

**THE LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC
VIOLENCE: A STUDY OF LIFE HISTORIES IN A HOMELESS SHELTER IN CAPE
TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA**



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ABSTRACT

This study examines the effects of domestic violence on adults who witnessed abuse as children in their homes. It seeks to ascertain if the childhood emotional trauma of domestic violence influences the growth and social adaptation of children in their later years. Despite the growing awareness of domestic violence worldwide, there is nevertheless an alarming number of women reporting abuse, and there are those who are reportedly beaten or inflicted with bodily harm at the hands of their abusers. However, most of these domestic or household conflicts take place in situations where children are involved. These children witness such abuse and grow up carrying emotional and physical scars that impact their functioning as members of society.

The study adopts a life history approach to investigate 15 adult participants (five women and ten men) within evolving themes relating to their experiences of domestic violence and other life ordeals during their childhood that made them end up at the Elim Night Shelter in Cape Town, South Africa. The study is anchored on the explication of such key concepts as domestic violence, abuse and the physical, social, emotional and behavioural effects of abuse. Furthermore, the study identifies the social consequences of growing up in an abusive environment. The findings of the study reveal that people who witnessed acts of domestic violence as children experience negative consequences as adults. Recommendations have been listed which could assist the further study expansion on the topic, together with intervention strategies.

KEY TERMS

Abuse: This refers to either physical, emotional or verbal maltreatment of someone in the home or elsewhere (Walter, 2008).

Perpetrator: The word perpetrator refers to a person who abuses, initiates or commits an act of domestic violence in the home (Walter, 2008).

Victim (direct): The person against whom the act of domestic violence is being committed in the home directly, either physically, verbally or economically. This could refer to either a woman, children or a man, in very rare cases (Walter, 2008).

Victim (indirect): This is a person who has been indirectly affected by an act of domestic violence committed against the direct victim. This could refer to a child who either overheard or witnessed the act (Walter, 2008).

Domestic violence: The phrase domestic violence in this study refers to violence that occurs within the domestic sphere or home. This includes physical, emotional, sexual and economic abuse on the spouse or partner that indirectly affects the child (Walter, 2008).

Effect: For the purpose of this study, the word effect refers to the outcome on the victim's attitude post witnessing the acts of domestic violence (Walter, 2008).

Exposure: For the purpose of this study, this refers to a situation or condition that causes someone likely to be harmed either physically or psychologically (Walter, 2008).

Trauma: For the purpose of this study, this refers to a very upsetting experience, which may result in emotional damage to the victim (Walter, 2008).

DECLARATION

I declare that this study, *The long-term effects of domestic violence: A study of life histories in a homeless shelter in Cape Town, South Africa*, has not been submitted at any university for an examination or degree before. I declare that all the sources I have quoted or used in this study have been acknowledged and referenced both in-text and in the bibliography.

EPIE BERNADETTE MUNGE

April 2020

DATE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to the Almighty God, for His grace and enabling me to complete this work.
Without Him, it would not have been possible to come this far in life.

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1 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The underlying causes of violence as a whole is very complex. It is said to be rooted in the colonial past of apartheid. The legacy of apartheid normalised and created some kind of widespread acceptance of violence (Mathews and Benvenuti, 2014). “Fifteen percent of children report being neglected by drunken parents, which supported the notion that children’s exposure to emotional violence and neglect is common place in South Africa”(Mathews and Benvenuti, 2014:28). This study is a qualitative study that looks at the perceptions of individuals who experience domestic violence as children and examines its ongoing impact in their lives through life histories. Domestic violence is considered as a pattern of threatening and abusive behaviours that range from emotional and physical abuse to isolation, coercion, economic deprivation and sexual violence. Domestic violence is generally considered an intentional behaviour with the goal of exerting or exercising power and control over another person in the context of the home (Basinskaite et al., 2011).

Despite the fact that most frequently, women are the primary victims of domestic violence, children are often exposed to it and the effects of such exposure could be far reaching. Exposure to domestic violence can adversely affect the lives of children at varying levels based on the level and extent of the exposure (Parker et al., 2006). There is a great deal of writing on domestic violence and particularly through a feminist lens. What is mostly left out are the children involved, be it directly or indirectly. This thesis seeks to find out whether there are long-term effects on children who were exposed to domestic violence.

In South Africa, one out of every four women have been physically violated by their intimate partner(*City Press*, 2016). A woman is killed every six hours either by her current or former intimate partner (*City Press*, 2016). A study carried out by the World Health Organization in 2012 indicated that 65% of women living in South Africa had been victims of spousal violation a year before the study was conducted (*City Press*, 2016). Despite the fact that women could very often be the primary victims of domestic violence in the home, studies show that between 75% to 90% of the time, children witness the incidents either visually or they listen from their own rooms next door (Women’s Aid, 2006). It has also been indicated that very often, fear, inferiority complex and instability take the place of security, comfort, love and care which are children’s principal

needs as they grow up (Women's Aid, 2006). Further studies have also indicated that children exposed to domestic violence stand the chance of living in constant fear of the parent who is the perpetrator of violence in the home. Some may also feel guilty for loving the victim or abused party or blame themselves for not being able to help the situation (Women's Aid, 2006).

In 2006, the United Nations (UN) carried out a study on violence against women and children where groups of data were compared and contrasted to measure the likelihood of domestic violence from one nation to the other. The study revealed that over 275 million children all over the world were exposed to violence in their homes (UNICEF,2006). It was also estimated that roughly 3.3 million children were exposed to acts of domestic violence yearly in the United States of America (Carlson, 1984). In a survey carried out in America, over 6,000 families were estimated to have undergone domestic violence and between 53% to 70% of the perpetrators who were male often abused their children as well (Straus and Gelles, 1990).

As research on domestic violence has concentrated primarily on women, children exposed to domestic violence have become the forgotten and hidden victims. Society seems to ignore the fact that their exposure to domestic violence could adversely affect them during their adulthood (Elbow, 1977). The trauma of living in an abusive home can never be underestimated. These children may be at high risk and this risk is often overlooked (Elbow, 1977). These children tend to be very involved and are not spectators but rather 'players' in the 'game' (Vuchinich et al., 1992). Hence, the burden is laid on scholars to produce research that is specific to the effects of such exposure and involvement in domestic violence on the lives of adults who were exposed to it during childhood.

This study focuses on the long-term negative effects of domestic violence on adults who were children at the time of the ordeal. The Elim Night Shelter for the homeless in Cape Town, South Africa, was chosen as a site for this study. This is because it is an example of people who are suffering from long-term negative effects, not necessarily of domestic violence, but who are struggling in one way or another and are not functioning properly in society. As the researcher's choice, the Elim Night Shelter was chosen in order to test how many of the people who live at the shelter experienced domestic violence during their childhoods (through biographies). That is, beginning from people who are not doing well in their adult lives, and from there, moving backwards to see how much of that had something to do with domestic violence in their childhood.

1.2 About night shelters

Many cities in the world face enormous challenges in the sphere of accommodation and homelessness. In the case of developed countries, substantial work is underway and has already been done in the area of accommodation for the homeless (United Nations, 2001). However, developing countries still have a long way to go within the context of accommodation for the homeless (United Nations, 2001). In order to have a substantial understanding of homelessness and the individual circumstances pertaining to the homeless, relevant interventions and rescue programmes are being developed to succour some of the poorest within our societies. Hence, the birth of formalised night shelters (Nzula, 2017).

According to the Durban Homelessness and Census Survey (DHCS), a formalised shelter can be defined as, “Beds rented out on a daily/monthly bases. These spaces may comprise of a mix of private and communal accommodation” (eThekweni Municipality, Safer Cities Unit, 2016). The DHSC is of the opinion that these shelters are well known and talked about by both street dwellers and most people living in the lower class of society.

In the South African context, people living on the streets is not considered anything new. Despite the fact that this phenomenon dates far back into the nation’s history, the contemporary economic challenges and changes in the nation have triggered a surge in the number of people either living in the streets or vying for a place in a shelter (Nzula, 2017). As the number of people living on the streets increases yearly, there is also a rising need for more shelters. In the city of Cape Town, there are over 6,000 people living on the streets and in shelters; 3,999 live on the streets and over 2,084 have managed to secure accommodation in shelters (*Times Live*, 2019). The Elim Night Shelter is one amongst many other night shelters in Cape Town.

1.2.1 About the Elim Night Shelter

The Elim Night Shelter was founded by Loretta Napier on 2 September 1997. Her inspiration was drawn from the fact that she grew up in a shelter after the death of her mother. The main mission of the place is to provide shelter for people who lack shelter and also to serve as a place for rehabilitation for people who have been through great ordeals in life, and to integrate them back into society. The Elim Night Shelter is situated in Elsies River Industrial in the City of Cape Town, South Africa. This shelter is home to many either temporarily or permanently. Below is the history of the Elim Night Shelter as stated on the shelter’s website, beginning from the life of the founder.

Loretta's Mom died when she was just 13 years old and soon after she found herself being taken care of at an orphanage. After Loretta got married, she moved to Goodwood and found that there were many homeless and broken people on the streets needing food and shelter. She was a volunteer in a soup kitchen, which was run by the Goodwood Presbyterian Church when the people she was helping asked her to find a safe place for them to stay. Loretta approached the local municipality who promised to provide a building if she could secure a loan. She was able to secure a grant of R600,000.00 from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and Elim was born on the 2nd of September 1997. Loretta has always felt that because of her upbringing she could identify with the homeless as this gave her an understanding and compassion for what they faced. We are so grateful for her because thousands of people have been assisted by Elim because of the path that God placed her on (Elim Night Shelter, 2019).

The doors of the Elim Night Shelter have been open to receive the homeless for the past 22 years. Formal admission into the shelter is obtained after the shelter's social worker has personally evaluated the circumstances of the applicant and confirmed if they meet the admission criteria into the shelter (Elim Night Shelter, 2019). Living in the shelter is limited to a period of three months, renewable once. Only in very rare cases could a resident be allowed to renew his or her stay more than once. The residents pay R15 daily for their accommodation at the shelter. The night shelter has a well-structured daily schedule that is implemented daily for the smooth running of the home. Every morning, shelter residents must leave the premises to look for work to pay for their accommodation. In terms of food, the shelter offers breakfast, lunch and supper daily, as well as extra meals on days when there is a function or visits from volunteers and the general public. Considering that most of the residents have experienced distressing circumstances in life, the shelter offers counselling to those in need at no extra cost. From discussions with residents of the shelter and staff, almost every resident at the shelter has a different story that led them to living in the shelter. Some of the circumstances include the following:

- Loss of income either through retrenchment or through retirement.
- Prodigal living that led to loss of income.
- Growing up with irresponsible parents or guardians that eventually led the person to living on the streets.
- Ill health and having no one to look after the resident.
- Foreign immigrant who had no accommodation and lived on the streets.

- Drug and alcohol addicts who need rehabilitation.

The above lists is not exhaustive but provides a broad picture of some of the categories of people who end up at shelters.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Domestic violence has adverse consequences on the individual victim as well as on the wider society, especially the children of such homes. Children who have been exposed to domestic violence in their homes experience enormous emotional stress that harms their brain development and impairs their cognitive capacities and sensory growth (Basinskaite et al., 2011: 16). According to Viviers (2013), at infancy, children's development could be threatened by domestic violence, resulting in sleep problems, excessive irritability, fear of being alone, emotional distress, immature behaviour and most likely language development. Most children who are exposed to domestic violence carry these adverse effects into adulthood, which eventually becomes a major social problem both to them as individuals and to the society in which they live.

Furthermore, apart from some of the health consequences, there are also socio-economic consequences, which have a ripple effect in the lives of victims. Some female victims suffer from isolation, the inability to work, loss of salaries or wages, lack of the capacity to take part in regular or daily activities and also a very limited ability to take care of themselves and their children for those who are mothers (Basinskaite et al., 2011).

Thus, if someone walked in and posed a question, what are the principal needs of a child? The answer is easy, one would answer both from their childhood experiences and as adults. Children all over the world have common needs, they need a secure and safe home, free of any form of violence and parents that love and protect them. They need to have a sense of security, routine and stability. They need to have a place where when things go wrong in the outside world, they will have a place to run for comfort and safety and that place should be home (Roper, 2006).

However, for millions of children, home is far from being a haven of safety. On the contrary, South African Police Statistics for 2011/2012 revealed that a total of 50,688 children were victims of crimes emanating from domestic violence in their homes. Over 793 children were murdered, 785 children were victims of attempted murder, 12,645 were victims of common

assault, 25,862 were victims of sexual assault and 10,630 were victims of assault that resulted in critical bodily harm (Viviers, 2013).

The principal purpose of this study is to determine the extent to which these acts of domestic violence on victims during childhood has affected their lives as adults. In other words, domestic violence does not end with the partner violated, but has long-term effects on those who witnessed such violence during their childhood.

1.4 Theoretical framework

According to family systems theory, the family is the first and most vital institution that defines the behaviour of an individual (Burr et al., 1979). As a member of a family, an individual gets an identity and this gives him a societal contact with that family, as well as the rest of the world. Hence, family theorists are of the view that the perceptions that a child holds about their environment and the attitude that a child manifests towards their environment are primarily influenced by the child's family. In this regard, the family systems theory holds that both the family and the social situation of an individual play key roles in every violent behaviour. Family theorists have broken down the causes of violent behaviour into various categories including hormonal causes, personality characteristics which are most often intra-physical, social conditioning, and cognitive processes primarily relating to anger.

This work employs the family systems theory as a guiding theory. As previously mentioned, most behavioural threats emanate from within the home and hence the family. The adverse effects of domestic violence on many adults today are mostly due to what they experienced as children growing up in their homes. Hence, this work reviews the extent and depth of these effects on victims of domestic violence.

1.5 Research aim and objective

The main aim in this study is to identify adults who have been exposed to domestic violence during their childhood, examine the effects of such exposure in their lives and provide recommendations that could bring such effects to the bare minimum.

In order to achieve the main aim, this study identified the following objectives:

- To describe theoretically the concept of domestic violence on people during early childhood and its effects on their lives currently.
- To describe people's coping mechanisms used to deal with domestic violence in their homes during their early childhood.
- To determine whether the respondents can link their current social challenges to their exposure to domestic violence during childhood.

1.6 Research questions

As mentioned above, the effects of domestic violence in the life of an adult who had childhood domestic violence experience or who was exposed to it indirectly could transcend generations.

Hence the main question that this study seeks to answer is:

Has the exposure to domestic violence during the respondent's early childhood adversely affected his or her life during adulthood?

The following are sub-questions to the main question:

- How has the exposure to domestic violence during the respondent's childhood affected his or her current social relationship with others?
- Who was the perpetrator and what was the cause?
- What is being done to help the victims or respondents to curb the effects of their childhood ordeal which is adversely affecting them during adulthood?

1.7 Chapter outline

The research report presents in the following chapters:

Chapter 1 contains the general introduction, background to the study and a brief narrative on shelters in general. The chapter goes on to discuss the Elim Night Shelter itself. It further states the problem, outlines the theoretical framework, research aims and objectives and concludes with the research questions.

Chapter 2 contains the literature review of the study. It presents relevant theoretical and empirical findings on the topic. In this chapter this study will define domestic violence, list and explain some types of domestic violence, outcomes of domestic violence on children and young adults. It also presents findings on domestic violence as a generational occurrence and ends with domestic violence within the context of crime in South Africa.

Chapter 3 contains the research methodology, trustworthiness of the research, ethical considerations and ends with the limitations of study.

Chapter 4 delves into the analysis of the data that was obtained in the field, which is broken down in themes and sub-themes.

Chapter 5 presents the conclusions arrived at from the data analysis and the recommendations derived as a result of carrying out the study.

2 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Domestic violence refers to abuse that takes place in the context of the home. This includes the abuse of women, children, a spouse, a partner and other relatives living within the same home (Shamai, 2000: 151). Shamai (2000) further explains that domestic violence is also considered as an array of abusive behaviours perpetrated by either partners or one of the partners in an official relationship such as marriage, friendship, dating and cohabitation. Domestic violence has been noted for its occurrence in almost every society and is not limited to any social class, culture, religion, nationality or ethnic group (Pearson, 2013). However, one of the problems with research into the area of domestic violence is that over the years, scholars have based most of their work on women only, as the principal victims, making children the forgotten victims.

South Africa has one of the highest rates of domestic violence emanating from rural to urban settlements (De la Harpe and Boonzaier, 2011). Amongst the many reasons that could result in the high rates of domestic violence in South Africa, the aspect of discretionary patriarchal practices against children and woman stands out (GCIS, 2019). Domestic violence in South Africa is manifested through rape and molesting of women, children and in rare cases men (Abrahams et al., 2012). In 2009, the South African Medical Research Council (SAMRC) carried out a study and came to the conclusion that between 40% to 50% of the women who were interviewed admitted to have been victims of domestic violence from their spouses (Jewkes et al., 2013). Furthermore, the rate of domestic violence in the form of rape is growing rapidly as it is estimated that over 144 women report rape in South Africa to the South African Police Service (SAPS) daily, making a ratio of at least six cases of rape every hour (Nicholson and Jones, 2013). Domestic violence is a major social problem in South Africa. However, research on domestic violence has focused mostly on women highlighting the need to focus on the effects of domestic violence on people who grew up in homes where such violence occurred. This chapter will therefore lay emphasis on literature that relates to significant forms of violence and its effects on people who grew up in homes where it was prevalent.

2.2 Defining domestic violence

Domestic violence has been defined by many different authors and scholars based on their different experiences and the purposes for which it was intended. However, for the purposes of this study, the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 will be used: “domestic violence means physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional, verbal and psychological abuse, economic abuse, intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage of property, entry into the complainant’s residence without consent, where the parties do not share the same residence or any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a complainant, where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to the safety, health or wellbeing of the complainant.” (RSA, 1998).

Futhermore, Dallos and Mclaughlin (1995), buttress the fact that domestic violence constitutes clear evidence of assault such as grievous bodily harm, which could entail being kicked, thrown down the stairs, pushed through the windows, thrown against the wall, punched, choked, stabbed with knives and hit with a bottle. Most times, typical attacks involve punches on the body especially the face, which could sometimes lead to bleeding, bruising and broken or fractured bones. This substantiates the fact that domestic violence is generally planned and intentional violence and therefore not an incident of chance. In addition to the above definitions, “domestic violence is defined as acts that are intended to systematically intimidate, humiliate or frighten victims in an effort to retain power and control over them” (Cousins, 2014). While the Domestic Violence Act gives a general and broad overview of an act that is considered domestic violence, Basinskaite et al. (2011) and Cousins (2014) add that for an act to be considered as domestic violence, it has to be intentional and have the goal of exercising compulsory control over the victim. To further explain domestic violence, the Child Welfare Information Gateway (CWIG, 2014:2) considers domestic violence as a form of family violence. It defines domestic violence as “the occurrence of one or more of the following acts by a family or household member but does not include acts of self-defence:

- Attempting to cause or causing physical harm to another family or household member.
- Placing a family or household member in fear of physical harm.
- Causing a family or household member to engage involuntarily in sexual activity by force, threat of force, or duress.”

The above definitions bring out certain key words that will drive this chapter. These include abuse, intentional; intimidate, physical, control, harm, household and family. Hence, the above

definitions point to the fact that domestic violence generally occurs in the household or within the family. This violence or confrontation could be violence between parents, violence between siblings, violence between a parent and children, but limited to violence that occurs within the confines of a particular household.

2.3 Types of domestic violence

In order to reinforce the comprehensive and broad definition of domestic violence by the Domestic Violence Act, some authors, have established that domestic violence in day-to-day life generally occurs in the form of physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse and economic abuse (Bassuk at al., 2005: 33; Danis and Lee, 2003: 28).

2.3.1 Physical abuse

Schaaf and McCanne(1998), consider domestic violence as “an intentional and non-accidental exertion of power, which results to injury, pain and impairment on the body. This could be in the form of intentionally being choked, shoved, strangled, slapped, wounded, burned, bruised, punched or brutally physically restrained.” Schaaf and McCanne (1998) also state that physical abuse is usually not limited to adults only, but most often extends to children. “Physical abuse therefore, can take the form of impulsive or intentional physical assaults resulting to bruises, burns, cracked or broken bones or ribs, as well as infliction of stabbings on the body” (Schaaf and McCanne,1998). As previously, mentioned, domestic violence is generally intentional and planned leaving physical marks on the body, though many abusers often make sure physical injury is inflicted on victims on hidden parts such as the torso, instead of the face in order to hide their cruel acts to the general public (Makofane, 2002).

Physical abuse is not only limited to inflicting visible injuries on the victim. Sanderson (2008) also considers acts such as forcing the victims head into the toilet, forceful ice cold baths and forceful lock ups as other forms of physical abuse. Sanderson adds that physical neglect in the form of withholding food, clothing or shelter from someone are also acts of physical abuse.

Another aspect of domestic violence in the form of physical abuse is the fact that very often children living in the home witness the act and this could lead to long-term psychological problems in their lives (Slabbert and Sulina, 2013). Research carried out by Bollen at al. (1999: 25), where 269 women were interviewed indicated that up to 98% of the women confirmed that their children

witnessed the abuse most of the time and this never left the children the same. The impact of the abuse on the children will be explained later in this work

2.3.2 Emotional abuse

Emotional abuse is defined as different forms of insults, name calling, shouting, as well as belittling a person in front of other people and in front of children within the sphere of a home (RSA, 1998). Slabbert and Sulina (2013) further assert that emotional abuse includes the breaking down of a victim's self-worth and self-esteem through insults, ridicule, accusations, conscious ignoring of one's partner and infidelity. This destruction of self-worth and self-esteem could be done through verbal and or non-verbal means during a sustained period (Slabbert and Sulina, 2013).

In addition to the aforementioned views of emotional abuse, Sanderson (2008) asserts that isolating someone from their family, friends and even neighbours is another form of emotional abuse. From the definitions and views of emotional abuse, it is clear that emotional abuse could easily go unnoticed, as there are no bruises, wounds or blue eyes for the outside world to see making it a bit difficult to detect. However, Romito (2008) argues that though emotional abuse is more frequent than physical abuse, both forms of abuse are equally damaging to the victim and often go together.

Most victims of physical abuse (mostly women) assert that negative feedback from their partners are a sign of character and personality changes in their partner and this is often a chain reaction from the physical abuse (Pineless et al., 2008). These personality and character changes often result in emotional abuse from the perpetrator and therefore physical abuse and emotional abuse often accompany each other (Pineless et al., 2008).

According to Collaghan et al; (2015), children who grow up in homes or families that have been affected by domestic violence and abuse stand a higher risk of mental health challenges throughout their lives. Furthermore, these children turn to monitor and regulate their speech, self presentation, self expression and social interactions as a clear strategy for keeping themselves and other people safe.

2.3.3 Sexual abuse

The Domestic Violence Act of SA No. 116 of 1998 defines sexual abuse as “any conduct that abuses, humiliates, degrades or violates the sexual integrity of another” (RSA 1998). Slabbert and Sulina (2013) consider sexual abuse as marital rape, whereby one party in an intimate or sexual relationship, “assumes that it is his or her right and privilege to have sex whenever he or she wishes and in any form he or she desires, without taking the other partner’s feelings into consideration.” However, the Fredericton Sexual Assault Crisis Centre (Sinha, 2013) maintains that sexual abuse is not only limited to marital rape but to any other unaccepted sexual activity that happens domestically between intimate partners. According to Sinha (2013), “sexual abuse includes any sexual activity that involves force, threats or coercion with the objective of obtaining sex, shaming a woman’s sexuality and her sexual preferences; or not respecting a woman’s physical or sexual privacy.” In a survey carried out in Canada, it was ascertained that up to 17% of sexual abuses against women were committed by their intimate partner or spouse; 45% by a casual acquaintance and 13% by other third parties (Sinha, 2013).

2.3.4 Economic abuse

Economic abuse refers to a situation where shared or individual assets are being controlled forcefully by an abuser who gives limited access to these assets to the victim (Postmus et al., 2012). It also includes limiting the victim to current or future potential earnings as a means of having control and power over the victim (Postmus et al., 2012). Hence, economic abuse is a situation whereby the abuser intentionally isolates the victim financially, by creating some kind of forced dependency by the victim and other members of the household through isolating them from economic resources, and from their own rights and choices (Postmus et al., 2012). Slabbert and Sulina (2013) agree, stating that economic abuse simply implies that an abuser withholds economic support, thereby keeping a tight control over economic resources such as assets and money from other members of the family. In research carried out by Slabbert and Sulina (2013), 50% of the participants, who were women, indicated that their husbands did not only control the economic resources, but also failed to provide for their family’s financial needs.

2.4 Domestic violence within the context of crime in South Africa

According to the South African Police Services (SAPS), a domestic-related crime is defined as a “crime phenomenon that threatens the safety of South Africans, as it occurs in the vicinity of their private spaces and is committed by the people they know and should be able to trust (SAPS, 2018:39).” Being that the SAPS report does not have a specific crime category known as domestic violence, the SAPS therefore carry out a detailed analysis of the annual criminal cases reported during the year as recorded in the crime administration system (CAS) (SAPS, 2018). All crimes that are flagged as being domestic-related are summarised and evaluated using the definitions in the Domestic Violence Act, 1998 (Act 116, 1998) (SAPS, 2018).

The South African Police Services Report (2017/2018) reported the following as domestic-related crimes within the research area for the period 1 March 2016 to 31 April 2017:

- 79 059 cases of domestic related crimes.
- The Western Cape reported 36.6%, which was the highest in the nation followed by 22.0 in Gauteng.
- Up to 67.3% of the above cases were related to physical abuse, followed by 19.4% related to emotional abuse, 17.0% damage to property and 12.4% related to economic abuse (SAPS, 2018).

Furthermore, the SAPS (2018) report states that,

Domestic related incidents mostly occurred inside residences, in 790 cases (69.7%) inside the residences of the victims themselves or residences that the victims shared with the offenders. A further 71 (6.3%) occurred inside the residences of the offenders...The motives or factors which most frequently led to abuse in the cases in which such information could be established, were arguments or misunderstanding, in 293 (25.9%) of the incidents, jealousy in 213 (19.9%), alcohol or substance abuse in 136 (12.7%), financial strain in 114 (10.6%), belief in the right or need to dominate or control another person in 110 (10.3%) and marital problems or infidelity in 80 (7.5%) of the incidents...The majority (943 or 80.5%) of the victims involved in the analysed cases were females and 228 (19.5%) males. Nearly three-quarters (855 or 74.6%) of the victims were aged between 20 and 49 years, with 323 (28.2%) aged between 20 and 29 years, 332 (28.1%) between 30 and 39 years and 210 (18.3%) between 40 and 49 years...In more than two-thirds of the cases in which repeat victimisation was evident (325 or 70.2%) the victims had obtained protection orders against

the abusers. In a considerable number of cases (75 or 15.6%) the protection orders were obtained against ex-spouses, ex-boyfriends or ex-girlfriends, followed by spouses (67 or 14.0%), boyfriends or girlfriends (54 or 11.4%) and children (51 or 10.6%). From the above, it is clear that a protection order does not really prevent further abuse and may in certain instances even provoke further abuse... The majority (1,004 or 86.5%) of the 1,161 arrested offenders were males and 157 (13.5%) were females. Most of the arrested offenders (755 or 65.0%) fell in the age group between 20 and 49 years of age, with 284 (24.5%) between 20 and 29 years and 315 (27.1%) between 30 and 39 years. The highest number of offenders (256 or 22.0%) were ex-boyfriends, ex-girlfriends or ex-spouses of the victims, followed by current boyfriends and girlfriends (256 or 20.3%) spouses (211 or 18.2%), children 151 (13.0%) and extended family members (132 or 11.4%) (SAPS, 2018).

A critical look at the SAPS report above clearly indicates that children are almost out of the picture when reporting domestic violence related crimes in South Africa. The principal victims mentioned are first women and then men. This re-iterates the importance of this study, being that children are often affected by these crimes directly or indirectly. Furthermore, the causes listed by the SAPS agree with family systems theorists who posit that misunderstandings, arguments, jealousy and family conflicts could result to violence in the home (Kerr, 2000). Moreso, males stand out as the highest offenders in domestic crimes. This also agrees with the family systems theory whereby the 'head' of the household, which could be either the man or woman in certain cases, tries to enforce their authority or hierarchy in the household that may end in internal conflicts (Kerr, 2000). Finally, up to 69.7% of these crimes happen in the residence of the victims, which agrees with the family systems theory that states that most conflicts occur within the confines of the home (Kerr, 2000).

2.5 Outcomes of domestic violence on people

This includes the victims, the perpetrators, children who witnessed it and in some cases third parties who do not necessarily form part of the domestic circle in the home. This section however, concerns itself with literature on the outcomes of domestic violence with a direct link to a specific types of domestic violence in the lives of people.

2.5.1 Outcomes on children who witnessed physical abuse

According to Pagelow (1990), up to 90% of people who grew up in homes where there was domestic violence witnessed the battering of their mothers by either their fathers or intimate partners when they were children. Another study carried out in the United States indicated that some fathers intentionally made sure the children witnessed the physical abuse on their mothers as a means of instilling fear in them (Dobash and Dobash, 1979).

Most children who witnessed physical abuse or assault in their homes as they grew up ended up being caught in the middle of the act (Meltzer et al., 2009). According to Hilberman and Munson, (1977), not only young adults, but also infants could be injured, being that they were on the bodies of their mothers during the abuse by the father or perpetrators. The children could also be injured if the perpetrator happens to throw an object at the victim in the presence of the children (Meltzer et al., 2009). Very often, young adults are injured by the perpetrator because they try to intervene, protect or defend their mothers and end up being physically injured themselves (Hilberman and Munson, 1977). Hence, the witnessing of such violence may have far-reaching consequences on children, which may go beyond physical injuries. Early research indicates that most people who currently have behavioural or emotional problems witnessed some form of physical abuse inflicted on their mothers when they were younger (Jaffe et al., 1990). According to Hilberman and Munson (1977), most of the male children who witnessed the battering of their mothers ended up becoming very aggressive, easily got into physical fights with their siblings, schoolmates, other peers in the neighbourhood and had generally volatile tempers. Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981) assert that most men who today have the tendency of physically abusing their wives or intimate partners witnessed physical abuse on their mothers by their fathers while they were growing. On the other hand, research has also indicated that most children who are very passive, withdrawn, have low self-esteem and generally scared of loud noise witnessed the physical abuse of their mothers when they were children (Hilberman and Munson, 1977). On a general note, the outcomes of witnessing physical abuse may differ in extent and depth based on the length of time and the frequency of witnessing the act. As posited by Hilberman and Munson (1997), the outcomes of witnessing physical abuse by the child generally tend to be negative vis-a-vis the victims personality in the long run.

Furthermore, as a result of children exposure to domestic violence in South Africa, they remain in a state of constant fear and high stress level that is illustrated through an increase in thier heart rate

and they become hypervigilant. This sometimes have a damanging effect on them which include mental health issues such as depression, leading to alcohol and drug abuse which could lead to futher health complications such as heart diseases and even suicide (Hsiao et al; 2018).

2.5.2 Outcomes on children who witnessed emotional abuse

As previously, mentioned, emotional abuse is defined as different forms of insults, name-calling, shouting, intimidation, isolation, manipulation, forceful control, as well as belittling a person in front of other people and in front of children within the sphere of a home (RSA, 1998). According to Pedersen (2018), witnessing emotional abuse tends to be more damaging on the mental health of a child than witnessing physical abuse. Referring to research conducted by Naughton et al. (2018), (Pedersen, 2018) found that participants who had been exposed to emotional abuse indicated that this exposure had detrimental impacts on their psychological well-being, whereas, those who were exposed to only physical abuse did not have the same experience.

Some of the long-term effects of children witnessing one of their parents being emotionally abused include the following: low social functioning, low moods, anxiety, and depression (Pedersen, 2018). In the work of Naughton et al (2017) as cited in Pedersen (2018), she posits that children who grew up in homes where there was emotional abuse often suffer from serious psychological problems in the long run, unlike those who were exposed to physical abuse only.

Furthermore, Naughton et al. (2017) found that emotional abuse could easily go unnoticed if not spoken about, which is often the case and therefore it causes more damage than physical abuse. In a study carried out by Naughton et al. (2017) at the University of Limerick 464 students between the ages of 17 and 25 were randomly selected to participate. It was aimed at evaluating the long-term impacts of psychological abuse versus physical abuse. The study indicated that only 20% of the participants grew up in a home where there was physical violence and the remaining 80% grew up in a home where there was intra-parental emotional abuse. Furthermore, it was found that all participants who had been exposed to physical abuse had also been exposed to emotional abuse, however not all participants who had been exposed to emotional abuse had been exposed to physical abuse (Naughton et al. (2017). Another study indicated that most people who currently suffer from depression explained that they observed psychological or emotional abuse during their childhood (Comijs et al., 2013). Gavin (2011) in his study found that “the more the frequency of

abusive behaviours, the higher the probability that an individual would develop depressive symptoms” , hence agreeing with the assertion of Comijs et al. (2013).

Despite the fact that emotional abuse may seem to have a more devastating aftereffect than physical abuse on people who witnessed it during their childhood, a lot of research still needs to be carried out in order to bring more of its negative impacts in the lives of the victims (Pedersen, 2018).

2.5.3 Outcomes on children who witnessed sexual abuse

According to Daane (2005), the impacts and negative outcomes of sexual abuse are the same both for the primary and secondary victims. The primary victim refers to the woman, child or man (in rare cases) who is sexually abused and the secondary victim refers to the child in the house who either erroneously saw or heard the incident from their room (Daane, 2005).

One of the principal outcomes of sexual assault that is universal is trauma (Boyd, 2011). Victims of trauma suffer from a neurobiological effect that affects their brains and nervous systems. According to Boyd (2011) the outcomes of sexual assault mostly depend on the following aspects:

- How the victim is related to the perpetrator.
- The manner in which the abuse happened.
- The length of time for which the abuse has been happening.
- The extent to which the abuse resulted to physical harm.
- The reaction of family members and friends when they hear about the abuse.

The above list however may not be exhaustive, but will be considered for the purposes of this work. Chivers-Wilson (2006) states that the psychological adverse effects of sexual abuse on both the primary and secondary victims could be short or long-term based in the above factors. Littleton et al. (2006) posit that the following are the aftereffects or outcomes of sexual abuse on both the primary and secondary victim:

- Shock and anger against the perpetrator

- General fear and anxiety
- Hyper-alertness and hyper-vigilance
- Easily irritable and angered
- Disrupted sleep and frequent nightmares
- Tendency to deny or minimise the experience as a means of dealing with it
- Tendency to live in isolation
- Often feelings of detachment from people
- Constant emotional constriction
- Constant feelings of betrayal and
- A general sense of shame and disgrace

2.5.4 Outcomes on those who witnessed economic abuse

Economic abuse refers to a situation where shared or individual assets are being controlled forcefully by an abuser who gives limited access to these assets to the victim (Postmus et al., 2012). It also includes limiting the victim to current or future potential earnings as a means of having control and power over the victim (Postmus et al., 2012).

As in the case of sexual abuse, children growing up in a home where there is economic abuse are often secondary victims. The below quote has been taken from Tickle (2018) to provide a summary of the impact of economic abuse on both the lives of the primary and secondary victims.

Elizabeth doesn't dare tell social services, but there have been nights when she and her three kids couldn't eat. No heating, no gas. We've lived like paupers, she told me. He doesn't pay any maintenance even though legally he's meant to, so sometimes I can't pay my nursery bill. That means that even though I've left him, my jobs at risk – I can't take a child into work. Her ex-partner has also sent emails to letting agents impugning her ability to afford the rent, meaning she's had to stump up six months in advance to hold off a tenancy. Eliza (not her real name) didn't have that money – she's had to borrow from friends. Despite paying her rents on time, subsequent damning emails from her ex to letting agents have, she believes, led to her and the children being evicted twice. He has also repeatedly maligned Elizabeth's character to her employers. She's just warned her new

boss to expect a coruscating email from her ex-partner to land in his inbox. He's spoken to a wide range of people to destroy my reputation. Which I cannot action and I can't repair, she says despairingly. He continues to thwart my ability to rent or own property, to work, to qualify [she's restraining], so he is completely stifling me economically. Four years after leaving him, I'm as controlled by him as I always was (Tickle, 2018).

In agreement with the above quote, Corrie (2016) posits that economic abuse results in severe material deprivation not only for women, but also for their children. Corrie (2016) highlights the following as some of the direct outcomes of economic abuse on people who grew up in homes where there was economic abuse: some of them dropped out from school, did not have proper medical attention as kids, suffered from malnutrition, developed low self-esteem amongst their peers because of lack of proper dressing and physical appearance and suffered from anxiety and social exclusion.

Most men who are economic abusers engage in the abuse as a means of keeping their wives and children fully dependent on them by making sure that they are deprived of economic resources (McLaren, 2013). The theory of marital interdependency and dependency as propounded by Vyas and Watts (2008) could be used to explain in detail how abusers use economic abuse to trap both their primary (wives) and secondary (children) victims in domestic abuse. The outcomes of economic abuse in the life of a person who suffered from it could transcend generations, as most parents who are not educated may not see the rational to give their own children proper education (Vyas and Watts, 2008). Hence, the cycle of lack of education that was a result of economic abuse may continue from one generation to another.

2.6 Children as domestic violence victims

In many instances, children have been hidden victims of domestic violence that is, the harmful effect on them has often gone unexamined. This could be that the only time they are considered victims of domestic violence is when there is evidence of physical abuse in the form of wounds or bruises. According to Singh (2005), children who witness domestic violence in their homes can be considered hidden victims of domestic violence, despite the fact that they were not physically assaulted. Singh asserts that immediate intervention is needed to handle the issue of children who witness domestic violence in their homes, however neither society nor social development

agencies, nor the law has placed these children as priority. Kail and Cavanaugh (2007: 271), posit that when children witness physical or verbal conflicts between their parents at home, it jeopardises their perception of a family as a secure and safe haven. Hence, these children live in fear, anxiety and insecurity. In the past, research done on domestic violence tended to focus more on women as victims of domestic violence and on men as perpetrators of the act. As a result making the children some kind of 'silent' victims of domestic violence (McClennen, 2010).

Most often, children who experience violence in their homes tend to be silent about it. This may be because of the fear factor associated to domestic violence or they may sometimes be threatened by the perpetrator of the incident not to talk about it. Therefore, their being silent may not be out of their free will but it could also be because abuse is normalised in that society and therefore accepted as conventional behaviour. According to Idemudia and Makhubela (2011) very often, incidents of domestic violence usually take place in the presence of children and continuously living in such conditions may amount to severe cases of trauma. Idemudia and Makhubela (2011), agreeing with Seifert (2006), further explain that conditions of trauma may cause children to withdraw themselves from their societies and therefore limit their understanding and perception of the world.

All the above agrees with Abayomi (2014) research which states that children who grew up in domestic violence homes may become withdrawn, depressed and anxious. They turn to exert control and aggressiveness towards their siblings and others. They also become troublesome and aggressive both at home and in school. Their withdrawal and isolation from others could also result to under achievement academically.

The fact that children do not often speak about their experiences of domestic violence does not imply that they are not affected negatively (Seifert, 2006: 38). Seifert (2006) further explains that children's exposure and experience of domestic violence may weaken their self-soothing skills and this may result in emotional breakdowns, stress and overreaction when faced with social challenges. Some of the aforementioned consequences of domestic violence experienced by children often spills over into their adulthood. Children are 'silent' victims of domestic violence, though their scars may be invisible (Buzawa et al., 1998 as cited in Payne and Gainey, 2010: 151). Children who are not physically affected during incidents of domestic violence are sometimes not considered victims of domestic violence (Singh, 2005). Therefore, it is important to take note of

the different ways in which children are affected by domestic violence to find ways of reducing these adverse effects.

2.6.1 Different ways of exposure to domestic violence

According to Holt et al. (2008), children could observe domestic violence through different means such as overhearing arguments or observing its aftermath by seeing bruises, wounds and broken furniture in the house. When a child sees, hears or learns that one of their parents was harmed by the other, it threatens the child's security which they expect to receive from the perpetrator of the act (Baker et al., 2002). The different ways in which children could be exposed to domestic violence are described in detail below as outlined on The Child Welfare Information Gateway (2014).

2.6.2 Those who heard the violent event

The first category of children's experience of domestic violence is when the child overhears the act at the exact moment it happens. This means that the child hears or listens to the sound of one parent battering, insulting or assaulting the other. This could also be through hearing the victim's cries or screams due to the pain inflicted on them by the perpetrator or hearing their parents throwing tantrums (Holt et al., 2008). It could also be possible that the child could know about the violence after it has taken place. According to Hamby et al. (2011: 3),

Whether an individual is present or not during the violent event, just hearing about it afterwards could still be very traumatising, especially for a child, since detailed information of what happened could be shared with the child.

They also added that though the children may be in a different room from their parents, they are potentially in danger since the perpetrator is not far away from them and hence, anything could happen. So the information they may have about the event may not be very accurate due to the fact that some of them were not eye witnesses of the act and can only share what they heard from their rooms.

2.6.2.1 Those who observe the violent event

This includes children who are involved directly as eyewitnesses to the violent event, thereby seeing one or both parents beating, shooting, stabbing, pushing, and shouting at the each other. The child could also see the victim in pain and this could cause the child to feel bad and helpless, especially because they are unable to ease the pain of the victim. According to a study carried out by Jouriles et al. (1988) in Holt et al., 2008: 800), “out of 155 children exposed to domestic violence where knives or guns were used, all 155 children ended up becoming victims of trauma even if they witnessed the act live or only saw the aftermath.”

If when they do not see the violence directly, they still end up as victims of trauma, how much more when they are eyewitnesses of the event. Sometimes observing such violence in their homes could make them become violent during their adulthood towards their spouses or intimate partners (Seifert, 2006: 38).

2.6.2.2 Those who intervened in the violent event

This category of children are those who became directly involved in the violent event at home. That is, the child either intervened or partook in the domestic violent event. Here the child might want to act as a shield to the victim against the perpetrator, either by physically standing between them, or by pushing the perpetrator away from the victim. Simons (2010) states that children are mostly forced to become part of or intervene during the violent event. In some cases, they are forced by the perpetrator to release information about the victim’s whereabouts in cases where the victims have managed to escape the scene. The perpetrators use the children to convince the victims to stay in the abusive relationship for their own selfish reasons. As a result, making the children indirectly compelled to be involved in the violent relationship whether they are for it or not (Baker et al., 2002 : 7). Sometimes, the perpetrator may go further to ask the children to convince the victim to stay in the violent relationship. Another example could be in the situation where the perpetrator could kidnap the child/children just so that they can gain the attention of the victim, and also frighten the victim at the same time (Baker et al., 2002).

2.6.2.3 Those who experience the aftermath of the violent event

The last category of children exposed to domestic violence in this study are those who have experienced the aftermath of violent events in their homes. An example of such children are those

who are suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) because of exposure to domestic violence. Holt et al (2008: 802), state that, “empirical evidence suggests that growing up in abusive home environment can critically jeopardise the developmental progress and personal ability of children, the cumulative effect of which may be carried into adulthood and contribute significantly to the circle of adversity and violence”.

The above assertion makes it clear that children exposed to domestic violence may struggle with behavioural and emotional challenges, experience stress and sleep disorders and live in fear, which may also lead to depression at a later stage. As seen above, they may in the long run demonstrate aggressive behaviour, hyper vigilance or may be easily distracted (Ahmed, 2009: 65). Hence, exposure to domestic violence while growing up could have a negative impact in the life of children, especially in the future and its effects could be long lasting.

According to Seifert (2006: 38), who agrees with Baker et al. (2002), children who are exposed to domestic violence in their homes stand the risk of being involved in violent activities, or cases of repeated violent patterns in the future. It has also been made clear that whether a child/individual is directly or indirectly exposed to domestic violence, exposure to domestic violence has negative consequences on the lives of children and this creeps into their future as they grow into adults (Holt et al; 2008).

Furthermore, domestic violence has become an issue of generational occurrence and in studying intergenerational transmissions, most scholars have often referred to Bandura’s social learning theory to explain intergenerational family violence (Bandura and Walters, 1977). Bandura’s social learning theory posits that the family system plays a key role in tutoring a child and that most behaviours are cultured from the immediate environment in which a person grew up (Islam et al., 2014). Therefore, children copy and repeat the interpersonal skills that they see from their parent and Bandura’s social learning theory seeks to explain the reason why children who witnessed domestic violence while growing up, end up being either perpetrators or victims of domestic violence at a later stage in their lives (Islam et al., 2014). The theory further explains that children who grow up in homes where there is domestic violence tend to believe that violence is a normal phenomenon, violence is appropriate for problem solving and also inevitable in intimate relationships of any form (Islam et al., 2014). Family violence experienced during childhood, either through witnessing or being involved directly, often acts as a foundation for

cycles of further violence or adverse scenarios such re-victimisation, other life difficulties or even mental problems in the long run (Jirapramukpitak et al., 2011).

According to a report from UNICEF (2006), most children who grow up in homes where there is domestic violence end up being victims themselves. The report further found that children and infants who live in homes where there is domestic violence stand a significant risk of suffering from extensive damage in their physical, emotional and social development. The report also found out that there is also a very strong likelihood that once domestic violence has been experienced in a generation, there could be a continuing cycle of violence in the next generations in that family line. In addition, it further discovered that the highest and most reliable predictor of children becoming either victims or perpetrators of domestic violence in a person's adulthood is whether they were exposed to it in their childhood. The UNICEF report is in complete agreement with Bandura's social learning theory. Allen (2013) agrees with the above views, stating that children who witnessed acts of domestic violence while growing up, end up having the perception that anger and frustration are best expressed through aggressive behaviours (Allen, 2013).

In contrast to the above-mentioned viewpoints that domestic violence could be generational, the Minnesota Centre Against Violence and Abuse (MCVA, 2019), maintains that domestic violence is not generational. The centre carried out research on domestic violence and found that adults who were exposed to domestic violence rather actively opposed all kinds of violence. The reason being that they were present during the act as children, they saw the effects and some tried to help their mums to no avail. Meanwhile, Indermaur's (2001) studies have shown that 15% of cases where the children were present, and they laboured to stop it, 6% laboured to get help from outside and about 10% actively got involved by trying to help the victim which in most cases were their mothers. The two schools of thought above seem convincing and hold strong on their individual assertions.

2.7 Theoretical framework

Many different theories have been used to address and explain domestic violence. However, the most prevalent of these theories (family systems, power, frustration-aggression and feminist theories) all propose that the abuse of power and forceful control by the perpetrators of domestic violence stand out as one of the key causes of domestic violence. This section of the study will focus on four theories, which include family systems theory (Bograd, 1998), power theory

(Walker, 1993), frustration-aggression theory (Boyd-Franklin, 1989) and feminist theory (Flores and Carey, 2000). However, for the purposes of this study, only the family systems theory would be employed.

2.7.1 *Family systems theory*

This study makes use of the family systems theory as propounded by Dr Murray Bowen (Brown, 1999). He suggests that no individual can be understood in isolation of another individual, but rather that individuals can only be understood as part of their families, being that the family represents an emotional unit (Brown, 1999). Furthermore, Broderick and Smith (1979) assert that the bigger the number of individuals in a family, the more complex and dramatic the family system becomes.

According to family systems theorists, the family is the first and most vital institution that defines the behaviour of an individual (Johnson and Ray, 2016). As the member of a family, an individual gets an identity and this gives them societal contact with that family and the rest of the world (Hooper, 2007). Family theorists are of the view that the perceptions that an individual holds about his environment and the attitude that he manifests towards his environment are primarily influenced by the his family (Johnson and Ray, 2016). In this regard, the family systems theory postulates that both the family and the social situation of an individual play key roles in every violent behaviour (Hooper, 2007). Family theorists have broken down the causes of violent behaviour into various categories including hormonal causes and personality characteristics which are most often intra-physical, social conditioning, as well as cognitive processes primarily relating to anger (Kerr, 2000).

Furthermore, Fingerman and Bermann (2000) argue that most, if not all behaviours that are interpreted as domestic violence emanate from family conflicts. These family conflicts arise because of disobedience in the home, misunderstandings, financial stress, very high expectations, disappointment, miscommunications and so many other issues (Fingerman and Bermann, 2000). These family conflicts also act as a vehicle for individual traits to manifest themselves in the form of jealousy, aggressive habits, suspicion, immaturity, outbursts of wrath, and dissensions between both the victim and the perpetrator (Fingerman and Bermann, 2000). This highlights the fact that every family holds its own traditions and behavioral patterns that they inherited or that they have accumulated historically. These historical values accumulated over time within the family

therefore shape the behaviors of the members of that family both within and without family gatherings and in their social interactions.

According to Johnson and Ray (2016), the foundation of all forms of domestic violence is rooted in historical internal family structures. The family structure advocates for a hierarchical system or structure of the family, as well as gender and age division that determines who owns and manages the household resources. Hence, in an attempt to maintain the continuity of the family system and structure, internal conflicts happen that often end up in conflicts within the family resulting to domestic violence (Johnson and Ray, 2016).

This work employs the family systems theory as a guiding theory. As previously mentioned, most behavioural threats emanate from within the home and hence the family. The adverse effects of domestic violence on many adults today is mostly due to what they experienced as children growing up in their homes. Hence, this work will seek to look into and try to explain the extent and depth of these effects on victims of domestic violence.

Power theory holds that domestic violence occurs in a household as a result of power disparities that exist within the home (Finkelhor, 1981). According to Finkelhor (1981), there is a natural existence of power differentials within the family with the existence of different ages and gender in the home. He further explained that power differentials are manifested when those members of the family who are older, stronger and have more access to economic and financial resources take advantage of the situation to exert their will on the other members who are younger, weaker and have limited access to financial and economic resources. This is exemplified in a traditional society or family where the men generally have the power over their wives and children as a result of their age, status, strength and also as a societal norms. Finkelhor's (1981) observations on domestic violence also ascertained that the common trends of domestic violence or abuse are when the most powerful abuse the least powerful in the household. As a result of this, children stand the most chance of being abused, especially when they are much younger. Women and younger females could also be very vulnerable to sexual abuse by older and stronger male adults who are in positions of power either in the household or the society. Hence the lesser the power of the wife or female as compared to her husband or male partner, the greater her chances of being abused.

Another theory is the frustration-aggression theory that dates as far back as 1939 when it was first proposed by Dollard et al. (1939) as a theory to better understand domestic violence. This theory seeks to explain that each time an individual's goals or objectives are interfered with by something, the individual feels frustrated and their frustration leads to aggression in some form (Dollard et al., 1939). This aggression may include inappropriate verbal or physical behaviour with the intention to hurt another person. This frustration may very often lead to increased tension in the home, as well as restless movements and feelings that may eventually result to harmful and intimidating attacks on anyone within reach. Hence, aggression is very often used as a response to frustration leading to either physical or mental injury on a specific target. This therefore seeks to explain the reaction of many fathers or male partners in a relationship who tend to transfer their frustration at work, school, business and so forth through aggressive behaviours towards their spouses and children at home.

Lastly, the feminist theory is one of the roots of the broader feminist concept (Stephens et al., 2010). "Feminism refers to a political, cultural and economic movement aimed at establishing greater gender equality, often in the form of legal recognition of women's rights and legal protection" (Stephens et al., 2010:374). The feminist movement has spanned three main waves, which include the 19th and 20th centuries as wave one, 1960s and 1970s as wave two and wave three which runs from the 1990s to date (Hanson, 2001). Stephens et al. (2010) have however opined that time has revealed that the influence of feminism goes beyond law only. Feminism addresses issues such as traditional or cultural believes, encompassing key issues such as gender, sexuality, patriarchy, class, race, labour force, economy, religion, environment, peace, militarism, education and violence.

During the 1970s (wave two), a vibrant feminist political movement for women arose and this led to the formulation of feminist theory, being one of the arms of feminism. This feminist domestic violence movement explains that domestic violence emanates from a historically created dominance of men over women and children in the home, with emphasis on gender hierarchy where men tend to dominate and have control over women and children (Messerschmidt, 1986). The main brains behind this theory advocate that domestic violence may be generally defined as male oppression and domination of women within the four walls of the home (Cook et al., 1995). Hence, the fundamental objective of this theory is to seek a way of better understanding the woman's oppression within the home in terms of gender, class, sexual preference, race and to seek

a means of changing this. Advocates of feminist theories of domestic violence Flores and Carey (2000), further explain that sexual assault, rape, dowry related cruelty and female infanticide are other related forms of violence against women that should be read alongside domestic violence as instances of gendered power. They explain that gender and power are always at play in instances of domestic violence. Furthermore, advocates of feminist theory propagate that, “domestic violence could be considered a systematic and structural mechanism of masculine control and dominance of women that is founded on male supremacy and female subordination” (Lombard and McMillan, 2013).

This could be further broken down through sex stereotypes, where there is a preconceived idea of how a person should behave based on their gender, the expectation of economic, social, political and physical dominance of men over women. Hence, some men use violence through verbal, physical, economic as well as sexual abuse in order to maintain their male power and dominance over woman each time they think that their dominance is being threatened in any way (Lombard and McMillan, 2013).

2.8 Chapter summary

This chapter aimed at highlighting and unfolding literature on domestic violence, examining the factors that affect and influence the lives of individuals exposed to it. A few theoretical perspectives have been discussed on which domestic violence can be viewed. The main theoretical framework for this study is the family systems theory, and it gave an insight on how domestic violence and domestic interactions interplay within the context of the family.

3 CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

South Africa is one of the nations in the world with high rates of intimate partner violence (De La Harpe and Boonzaaier, 2011:147). Children who reside in households where there is domestic violence tend to be exposed to dangerous and violent scenarios daily. Most of this intimate partner violence usually takes place in the children’s presence, resulting in serious trauma on these children (Idemudia and Makhubele, 2011: 3445). However, most research on domestic violence

has focused on women as primary victims of domestic violence, forgetting that children who witnessed the act are also severely affected by what they saw or heard. As a result, they end up becoming ‘forgotten’ victims of domestic violence. Therefore, the focus of this work is on the long-term effects of domestic violence on people who experienced it while growing up.

The main purpose of this study has been to investigate the experiences and effects of domestic violence on people who were exposed to it during their childhood. To achieve the above goal, the following objectives were formulated;

- To explore and describe people’s experiences regarding their exposure to domestic violence during their childhood.
- To describe and explore people’s coping mechanisms of domestic violence while they were growing up.
- To explore and describe the role of domestic violence on long-term life history.

Empirical data was collected from the participants through the research technique of life history interviews. Life history (LH) interviews can be defined as “a qualitative method of data collection that elicits written and/or oral narratives through question and answer to describe or comment upon a person’s life” (Bertaux, 1981:309) This is a research method that gives the respondents the opportunity to give a retrospective account of their life, in their own words and as far back as their memories allow. The LH method also gives the interviewer the opportunity to have multiple interviews with the respondent, during which they can constantly update the information received from the respondent. The flexible nature of this method allows for a better understanding of the subject matter under investigation and therefore makes room for better and more detailed results (Ingelaere et al., 2018).

3.2 Research methodology

According to Creswell (2013) a research methodology comprises of not only a process of collecting data and analysing it in order to accomplish the goal of the study, but it also includes the theoretical unpinning of this process. Qualitative data analysis is a form of systematic empirical enquiry into meaning. This type of investigation is grounded in the realm of experiences since it

enables the researcher to see through the specs of how others interpret experiences (Creswell, 2013).

3.2.1 The research approach

A qualitative research approach was used in this study (Grinnell and Unrau, 2011: 20). I carried out life history interviews with residents of the Elim Night Shelter in order to test if their life histories included domestic violence and what impact this has had in their lives today. The qualitative research design was used in this study because it is the most appropriate approach for the study, especially since the main aim was to gain in-depth information about the life experiences of participants. Taking into consideration that adults should be able to convey their experience by means of oral histories in ways that children are often unable to, and also they do not pose a high risk in terms of the research ethics, I worked only with adults, eliciting information about their childhood and subsequent experiences.

3.2.2 Research design

In this study, the phenomenological research design was used since it was the most appropriate research design for the study. Creswell (2013) considers the phenomenological research approach to qualitative studies to be a means of retrospectively investigating the lived experience of a person; describing a phenomenon in the person's life and coming up with conclusions. The reason for using this approach was to gain an in-depth understanding about the phenomenon of domestic violence, by interviewing people who had first-hand experience of domestic violence during their childhood. The participants had to describe and explain their experiences during childhood in relation to domestic violence in their different homes and how it has affected their current lives as adults.

3.2.3 Study population and sampling

Before the conception of this research, I had been to the Elim Night Shelter in two capacities. Firstly, as a member of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) student outreach movement in 2015, and secondly under a banner of a Christian organisation to do some charitable work. It was as a result of these engagements that an interest in the shelter was developed. It was decided that it is a good site for the research project. A research methodology was then developed on how to

find that out. These are people who are not doing well in their adult lives, and the aim was to find out how many of them had experience of domestic violence in their childhood biographies. The study employed an open-ended life history interview guide, without specifically asking questions pertaining to domestic violence until the very end in order to ascertain if they were themselves making sense of domestic violence as being one of the reasons why their lives turned out as they had. Once domestic violence came up in their narratives, I then followed up on it.

The study makes use of the convenience sampling technique, where willing participants who were at the shelter at the time of the fieldwork, were selected to take part in the study. The convenience sampling technique was used because it is not possible to have all the residents of the shelter at the same time, hence only available and willing participants were included. The total number of participants interviewed were 15, ranging between 21 to 77 years old. There were 10 males and five females but only 10 of the participants had incidences of domestic violence in their bibliographies. Five participants who fell out of the scope of the study but were however included in the study because I did not want to guide the research by beginning with questions regarding domestic violence, but I however asked questions why they reside at the shelter and only followed up when issues of domestic violence were raised. Permission to carry out the research at the shelter was granted by the social worker of the shelter. The letter of acceptance is attached as appendix 1. The main aim of the study is to describe and explore the experiences of people exposed to domestic violence during their childhood. This study, however, makes use of the life history interview technique where the participants recounted their life experience from childhood to date, outlining their different reasons for ending up in the shelter (Park and Burgess, 2003). Since the participants would be speaking about their past lives, this could bring bad memories and trauma. I therefore took the following measures to either prevent or handle this:

- The interview took place on a day when the Elim Night Shelter's social worker was on duty to help in case of any emergency.
- The number of paramedics was kept on hand in case of emergency.
- The interview process was stopped when the respondent became emotional or the questions triggered painful memories that could not be handled by the respondent.
- The Night Shelter is linked to specific experts in particular areas of trauma and health, which cannot be handled by their internal staff in case of emergency. This too was an added advantage.

3.2.4 Data collection

The data was collected by making use of the life history interviews. This helped in gaining insight into the lives of the participants and the challenges that they had individually faced in life, especially that of domestic violence amongst other challenges during their childhood. The life history interview technique gives importance to subjective factors in social life, such as the individual's memories and perceptions, and tries to put this within the context of the research (Lim, 2011), gaining first-hand experiences of the research participants' lived realities. Themes for discussion were introduced and information that came up spontaneously was explored during the course of the interviews. Participants were probed to gain detailed explanations and clarity in certain cases. Follow-up questions were also asked to further explore more responses to the main question (Welman et al., 2012: 198). Before conducting the interview, informal conversations were had in order for both the participant and myself to become comfortable with one another. General questions were asked about their childhood experiences, family and so on. Matters related to domestic violence were only brought up towards the end, especially to those who did not have incidences of domestic violence while growing up. The interview guide is attached as appendix 2.

As recommended by Willig (2013), all 15 interviews were recorded, using a recorder. Willig (2013) asserts that all verbal information is imperative to research findings. In addition, field notes were taken of the participants' verbal and non-verbal communication during the interviews. This was to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants' experiences as children, especially with factors related to domestic violence and a few other ordeals they talked about.

3.2.5 Data analysis

The life history interview recordings and notes made during the fieldwork at the Elim Night Shelter were assembled. Before analysing the data collected, interview recordings were listened to and fully transcribed. Once that was done, the data was analysed using qualitative methods as suggested by Creswell, (2013). Below are the eight steps that were used in the data analysis process as suggested by Creswell (2013):

- The transcripts and data were carefully read and any ideas that came to mind were jotted down.

- The transcribed data was systematically sifted through by underlining meaningful information, thought patterns, and determining the relevance of the information in relation to the research question.
- After the above was done on all the transcripts, a list of themes was then developed from the information. The themes that were drawn from the data were clustered together into columns labelled as main themes and sub-themes.
- The data was re-visited, taking into account the various themes. Abbreviation of the themes was made through coding.
- Furthermore, descriptive wordings for the themes was developed by putting them together through categories. Lines were drawn to show the interrelationships between the categories.
- Finally a decision was made about the abbreviation of the categories.
- All the information was then placed under main and sub-themes.
- Finally I began writing the research findings and supporting them with direct quotes from the interviews as well as academic literature to back up the findings.

3.2.6 Trustworthiness in research

According to Lietz et al. (2006: 447), every researcher has to ensure the trustworthiness of their data by cross-checking, peer debriefing and reflecting. On several occasions, clarification was needed on aspects of information from the participants to make sure they were clearly understood. Clarification of the data is key in order to obtain a clear stand-point. When it comes to generalisation and transferability of the research findings, I was able to link the data gathered during the findings to applicable theories.

3.2.7 Ethical considerations

Before going into the field, the ethical clearance application was sent to the Ethics Senate Committee and the clearance was granted after a few months. This was just to make sure the work met all ethical criteria in research. Before the ethical application to the Senate Board, a letter was written to the Elim Night Shelter, requesting permission to conduct interviews with the shelter residents, which was granted after a few weeks. Having both the permission from the Ethics Committee and the shelter management, the plan to collect data was formulated. On arrival at the

shelter, the study was introduced to management, the social worker and all those who volunteered to participate in the study. The information sheet is attached as appendix 3. The participants who were willing to take part in the study completed the consent form before the interview. Also attached is the consent form as appendix 4.

Since this is a sensitive topic and life history interviews were used, the interviews had to be carried out in a separate room, away from the public. This room was provided by the shelter management. Participants were told clearly that their participation was voluntary and there would be no penalty for doing so. All the participants were informed that their identities would remain anonymous and nowhere in the research would their names be mentioned and all the information obtained from them would remain confidential as stated in the consent form (Strydom, 2011: 119). If any distressful condition arose, the social worker was available to assist the participant. The contact details for the Woodstock Trauma Unit was also available and kept handy. Respect and sensitivity were exercised towards the respondents especially dealing with the topic at hand. It was reiterated to the participants that they had the right to stop at any point of the interview or whenever they felt they were not able to respond (Ellsberg and Hense, 2002).

3.2.8 Limitations of the study

The aim of this study is to explore and describe the long-term effects of domestic violence on people. Since this topic is a sensitive one, it would always be a challenge to find willing participants. Each of the interviews took a minimum of 50 minutes, with some going up to one hour and above, making it very time-consuming.

Sixteen interviews were conducted, but in the process of transcribing them, one of the interviews on the recording device could not be found and had to be removed from the study. It was initially planned to interview 10 males and 10 females. Ultimately 10 males and five females were interviewed because they were the only people available to participate in the study.

Finally, another problem experienced was the issue of time since the topic is a very sensitive one and had to do with reflecting on what happened many years ago. The respondents had to take their time to recall some incidents before responding to the questions and sometimes the process took longer than planned. This is a condition that can also be seen as a limitation to the study. Since the researcher had to interview adults who had lived in domestically violent homes, relying on their memories could therefore be inaccurate. Some of the interview sessions were also

interrupted due to the shelter's scheduled activities and after the interview resumed, it was not always easy to reconnect to the interview.

3.3 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the methodological approach and research design have been explored, in order to address the objectives of the study. In addition, study population and sample size were also presented, as well as trustworthiness in the research, ethical considerations and some limitations of the study. Data collection and analysis were discussed and will be presented in the subsequent chapter.

4 CHAPTER 4: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In order to accomplish the objective of the study, a total of 15 people were interviewed. These included 5 females and 10 males between the ages of 21 and 77 years. Based on the life history of the 15 people interviewed, 10 out of the 15 had been victims of domestic violence during their childhood. The other five had issues varying from poor choices made in life, peer pressure, missionary work, life's challenges, and an extravagant lifestyle. Below is a brief summary of the lives of the 10 participants who had incidences of domestic violence in their childhood biographies, which is the main focus of this study.

How the participants ended up at the shelter

The Elim Night Shelter is not involved in social media and is therefore not very popular within Cape Town. The managers are too busy with the running of the shelter and have very little time for media or any news trending in the city. In that regard, the shelter is not involved in any marketing of itself at all or anything that has to do with the media. The residents of the shelter made mention of only two methods through which they heard about the shelter. Some heard about the shelter through family members who knew about the shelter and others knew about the shelter through word of mouth from friends or neighbours.

Three participants were exposed to the shelter through family members who knew someone who had heard about the shelter. Those family members therefore referred them to this place as a means of rehabilitation. Seven participants were exposed to the shelter through word of mouth from neighbours who wanted to help them with shelter. These participants therefore approached the shelter and were accepted for a period of three months, which was renewable once.

4.2 Research participants

Participant 1 was a 26-year-old woman who was born in Steenberg, Cape Town, and had lived in the shelter for 2 months. She grew up with both of her parents and had siblings. Her childhood was characterised by sadness and unhappiness, and this was because her father often abused her mother both physically and verbally. This continuous abuse of her mother made her mother seek refuge out of the house, especially at night. Hence, domestic violence from her home led her to the wrong

company that eventually led her to crime that made her end up in jail and thereafter in the shelter for rehabilitation.

Another was a 24-year-old woman who was born in Kraaifontein, Cape Town and had only been in the Shelter for a month and four days. Her father went to jail when she was only one year and six months old. She had no relation with her father as a toddler being that he was released when she was already eight. Her mother got married to another man and had an abusive marriage. Her stepfather often abused her mother and their home was always in chaos. He was unemployed and most often under the influence of illicit drugs. Her irresponsible stepfather often attempted to rape her. In summary, her childhood memories are nightmarish.

The next participant was a 40-year-old woman, born in Belhar, Cape Town, who had been in the shelter for only a month and two weeks. She is the daughter of parents who were unmarried. She described her childhood as being characterised by trauma and extreme violence. She is the first child out of five. Part of the reason why she considered her childhood as traumatic is that at age five, she witnessed her father's murder by her mother's boyfriend in broad daylight. Her mother was an absentee parent and was both an alcoholic and a very violent person. A greater part of her life was lived in the Eastern Cape at the home of her grandmother. That was where she experienced the worst acts of domestic violence from her uncle and cousins.

The fourth interviewee was a 21-year-old woman who was born in Parrow, Cape Town and had been in the Shelter for three weeks at the time of the interview. Her mother abandoned her from birth and that resulted to her growing up with adopted parents. She moved from one home to another and at the age of 11, she finally found her biological father and moved in with him. Her father was an alcoholic and that led him to being very abusive to his current wife. According to her, the real nightmare of her life began when she was 12, which was one year after she had moved in with her father. Quoting her own words, "I do not have any good memories of my life as a child and feel like I was being used in every home I lived in as a child."

The fifth participant was a 56-year-old man, born in Wynberg, Cape Town and had lived in the Shelter for four months. Citing his own words, "my parent loved each other so much and this resulted to my father abusing my mother from time to time as a result of mere suspicion of marital unfaithfulness." Several times, his father's suspicion towards his mother made his father declare that he (participant) was not his (father) son. His father made this declaration on the basis that his

eyes looked different from that of his father. Therefore, his father was under the impression that his mother cheated on him and got pregnant. In this regard, he always felt rejected at home, as he was constantly reminded that he was not a legitimate child. He therefore developed a lot of hate and anger towards his father and this made him very aggressive towards anyone who he felt was being abusive. His father would often beat up everyone in the house and made home a living hell for all. Quoting his own words, “I had no relationship with my father, had no role model in my own home and therefore spent most of my time out of home.” This feeling of rejection pushed him into a drug and alcohol abuse that led to him being unable to save money. His lack of savings left him destitute, which eventually landed him in the shelter. He attributes his current state to his life at his home.

The next participant was a 27-year-old man who had lived in the Shelter for two weeks. He was born in Cape Town, grew up in Lavender Hill and moved to Belhar at age 12. He was from a family of nine and was born when his parents were both teenagers. His father was very violent towards his mother and would often abuse both his mother and everyone else living in their house. The participant believed that his father’s violence was hereditary. This was because his grandfather often domestically violated his grandmother. The participant ended up joining a gang and this led him to jail and later on into rehabilitation.

Another participant was a 25-year-old man, born in Cape Town and who grew up in Eersterivier. His father was abusive towards his mother both physically and verbally. This therefore led to his parents divorcing when he was only 12. His father later remarried and he shuffled between his mother’s home and his father’s home. He finally dropped out of school in grade 10.

The next participant was a 21-year-old male, who was born in Johannesburg. He has a twin sister and an older brother. At the age of three, his parents both took their own lives after a fight and this happened in the presence of him and his siblings. He moved from one orphanage to the other until he became independent. He later on became a drug addict in order to help him forget the fact that he never had a normal family growing up as a child.

The next participant was a 44-year-old man who had lived in the Shelter for 2 months. He was born when his mother was only 16. His case was a bit different from the others, being that it was his mother who domestically violated his father. This often happened when either his father was drunk or both parents were drunk. Because of the constant fight between his parents, he would

often seek refuge at his maternal grandparents' home. At his grandparents' home he was sexually abused by his uncle. Despite that fact, no one believed his story. He therefore resorted to illicit drugs to find solace.

The last participant was a 26-year-old who had lived in the Shelter for two weeks. He was born in Burundi and moved to Tanzania with his parents. Both of his parents passed away in a car accident when he was only eight. He moved in with his aunt and that was where the worst part of his life story began. He was constantly molested by his aunt and was considered like a second class member of the family. He later moved out of his aunt's home into an orphanage and that was where he grew up to become an adult.

4.3 Research findings

The main purpose of this section of the work is to present the empirical findings of the study. The empirical findings were broken down into sub-themes, which are linked to a main theme. A minimum of 50 minutes to an hour was the initial plan for each interview. However, the life histories of some of the participants exceeded the planned time. Some of the participants were very emotional and it was difficult to ask the participant to summarise their experiences. In this regard, relevant quotes from the interviews and discussions with the participants were used to support the findings of this work. Furthermore, relevant literature to substantiate the findings gathered during the interviews and discussions with participants has been brought in.

4.4 Theme 1: Domestic violence experienced as a child

During the interview with the participant, three sub-themes were identified that exemplify the nature, cause and perpetrator of the violence during the participant's childhood.

4.4.1 Form and nature of violence experienced (Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998)

A total of 15 participants agreed to be part of the work. Out of the 15 participants, 10 had been victims of domestic violence during their childhood. Eight participants out of the 10 who experienced domestic violence during their childhood indicated that the perpetrators of the violence in the home was male. That male was either the biological father of the participant, the boyfriend of the participant's mother, uncle of the participant, brother of the participant, external

male relative or male friend of the participant's mother. In the single case where the victim was the father of the household, male acquaintances of the participant's mother were actively involved in the act of domestic violence.

All the participants stated that the victims were physically abused. All the participants stated that the lives of the victims were threatened verbally in many instances and two indicated that the abuse resulted in the death of the victim. Two indicated that the violence resulted in severe economic deprivation, which eventually resulted in the victim's school dropout. One of the participants indicated that the violence resulted in countless incidences of rape and sexual abuse. This agrees with Abayomi (2014) findings which state that an exposure to domestic violence could lead to devastating consequences, especially that of school drop out. Basinskaite et al. (2011) consider domestic violence as a pattern of threatening and abusive behaviours that range from emotional and physical abuse to isolation, bullying, economic deprivation as well as sexual violence. They further describe domestic violence as a behaviour with the goal to exert or exercise power and control over another person (Basinskaite et al., 2011). Some participants of this study said the following, that agrees with the definitions of domestic violence:

Each time my step-father came back home, we would all run away into our rooms...from our room, we could hear the voice of our mother crying inside the (parent's) room. In the morning, we would see the obvious, wounds and bruises all over our mother's body. All we could do at the time is feel sorry for her.

I watched my daddy use a stick and other furniture to beat my mum with...she was rushed to the hospital by an ambulance.

Several times, my dad told me I was not his biological child and often hurled insults at my mum accusing her of cheating on him.

My sister, myself and my mum spent many nights in the street after my dad beat my mum and she had to run out the house.

The experiences of each of the participants varied in extent and form, but one thing was common in all – the acts of domestic violence were either physical or verbal. This agrees with Vito and Maahs' definition of domestic violence, which states that victims are slapped, kicked, thrown on the floor, cut, choked, hit with objects or hurled at with insulting or swearing words (Vito and Maahs, 2012: 272).

Most of the participants stated that the violence was a continuous event as long as the victim lived in the same house with the perpetrator. The quotes below further explain this.

Our daddy would hit our mummy every day when he comes back home from work. This became like a norm, it was more like a parent correcting his child.

My mum persevered for many years because of me. The beatings only stopped when my mummy left the house. When she left, that was also the beginning of the down turn in my own life.

We hated our own house because each time my daddy started beating my mummy, he would end up beating all of us with his leather belt because we tried to stop him.

Today my sister is scared of loud noise because each time my parents fought, there was a loud noise and loud crying in our house.

From the participants' responses, despite the fact that they were children when those events happened, they could clearly remember who the victims and the perpetrators were. This also agrees with Callaghan et al; (2015) findings which state that children who have been exposed to domestically violated homes, stand a greater risk of mental health challenges throughout their lives.

4.4.2 Perpetrator of domestic violence/victims of the domestic violence

The status quo of domestic violence is that men abuse the women and children. However, in this study, one of the cases defied the status quo as it was the other way around. Hence, this agrees with the definition of domestic violence in South Africa, which states that domestic violence is

manifested through rape and molesting of women, children and in rare cases men (Abrahams et al., 2012). Some of the participants made the following statements that clearly indicate that they knew exactly who the perpetrators and the victims were:

My daddy and step-brother held me and raped me many times and then I had to run away from the house for fear of them doing it again. After that, I went to live with some neighbours and had an attempted rape there too.

It pains me each time I remember seeing my daddy killed by my mummy's boyfriend and my mummy on the street. I was young, but those memories have never faded in my mind because I liked my daddy so much.

My uncle sexually abused me many times and he also did it to my cousins. When I was much younger I thought it was normal, until when I grew a bit older and then realised that it was a same thing he was doing to my cousins and myself.

Many times I wanted to report my step-daddy to the police, but my mummy said no. Time without number he tried to kill her in the house, my mum would not even want to go to the house for fear of what people would say. She also warned me never to tell anyone what she was going through. I told many lies to justify the wounds and bruises on my mother's body.

The participants did not only know who the perpetrators or victims were, but most often they had a full understanding of what triggered the violence. This clearly agrees with the South African Police Service Annual Report, 2017/2018 which states that offenders of domestic crimes are mostly close relatives such as spouses, ex-spouses, boyfriends, ex-boyfriends, girlfriends, ex-girlfriends, other close family relatives and in very rare cases, neighbours or other extended acquaintances (SAPS, 2018).

4.4.3 Rationale of domestic violence

All the participants could clearly recount the domestic violence events in their lives from the source to the immediate consequence. About the accuracy of their narratives, that could not be tested and the researcher therefore relied on their memories. This means that all 10 participants who were

victims of domestic violence from their homes could point out what acted as a vehicle for the event they narrated during their interviews. Out of the many reasons that in their opinions led to the violence, two stood out in order of frequency, namely alcohol abuse and jealousy.

Ten participants could attribute the violence at their homes to alcohol abuse amongst other things. This agrees with the work of De la Harpe and Boonzaier (2011) who state that in South Africa, the most significant contributors to domestic violence are alcohol and drug abuse (De la Harpe and Boonzaier, 2011: 149). The SAPS Annual Report, 2017/2018 also agrees, stating that alcohol abuse contributed to up to 12.7% of the main causes of domestic crimes (SAPS, 2018). Furthermore, an organised study carried out in the United States strongly associated or linked alcohol abuse to domestic assault by males against females (Collins et al., 1999a; 199b). As cited by Collins et al. (1999a; 1999b), who estimated that between 25% and 50% of domestic violence that involves males against females, the male had an alcohol abuse problem. In order to emphasise the point further, below are some of the exact words of the participants in the following quotes:

Our daddy was drunk every day, even though he had no work or money. His friends, with whom he grew up with, always paid for his drinks. Most of the fighting happened during the weekend when my father was drunk.... It seldom happened during the week because our mummy mostly came back from work after our drunk dad had slept.

My boyfriend and I drank almost every day. We fought mostly when we were drunk. When my boyfriend is not drunk, he would tell me very nice things...but when he is drunk, he is someone else.

My daddy is different when he is not drunk and different when he is drunk...When he is drunk everything everyone does in the house is bad and he would hit you with any object he finds.

Three participants said that the cause of the violence in their home was jealousy and suspicion of their mother cheating on their father. A participant said that he grew up with a low self-esteem because his father repeatedly reminded him that he was not his son for reasons that his eyes were relatively different from those of his siblings. Hence, his father's jealousy and suspicion led to fast

irritation towards his mother for every flimsy reason that always ended up in a physical fight. This corresponds with the family systems theory as propounded by Murray Bowen in Kerr (2000) who posits that family conflicts also act as a vehicle for individual traits to manifest themselves in the form of jealousy, aggressive habits, suspicion, and dissensions between both the victim and the perpetrator. Below are the exact words of the participants:

I am not 100 % sure if my mummy has ever cheated on my daddy...each time my mummy greeted or conversed with any other man in our neighbourhood, my daddy would beat her up when she comes back home and accuse her of cheating on him with other men.

My step-father did not want anybody around my mum and would either shout, beat her up, or stop the call, if she is taking a call from someone he does not know.

In some of the homes where there was domestic violence, the parents never realised that their actions had negative impacts on the lives of their kids at the time and in the future. From the stories of the participants, it is clear that the domestic violence that they were witnesses to during their childhood had very drastic effects in their lives as adults. These effects as narrated by the participants are discussed in further themes and sub-themes as detailed below.

4.5 Theme 2: Domestic violence and its effects on the participants as children

Participants did not only end at narrating the domestic violence that they witnessed, but went on to explain the negative impact of this on their lives as children growing up both in their homes and neighbourhoods. The effects ranged from their behaviours both at home and in society, their attitude and performance at school, and their emotions and direct or indirect involvement in the act.

4.5.1 Effects on the child's behaviour/role at home

During the interviews with the participants, it was very clear that their lives changed as children and took a very different turn. Some became their mother's guardian, instead of their mother guarding them. Hence, there was a total switch in roles in their homes. One participant said that

she had to drop out of school in order to look after her siblings after her mother had left the house in order to look for work and put food on their table. Another participant said he became his mother's 'watch dog'. He said as a child, he was helpless each time his father domestically violated his mother, but when he grew a bit older, he would always fight back in order to protect his mother from his father's beatings. He therefore got into serious confrontations that involved the use of weapons such as broken bottles, knives and other sharp objects. His experience agrees with the work of Vuchinich et al (1992) who state that children who grow up in homes where there is domestic violence are not spectators, but 'players' in the 'game' and often partake in the events. Hence, they are at very high risk of sustaining injuries by the perpetrators of the violence and therefore the issue of domestic violence should not be overlooked, meaning that children who grow up in such homes are at high risk of being hurt or even worse (Elbow, 1977). Some participants explained the above as follows:

One day my boyfriend almost stabbed me to death and I was rushed to the hospital by paramedics. When I look at my life today, I see a reflection of my mother who always fought with my father. I believe that part of the anger and defensive attitude that I have towards men is because of how I witnessed my dad molest my mum when I was growing up and she just cried and did nothing.

I used to feel for my mummy each time he (dad) started beating her.

When I grew up I would fight back to save my mum from my dad's hands. While in the house, I was always on the alert and often stayed awake just to make sure I was not taken unawares by my dad beating up my mum. Because I was always ready to pick up a fight at home, I had many fights at school as well since I was always ready to fight back. That is why today, I am generally an aggressive person, but have got very short temper and always ready to fight back and defend myself.

The above narratives correspond with the findings of Hsiao et al; (2018) which posits that children who have been exposed to domestic violence are constantly living in fear, they are hypervigilant

and also very aggressive. Further discussions with the participants made it clear that the effects of the violence that happened in their homes did not only end at home, but stretched into their social lives, interaction with others and performance at school.

4.5.2 Effects on the child's behaviour and performance at school

All 10 participants who were victims of domestic violence in their early childhood ended up dropping out of school before matric. The domestic violence in their homes did not directly cause them to drop out of school, but it played a major role in the chain of events that eventually led to them dropping out. Three of the participants said this with tears in their eyes when they compared their lives with the lives of other people they grew up with either in the same neighbourhood or at school. Most of them said this with a lot of remorse, as if to say, "I wish I could turn back the hands of time and go and complete my studies." None of the 10 participants who were victims of domestic violence ever saw the four walls of a university. Some of the participants explained this as follows:

Because of my dad's frequent battering of my mum, she usually ran away from the house and took refuge on the streets. I was always dirty at school, my hair was always scattered because my mum was never there to prepare me for school and to my dad we (children) did not exist. Other girls at our school had their hairs well combed and smelled nice...we could neither afford money for a hair comb, hair nor body lotion. I had to stop going to school because I was always shabby and looked like someone who did not shower.

Unlike other kids at my school, I never took a lunch box to school. Often my stomach would make funny sounds in class because I had no breakfast before coming to school and other learners would laugh at me. This is because my mummy never prepared a lunch box for me...she always had bruises, bandages or was too weak from the frequent beatings of my dad. Each time I saw other kids discussing in a low tune and staring at me, I always thought they were talking about me...I developed a very low self-esteem from primary school, and till today I almost still feel the same way when I see people speaking in a low tune and staring at me. One day I stopped going to school and that was it.

I always day-dreamed in class....when I remember the sounds of my mum's voice from the night before when my daddy was beating her up. My teacher noticed that my performance in class dropped. She asked me what the problem was, but I could not tell her the truth about what was happening in our house.

Stories of the constant fights between my parents got to my school through my neighbours, other learners started making fun of me. I lost interest and confidence in myself at school...other learners always made fun of either my hair that was uncombed, my shoe that was old, dirty and stinking, I had a low self-esteem and no friends...my mum had left my dad's house and returned to her parents' home and we were left all by ourselves. After failing matric once, I gave up!

Weekends at our home were the worst part of the week.

Both my father and mother were hardly sober. They only focused on themselves and were always insulting each other. I was too young to remember clearly some of the things they said to each other, but all I remember is that they constantly swore at each other. None of them was ever in the state of mind to look at my books, help with my homework or ask about my welfare at school. I therefore had no academic role model at home and did not even know why I had to attend school. I joined other young adults in the streets and had gangsters as my role models.

My mother got into drinking in order to find solace for her miserable way of living with a barbaric man called her boyfriend. Because of her drinking, she was unable to prepare my sister and myself for school. I became so jealous of other girls who dressed nicely and came to school...I hated them because they had what I did not have. Until today, I still feel some kind of jealousy and resentment towards people who have things I do not have. This made me to become very aggressive because there would always be people in the world who have things I wish I could have, but I do not.

Domestic violence has adverse effects on the child's school attendance and most children would find it difficult to go to school or are totally absent when the events just happened and are fresh in their memories (Allen, 2013: 119). "Continuous absence from school would result in loss of interest in education, drop in school performance, lack of the capacity to concentrate during the few days they go to school and eventually they would drop out" (Finley, 2013: 77). Most of the children end up developing a deep hatred for the perpetrator, extreme withdrawal, acute aggressiveness, and slow cognitive and emotional development which eventually influences their attitudes towards the people they interact with (Antle et al., 2010). Five participants said that not only was their performance, attitude and motivation towards education affected negatively, but also their entire hearts "walked away" from staying on a school campus.

4.5.3 Effects on the child's feelings and emotions

Scheeringa et al.'s (1995) study reported that children who had any sensation or threat that their caregivers were threatened, stand a higher chance of having negative emotional and behavioural outcomes than others who did not have this sensation. The outcomes on those children's social relations were generally fearfulness, aggressiveness, especially towards their peers as well as hyper-arousal in social relationships (Scheeringa et al., 1995). This agrees with what the participants said in the narration:

Very often, when my dad and my mum start fighting, my dad ends up beating up anyone who sides with my mum. When he throws stick and stones at my mum, anyone around her could get hurt. As a result of this, my sister gets a panic attack each time my daddy steps into the house because she is scared that a fight could erupt any time.

The only time there was peace and quiet in our house was when he (my dad) wasn't in the house. We cherished those moments so much and always wished he never came back home from work. My moods always changed for the worst when my dad was home and preferred remaining out of his sight by being in the room or go outside to neighbours or friends. That is why today, when I dislike a person I do everything to just stay away from that person and anyone related to him or her.

While in our room, we (my siblings and I) could hear our mother's cry all night and I felt some pain in my heart that I cannot explain...it was inside...and this continued day after day and I developed a permanent pain inside. Each time I heard my mum crying from their room, I too will join her to cry from my own room. I grew up with that and today, I easily get an emotional breakdown when I see anyone in pain or suffering.

I witnessed so much fighting in my house while I was growing to the point that I accepted shouting and yelling at others, anytime, anywhere as 'normal'. Our home was more of a battleground than a home, as my dad would yell at my mum and everyone else at the top of his voice and at any time of the day. Today I easily get angry, yell at others, irritable and nervous by little things that others would not worry about...I don't like this, but it happens all the time.

Despite the fact that for time and space, this work cannot mention all the statements that were made by the participants, all participants experienced and had negative emotions and very painful feelings due to the domestic violence that they witnessed and experienced as children. Hence, witnessing domestic violence as a child generally amounts to feelings of fear, anger, panic, nervousness, that are painful emotional experiences (Allen, 2013: 120-122).

4.6 Theme 3: Domestic violence and its effects on the participants as young adults/teenagers

All 10 participants who were victims of domestic violence explained that the effects of the domestic violence experienced during their childhood did not only end there; it crept into their young adulthood. Five participants clearly mentioned that their lives as young adults were a clear reflection of the homes they grew up in as children.

4.6.1 Replicating parenthood /unhealthy relationships with intimate partners

According to Lawson (2001), violence or physical abuse that occurs within the family is a big social problem to both those who witnessed the violence and to those who are the principal victims. It may have a long-term effect on the person who witnessed the violence and if not dealt with on

time, could result in an inter-generational cycle of abuse within the family lineage (Lawson, 2001: 508).

Four participants stated clearly that without any doubt, their relationships with their spouses or intimate partners were replicas of their own parents' relationships. One participant stated that she could see what happened to her mother repeating itself with her. This agrees with Lawson's (2001) writing on violence becoming an inter-generational cycle if not addressed on time. The following quotes further explain the adverse effects on the participants in their parenthood and current relationships.

I grew up in a violent home and then finally got integrated into the high-level violence when I got involved with my boyfriend. My boyfriend and I fight very often, when we are either high on drugs or alcohol. Our fights could get very physical and dangerous since we make use of any visible object. We have both stabbed each other many times...he finally threw me out of his house. I strongly believe I am a bad parent today because of what I experienced in my own home as a child.

The same participant who mentioned above that her mother was forced out of their home and they grew up in very bad conditions with her mum practically on the streets, made the above statement. Another female participant said the following:

Each time I reflect about my life, I wished I was a better mum to my kids. I feel like I would end up like my mum who ran away from my dad and left her children. Part of the reason why I got involved with drugs at an early age is because I did not have a mother figure in my life from age 7 years or so.

Another male participant made the following statement regarding his parenting style:

Most of the time, my wife and I end up in a physical fight when we disagree about anything. My dad always got aggressive each time my mum disagreed with him over anything. I kind of grew up believing that the man is always right, and this is part of the reason why I struggle

until today with inter-personal dialogues with my wife. One day I came back home she had left...I have been single to date.

The above scenario agrees with the assertion of Islam et al. (2014) which states that children who grow up in homes where there is domestic violence tend to believe that violence is a normal phenomenon, that violence is appropriate for problem solving and also inevitable in intimate relationships of any form.

Another female participant made the following statement regarding her parenting style:

I stay with a different man almost every month and all of my kids are from different men...me and my siblings all have different dads. I see my mum's life repeating itself in me, and I am helpless about it.

The above quotes illustrate that domestic violence could become an inter-generational phenomenon in many families. Bandura's social learning theory posits that the family system plays a key role in tutoring a child and that most behaviours are cultured from the immediate environment in which a person grew up (Islam et al., 2014).

4.7 Theme 4: How the participants survived the domestic violence as children

Some of the participants explained how they dealt with the violence in their homes as children. Some said that they would hide in their rooms, close the doors and close their ears. Others would run to the homes of neighbours, grandparents and relatives to find refuge. Some were bold and courageous enough to try and rescue the victim from the hands of the perpetrator.

Sub-theme 4.1 Hide themselves in their rooms and close their ears

Three participants said that often the violence took place in their parents' room. They would hear the loud cries and groaning of their mother coming from the bedroom. This sound of crying would continue for hours, they would be unable to sleep, and filled with fright each time they heard any door open in the house. Two participants said that hiding in their own bedroom was the best they could do to survive the violence. Hiding in their room kept them out of sight from their father, because during his 'bad moments' he could extend the violence to all in sight and hence they too

ended up being abused most of the time. In this regard, they would therefore prefer to listen from the room rather than be on site. Although women are very often the primary victims of domestic violence in the home, studies show that between 75% to 90% of the time, children witness the incidents either visually or they listen from their own adjacent rooms (Women's Aid, 2006). Some of the participants explained it thus:

Each time my mummy and daddy were fighting, we would hide in our room and close the door.

We had to hide our youngest brother in the watching machine in our room when ever our daddy got violent and started beating everyone in the house.

Hiding in their rooms was one of the survival methods, despite the fact that this could not work for all. In this regard, some of the children resorted to escaping to the homes of neighbours in search for a safe haven.

Sub-theme 4.2 Run away to neighbours or grandparents to seek for refuge

As a survival method, some of the participants ended up living and growing up with their grandparents because the homes of their parents were not home enough for them to live in. Two participants moved in with their grandparents and never went back to their parents because their parents were not responsible enough to care for them. One participant said she was constantly sleeping over at the homes of neighbours because she was running away from the violence at her own home. One participant said she permanently relocated to her grandparents' home because she constantly had sleepless nights at her biological parents' home. Another participant said he spent over 90% of his time at the homes of his friends because he was running away from the constant fighting of his parents. Below are some of the exact words of some participants:

I was always sleeping over in the homes of our neighbours because I could not stand the fighting of my mummy and daddy.

Staying with my friends in the streets was much better than staying in our house because my daddy was always shouting and beating everyone up.

I moved in with my granny after my mum's friends murdered my dad in front of me.

While some of the participants survived the domestic violence by running away from their homes, others actively participated by either helping the victim or joining the victim to bear the pain through crying. This agrees with Schaaf and McCanne (1998) that state that domestic violence and physical abuse is not limited to the adults only but most often extends to children as well.

Sub-theme 4.3 Watch the scene and join the victim to cry or rescue

A participant explained that when he was much younger, he would stay and watch his mother being molested by his father. This view made him hate his father as he grew older. However, when he was between the ages of 12 and 14, his method of surviving this pain was to step in and rescue his mother. Another participant said he would rush out of the house and call for 'good' neighbours who were willing to rescue his mother from the hands of his father.

It felt nice each time I succeeded to save my mother from my father's hands.

Most of the time I would call an uncle next door to help save my mother from my daddy when he was beating her.

UNICEF (2016) studies indicate that in 15% of situations where the children are present during an act of domestic violence, they tried to prevent the perpetrator from harming the victim, while 6% tried to get external help. This agrees with the experiences of the participants mentioned above. Some participants witnessed domestic violence in their homes until they grew up to become young adults. As young adults in the homes, they had to learn how to survive the violence in their homes.

4.8 Theme 5: How the participants survive with domestic violence as young adults

Some participants shared how they survived the domestic violence in their homes as young adults. Some said they turned to drug and substance abuse as a means of survival from the trauma experienced in their homes daily. Others made the streets their second home where most of their time was spent in order to avoid the trauma of witnessing domestic violence.

Sub-theme 5.1 Turn to drug and substance abuse for solace

Literature holds that the experience and witnessing of domestic violence in early childhood may lead to the following during early adulthood: violence, delinquency, and drug and substance abuse during adulthood (Hungerford et al., 2010). Ten participants said that they turned to drugs and other substances as a means of taking their minds away from the trauma that they experienced in their homes. One said he first tried methamphetamine (colloquially known as “tik”) when he was only 8 years old and he has been using it to the date of this research as a sleeping pill in order to take his mind away from daily challenges. Three participants stated that their drinking problem started when they were looking for solace during their childhood, each time they escaped from the domestic violence, that was a modus operandi in their homes. The aforementioned experiences as mentioned by the participants agree with Hungerford et al. (2010) that the witnessing of domestic violence could lead to drug and substance abuse as a means of finding solace. Some of the participants explained their struggles with drug abuse:

I needed something to help me forget what was going on in my house...first time I smoked dagga (marijuana) was when I was sixteen...friends in the streets showed me how to smoke it and where to buy it...this is when I was living with my granny after we left my daddy's house.

‘Tik’ is my favourite solution to day-dreaming and thinking about how my dad use to beat my mum...I day dream each time I remember how my daddy beat my mum when I was a child...it helps me to sleep and forget.

I was only between 12 and 13 years when I started drinking beer...I got to drink one and liked it because it helped me to forget what was going on in my house.

The above quotes explain how some of the participants found ways out or temporary solutions to the traumatic thoughts of the domestic violence experienced in their homes as children. Some of the participants turned to substance abuse, while others who could not stand the trauma at their homes began to live in the streets as a way of staying away from home.

Sub-theme 5.2 Embrace the ‘outside’ or ‘street’ life as a means of escape from trauma in the home

Four participants mentioned that living on the streets and constantly hanging out with friends became a way out of the trauma of witnessing or participating in domestic violence in their homes daily. In this regard, they spent very little or no time at their homes. One said she spent nights either on the streets or at the homes of neighbours, not because she wanted to, but it was a way out of the violence at her home. Another participant said the Elim Night Shelter was his first ‘real’ home that included a bed, breakfast, heater, television and people he could consider family. Domestic violence at his home of birth had thrown this 23-year-old onto the streets in search of a family and he had lived from one shelter to another. The quotes below was spoken by the participant:

I was happier with my friends on the streets because our house was a war-zone each time my daddy came back home.

The above are the experiences of some of the participants as explained in their own words. As expressed by one of the participants, the shelter was his first real home; many other participants confirmed that they felt ‘at home’ at the shelter.

4.9 Chapter summary

The results of the findings above, brings out the fact that domestic violence experienced during childhood has adverse effects in the lives of the victims during their adulthood. All ten participants who attested that they were victims of domestic violence during their childhood also confirmed that this experience negatively affected them at some point in their lives as adults.

5 CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Key findings and conclusion

For the purpose of this study, three objectives were formulated. The findings and conclusions are discussed based on the three main objectives of the study.

5.1.1 *Objective 1*

The first objective was to describe theoretically the concept of domestic violence on people during childhood and the effect it had on such people during their adulthood. The concept of domestic violence and its effects on people who grew up in such homes was first contextualised. Preceding the empirical research, the researcher discussed this in chapter two of the study that covered the literature review and theoretical framework. The key findings are discussed below.

The concept of domestic violence refers to violent or abusive behaviour that includes physical, emotional, sexual and economic abuse over an individual in a domestic relationship with the intention to exert power and control over them. Intimate partner violence in this study is a form of domestic violence where individuals in an intimate relationship within the confines of a home violate each other.

South Africa is one of the nations in the world with the highest rates of domestic violence. Nevertheless, the statistics on the SAPS report may not be complete, as this information is obtained from the reported cases of domestic violence in the courts. Domestic violence occurs in all racial, cultural and socio-economic groups in South Africa, despite the fact that it remains under-reported.

Children have been found to be hidden or forgotten victims of domestic violence because of the ideology that they are considered to be affected only if there is evidence of physical abuse on them. Sometimes, children tend to be silent about it, due to the stigma associated with domestic violence in society. Their exposure to domestic violence could either involve witnessing, intervening, hearing or experiencing the aftermath of the violence in their homes.

The effects of people's exposure to domestic violence in their homes could affect their physical development and functioning. These people experience physical, behavioural, emotional, intellectual and social challenges due to their exposure to domestic violence. This sometimes manifests through physical, emotional and psychological problems such as isolation, low self-esteem, anxiety, fear, suicidal thoughts, aggressive behaviour and school dropouts. Domestic

violence also affects the family environment negatively through hindering of parental control and capacities over their children.

Children who are exposed to domestic violence in their homes during their childhood tend to perceive domestic violence as a normal behaviour in a home environment. As a result, during their adulthood, they easily exercise violent behaviours especially in their intimate relationships, especially in parenthood. This is a very clear indication that domestic violence could be an intergenerational occurrence.

In South Africa, despite the fact that there are intervention strategies for dealing with domestic violence, there appears to be limited intervention strategy programmes aimed at dealing specifically with children exposed to domestic violence in their homes.

5.1.2 Objective 2

The second objective was to explore and describe people's experiences regarding their exposure to domestic violence during childhood. After an analysis of the data collected in the field, the following conclusions were drawn:

Most of the participants were very young at the time of the acts of domestic violence hence, not all could recount with certainty the reasons for the abuse. In most of the cases, they made mention of alcohol abuse, unreasonable demands and jealousy as the reasons for the abuse.

All the participants, except one, were exposed to intimate partner violence of which the father was the perpetrator and the mother the victim. The abuse in the aforementioned cases included both emotional and physical abuse of the mother.

For some of the participants, it was the first time they had opened up about their childhood ordeals since some of them were forced by the perpetrators to remain silent. Others kept quiet all these years as a result of the stigma that was associated with domestic violence in their communities. They preferred to remain silent in order to avoid being labelled in their communities. Some of the participants reported that the police did not necessarily assist when they reported the incidents to them. One of the participants who was raped by her stepfather several times reported this to the police, but nothing was ever done about it because her mother kept withdrawing the case in order to protect her stepfather.

Some of the participants were forced to drop out of school because of the crises in their homes. The academic performances of others dropped significantly due to the inability to focus at

school. Some of them could not really associate freely with their peers, and did not have friends at school or in the neighbourhood. That was because they often felt unwanted, unloved, shabby and not able fit into society. It is clear that incidences of domestic violence in their homes affected their social, physical and emotional functioning, which agrees with the family systems theory. The family systems theory asserts that both the family and the social situation of an individual play key roles in their lives.

Some of the participants also expressed that the violence in their homes caused them to develop aggressive behaviours. They felt that the only way to survive in society was through violence. The domestic violence in their homes negatively affected the relationship that some of the participants had with their parents. In fact, most of the participants said that they had no relationship with their fathers since their fathers were often the perpetrators of the violence. Some of the participants blamed their mothers for doing nothing about the abuse, for refusing to report the perpetrators to the police and for not even fighting back when it was possible to do so. One of the participants said that she despised her mother throughout her mother's lifetime because her mother allegedly partook in the murder of her father. However, she made up with her mother before her mother passed away.

Domestic violence influenced the role of the children in their homes. Some of them had to become the protectors of their mothers against their father's constant assaults. Most of the female participants confessed that they virtually assumed motherhood responsibilities in their homes as their mothers were constantly in a bad shape and not in the mood for anything after being physically assaulted by their fathers and some mothers fled their homes.

Many of the participants said that the act of domestic violence was very unpredictable in their homes and as a result, they were always vigilant and anxious. This therefore affected their sense of security at home, which was supposed to be a safe haven for them. Domestic violence affected their lives to the extent that they were forced to spend nights in the homes of relatives and neighbours when there was a fight in their homes.

Some of the participants were aware of the domestic violence in their homes as they could hear screams, shouts, displacement of furniture and broken bottles. In some cases, they would wake up in the morning and see their mothers with wounds, bruises, swollen hands and legs and swollen eyes. In other situations, their mothers had to be rushed to the hospital for medical attention.

5.1.3 Objective 3

The third objective was to describe and explore people's coping mechanisms in relation to domestic violence while they were children. Some of the participants who grew up in homes where there was domestic violence, had to come up with ways and methods to cope or survive in their homes. Below are some of the conclusions arrived at during the study as far as coping mechanisms of domestic violence is concerned.

Some of the participants had to develop self-motivation methods in order to cope with the ordeals at home while others denied that there were incidences of domestic violence at their homes at all. They would suppress their awareness by telling themselves the violence would soon be over.

Seven participants expressed that they were exposed to substance abuse between the ages of 10 and 15. That was because they needed something to help them forget the ordeal they were undergoing. Most of them said they used the drug methamphetamine (tik) in order to help keep them awake and alert to protect their mothers from their father's assaults late in the night. Some of the participants said it was comforting for them to open up about their ordeals, especially to people they could trust, which were close friends and family who could assist them. One of the participants said she often spoke aloud to herself in order to comfort herself about what she was going through at home. Most of the participants confessed that they would often lock themselves in their rooms in order to stay away from the constant fighting between their parents.

5.1.3.1 Recommendations

The following are recommendations and intervention strategies based on the findings of the study: The findings indicate that there is a glaring relationship between the exposure to domestic violence during childhood and the experiences of a person during their adulthood. For this reason, early intervention strategies within shelter facilities are recommended for young children who come in with their parents (most often mothers).

In addition, further research should be conducted on the intergenerational occurrence of domestic violence on people by making use of a bigger sample and by using a longitudinal study design. This may be an adequate opportunity to gain insight or predict factors in the lives of individuals who have a relationship or link with domestic violence.

Furthermore, exploring from the onset of acts of domestic violence within spousal or intimate partner relationship is worth considering. That is a once-off behaviour of brutality and should be included. This is because domestic violence is not an offence on its own and could be triggered by suspicion of infidelity or sudden frustration of unemployment.

Finally, it is recommended that the police should facilitate ways of reporting domestic violence directly to them and be dependent on court cases for statistics for their annual reports. This is because the police handle more cases of domestic violence daily and very few of these cases arrive at the courts.

5.2 Conclusion

Despite the fact that in South Africa, a woman is killed every six hours by her current or former intimate partner (*City Press*, 2016), this does not make the woman the sole interest when it comes to domestic violence. In the literature on domestic violence, and from the interviews carried out, 10 out of 15 participants experienced domestic violence in their childhood biographies. It is strongly proposed that more writing should be done about domestic violence that includes children in the conceptualisation of this research. Not only children who are involved directly in terms of physical violence, but also those who are indirectly involved in terms of long-term biographical consequences. Domestic violence has a much longer set of effects than the immediate acts of violence. Considering how deep the history of difficult lives extends back to childhood experiences, even the witnessing of domestic violence, it becomes clear that there is a need to think about domestic violence in a much more expansive way and with a much broader definition. Researchers should not only be limited to look at domestic violence through the lens of the power system theories, where the male dominant (perpetrator) is seen to have been exerting power over a female victim, but rather to conceptualise it in terms of the family systems theory that examines the family as a whole unit. The adverse effect of domestic violence on many adults today is mostly due to what they experienced during childhood.

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7 APPENDICES

7.1 APPENDIX 1: Acceptance letter from Elim Night Shelter



Re: Permission to Conduct Study

University of the Western Cape

Title of Study: The Long Term Effects of Domestic violence on People: A study of actual Victims in Cape Town, South Africa

18 September 2018

The Social Worker
Elim-Nigh Shelter
47 3rd Avenue,
Elsies River Estate,
Cape Town
7490

Re: permission to Conduct Study:

Dear Mrs. Andrit,

I am writing to request for permission to conduct a research study at your institution (Elim-Night Shelter). I am currently enrolled for a Masters in Sociology at the University of the Western Cape and I am in the process of writing my Master Theses. The study I am carrying out is entitled (The Long Term Effects of Domestic violence on People: A study of actual Victims in Cape Town, South Africa).

Madam, I hope that the administration of your institution will allow me to randomly select a group of 5 men and 5 women to participate in the study. Due to the nature of the study, the participants would remain anonymous. The participants would complete a questionnaire (copy attached).

Participation would be voluntary and the selected participants will be given a consent form to be signed by either themselves or their vested representative.

Should I get approval from the administration, participants will complete the questionnaires on your premises during their lunch time. The process of completing the questionnaires should take no longer than 30 minutes of their time. The results of the study will be pooled into the theses and the results of this study will be kept confidential and fully anonymous. Furthermore,

should this study be published, only pooled results will be documented and no cost will be incurred by either the Shelter nor the participant.

Madam, your approval to conduct this survey at your institution will be greatly appreciated. Please feel free to contact me on my details below should you have any further questions or concerns with regards to the study.

I will appreciate if you could kindly sign below in approval of my request and email the signed copy back to my address as stated. Alternatively, you may complete a signed letter of permission on your institutions letterhead acknowledging your approval and consent for me to conduct this survey at your institution.

Sincerely,

Epie Berdenatte Munge
Student number: 3507435
Phone number: 084 967 6689
Email: 3507435@myuwc.ac.za
University of the Western Cape
Department of Anthropology & Sociology

Enclosure:

Prof Edlyne Anugwom
Phone: 021 959 2014
Email: eanugwom@uwc.ac.za
University of the Western Cape
Department of Anthropology & Sociology

ELIM NIGHT SHELTER
NAG SKULING
P O BOX 13076
N1 CITY 7460
TEL: 5912824 & 592 5294
W/No. FN08/801/0043/0008

Approved by: Andrit Jereke
Position: Social Worker
Place: Elim Night Shelter - Elsiesriver
Date: 25 September 2018

7.2 APPENDIX 2: Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

The long-term effect of domestic violence: A study of life histories in a homeless shelter in Cape Town, South Africa.

I am very grateful to you for accepting to participate in this research. The main aim of this life history interview is to enable me acquire a detailed and chronological sequence of information about your childhood experiences.

1. What is your name or how do you want me to identify you?
2. Where were you born and who were your parents?
3. Were they married?
4. Did you have any siblings?
5. How was childhood?
6. What do you remember the most about your childhood?
7. How was school life?
8. Did you have friends?
9. How was your relationship with them?
10. Where there any painful experiences you had to go through as a child?
11. What brought you to the shelter?
12. Did you have an incidences of domestic violence while growing up?
13. What happened, would you be okay to describe to me?
14. How did it affect you?
15. Can you relate your current challenges to your exposure to domestic violence as a child?
16. What efforts have you made to combat the ordeal?
17. Please feel free to say any other issue you think the questions above did not address.

Thank you for participating in the interview.

7.3 APPENDIX 3: Information Sheet



INFORMATION SHEET

Research project title:

The Long Term Effects of Domestic violence on People: A study of actual Victims in Cape Town, South Africa

Research investigator:

Epie Bernadette Munge
Student number: 3507435
University of the Western Cape
Department: Sociology and Anthropology
Phone number: 084 967 6689
Email: 3507435@myuwc.ac.za

About the Project

The principal aim of this project is to do a life history interview on the inhabitants of Elim Night shelter and from there identify those who have been exposed to domestic violence during their childhood, examine the negative effects of such exposure in their lives and provide recommendations that could bring such effects to the barest minimum.


Who is responsible for the data collected in this study?

Name and contact details:

Epie Bernadette Munge
Student number: 3507435
University of the Western Cape
Department: Sociology and Anthropology
Phone number: 084 967 6689
Email: 3507435@myuwc.ac.za

Dean: Prof DJ Brown, djbrown@uwc.ac.za
Faculty Manager: Ms S Mcwatts, smcwatts@uwc.ac.za
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Private Bag XI17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
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www.uwc.ac.za/arts

Tel: +27 21 959 4111; Research Ethics Office
Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za



A place of quality,
a place to grow, from hope
to action through knowledge

Where would the data be collected?

Name and contact details:

Elim Night Shelter
47 Third Avenue, Elsie's River
P O Box 13076
Goodwood
7462
Tel: 021 591 2824
Cell: 061 414 8993
Email: elimnightshester@telkomsa.net

Information/Data Required:

The information that is required is basically your life experience during your childhood. You have been chosen to participate in this research because you are an inhabitant of Elim Night Shelter.

Storage of the information/data

- The information received from you will be stored in my laptop, external drive and google cloud account which are all password protected.
- Once this data has been presented in the form of a Masters Theses, it would be discarded by permanently deleting it from all the storage facilities mentioned above.
- The data will not be shared with any other organisation without prior authorisation from you.
- The research has been reviewed and passed through the Research committee of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of the Western Cape

What are your rights?

- You are free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences.

- If you do not want to answer any particular question or questions, you are free to decline.
- Your responses will be kept personal and strictly confidential.
- Your name will not be linked with the research materials, identified, or published anywhere.

What are the benefits for taking part in this study?

- Your responses will help the public to understand the after effects of domestic violence in people who grew up in domestically violated homes.
- And also help to provide recommendations to help people who are suffering from such effects, in order to enable them live a normal life in the society.

Will I receive any payment or monetary benefits?

You will receive no payment for your participation. The data will not be used by the researcher (me) for commercial purposes. Therefore, you should not expect any royalties or payments from the research project in the future.

Security measures

- The interviews will be carried out in a secured and private place.
- The interview will be carried out on the premises of the Elim-Night Shelter during normal working hours where all the counselling and therapy staff are on duty.

For more information

This research has been reviewed and approved by the University of the Western Cape Research Ethics Board. If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, please contact: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za
Phone number: (021) 959 4111

Name of researcher: Epie Bernadette Munge
Full address: University of the Western Cape, Department: Sociology and Anthropology
Tel: 084 967 6689
E-mail: 3507435@myuwc.ac.za

You can also contact the supervisor:
Name of Supervisor: Dr. Kelly Gillespie
Full address: University of the Western Cape, Department: Sociology and Anthropology

Tel: 0822943402

E-mail: kgillespie@uwc.ac.za

If you have any further concerns, please contact:

If you are worried about this research, or if you are concerned about how it is being conducted, you can contact the Chair of the Ethics Committee or the Department of Sociology, University of the Western Cape.

Prof. Sakhumzi Mfecane, smfecane@uwc.ac.za

7.4 APPENDIX 4: Consent Form

APPENDIX 4



Consent Form

University of the Western Cape

The Long Term Effects of Domestic violence on People: A study of actual Victims in Cape Town, South Africa

Researcher: Epie Bernadette Munge

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead researcher at any time)
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research.
4. I understand that I may decline to be audio-recorded at any point.
5. I agree that the data collected from me may be used in future research.
6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant (or legal representative)	Date	Signature
Name of person taking consent (If different from lead researcher)	Date	Signature
Lead Researcher	Date	Signature

(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)

Researcher:
University of the Western Cape
Department of Anthropology &
Sociology

Epie Bernadette Munge

Student number: 3507435

Phone number: 084 967 6689

Email: 3507435@myuwc.ac.za

Supervisor:
University of the Western Cape
Department of Anthropology &
Sociology

Dr. Kelly Gillespie

Phone: 0822943402

Email: kgillespie@uwc.ac.za

HOD:
University of the Western Cape
Department of Anthropology &
Sociology

Prof Sakhumzi Mfecane

Phone: 021 959 3346

7.5 APPENDIX 5: Ethical Clearance



OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR: RESEARCH RESEARCH AND INNOVATION DIVISION

Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535
South Africa
T: +27 21 959 4111/2948
F: +27 21 959 3170
E: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za
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05 March 2019

Ms M Epie Bernadette
Anthropology and Sociology
Faculty of Arts

Ethics Reference Number: HS19/01/2

Project Title: The long term effects of domestic violence on people:
A study of actual victims in Cape Town, South Africa.

Approval Period: 04 March 2019 – 04 March 2020

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Josias'.

*Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
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