to universal values such as passion, love, truth, peace, and beauty. Actors may therefore justify their negative actions by saying that they did it for love etc.

9. Finally individuals may justify their actions by arguing that the actions carried out were either cathartic, expressive or necessary for mental health.

An additional type of justification that Scott and Lyman (1989) propose which relevant for this research is the use of the justification that the victim is personal property.

Wife beating can be described as a social predicament. From the literature review it can be seen that there has been a growing awareness and change in peoples beliefs about wife abuse. In the past a "marriage license" was seen as a "hitting license" and although many of these assumptions still influence peoples attitudes towards wife beating the feminist movement and general humanitarianism has brought about shifts in peoples views on the rights of husbands to beat their wives. Wife beating is also no longer legal. It can therefore be argued that individuals who beat their wives face a social predicament in that it is: 1) no longer legal and 2) feminism has initiated some public censure of such activity. From the literature it seems that the severity of beating may play a role in whether a perpetrator will assume that he is in a social predicament or not. Gelles (1972) found that certain incidents of violence towards a wife were thought of as "normal violence" particularly if the injuries did not cause "severe damage" (p.58). Gelles (1972) found that "volcanic violence" (p.74) was seen as inexcusable in families. Greenblat (1985) in her study on "normative support" for the use of domestic violence divided the types of abuse into slapping and beating. She found that the use of more severe forms of abuse, namely beating, was less condoned than slapping. These severe types

of violence did not appear to obtain normative support and using the analysis of Tedeschi and Reiss (1981), such behaviour would place the perpetrator in a social predicament and would therefore require some form of justification.

6. Conclusion

As can be seen from the literature review there has been growing interest in the phenomenon of wife abuse over the past twenty years. Although it is difficult to establish exact figures about its prevalence, the literature suggests that wife abuse is common in both developed and developing countries and that individuals at all levels of society are at risk.

A number of theories have been proposed in an attempt to understand what causes and maintains domestic violence. These theories include individual, situational and societal explanations of the phenomenon. Included in the societal explanations is the notion that patriarchal ideology and unequal gender relations are at the core of the problem. It has been argued that normative support for a husband using physical force against his wife has grown out of this patriarchal ideology.

Research into the area of violence against women has suggested that hierarchical gender relations which are reinforced through gender socialisation are strongly related to violence against women. Studies that have focused more specifically on sex role attitudes and attitudes towards wife beating have indicated that individuals holding traditional sex role attitudes (born out of biased sex role socialisation), are more likely to condone the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife than individuals holding egalitarian sex role attitudes.

This study is concerned with the attitudes that are held by police officers towards wife abuse. More specifically it is concerned with the circumstances under which police officers justify the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife and the relationship between these justifications and the sex role attitude held by police officers.

It is hoped that an understanding of the relationship between these attitudes will have useful, educational implications for police training programmes and in turn, for police intervention in the future.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

1. Motivation for and aims of the research

The study aimed to examine attitudes of South African Police personnel towards wife battering by addressing a series of interrelated questions. The primary objective was to assess the hypothetical conditions under which battery is justified by police personnel and to explore how these justifications are related to sex- role attitudes.

The secondary aim of the study was to explore the associations between various biographical variables (sex, education, age, language group, marital status, years of service, rank and previous exposure to domestic violence) and the justification of wife abuse amongst police personnel.

It was intended that this research be used as an adjunct to research that was concurrently being conducted by the psychological services of the South African Police. It was hoped that by gaining a better understanding of why, and under what circumstances, police justify abuse, specific recommendations could be made for gender-sensitisation training programmes that are planned for police in the Gauteng area.

2. Research questions

Primary aims

1) Under what circumstances do police officers believe that wife battering is justified?

2) What factors appear to underlie the situations under which wife beating is most commonly justified by the police?

3) Is the justification of battering related to the sex-role attitudes held by the police officers?

Secondary aims

1) What are the biographical variables associated with police officers' attitudes towards the justification of abuse?

2) Do these associations differ according to the sex role attitude held by the police (i.e. are there interaction effects present between each biographical variable and sex role attitude with respect to the justification of battering).

3. Sample:

The sample consisted of 225 police officers from the Gauteng region. The group was drawn from a larger pool of police who were going to be attending a gender -sensitisation programme during 1996. The demographic breakdown of the sample is illustrated in tables 1 and 2 which follow.

It is clear that the sample incorporated considerable variation across demographic features, with a predominance of men, African language speakers, married individuals and individuals who had obtained matriculation level education.

Table 1.

Distribution of subjects according to age, sex, language group, marital status and education

		Number	Percentage
AGE	<25 years	45	20%
	25-29 years	62	27%
	30-39 years	106	47%
	40+ years	12	5%
SEX	male	139	61%
	female	86	38%
LANGUAGE GROUP	Afrikaans	76	33%
	African	119	52%
	English	30	13%
MARITAL STATUS	single	82	36%
	divorced	7	3%
	married	131	57%
	widowed	3	1%
EDUCATION	< matric	37	16%
	matric	163	71%
	post graduate	21	9%

Table 2.

Distribution of subjects according to years of service and rank in the police force (N=225)

		Number	Percentage
YEARS OF SERVICE	< 6 years	57	25%
	6-10 years	109	48%
	11-15 years	41	18%
	15 +	18	8%
RANK	constable	48	21%
	sergeant	131	57%
	captain	9	4%
	inspector	27	12%

Table three which summarises the frequency of responses to some of the additional questions is presented here as it provides a further description of sample characteristics.

Table 3.

Distribution of responses in relation to reported exposure to violence and arrest policy preference

EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE IN OWN HOME	Never	139	61%
	Seldom	59	26%
	Often	25	10%
EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE OTHER THAN IN PROF. LIFE	Never	62	27%
	Seldom	108	47%
	Often	52	23%
PERPETRATORS SHOULD BE ARRESTED?	Agree	169	74%
	Neutral	43	19%
	Disagree	11	5%

These features of the sample will be elaborated in the discussion chapter.

4. Measuring Instruments:

All subjects were asked to complete written questionnaires which consisted of two formal rating scale questionnaire instruments and several additional questions concerning demographic and autobiographical details.

4.1. Demographic and autobiographical details.

Subjects were asked to include details about their sex, education, age, language group, marital status, years of service and rank. Subjects were also asked whether they had been exposed to battery in their personal and familial life; how many cases of domestic violence

they had responded to in a given period of time and whether they believe that perpetrators of domestic violence should be arrested or not. (See Appendix p.89)

4.2. Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS).

A fifteen-item version of the AWS was used. The scale was developed by Spence and Helmreich (1972) and has been used to measure the degree to which subjects hold traditional or egalitarian sex - role attitudes. This scale measures attitudes concerning the rights, roles obligations and privileges that women should have in modern society (Yoder, Rice, Adams, Priest & Prince, 1982). The questionnaire consists of 15 statements to which the subjects have to indicate their agreement on a 4 point scale ranging from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly". High scores obtained on this scale are viewed as indicative of egalitarian sex role attitudes and low scores as indicative of traditional sex role attitudes.

Yoder et al. (1982) found the AWS to be highly reliable compared to other similar psychological tests that are frequently used. They argue that the reliability data as well as the construct validity data reported by Spence and Helmreich (1978), should be encouragement for researchers to incorporate this scale in future research requiring measures of attitudes to women's roles in society. This scale has been used in numerous research studies (Kahn ,1982). Saunders, (1995) utilised the scale in his recently published study examining the tendency of police officers to arrest victims of domestic violence. The scale thus appeared appropriate for use in this study.

4.3. Justification of Abuse Scale.

The scale consists of 20 scenarios to which subjects are asked to respond. Subjects are required to indicate on a 5 point scale whether slapping or beating a wife by a husband under these hypothetical circumstances is "definitely justifiable", "probably justifiable", "unsure", "probably unjustifiable" or "definitely unjustifiable". The twenty scenarios were designed by Greenblat (1985). The instrument has been utilised by Greenblat and a shortened version has been used by Smith (1990). Weiner (1994) used the original scale in a study similar to this one which looked at attitudes of medical students towards wife battering. The present study used the original version of the scale as designed by Greenblat (1985). Psychometric properties of the scale have not been well documented, however, the use of the scale in related studies appeared to contribute towards its validity as a measure in this context.

5. Procedure:

The research was conducted under the auspices of the psychological services of the police in co-operation with the researcher. Collection of data was linked to the implementation of a gender -sensitisation programme which was conducted across the police - services in the Gauteng region. The researcher instructed police trainers on how to administer the questionnaires. These trainers were conducting a one day introductory session prior to the formal programme. The one day programmes were running concurrently in different areas and therefore required several administrators. In order to ensure that the administration was standardised the instructions appeared at the top of the questionnaire and each administrator was required to read exactly what was written before handing out the questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered in English and Afrikaans. A pilot study conducted in 1996 indicated that it was necessary to translate the questionnaire into Afrikaans. It was decided

that it would not be necessary to translate the questionnaire into an African language because the trainers indicated that all of the police officers could adequately comprehend either English or Afrikaans. The questionnaire was translated into Afrikaans by a clinical psychology masters student at R.A.U. and was then back translated by another student in order to ensure that no translation errors were made. Administrators were instructed to explain queries about language in such a way so as not to change the meaning of a question.

As this study was intended to be part of a larger study that would evaluate a gender sensitisation programme in the process of being conducted in the Gauteng region, subjects were requested to place the first initial of their name on the top of the page. This was done for the purposes of matching the questionnaires with other questionnaires that would be completed in a six month post -test which was intended to contribute to an evaluation of the programme. Subjects were informed that the initial was to be used for the above mentioned purposes. It was stressed that subjects would not be personally identified and that their confidentiality was ensured. Subjects were entitled to refuse participation if they so wished.

6. Scoring and statistical analysis.

Several different steps and procedures were involved in the analysis of the results. These procedures will be listed and described below.

1) In order to compare the percentages of males and females who believed that the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife is justifiable (either definitely (1) or probably (2)) in relation to each item the following procedure was carried out. The percentage of respondents who replied either (1) or (2) were combined and this combined total was used in

the analyses, whereas respondents who replied either (3), (4) or (5) were discarded for this particular analyses. This procedure was executed separately for males and females so as to allow for comparison across the sexes. A chai square test was then used to assess the relationship between the sex of the subject and justification of the use of physical force at the item level.

2) A factor analysis was conducted on the items of the justification scale in order to summarise the item scores in terms of their underlying dimensions. A maximum likelihood factor extraction and Kaiser's criterion of eigenvalues greater than one was used. (The two factors that emerged from this particular statistical procedure were then used in the rest of the analysis. The rest of the analysis therefore looked at the various variables in relation to the scale as a whole as well as in relation to factor 1 and factor 2 independently).

3) In order to examine the relationship between the biographical variables and the justification scale the following procedures were carried out. Because the majority of responses towards the items of the justification scale were in the direction of being opposed to the use of violence the assumption of underlying normality of the score distributions was undermined. Although the ANOVA technique is robust to deviations from normality, the non parametric equivalent of the one-way ANOVA technique, the Kruskal Wallis ANOVA by ranks, was computed to verify the parametirc results. Thus means of multiple groups were compared using both parametric and non parametric (Kruskal Wallis) procedures. Post-hoc Scheffe analyses were computed on the significant F ratios to identify significant pairwise differences.

4) The median split was used on the sex role scale in order to categorise respondents into egalitarian and traditional attitudes. This method is ideally suited to skewed as well as symmetrical score distributions. Two way analyses of variance were computed to investigate possible interaction effects between sex role orientations and the biographical variables. Interaction effects, if significant, were deemed to indicate that the relationship between the biographical variables and the justification beliefs were dependent on the sex role orientation of the respondents.

5) A regression analysis was computed in order to predict the percentage of variance in justification beliefs that could be explained by combinations of the biographical variables. Stepwise analyses used dummy variable coding on categorical predictors to investigate these relations.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The results are generally presented in tabular form with brief supportive commentary. For the sake of clarity the computational procedures by which results were arrived at are further elaborated in each case, given that it was necessary to employ a range of statistical procedures.

1. Analysis of the justification scale at the item level with comparisons between male and female respondents.

Table 1

Percentage of total subjects (N=225) and percentage of male and female subjects who believe abuse is either definitely or probably justifiable under various circumstances.

Circumstance	% male	% female	% total	significance
1) She insults him when they are home alone.	17	17	17	
2) He has great problems at work and is very frustrated.	21	12	17	(0.8)
3) She won't do what he tells her to do.	16	14	15	
4) She won't listen to reason.	13	5	10	(0.6)
5) He suspects that she is having an affair with another man.	14	7	11	
6) She doesn't have dinner ready when he comes home from work, although she has been home all day.	16	9	13	
7) She is screaming hysterically.	25	26	25	
8) He discovers that she is having an affair with another man.	24	26	25	
9) She insults him in public.	18	17	18	
10) She is threatening him with a knife.	36	33	35	
11) She is sobbing hysterically.	16	19	17	
12) In an argument she hits him first.	27	35	30	
13) He comes home drunk.	14	10	13	
14) She insults him in front of the children.	13	20	16	
15) She is physically abusing their child.	26	43	32	**
16) She comes home drunk.	13	24	17	*
17) He catches her in bed with another man.	31	37	33	
18) He is furious with her and wants to show how angry he is.	11	16	13	
19) She hasn't cleaned the house all month.	16	14	15	
20) He wants to force her to attend to an issue.	9	9	9	

Note: for all tables (* = $p < 0,05$ significant ; ** = $p < 0.01$ very significant; *** = $p < 0,001$ highly significant)

Table 1

Table 1 displays the data from an analysis of the responses at an item level on the justification scale. The items were examined to see how many respondents saw justification as either probably justifiable or definitely justifiable for each situation, i.e., instances of positive justification were collapsed into one score to assist the analysis. Respondents were divided into two groups according to sex in order to investigate the differences in their responses at the item level. The differences between males and females were examined for each item. Significant differences were identified on items 15 and 16 and differences approaching significance on items 2 and 4.

2. Factor Analysis of the justification scale

Table 2: Varimax rotated factor loadings of the items of the justification scale.

ITEM	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
1) She insults him when they are home alone	0.3	0.52
2) He has problems at work and is frustrated	-0.04	0.71
3) She won't do what he tells her to do	0.16	0.65
4) She won't listen to reason	0.12	0.61
5) He suspects she is having an affair with another man	0.1	0.47
6) She doesn't have dinner ready when he comes home.	0.26	0.64
7) She is screaming hysterically	0.26	0.28
8) He discovers that she is having an affair with another man	0.58	0.34
9) She insults him in public	0.69	0.4
10) She is threatening him with a knife	0.71	-0.1
11) She is sobbing hysterically	0.01	0.52
12) In an argument she hits him first	0.6	0.13
13) He comes home drunk	0.31	0.6
14) She insults him in front of the children	0.59	0.43
15) She is physically abusing their child	0.74	-0.08
16) She comes home drunk	0.62	0.31
17) He catches her in bed with another man	0.79	0
18) He is furious with her and wants to show how angry he is	0. 2	0.56
19) She hasn't cleaned the house all month	0.49	0.49
20) He wants to force her to attend to an issue	0.07	0.62

Table 2:

The results of a factor analysis using varimax normalised factor loadings and maximum likelihood factor extraction revealed ? factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. These two factors explained 31% and 12% respectively, of the total variance in the 20 items, thus jointly explaining 43% . :he variance. It can be seen that items 8;9;10;12;;14;15;16;17 load relatively higher on the first factor, and by contrast items 1;2;3;4;6;13;18;20 load relatively higher than the other items on factor 2, with a loading of 0,5 considered as the lowest basis for inclusion. Based on the item content on these two sets of items, Factor 1 is termed "situations with major provocation" and Factor 2 "situations with minor provocation". The breakdown of the items into these two factors was used throughout the rest of the analysis, thus allowing an examination of the various variables in relation to the total justification scale as well as in relation to Factor 1 and Factor 2 independently.

3. Analyses involving the Attitude Towards Women Scale

Table 3: Summary results of 1-way ANOVA and corresponding means comparing egalitarian to traditional respondents on justification beliefs.

Scale	F ratio	df	Means		STD dev	
			Egalitarian	Traditional	Egalitarian	Traditional
Total Justification	8,43**	1;205	80,38	74,47	14,66	14,51
Factor 1	0,29	1;200	0,04	-0,03	0,96	0,92
Factor 2	15,53***	1;200	0,21	-0,30	0,84	0,99

Table 3

A one way ANOVA comparing egalitarian versus traditional sex role orientations to justification scores revealed significant differences in overall attitudes ($F=5.92$; $p< 0.05$) and on factor 2 ($f=6.40$: $p<0.05$) No significant difference was found on Factor 1. Based on the means

it can be seen that subjects who have egalitarian orientations regard the use of violence as relatively less justifiable than do those having traditional orientations in general and more specifically in the case of less provocative circumstances (factor 2).

Table 3a: Percentage of total subjects and percentage of male and female subjects holding either traditional or egalitarian sex role attitudes.

	Male		Female		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%
Traditional	64	49.6%	31	39.7%	95	
Egalitarian	65	50.39%	47	60.2%	112	

Table 3a

This table illustrates percentages of subjects holding traditional or egalitarian sex role attitudes. It can be seen that 60% of the female subjects held egalitarian attitudes and 50% of the male subjects held egalitarian attitudes.

Table 4: Summary of F statistics showing non significance of interaction effects on beliefs about justification.

	Total Justification	Factor 1	Factor 2
Lang ~ Role	0.07	0.85	1.12
Educ ~ Role	0.01	0.12	0.23
Sex ~ Role	0.57	0.01	2.24

Table 4

Table 4 indicates that the sex role orientation held by the subject does not affect the comparisons of language group, education group and sex with justification scores as the interaction effects are not significant.

4. The relationship between biographical variables and justification scores

Table 5: One - way parametric and non-parametric ANOVA's

	ANOVA				Kruskal -Wallis ANOVA			
		F statistics				H statistics		
	df	Total justificat.	Factor 1	Factor 2	df	Total justificat.	Factor 1	Factor 2
Age	3;216	2,13	2,95*	14,11***	3	6,64	8,72*	42,38***
Sex	1;218	0,18	0,55	1,88	1	0,02	0,23	1,55
Language	2;217	9,41***	1,63	42,39***	2	16,93***	4,36	72,43***
Marital Status	1;216	0,34	3,23	0,26	1	0,13*	3,51	0.45
Service	3;216	0,64	3,1*	3,38*	3	2,91	10,03*	11,20*
Rank	2;209	3,58*	4.85**	3.12*	2	8,23*	10,79**	5,62
Education	2;213	6,75**	0,47	14,77***	2	11,36**	0.63	23,00***
In own home	2;215	1,9	1,55	0,7	2	2,72	2,50	1,80
Other than proff. life	2;214	0.98	0.79	2.5	2	1,85	1,97	4,66
Arrest Policy	2;215	0,32	0,63	0,4	2	2,08	3,36	0,78

Table 6: Total justification and factor mean scores for the levels of the biographical variables (N=225)

		Total justification	Factor 1 (Unsure = -0,41)	Factor 2 (Unsure =-1,22)
Age	<25	81.45	-0.25	0,62
	25-29	78.21	-0.14	0,12
	30-39	77.83	0.19	-0,25
	40+	69.92	0.01	-0,75
Sex	Male	77.91	0.04	-0,07
	Female	78.77	-0.06	0,11
Language	English	76.21	-0.21	0,04
	Afrikaans	83.91	-0.07	0,66
	African	75.14	0.1	-0,43
Marital Status	Married	78.65	0.07	-0,03
	Divorced	77.57	-0.19	0,16
	Single	77.2	-0.14	0,04
	Widowed	90.33	0.66	0,49
Service	<6	77.42	-0.33	0,25
	6-10	79.57	0.09	0,03
	11-15	76.53	0.13	-0,26
	15+	76.5	0.18	-0,35
Rank	Constable	73.09	-0.35	-0,78
	Sergeant	78.81	0.14	-0,07
	Captain	77	-0.37	0,23
	Inspector	82.12	0.39	0,34
Education	<matric	70.94	0	-0,71
	matric	79.32	-0.02	0,13
	post matric	83.24	0.14	0,26
Own Home	never	79.59	0.08	0,05
	seldom	76.5	-0.08	0,09
	often	74.44	-0.24	-0,13
Other than proff. life	never	75.5	-0.05	-0.15
	seldom	78.7	-0.06	0.14
	often	78.2	0.13	-0.13
Arrest	never	78.61	0.04	-0,003
	seldom	76.62	-0.21	0,06
	often	78.64	0.27	-0,22

Table 7. Significant Scheffe post hoc pairwise comparisons on significant F ratios investigating relations between biographical variables and beliefs about justification.

		Total Justification	Factor 1	Factor 2
AGE	< 25 ~ 25-29			**
	<25 ~ 30-39		(.08)	***
	<25 ~ 40+			***
	25-29 ~ 30-39			**
	25-29 ~ 40+			
	30-39 ~ 40+			
LANGUAGE	Eng. ~ Afrikaans	**		**
	Eng. ~ African			*
	Afican~Afrikaans	**		***
YEARS SERVICE	<6 ~ 6-10		(0.07)	
	<6 ~11-15			(0.07)
	<6 ~15+			
	6-10 ~ 11-15			
	6-10 ~ 15+			
	11-15 ~15+			
RANK	Serg ~ Const		*	
	Serg ~ Capt/Inspect			
	Const ~ Capt Inspect	(0.08)		
	<matric~matric	**		***
EDUCATION	<matric~postgrad	**		***
	matric~postgrad			

Tables 5, 6 and 7

The results of both the parametric (ANOVA) and non - parametric (Kruskal-Wallis) statistics are shown in table 5. From these results it is clear that the two techniques yielded similar levels of significance. The corresponding means are presented in table 6 and the results of post-hoc Scheffe tests for the significant ANOVA results are summarised in table 7. The results of these analyses are summarised for each biographical variable in turn. It must be stressed that the mean scores in table 6 are all in the direction of 'non justifiable beliefs'. The significant differences are therefore indications of differing degrees of non justifiable beliefs.

Age: The youngest age group tend to regard violence or the use of physical force for circumstances with major provocation (Factor 1) as more justifiable than their older colleagues - although this difference only approached significance ($p<0,08$). For situations that involved minor provocation (Factor 2) the younger age groups regard the use of physical force as less justifiable than their more mature colleagues.

Sex: No significant differences were found between males and females on attitudes towards justification of the use of physical force on Factor 1 (Major provocation) or on Factor 2 (Minor provocation) or for general situations (Total justification).

Language: Highly significant differences in levels of justification were observed between the language groups on Total justification and more specifically on factor 2 (Minor provocation)- with Afrikaans speaking respondents significantly more opposed than their English and African language speaking colleagues to the use of physical force in general and in situations with minor

provocation (Factor 2). African language speakers were found to be the group who tended to justify the use of physical force in situations with minor provocation (Factor 2) the most.

Marital Status: There were no significant differences in attitudes towards the justification of the use of physical force for married versus non married respondents.

Length of service: Small differences in attitude according to length of service were found. Respondents with the least years of service justified the use of physical force for majorly provocative situations (Factor 1) more readily than their more experienced colleagues, but were somewhat more opposed to the use of physical force for situations that involve minor provocation (Factor 2). These differences are however weak, only approaching significance ($p < 0,07$).

Rank: Because of the small numbers within the inspector and captain subgroups, the responses of these two groups were combined and grouped together in the post hoc analysis. Differences in rank were found to be significant on Factor 1 with constables regarding the use of physical force for majorly provocative situations as more justifiable than sergeants, and bordering on significance (0,08) for Total justification, with constables being more tolerant of the use of physical force than inspectors and captains .

Education: Differences in attitudes to the justification of the use of physical force were highly significant for (Factor 1) ($p<0,001$) and for justification in general ($p<0,01$) with increasing opposition to the use of physical force with increasing level of education.

No significant differences were found with regard to exposure to domestic violence within the home or with regard to exposure other than in police officers' professional lives. No significant differences were found with regard to the arrest policy held by police officers.

Regression Findings

A forward stepwise multiple regression analysis was performed on the biographical variables and the sex role attitudes. In the case of overall justification 13,4% of variance was explained by the combination of predictor variables, the most significant of which was whether or not the respondent was Afrikaans speaking ($p< 0,001$), education level ($p<0,01$) and whether or not he/ she was exposed to violence within their own home ($p<0,05$).

In the case of Factor 1 the predictor variables explained 4% of the variance, with exposure to violence within ones own home significant at the 5% level. In the case of Factor 2 predictor variables explained 36% of the variance, with whether or not the subjects were Afrikaans speaking contributing the most variance ($p<0,001$), and education level significant at the 1% level of significance.

CHAPTER 4:

DISCUSSION

The discussion is structured in accordance with the set of aims as laid out within the method chapter.

1. Under what circumstances do police officers believe that the use of force is justified?

The main aim of this study was to explore the hypothetical situations under which wife battery is justified by police officers. In scrutinising the total response set it is that evident on the whole police officers were more likely not to justify the use of violence than to justify the use of violence. Despite this, it must be noted that there were no circumstances in which the total number of responses revealed that police officers were unanimously opposed to the use of violence. By examining the items individually it can be seen that there are some circumstance in which police officers justify abuse more readily than others. The items on which police officers were most likely to justify the use of force were items 10 (She is threatening him with a knife); 17 (He catches her in bed with another man), and 15 (She is physically abusing their child). On these items 35, 33 and 32 percent respectively of the entire sample responded that it was either probably or definitely justifiable to either slap or beat a wife. The items on which the least number of respondents justified the use of force were items 20 (He wants to force her to attend to an issue); 4 (She won't listen to reason) and item 5 (He suspects that she is having an affair). The total percent of respondents justifying the use of slapping and beating a wife under these circumstances were 9, 10 and 11 percent respectively.

These findings are similar to those of Wiener (1994), Greenblat, (1983; 1985) and Gentemann, (1984). In a study of college students' attitudes relating to the circumstances in which the use

of force against a spouse was considered appropriate, Greenblat (1983), found that there were generally low levels of acceptance of the position that it is acceptable to hit ones spouse. However, she found that the use of physical force was seen as justified if it was employed in self defence, retaliation, or if sexual infidelity was either suspected or discovered. These three situations parallel those warranting the highest levels of approval of the use of physical force in this study. Greenblat's (1985) study used the same scale as was used in this study, although she differentiated between the use of slapping and beating. The consistency in endorsement of these particular items across both studies nevertheless suggests that particular types of situations may be fairly universally endorsed as justifying battery.

It was found that the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife was most approved of under the same item conditions as were found justifiable in this study namely: She is threatening him with a knife, She is physically abusing their child, and, He catches her in bed with another man. In Greenblat's study however, it was found that the use of the less severe forms of violence, i.e., slapping, was considerably more approved of under these circumstances than more severe forms of violence, e.g., beating. Slapping was approved of in up to 78% of the sample in the situation when she is threatening him with a knife, whereas beating was approved of by only 34% of the respondents for the same situation. Slapping was approved of by 47% of the respondents in the situation where she is physically abusing their child, whereas only 13% approved of beating in this situation. Finally 37% of her sample approved of slapping a wife if she was caught in bed with another man whereas only 16% approved of beating under this circumstance. The present study did not differentiate between slapping and beating but the responses in this study appear to reflect figures somewhere between the percentages obtained in her two scenarios. Thus it is possible to speculate that

these police personnel may also have endorsed the use of slapping at higher frequency levels than abuse as defined in the more general terms of this study.

If one looks at the literature on justification it can be seen that on item 10 (She is threatening him with a knife) and item 15 (She is physically abusing their child) individuals may be appealing to the norms of self defence as a type of justification as described by Tedeschi and Reiss (1981). This type of justification proposes that the harmful actions of another person warrants counter-action and that a person is entitled to use force in order to protect himself or his family. On item 17 (He catches her in bed with another man) it appears that police officers may be justifying the use of violence by implying that the victim deserved the action, i.e., by what Tedeschi and Reiss (1981) call appealing to the norms of justice, or alternatively calling upon humanistic values by arguing that the action was motivated out of love for the other party.

As previously mentioned police officers on the whole were opposed to the use of physical force by a husband towards his spouse. However, if one computes the total number of responses to which subjects responded that it was either definitely or probably justifiable to beat or slap one's wife it can be see that almost 20 percent of subjects condone the use of physical force by a husband towards his spouse under a range of specific circumstances. This figure is double that of the figure computed on Wiener's (1994) and Greenblat's (1985) studies in which 10% and 9% respectively of the total respondents condoned the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife. In both the above studies the samples were drawn from groups of University students. Wiener, (1994) used 5th year medical students in her study and Greenblat obtained her sample from an introductory sociology course. It could

be anticipated that police officers might be more approving of the use of physical force than would a population of students, based on the fact that students are commonly situated within liberal contexts and are exposed to multiple ideological/political inputs, such as feminism. It is also generally predicted that higher levels of education are related to less tolerant attitudes to wife abuse (Finn, 1986; Gentemann, 1984). As there were only a minority of police officers who had reached post graduate levels of education it is consistent that this sample of police officers were more condoning of wife abuse than samples made up of university students. From the literature review it also emerged that police officers generally appeared to hold negative attitudes towards the victims of abuse (Lavoie et al. 1989; Saunders, 1995; Human Rights Watch, 1997), a finding which could also be considered consistent with the 20% overall level of endorsement

It must also be acknowledged that the responses obtained in this study may in fact be an underestimation of real levels of endorsement amongst police officers in that subjects may well have answered the questionnaire in a socially desirable manner. The officers assessed in the study were anticipating attending a gender sensitisation workshop which may have provided a cue for them to answer in a more socially desirable way. They were also requested to place the initial of their first name on top of the page and although they were reassured that this was not for identification purposes, this might have resulted in some reluctance to respond totally honestly.

It must be noted that this study was done at a particular point in South African history. The "New South Africa" and the new constitution have created a context of heightened awareness of both gender and victim sensitivity. Whether this climate has actually resulted in police

officer's developing more liberal attitudes, or, whether this merely heightened their awareness of what more socially acceptable answers would be, is uncertain.

In summary it would appear that about one fifth of the sample endorsed the use of physical force against a spouse under specific circumstances This figure appears to be higher than that evidenced in student samples, but perhaps lower than police related literature would suggest. Thus levels of endorsement may be problematic, but less negative than could have been anticipated.

1.1. The relationship between the sex of the subject and justification of physical force

The findings revealed that there was no significant relationship between the sex of the subject and the likelihood of justifying the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife. This finding contradicts the findings of both Wiener (1994) and Greenblat (1985) who found that females were less likely than males to justify the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife. It appears that female police officers do not necessarily identify and empathise with a female victim more than their male colleagues. This contradiction in findings across studies may be explained once again by the fact that both Wiener's and Greenblat's samples consisted of university students and that exposure to feminist or anti-sexist ideas may influence female students more strongly than male students. Another possible explanation may have to do with the fact that females are the minority within the police force and may therefore adopt attitudes that are in line with the majority, in this case with male attitudes. It is also possible that women who choose to become police officers may on the whole have different attitudes to women students, in the direction of adopting more masculine perspectives. These findings however, contradict previous studies comparing attitudes of policemen and policewomen (Homant and

Kennedy, 1981; 1985) in which it was found that policewomen had stronger pro-feminist attitudes and a greater awareness of the vulnerability of female victims than their male colleagues. This suggests that there is some difference in the attitudes of American policewomen and South African policewomen or alternatively between men across police forces. It is conceivable that the lack of difference across sex may represent more emancipated attitudes on the part of South African policemen, possibly stemming from some of the historical and politic .ors previously discussed. However, the overall endorsement figure of 20% suggests that the lack of differences between the sexes is more likely to stem from higher levels of endorsement by police women rather than lower levels of endorsement by policemen, in comparison to student populations.

Analysis of the responses at the item level however, revealed that there were significant differences between males and females on specific items. Highly significant differences between male and female responses were found on item 15 (She is physically abusing their child). Significant differences were found between male and female responses on item 16 (She comes home drunk). Differences that were bordering on significance were found on item 2 (He has great problems at work and is very frustrated) and item 4 (She won't listen to reason).

The differences between male and female response noted above were not necessarily in the direction of the females being more opposed to the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife:

Analysis of item 15 (She is physically abusing their child) revealed that seventeen percent more females than males (females = 43%; males = 26%) justified the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife. It appears that females are more likely to justify the use of violence when it is in defence of oneself or a dependant, i.e. protecting ones family, than their male colleagues. It is interesting to note that the percentages of males and females justifying the use of violence in defence of themselves (She is threatening him with a knife) was more or less the same. It therefore appears that female police officers view the use of violence against a wife as most acceptable if it is in defence of a child. It seems that women perhaps view divergence from a nurturing maternal role more censoriously than their male colleagues.

Analysis of item 16 (She comes home drunk) revealed that eleven percent more females than males (females = 24%; males =13%) justified the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife. It therefore appears that females, in this situation, use the justification that Tedeschi and Reiss (1981) describe as denigrating the victim, by implying that the wife deserved to get beaten because her actions were inappropriate. It appears from this item that South African policewomen are fairly tolerant of the notion that it is a husbands right to discipline his wife if her behaviour is inappropriate, particularly in respect of being out of control.

If one looks at both the above items it appears that policewomen tend to justify beating a wife more so than police men if they feel that the wife' s behaviour is inappropriate and that they deserved the beatings in order to 'bring them into line'.

Analysis of item 2 (He has great problems at work) reveals that nine percent more males than females (males =21; females = 12) justified the use of physical force by a husband towards his

wife. It appears that male police officers in this situation more readily use the justification that the action was embarked upon for cathartic or self expressive reasons (Tedeschi and Reiss, 1981) than do their female colleagues. Whereas the previous item differences discussed appear to involve gender dis- identification on the part of policewomen, in this case male officers appear to identify with the state of the abuser.

Analysis of item 4 (She won't listen to reason) reveals that eight percent more males than females (males = 13; females =5) justified the use of physical force by husbands towards their wives. In this situation the husband is trying to get his wife to respond to what *he* feels is reasonable. It therefore appears that male police officers more readily adopt the type of justification that Tedeschi and Reiss call, reputation building, involving the exercise of power, than do their female colleagues.

In summary the results reveal that overall no significant differences exist between male and female police officers in terms of their views about the justification of the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife. However if one analyses the responses at the item level it can be seen that significant differences do exist in certain situations. It appears that there is a trend reflecting that females tend to justify the use of violence when they view the wife's action as deserving of counter- action more readily than their male colleagues. It appears that female police officers may dis-identify with a women who is described as behaving inappropriately, particularly in terms of loss of control, and feel that disciplining by a husband under these circumstances is warranted. It appears that males on the other hand more readily justify the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife if such action satisfies some need of the husband's.

2. Factors underlying the situations under which wife beating is justified by the police.

One of the primary aims of the research was to establish whether the situations under which police officers justified the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife fell into specific clusters or types of situations. A factor analysis of the items revealed that these situations could be grouped into two distinct groups which explained 31% and 12% respectively of the total variance in the twenty items. Based on the item content of these two distinct groups it was decided to term factor 1 "situations with major provocation" and factor 2 "situations with minor provocation". The situations that were said to involve major provocation included: 8) He discovers that she is having an affair with another man; 9) She insults him in public 10) She is threatening him with a knife; 12) In an argument she hits him first; 14) She insults him in front of the children; 15) She is physically abusing their child; 16) She comes home drunk; 17) He catches her in bed with another man.

The situations which were said to involve minor provocation included: 1) She insults him when they are home alone; 2) He has problems at work and is frustrated; 4) She won't listen to reason; 6) She does not have dinner ready when he comes home; 13) He comes home drunk; 18) He is furious with her and wants to show how angry he is; and 20) He wants to force her to attend to an issue.

From the content of the items in the two groups it is apparent that the items relating to Factor one involve more provocative acts on the part of the wife. The content of the items subsumed under Factor two involve less provocative actions on the part of the wife and in some cases disinhibiting factors in the husbands case. It must be noted however, that the use of the word 'provocative' here in no way condones the use of physical force, but is merely used to

differentiate the two factors. It is important to bear in mind the argument of Jacobson, (1994) who states that "male batterers are completely and unequivocally responsible for the physical and emotional abuse perpetrated against women. Other than perhaps in the rare instances of self defence, there are no excuses, justifications, or other bases for exoneration of the batterer, or even for sharing the blame with the victim. In a moral, ethical, or legal sense, there is no such thing as being provoked into violence" (p82).

The breakdown of the items into these two factors provided a basis for the rest of the analysis in order to facilitate statistical interpretation of the results.

3. The relationship between sex role orientation and the justification of abuse.

The third primary aim of this study was to examine whether justification of battering was related to the sex role attitude held by the police officer. The results revealed that police officers who have egalitarian sex role attitudes regard the use of violence as relatively less justifiable than those who hold traditional sex role attitudes. This finding is consistent with previous studies using samples drawn from university students (Greenblat, 1985; Finn, 1986; Wiener, 1994), samples drawn from the general public (Gentemann, 1984; Crossman et. al. 1990) and samples drawn from police officer populations (Saunders & Size, 1986).

Th a sociation between violence against women and sex role stereotyping has been propounded by theoreticians utilising socio-structural analyses of wife abuse (Dobash & Dobash 1979, Heiss et al. 1994). The findings therefore appear to extend the empirical evidence supporting the assumption that sex role attitudes are a critical variable in explaining attitudes to spouse abuse (Finn, 1986), and perhaps in supporting abusive acts in reality.

The differences that were found between police officers holding traditional attitudes and those holding egalitarian attitudes were significant with regards to total justification as well as on Factor two (situations with minor provocation). However, no significant differences were found on Factor 1 (situations with major provocation). It can thus be seen that the primary source of significance for the conclusion that sex role attitude is related to the justification of wife abuse comes from factor two. What the results thus appear to indicate is that police officers holding traditional sex role attitudes are more likely to condone the use of violence in situations where there is only minor provocation than are police officers holding egalitarian sex role attitudes, whereas in situations involving major provocation the two groups are more in accord.

There was no significant difference found between males holding traditional sex role attitudes and females holding traditional sex role attitudes in relation to their views on the justification of the use of physical force This finding supports the findings of Finn (1986) who found that irrespective of the sex of the subject those holding traditional sex role attitudes believe that a husband ultimately has the right to use physical force against his wife. Conversely as sex role attitudes become more egalitarian in males or females, so the attitudes reflecting tolerance of the use of physical force diminish.

Of the total sample of police officers it was found that the majority of 54% held egalitarian sex role attitudes and 46% held traditional attitudes. It must be noted that although more female (60%) than male (50%) police officers held egalitarian sex role attitudes, this difference was not statistically significant. These findings are discrepant with earlier studies which have generally found that significantly more women than men held egalitarian sex role attitudes (Wiener, 1994). A possible explanation for this is that in total more police officers held

egalitarian sex role attitudes. Policewomen by definition, counter what traditional sex role attitudes would prescribe, in that policing involves actions that would not stereotypically be defined as feminine such as aggressiveness, independence and pro-activity (Broverman et al (1972) in Gerdes, 1988). Perhaps male police officers hold more egalitarian sex role attitudes than males from student populations because they work with female police officers demonstrating such qualities on a daily basis. However, it would be interesting to explore this apparent discrepancy in findings through further research.

3.1 Interaction effects of sex role attitudes on beliefs about justification.

It was found that there were no significant interaction effects of sex role attitudes on beliefs about justification across the sample. In other words, the sex role attitude held by the police officer did not interact with the demographic variables and their relationship with the justification of wife abuse. The demographic varia . could therefore be examined independent of the sex role attitude held by the subject.

4. The relationship between demographic variables and the justification of wife abuse.

The secondary aim of this study was to examine the relationship between attitudes towards justification of violence under various circumstances and the biographical variables of age, sex, language, marital status, years of service, rank and education. It also intended to explore whether exposure to violence within one's own home, exposure to violence outside of one's professional life and views on arresting perpetrators of domestic violence were related to the justification of the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife. Each of these variables will be discussed in turn.

4.1 Age

The results indicated that there was a significant relationship between the age of the subject and the situations under which police officers justified the use of violence within the marital relationship. These differences were only significant on Factor 2 (minor provocation) and were bordering on significance on Factor 1 (major provocation). The results indicate that the younger age groups were less tolerant of the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife in situations involving minor provocation than were older police officers. In the case of major acts of provocation by the wife, however, it appears that younger police officers are more tolerant of the use of physical force than their older colleagues. As these second set of results were only bordering on significance it would appear that on the whole younger police officers are less tolerant of the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife than older police officers. As discussed in the literature review, awareness of the plight of battered women has only become popularised over the last thirty years with increasing exposure as a problematic issue over this time. It would therefore tend to follow that older police officers would be less sensitive to issues regarding battered women. However, it is also important to note that justification of abuse under what are considered to be more seriously provocative circumstances, still continues to be perceived as warranting abuse irrespective of youth.

4.2 Sex

As previously mentioned there were no significant differences between male and female police officers in terms of their views on the justification of the use of physical force by a husband towards his wife.

4.3 Language group

Significant differences were found between the different language groups and their views on justification. Afrikaans speaking respondents were significantly more opposed to the use of physical force than either the English speaking respondents or African language speaking respondents. These differences were apparent in relation to total justification, but more significantly so on Factor 2 (minor provocation). African language speakers were found to be the group who tended to be the least opposed to the use of physical force in situations with minor provocation (Factor 2). These findings are difficult to explain, but certain speculations may be made. Although Afrikaans culture is generally viewed as dominated by patriarchal ideology, perhaps the dominant feeling of respect for women within the culture has lead to less tolerant views on justification of wife abuse. African cultures are also strongly supported by patriarchal ideology, but perhaps in this case there is greater contest over dominance in sex roles within African culture than in either Afrikaans or English cultures given the rate of acculturation and affirmative action policies. It is also possible that language differences may reflect education and rank differences (discussed later) within the police force. Traditionally police work may have been an area of work that attracted more Afrikaans language speakers for political reasons. It is possible that with greater integration such language differences within the population of police officers may disappear. However, the highly significant findings in this area remain intriguing and perhaps warrant further interrogation and research. It is

intended that this finding be debated within the police force involved in gender sensitivity training. This may shed further light on this finding.

4.4. Marital status

No significant differences in attitudes towards the justification of the use of physical force were found between married and non married respondents. Thus identification with the position of spouse did not appear to play a role in justification endorsement within this sample.

4.5. Length of service

Respondents with the least years of training and service were found to justify the use of physical force for majorly provocative circumstances (Factor 1) more readily than officers with more years of service. However, the officers with fewer years of service were more opposed to the use of physical force for situations that involved minor provocation. These findings mirror the results that were found for age which makes sense if one assumes that younger police officers are likely to be the officers with the least years of service and vice versa. Thus the same explanatory arguments are likely to apply as were proposed in relation to age.

4.6. Rank

The results indicate that there was a significant difference between constables and sergeants in terms of justification on Factor 1 and a difference approaching significance between constables and inspectors and captains (as a combined group) for total justification. These findings suggest that on the whole the holding of higher rank tends to correlate with less justification. A possible explanation for this could be that the higher ranked officers may have been exposed to more training or perhaps have higher levels of education. It is also possible that more

mature individuals are the ones more likely to be promoted and that maturity corresponds to less justification of the use of physical force.

4.7. Education

Significant differences were found between education level and justification with increasing opposition to the use of physical force with increasing levels of education on both Factor 1 and for total justification. These findings tend to lend support to the findings of Homant and Kennedy (1985) who reported that education level was the best predictor of police officer's willingness to get involved in domestic disputes. Gentemann (1984) in her study, using a randomly selected sample from the general public, also found education to be a major predictor of attitudes concerning the justification of wife beating. A possible explanation for the correlation between education level and levels of justification could be that individuals with higher levels of education have had more exposure to abstract, reflective critical ways of thinking and are more easily able to resolve conflict at a verbal rather than a physical level themselves. It must be noted however, that it is difficult to ascertain whether police officers with higher levels of education are more likely to *respond* in a socially desirable manner than less educated police officers.

4.8. Additional questions: exposure to domestic violence and officer's arrest policy

It was found that of the total sample 61% had never been exposed to violence within their own homes. Twenty six percent responded that they had occasionally been exposed to domestic violence within their own home and 10% reported that they had often been exposed to violence in this setting.

No significant differences in attitudes towards the justification of the use of physical force were found between officers who had been exposed to violence and officers who had not been exposed to violence in their own homes. This contradicts the findings of Stith (1990) who found that the use of violence in a police officer's own marriage had strong predictive potential. The differences in findings can be explained by the fact that firstly, Stith used a specific questionnaire to ascertain the degree of violence present within the marriage and therefore probably obtained more comprehensive responses than were obtained from the single question that was posed in this study. Secondly, the question in this study " Have you been exposed to domestic violence in your own home?" was broad and did not specify whether the violence was directed towards a wife, and thirdly, Stith's sample consisted of only *male* police officers. Thus it may be that the relationship between exposure to battery and justification is significant for perpetrators rather than victims. It would follow that men who enact violence themselves under such circumstances would be more likely to endorse battery whereas for women this is much less likely to be the case. Further analysis of this question by sex may have yielded more refined results.

Of the total sample 27% reported that they had never been exposed to domestic violence other than in their professional lives. Forty seven percent reported that they had occasionally been exposed to domestic violence outside of the work context and 23% reported that they had never been exposed to such domestic violence. However, the subtleties of such relationships have been suggested above.

As the above questions were of a personal nature it must be taken into account that the respondents may have been cautious in responding to these questions. The figures here may

therefore be an underestimation of exposure to abuse. Although a minority, it would seem that a significant portion of the group acknowledged exposure to abuse in their private lives. Interestingly however, such exposure did not appear to significantly influence justification attitudes.

Of the total sample seventy four percent reported that they thought that husbands who beat their wives should be arrested. Nineteen percent reported that they had neutral views about this issue and 5 % reported that husbands who beat their wives should not be arrested. This finding seems to contradict related reports in the Human Rights Watch (1997) which imply that South African police officers are reluctant to get involved in domestic violence cases. This apparent discrepancy may reflect that in theory police officers generally believe that perpetrators of domestic violence should be arrested, but, in practice they may respond differently when faced with real situations. It must also be noted that police officers may have responded in a socially desirable manner to this question, i.e., assuming that endorsement of arrest would indicate that they took the issue seriously.

4.9. Regression findings

A regression analysis was computed in order to predict the percentage of variance in justification beliefs that could be explained by combinations of the biographical variables. A combination of the following predictor variables were found to explain almost fifteen percent of the variance on total justification: 1) whether the respondent was Afrikaans speaking or not, 2) education level, and 3) whether or not he or she was exposed to domestic violence in their own home. It is interesting to note that although the variable of exposure to violence within one's own home was not a significant variable when looked at in isolation, it appears to be a significant variable when operating in combination with other variables. On Factor 1 the

biographical variables yielded almost no predictive power - only 4%. In the case of Factor 2 the predictive power of the biographical variables was much stronger. Thirty six percent of the variance was explained by a combination of 1) whether the police officer was an Afrikaans speaker or not and 2) the police officers level of education.

It thus appears that there are combinations of particular variables which have significant predictive power as to who is more likely to endorse the use of violence towards a wife and who is more likely to be opposed to it. These relationships also appear to warrant further exploration.

5. Implications of the research

The literature review provided evidence indicating that attitudes towards wife battery tend to determine the extent to which police officers take action in such contexts. Police officers with more sexist attitudes and greater general approval of marital violence tend to demonstrate a decreased tendency to arrest, counsel, or refer, in domestic violence cases (Saunders & Size, 1986). The literature review also argued that the police officer is often the first person who an abused wife may approach. It is important that the police officer in his/her interaction with her, provides her with support and intervenes in the case appropriately. The findings of the current research therefore have important implications for future police training. The implications of the findings of the current research for such training are discussed below.

The findings indicate that there are specific situations under which police officers justify abuse more readily than other situations. These situations tended to be related to self defence, enforcement of control and discovered infidelity on the part of the wife. Police training in the

future needs to stress that the use of physical force by a husband towards a wife is never condoned and needs to provide alternative problem solving techniques such as communication. In addition, the kinds of issues that lend themselves most strongly to the condoning of violence, such as the two just mentioned, need to be the focus of debate and analysis.

The results of the study also suggest that there is a relationship between views on justification and certain demographic variables. Of these demographic variables it appeared that age, level of education and language group all had some predictive power in suggesting the direction of views about justification. These findings should in no way imply that individuals with lower education, non - Afrikaans speakers, or younger recruits be exempted from gender sensitivity training. The findings may however, be useful when dividing police officers into groups within training programmes. It would be useful for example to combine older police officers with younger ones so as to maximise the spread of ideas and stimulation of debate. The use of higher ranking police officers as role models also warrants exploration for example, given their lower levels of justification.

In this study a strong relationship was found between the sex role attitude held by the police officer and their views about the justification of abuse. Police training in the future should include input directed at addressing sex role stereotypes that are held by police officers. The findings of this research suggest that this type of training input is necessary for both male and female police officers.

6. Limitations of the study and suggestions for future research

1) The study employed a questionnaire design limiting the comprehensive exploration of the basis for attitudes. Results obtained on the questionnaire may have been enhanced by combining the questionnaire with qualitative procedures such as interviews. However, this method of research would have extended the scope of the study beyond the initial intention and may have created greater ethical dilemmas, for example in respecting confidentiality.

2) The results may have been enhanced by defining the use of phy ical force in a more differentiated manner, for example by using divisions such as Greenblat 's (1985) distinction between major acts of violence (beating) and minor acts of violence (slapping). However, it was decided to rather enhance the validity of the study by utilising the scales as originally designed.

3) The topic of the research could be viewed as controversial and in addition subjects were about to embark on a gender sensitivity training programme. These factors may therefore, have resulted in officers responding to the questionnaire in a socially desirable manner. Although the large sample size may have limited the impact of this response style, it would have been useful to include a social desirability measure such as the "Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale" (cited in Crossman et al., 1990) so as to control for this possible influence.

4) This study looked only at attitudes of police officers rather than battered women's perceptions of police officers, or at actual behaviour of police officers. Future studies examining the perspective of the battered wife with regard to police officers would be useful.

It would also be useful to examine whether the attitudes held by police officers appear to be reflected in their actions with regard to intervention into domestic violence cases.

7. Concluding Remark

Wife abuse is a widespread social problem that has only in more recent years received much attention. Although there is much research being accumulated in the area there is relatively little research into attitudes about wife abuse, and more specifically even less about police officers attitudes. Police officers are often the first people who the abused wife turns to, (Lavoie, Jacob, Hardy, & Martin, 1989; Stith, 1990) and play a key role in determining what future action the wife may take. The results of this study indicate that although police officers are on the whole opposed to the use of violence by a husband towards his wife there is a significantly high level of endorsement of abuse as to warrant concern and to motivate further research into this area.

The study indicated that the sex role attitudes held by police officers were related to their beliefs about justification, in the expected direction of more traditional attitudes relating to higher levels of justification and more egalitarian attitudes to lower levels of justification. Certain biographical variables were also found to be related to the justification of abuse, the most significant of these being age, level of education and language group. The results also provide an indication as to the types of situations under which police officers more readily justify abuse. All of the above findings have implications for future police training programmes in terms of both the content of such programmes and how they should be structured. The study thus appears to be of value both in contributing to existing theory and research and in the more applied arena of aiding in refining gender sensitivity training in the SAPS.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

The aim of this research is to investigate beliefs about domestic violence and family life. The results will be used to inform the organisers of the Police Gender-sensitisation Programme that is being run in Gauteng during 1996. The results will also contribute to a clinical psychology masters research report. **All questionnaires will remain anonymous and the results will be strictly confidential.**

While we would appreciate your co-operation, you will not be prejudiced in any way should you choose not to fill in the questionnaire.

Instructions

Attached you will find two questionnaires. Please complete both questionnaires accurately and honestly. **Remember all questionnaires are anonymous and strictly confidential.** You will be required to place the first letter of your surname on the questionnaire. This will be used to enable the researcher to match this questionnaire with a later one, and will in no way be used for identification. There are no right or wrong answers. If you experience any trouble in understanding the language please put your hand up and a supervisor will assist you. Your participation in this research is greatly appreciated.

SECTION A

1) FIRST LETTER OF SURNAME .....

2) DATE OF BIRTH .....

3) AGE .....

4) SEX .....

5) FIRST LANGUAGE .....

6) MARITAL STATUS .....

7) YEARS OF SERVICE .....

8) RANK .....

9) TODAY'S DATE .....

10) RELIGION .....

11) HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION.....

12) How many cases of domestic violence have you responded to in the past six months? .....

13) Have you encountered domestic violence other than in your professional life? .

Never -----
Seldom -----
Often ------

14) Have you been exposed to domestic violence in your own home?

Never ------
Seldom ------
Often ------

15) Do you think that husbands who abuse their wives should be arrested? Agree -----
Neutral -----
Disagree------

SECTION B

Below are twenty scenarios that may take place between a married couple. You are required to evaluate whether you believe the use of physical force (slapping or beating) by a husband against his wife is justified in each specific situation. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions.

Please indicate by means of a cross (X) whether you feel physical force (slapping or beating) is: 1) definitely justifiable, 2) probably justifiable, 3) unsure, 4) Probably unjustifiable 5) definitely unjustifiable in each of the following scenarios. Please respond to **all** the scenarios.

1) She insults him when they are home alone.

1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable

2) He has great problems at work and is very frustrated.

1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiabl-	Def. unjustifiable

3) She won't do what he tells her to do.

1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable

4) She won't listen to reason.

1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable

5) He suspects that she is having an affair with another man.

1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable

6) She doesn't have dinner ready when he comes home from work, although she has been home all day.

1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable

7) She is screaming hysterically.

1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable

8) He discovers that she is having an affair with another man.

1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable

9) She insults him in public.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
10) She is threatening him with a knife.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
11) She is sobbing hysterically.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
12) In an argument she hits him first.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
13) He comes home drunk.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
14) She insults him in front of the children.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
15) She is physically abusing their child.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
16) She comes home drunk.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
17) He catches her in bed with another man.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
18) He is furious with her and wants to show how angry he is.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
19) She hasn't cleaned the house all month.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable
20) He wants to force her to attend to an issue.				
1	2	3	4	5
Def. justifiable	Prob. justifiable	Unsure	Prob. unjustifiable	Def. unjustifiable

SECTION C

The statements listed below describe attitudes towards the roles of women in society which different people have. **You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you 1) agree strongly, 2) agree mildly, 3) disagree mildly, or 4) disagree strongly. Place an cross (X) on the number of the statement that best applies to you.** There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. Please respond to ALL statements.

1) Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

2) Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

3) It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.

1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

4) A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

5) Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming wives and mothers.

1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

6) Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

7) A women should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

8) *It is ridiculous for a woman to drive a train and for a man to darn socks.*			
1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly
9) The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.			
1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly
10) Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.			
1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly
11) Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.			
1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly
12) Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.			
1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly
13) In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.			
1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly
14) Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.			
1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly
15) There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.			
1	2	3	4
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

Thank you for completing the questionnaire. Your co-operation is much appreciated.

REFERENCES

Archer, J. (1978). Biological explanations of sex role stereotypes. In J. Chetwynd, & O. Hartnett,. eds. (1978). The Sex Role System. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Archer, J. & Loyd, B. (1987). Sex and Gender. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aubrey, M. & Ewing, C.P. (1987). Battered women and public opinion: some realities about the myths. Journal of Family Violence. 2 (3), 257-264.

Avni, N.(1991). Battered wives: the home as a total institution. Violence Victims. 6, 137-149

Barnes, H. (1997). An evaluation of the effectiveness of the family violence interdict. Unpublished masters dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Barnett, O.W. & LaViolette, (1993). It Could Happen To Anyone: Why Battered Women Stay. London: Sage Publications.

Bascelli, J.R. (1985). A cry for help: an analysis of wife abuse. Journal of Psychiatry and Law. 13 (1-2), 165-195.

Bograd, M. (1992). Values in conflict: challenges to family therapists' thinking. Journal of Marital and family Therapy. 18 (3) 245-256.

Bowker, L.H. (1982). Police services to battered women - bad or not so bad? Criminal Justice and Behaviour, 9, (4), 476-494.

Bowker, L.H. (1984). Battered wives and the police: A national study of usage and effectiveness. Police Studies, 7 84-93.

Brown, S.E. (1984). Police responses to wife beating: Neglect of a crime of violence. Journal of Criminal Justice, 12, 277-288.

Carlson, B.E. (1984). Causes and maintenance of domestic violence: an ecological analysis. Social Service Review, 58 (4) ,569-587.

Coleman, K.H. (1980). Conjugal violence: What 33 men report. Journal of Marriage and Family Therapy, 6, 207-213.

Crossman, R.K. , Stith, S.M. & Bender, M. (1990). Sex role egalitarianism and marital violence. Sex Roles, 22 (5-6), 293-304.

Crump, A. (1987). Wife Battering. South African Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 11, 231-241.

Dobash, R.E. & Dobash, R. (1977 - 1978). Wives the 'appropriate victims of marital violence'. Victimology: An International Journal, 2 (3-4), 426-442.

Dobash, R.E. & Dobash, R. (1979). Violence Against Wives , A Case Against the Patriarchy. New York: The Free Press.

Dutton, D.G. (1994). Patriarchy and wife assault: The ecological fallacy. Violence and Victims, 9 (2), 167-182.

Erez, E. (1997). In their own words: Battered women's assessment of systemic responses. Unpublished paper presented at the 9th International Victimology Symposium: Netherlands.

Fagan, J.A., Stewart, D.K. & Hansen, K.V. (1981). Violent men or violent husbands? Background factors and situational correlates. In D. Finkelhor, R.J. Gelles, G.T. Hotaling, & M.A. Straus, (1983). The Dark Side of Families. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Fedler, J. (1995). Lawyering domestic violence through the prevention of family violence act -1993 - an evaluation after a year in operation. South African Law Journal, 112 (2), 234 246.

Finkelhor, D. Gelles, R.J. Hotaling, G.T. & Straus, M. A. (1983). The Dark Side of Families. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Finn, J. (1986). The relationship between sex role attitudes and attitudes supporting marital violence. Sex Roles, 14 (5-6), 235-244.

Fishebein, M. & Ajzen, I. (1975). Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behaviour: An Introduction to Theory and Research. Addison Wesley Publishing: Massachusetts.

Gentmann, K.M. (1984). Wife beating: Attitudes of a non- clinical population. Victimology: An International Journal, 132, 541-543.

Gelles, R.J. (1972). The Violent Home. London Sage Publications.

Gelles, R.J. (1993). Constraints against family violence. How well do they work? American Behavioural Scientist, 36 (5), 575-586.

Gerdes, L.C., Moore, C., Ochse, R., Van Ede, D. (1988). The Developing Adult. Durban: Butterworths.

Giles- Sims, J. (1983). Wife Battering , A Systems Theory Approach. London: The Guilford Press.

Grant, S. (1989, August). Once is enough: Special report on battered women. Fair Lady, 24 (7), 70-78.

Greenblat, C. S. (1985). "Don't hit your wife ...unless...": Preliminary findings on normative support for the use of physical force by husbands. Victimology: An International Journal, 10 (1-4), 221-241.

Greenblat, C. S. (1983). A hit is a hit is a hit ... or is it? Approval and tolerance of the use of physical force by spouses. In D. Finkelhor, R.J. Gelles, G.T Hotaling, M.A. & Straus .The Dark Side of Families. Beverly Hills, CA Sage Publications.

Griffin, C. (1991). Sex differences and gender relations: yes but who does the washing up? In R. Cochrane and D. Carroll eds. (1995). Psychology and Social Issues. London: The Falmer Press.

Harris, R.J. & Cook C.A. (1994). Attributions about spouse abuse: it matters who the batterers and the victims are. Sex Roles, 30 (7/8), 553-565.

Heise, L.L., Raikes A., Watts, C.H. & Zwi, A.B. (1994). Violence against women: a neglected public health issue in less developed countries. Social Science and Medicine, 39 (9), 1165-1179.

Homant, R.J. (1984). The police and spouse abuse: A review of recent findings. Police Studies 7, 163-171.

Homant , R.J. & Kennedy, D.B. (1985). Police perceptions of spouse abuse: A comparison of male and female officers. Journal of Criminal Justice, 13, 29-47.

Human Rights Watch. (1995). Violence Against Women In South Africa: The State Response to Domestic Violence and Rape. Human Rights Watch: New York, Washington, Los Angeles, London, Brussels.

Jacobson, N.S. (1994). Rewards and dangers in researching domestic violence. Family Process, 33 (1), 81- 85.

Kahn, S.E. (1982). Sex role attitudes: Who should raise consciousness? Sex Roles, 8 (9), 977-985.

Lavoie, F. J., Jacob, M., Hardy, J. & Martin, G. (1989). Police attitudes in assigning responsibility for wife abuse. Journal of Family Violence, 4 (4), 369-387.

Lewis, M. & Weinraub, M. (1979). Origins of early sex role development. Sex Roles, 5 (2), 135-153.

Macoby, E.E. & Jacklin, C.N. (1975). The Psychology of Sex Differences. London: Oxford University Press.

Mahoney, M. R. (1991) Legal Images of Battered Women: Redefining the Issue of Separation. Michigan Law Review, 90 (1), 1-94.

Mogwe, A. (1994). Patriarchy and the Law: The marginalisation of Women. In S. Jagwanth, P.J. Schwikkasd & B. Grant (eds.), Women and the Law. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers

Motsei, M. (1993). Detection of women battering in health care settings: The case of Alexandra Health Clinic. Women's Health Project, 30, 5-17.

Nathoo, H.R. (1997). Battered Women Who Kill. Unpublished masters dissertation Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg.

Okun, L. (1986). Woman Abuse: Facts replacing myths. Albany: State University of New York.

Pagelow, M. D. (1992). Adult victims of domestic violence. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 7 (1), 87-115.

Pagelow, M. D. (1981). Woman-Battering : Victims and their experiences. California: Sage Publications.

Rapoport, R, (1978). Sex role stereotyping in studies of marriage and the family. In J. Chetwynd, & O. Hartnett,. eds. (1978). The Sex Role System. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Reiner, R. (1996). Policing Volume 1. Cops, Crime and Control: Analysing the Police Function. Dartmouth: Aldershot.

Saunders, D.G. (1995). The tendency to arrest victims of domestic violence: A preliminary analysis of officer characteristics. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 10 (2), 147-158.

Saunders, D.G. & Size, P.B. (1986). Attitudes about woman abuse among police officers, victims and victim advocates. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1 (1), 25-42.

Scott, M.B. & Lyman, S.M. (1989). A Sociology of the Absurd New York: General Hall

Snell, J. E., Rosenwald, R.J. & Robey,A. (1964). The wifebeater's wife. Archives of General Psychiatry, 11, 107-112.

Sogin Pallack, S.R., Pittman,T.S., Pallack, M.S. (1984). Attitudes: Their nature, formation and change. In A.S. Kahn (ed) Social Psychology. Iowa: Brown Publishers.

Stalans, L.J. and Lurigio, A.J. (1995). Responding to domestic violence against women. Crime and Delinquency, 41 (4) 387-398.

Stith, S.M., (1990). Police response to domestic violence: the influence of individual and familial factors. Violence and Victims, 5 (1), 37-49.

Straus, M.A. (1978) Wife Beating: How common and why. Victimology: An International Journal, 2, 443-458.

Straus, M. A., Gelles, R. & Steinmetz, S.K. (1980). Behind closed doors: Violence in the American Family. New York: Anchor Books.

Tedeschi, J. & Reiss, M. (1981). Verbal strategies in impression management. In C. Antaki (ed.) (1981). The Psychology Of Ordinary Explanations of Social Behaviour. Academic Press:London.

Vogelman, L. & Eagle, G. (1991). Overcoming endemic violence against women in South Africa. Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict & World Order, 13 (1-2), 209-229.

Walker, L.E. (1979). The Battered Woman. New York: Harper & Row.

Walker, L. E. (1985). Gender and victimisation by intimates. Journal of Personality, 53 (2),179 -195.

Walter, J.D. (1981). Police in the middle: A study of small city police intervention in domestic disputes. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 9, 243-260.

Weinreich, H. (1978). Sex role socialisation. In J. Chetwynd, & O. Hartnett. (eds.). (1978). The Sex Role System. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wiener, L. (1994). Attitudes of Medical Students Toward Wife battering. Unpublished masters dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Yoder, J.D., Rice, R.W., Adams, J., Priest, R.F. & Prince, H.T. (1982). Reliability of the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ). Sex Roles, 8 (6), 651-657.

Author: Fisher, Catherine.
Name of thesis: Attitudes towards wife battering amongst South African police officers.

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
©2015

LEGALNOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Library website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be distributed, transmitted, displayed or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page)for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the Library website.