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Violence and Society in Post-Apartheid Cape Town

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THLKAI001

A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of
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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

High levels of crime and violence continue to plague South Africa after nearly two decades of peace and democratic rule. While collective violence continues to occur in the form of violent protests and community mob justice, the majority of violent incidents in South Africa are instances of individual, interpersonal violence. Theories of a ‘culture of violence’ in South African society and broader structural explanations do not elucidate reasons for individual-level variation in the perpetration of violence, glossing over the fact that the majority of South Africans *do not* perpetrate violence. Using survey and interview data from Cape Town, this thesis examines the risk factors that are associated with an increased likelihood of individuals, and particularly young men, committing different types of violent behavior: assault against strangers, assault against family members and intimate partners, and carrying weapons outside the home.

Quantitative self-report data on the perpetration of violence come from the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS), a longitudinal survey study of a panel of young people in Cape Town that has followed them through young adulthood. As CAPS contains questions on a wide range of socioeconomic, behavioral, and experiential variables, it allows me to test many hypotheses from the South African and international literature on risk factors for violent behavior. The survey data are complemented by evidence gathered through semi-structured interviews with African residents living in high-violence areas of Cape Town. The interviews provide perceptions and experiences of violence and its effects on the lives of those who are daily exposed to the risk of violence as potential victims, perpetrators, or witnesses. It is argued that this mixed methods approach provides a more complete picture of the variation in and dynamics of violence.

A number of key categories of risk factors are found to be significant across the different categories of violent behavior perpetration. Exposure to violence and deviance in his own

family in childhood and young adulthood increases the risk of a young man perpetrating violent behavior; it is argued that this is through a normalization of violence as a means of dispute resolution. This same process of normalization of violence can take place at the neighborhood level in socially disorganized areas, where young people find violent role models and easy access to illegal substances and weapons. Other measures of socioeconomic status, such as poverty or unemployment tend to have indirect effects on violence perpetration through their influence on neighborhood context or behavioral factors. Substance abuse produces violent interactions through altered behavior, and heavy alcohol use increases the likelihood of perpetrating assault. A culture of violent male control of intimate relationships and male sexual entitlement contributes greatly to intimate partner violence (IPV), buttressed by normative support for IPV among both women and men.

Strategies for changing individual behavior and social norms in South Africa to reduce and prevent interpersonal violence are discussed, and the question of how to link individual-level and societal/cultural theories of violence in future work is also explored.

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Chapter 1: The Problem of Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa

1.1 Introduction

Violence holds a dark attraction. Despite our normative rejection of the uncontrolled use of violence, we are fascinated by it, gathering around to watch fights that erupt in schoolyards or on the street, glorifying violent film heroes, and eagerly opening newspapers and watching television news to find out what fresh horror has befallen unfortunate others. Violence, crime, and security have become an obsession in South Africa. According to the 2008 Afrobarometer survey, among South Africans, crime trailed only unemployment and economic issues as the country's most pressing problem, while a 2006 survey of urban South Africans found that crime was a close second to unemployment in the ranking of national issues (CSVR 2007:30). This fear is not without reason, as South Africa remains one of the most violent countries in the world, despite a reduction in the capita homicide rate through the 2000s (see UNODC 2010).

There is a sense in South Africa that criminal violence is random—one never knows when it will strike and who will become a victim. On the opposite side of this image of victimhood as a universal possibility, there is a clear stereotypical image of the violent criminal: a poor, young, African or coloured male. Steffen Jensen (2008:20) describes a 1999 incident in Cape Town in which a four year old girl went missing, and though there were no clues as to the identity of her kidnapper, posters were produced depicting the suspected assailant. As Jensen writes, “The description was so broad, and the picture so obscure, that the only thing remaining was the racialized marks of the *skollie*, the coloured scavenger, hooligan and

thug.” Clearly, not every perpetrator of violence is a non-white male, and not every victim of violence is as sympathetic as a four year old girl.

The essentializing of stereotypes is useful, however, in that it provides one lens through which we can view people’s perceptions of the forms, perpetrators, and victims of violence. Lived experience, along with information gained from media consumption and communication with family, friends, and neighbors, frames people’s understanding of violence and influences what actions they may take in response to it in order to increase their personal security. Yet it is necessary to balance these perceptions with broader evidence about what factors—socioeconomic, behavioral, environmental, psychological, etc.—influence the probability that a person becomes a perpetrator or victim (or both) of violence. Qualitative and quantitative data—in the case of this dissertation, interviews and survey statistics—allow us to utilize both the richness and thick description of personal experience and the systematic hypothesis testing of statistical analysis.

1.2 Existing Research on Violence in South Africa

Research on violence in South Africa since the end of apartheid has tended to be very narrow, with studies considering only one aspect of violence, testing only one hypothesis, or using only one research method. Much of the empirical research on violence comes from the field of public health, in which researchers are preoccupied with determining the prevalence of and risk factors for violence, but often do not connect these findings from their samples to broader social forces (see e.g. Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka, and Schrieber 2001; Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher, and Hoffman 2006), or are tied explicitly to one specific risk

factor, such as the relationship between HIV/AIDS and violence (e.g. Strebel et al. 2006; Fox, Jackson, Hansen, Gasa, Crewe, and Sikkema 2007) or between substance use and violence (e.g. Parry, Plüdemann, and Leggett 2004; Parry and Dewing 2006).

Quantitative studies of violence in South Africa have, to the best of my knowledge, conducted only cross-sectional analyses of the correlates or predictors of violent behavior. Questions about past experiences or behavior are asked retrospectively, leading to the possibility of responses being influenced by intervening experiences. This makes it more difficult to infer the direction of causality in relationships between independent variables and the dependent variable. Using panel data from a longitudinal study, however, it becomes possible to examine indirect effects, for instance if coming from a poor background at t_1 is not significantly associated with violence perpetration at t_3 , but unemployment at t_2 is associated with violence at t_3 , poor background at t_1 may have an indirect effect on violence perpetration if it significantly predicts unemployment at t_2 .

Scholarship on violence in South Africa has also maintained a divide between qualitative and quantitative research. There have been very few attempts to use the methods complementarily (see Leggett 2005; Phillips and Malcolm 2010), and research from one methodological tradition often does not engage with findings from the other. The benefits that may be gained from a mixed methods approach in studying violence are examined in chapter 2.

Broadly, there are five main strains of argument that are advanced to explain the high levels of violence in South African society: 1) historical, 2) economic, 3) institutional, 4) physiological, and 5) psychological. Historical arguments suggest that South Africa's history of colonization, violence committed by the apartheid state, and violence committed in

resisting apartheid has resulted in the brutalization of South African society and the normalization of the use of violence (e.g. Hamber 1999; Kynoch 2005a, 2008; Mashike 2007:364-5). Economic arguments give primacy to poverty, unemployment, and inequality as the sources of violence, with economic marginalization leading to frustration and subsequently to violent aggression (see especially CSV 2008a). The institutionalist line of argument holds that a weak criminal justice system and lack of public trust in the courts and police lead to perceptions of impunity for crime (e.g. Shaw 2002; Dixon and Van der Spuy 2004; Altbeker 2005; Steinberg 2008). Physiological arguments place responsibility for the burden of violence mainly on the effects of substance abuse, which lessens inhibitions and impulse control, thus creating violent situations (e.g. Parry, Plüdemann, and Leggett 2004; Morojele and Brook 2006; Parry and Dewing 2006). Psychological arguments hold that violent behavior is a product of individual cognitive factors such as low impulse control, a volatile temper, or family psychiatric disorders (e.g. Flisher et al. 1996), family and community structures that normalize and fail to punish risky and violent behavior (e.g. Ward 2007); or feelings of inadequacy that may arise from concerns about social status, a problem that among men has been called a “crisis of masculinity” (Campbell 1992; Morrell 2001; Walker 2005b). A sixth line of argument which is not often mentioned is that society, not simply the criminal justice system, is ineffective in policing itself: family members, neighbors, and communities do not act or formulate norms that constrain violence.¹

A recent attempt to assess and bring together these different lines of argument was made in a series of reports by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation on behalf of the South African government’s Secretariat for Safety and Security (see CSV 2007 for an outline of the overall study). While the reports provide a valuable synthesis of different

¹ On the role of weak community ties in producing violence, see e.g. Ashforth 2005 and Seekings et al. 2010.

arguments and evidence, there is, except in one report containing individual case studies (CSVR 2008b), a lack of specificity, and hypotheses are not tested systematically. Rather the reports conclude that South African society has a ‘culture of violence,’ echoing Hamber (1999) and Kynoch (2008).

Yet while a culture that has normalized violence most likely plays a role in the production and reproduction of violence, it does not explain individual level variation in the perpetration of violence. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to delve into the protective factors that help keep at risk South Africans from perpetrating violence. The focus instead is on the subsample of the population that does report having perpetrated violence. I do not have sufficient evidence to assess the historical and institutional explanations for violence,² but I am able to test the hypothesized roles of socioeconomic disadvantage and substance abuse and other risky behaviors in driving the perpetration of violence at an individual level, while also exploring the potential role of community structures and norms in the production of violence.

1.3 Methods and Data

To better understand what factors influence individuals to engage in violent behavior, this dissertation uses a mixed methods approach to examine individual perpetration of different forms of violence and their correlates in the Cape Town area. While one may also examine structural, psychological, or state violence, this dissertation focuses solely on the interpersonal use of physical force with the intent to coerce or harm. Quantitative survey data

² As most interpersonal violence is situationally determined and not premeditated (Katz 1988; Collins 2008), it seems unlikely that judicial impunity would factor into decisions to use violence in the moment (unless subconsciously). However, a weak criminal justice system may still contribute to interpersonal violence by leaving perpetrators out on the streets, or by contributing to a culture of impunity in which people are unwilling to confront and try to stop perpetrators of violence.

and qualitative interview data are used complementarily in order to gather a more complete picture of who violent individuals are and their underlying or situational motivations for committing violent acts. Quantitative data comes from the Cape Area Panel Study, or CAPS, a longitudinal study of a panel of young people in the Cape Town area, coordinated by the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR) at the University of Cape Town. Qualitative data come from two series' of interviews with African³ residents of high violence townships in Cape Town, conducted by other CSSR researchers and myself.

CAPS was initiated in 2002 when respondents were ages 14-22. The fifth and most recent wave of CAPS was conducted in 2009 when respondents were ages 20-29. Due to attrition in the sample, especially among older respondents, the CAPS sample is no longer representative of the general population of young people in Cape Town (see Lam et al. 2010). However, CAPS remains the best source of data on the life experiences of young Capetonians (or of young people of the same age anywhere in South Africa).⁴ While it would be helpful to have data on older Capetonians as well, the majority of perpetrators and victims of violence are young: over 60% of murder victims in South Africa are between the ages of 15 and 34 (CSVR 2007:119-120),⁵ and most perpetrators of violence are also young: in December 2010, over one-third of South Africa's prison population was between the ages of 14 and 25, and over 50% of these incarcerated youth had committed violent offenses (Department of

³ Apartheid-era racial categories continue to have social and (declining) political currency in South Africa (see Seekings 2008). In this dissertation, 'African' refers to black South Africans. 'Coloured' is a complex category which was defined under apartheid as people who were not white, black, or Asian, but may have come from a Khoi, San, Malay, or mixed racial background; over time, however, 'coloureds' have developed a distinctive identity as such.

⁴ At the time of writing, CAPS data were still undergoing final cleaning for public release. The results reported in this dissertation are unweighted.

⁵ In mid-2010, 37.6% of South Africa's total population was between 15 and 34 (own calculations from Statistics SA's mid-year population estimates, available from <http://www.statssa.gov.za>).

Correctional Services 2011).⁶ Data from CAPS was analyzed using Stata 11.0 (StataCorp, College Station, TX).

Qualitative data comes mainly from a set of 45 semi-structured interviews conducted in 2008 with African adult residents of Khayelitsha and Delft, two high-violence townships in the impoverished Cape Flats area. After two pilot interviews, interviews were conducted with 26 randomly selected respondents from a 2005 survey and a further convenience sample of 17 other residents of these neighborhoods. The men and women in the sample (henceforth, 'interviewees') were aged 21-54. The interviews are denoted by numbers preceded by a 'V', followed by the interviewee's gender and age.

A second set of five pilot interviews was conducted in May 2010 on safety and security in Cape Town, with a number of specific questions on weapons. A purposive sample was selected from among those CAPS respondents who said they had carried a weapon in the past three years. Due to fieldworker familiarity issues and safety concerns, only those respondents who said they had not assaulted a stranger in the past three years were contacted and interviews were only conducted among African respondents. Interviews from this series are denoted by a number preceded by 'S'. In both sets of interviews, only Africans were interviewed, and the samples were by no means scientific, but the experiences related and views expressed still provide useful insights into how some of the most vulnerable Capetonians understand and respond to violence in their communities. As these interviewees must daily navigate terrains of real or prospective violence, we may expect them to have good knowledge of the dynamics of violence in their areas, where many perpetrators of violence may be their relatives, friends, or neighbors.

⁶ A portion of those incarcerated for property crimes are also likely to have used violence or threats of it in the course of their offense.

1.4 Outline of the Dissertation

The decision to use these qualitative and quantitative data sources together in a mixed methods approach is discussed in chapter 2, which examines the benefits and potential problems of conducting and writing mixed methods studies of interpersonal violence. Chapter 3, which was co-authored with Prof. Jeremy Seekings as a book chapter (Seekings and Thaler, forthcoming) looks at perceptions of who commits violence against strangers and what factors are associated with perpetration of assault against strangers in the CAPS sample.⁷ Chapter 4 examines who in Cape Town carries weapons (guns or knives) outside of his or her home and what role weapons may play in South Africa's high levels of violence. This study of weapons also points to a nexus between violence perpetration and victimization, with perpetrators of violence often also at risk of victimization due to their deviant lifestyle. Chapter 5 turns from violence in the streets to violence in the home, examining the factors behind perpetration of violence against family members and intimate partners, quite possibly the most prevalent form of violence in South Africa. The next section, chapter 6, looks at the role played by norms of approval of violence in permitting or encouraging violence and how the many South Africans who do not themselves perpetrate violence may contribute to the persistence of high levels of violence through their attitudes. As I will be exploring norms about violence more thoroughly in further work with Jeremy Seekings, chapter 6 takes a more narrow focus, analyzing norms about intimate partner violence. The dissertation concludes with a summary of the findings and their implications for policies aimed at reducing violence in Cape Town and the rest of South Africa, as well as a consideration of issues requiring further research.

⁷ Prof. Seekings is the primary author of the quantitative analysis in this chapter, while I am the primary author of the qualitative analysis.

As the chapters all examine different aspects of violence, each with its own specific literature in South Africa and internationally, separate literature reviews are included in each chapter. Tables and figures are shown after the body text of each chapter. Analyzing multiple forms and aspects of interpersonal violence shows the commonalities and diversity of violence in Cape Town, illuminating complexities that may be missed if one looks only for an overarching 'culture of violence.' I hope that through this micro-level study of individual variation in violent behavior and norms, conducted with macro-level structural factors in mind, we may better understand who in Cape Town commits violence and why, facilitating more effective policy interventions and contributing to a reduction of the individual and societal toll of violence in South Africa.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 2: The Utility of Mixed Methods in the Study of Violence

2.1 Introduction

The study of conflict and violence has been expanding in recent decades at all levels of analysis, ranging from interpersonal violence to interstate warfare. Concurrently, there has been increasing methodological development and rising popularity of mixed methods research (MMR) across the social (and health) sciences. However, despite some recent studies, MMR is still not used with great frequency in studies of violence and conflict. This chapter argues that mixed methods research increases our leverage on complex puzzles in the study of violence, and is likely to reward scholars who use this approach with valuable empirical insights, which will aid in theory testing and development.

Arguments are presented for the utility of MMR in the study of interpersonal violence and examples are provided of both monomethod studies and of research that has successfully used mixed methods. I describe my own experience using mixed methods to study interpersonal violence in South Africa and consider the potential difficulties of conducting MMR in general, as well as the particular difficulties that emerge when studying a sensitive topic (see e.g. Lee 1993) such as violence. As we study the motivations and behaviors of violent individuals, groups, organizations, and states, it is necessary to use all the methods at our disposal to understand and attempt to reduce the incidence of violence in human society.

2.2 MMR: Recent History and Applicability to the Study of Violence

While the mid-20th century saw intense debates between social scientists advocating and using quantitative or qualitative methods to the exclusion of other approaches, this

divisiveness has waned in the past three decades as greater attention has been paid to the complementarity of methods and how they may best be combined. A new wave of methodologists and other scholars has sought to lay out a coherent logic for mixed methods research, for studies that combine quantitative and qualitative parts into a cohesive whole.⁸ Their success may be seen in the existence of mixed methods journals (e.g. the *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* and *Quality & Quantity*) and books dedicated to the design, implementation, and analysis of mixed methods research (Brannen 1992; Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003). Quantitative and qualitative methods have begun to be combined more frequently by sociologists and political scientists, as well as health and education researchers. Political scientists and economists, especially those in the rational choice tradition, also make use of formal models in addition to qualitative and quantitative methods to create what Laitin (2002) calls a ‘tripartite’ methodology (see also Bennett and Braumoeller 2005).

In response to criticisms from philosophers of science that quantitative and qualitative research rest on different epistemological foundations and thus are incompatible and cannot be integrated (see discussion in Smaling 1994; Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner 2007), mixed methods proponents have adopted the philosophy (and research practice) of pragmatism.⁹ Pragmatism “is a philosophy rooted in common sense and dedicated to the transformation of culture, to the resolution of the conflicts that divide us” (Sleeper 1986 in Maxcy 2003:54), thus approving of the use of the formulation or

⁸ In this paper I do not discuss the method of transforming data, changing qualitative to quantitative or vice versa. For instance, in qualitative data analysis, qualitative interview or text data is coded and statistically analyzed. It is unclear to me whether this approach should be considered qualitative, quantitative, mixed methods, or something different altogether.

⁹ For a deeper philosophical/epistemological analysis of MMR, see Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005) and Morgan (2007). The *philosophy* of pragmatism is seldom acknowledged by political scientists who endorse mixing methods, who treat qualitative and quantitative methods as sharing a logic of inference and a scientific method, thus making them epistemologically compatible (see King, Keohane, and Verba 1994; Brady and Collier 2004; Levy 2008:15). This approach is similar to that of the philosophical pragmatists, though, in its rejection of the epistemological incommensurability of different methods, and the political scientists frequently discuss pragmatism in research in practical terms.

combination of research methods that best meets the needs of the research question and, by extension, of society. Sleeper's characterization of pragmatism as seeking conflict resolution is especially fitting when employed in the study of those conflicts which escalate to violence.

In fact, despite the acrimony existing between the qualitative and quantitative camps in the 1960s and 1970s, there is a long history of mixed qualitative and quantitative research in the social sciences. As Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007:113) note, "For the first 60 years or so of the 20th century, 'mixed research' (in the sense of including what we, today, would call qualitative and quantitative data) can be seen in the work of cultural anthropologists and, especially, the fieldwork sociologists." Sieber (1973), discussing sociology after World War II and writing at the height of the 'paradigm wars,' describes a divide between fieldworkers (qualitative) and survey researchers (quantitative). However, he then outlines numerous earlier studies which have integrated survey and fieldwork methods, writing that "one could almost say that a new style of research is born of the marriage of survey and fieldwork methodologies" (Sieber 1973:1337). Bryman (1988:108) further notes that many authors who treated quantitative and qualitative research as different epistemological paradigms also stated that in practice the research methods could be fruitfully combined (see also Smaling 1994:234).

MMR has become more accepted in the social scientific community at large and it is particularly well-suited to the study of violence. Violence, like all social action, is a complex phenomenon. In discussing his methods and sources in his book *Violence: A Micro-sociological Theory*, Randall Collins (2008:32) states: "My sources are very heterogeneous. This is as it should be. We need as many angles of vision as possible to bear on the

phenomenon. Methodological purity is a big stumbling block to understanding, particularly for something as hard to get at as violence.” Geddes (2003:23) argues that

“When trying to get some theoretical leverage on compound outcomes (otherwise known as big questions), it is more often useful to divide the big question into the multiple processes that contribute to it and propose explanations for the separate processes rather than the compound outcome as a whole. Implications drawn from the explanations proposed can then be tested. Another way of putting this is to say that although multiple regression is an excellent tool for testing hypotheses, it is not always a good image to have in mind when trying to explain something complicated, because it focuses attention on the identification of causal factors rather than on how the causal factors work.”

Beyond the usual problem of complexity, however, violence and conflict are issues of grave importance and academic contributions to their resolution can reduce human suffering. Thus it behooves those of us studying violence and conflict to make use of all methodological tools at our disposal in order to produce knowledge that may be used by policy makers and practitioners (see Druckman 2005).¹⁰

Snyder, addressing the study of collective violence and riots found that contemporary quantitative approaches suffered problems of measurement and inference due to their attempts to apply theories across levels of analysis; he thus suggests “merging qualitative analyses of crowd dynamics into quantitative ecological treatments,” and recommends strategies ranging “from longitudinal surveys of individual perceptions to intensive analyses of organized groups’ life histories to examinations of crowd dynamics” (1978:526) to come closer to capturing and understanding the social processes leading from background conditions to violent action. He argues that “given the difficulties of conventional empirical approaches, methodological shifts in the directions proposed here must be implemented if the continuing problematic issues in collective violence are to be adequately addressed” (Snyder 1978:526). Bryman (1988:140) presents an argument which, when juxtaposed with the above

¹⁰ For further discussion of the need for production of practical knowledge in political science, which could be applied to much of social science at large, see Sartori (2004).

statements by Snyder, holds that mixed methods research can answer Snyder's call for bringing together patterns and processes:

“...qualitative research presents a processual view of social life, whereas quantitative research provides a static account. The attribution ‘static’ may be taken to have a negative connotation, but this need not be so. By adopting a static view, much quantitative research can provide an account of the regularities, and hence patterns of structure, which are a feature of social life. A division of labour is suggested here in that quantitative research may be conceived of as a means of establishing the structural element in social life, qualitative research the processual.”¹¹

Quantitative research, if it uses longitudinal panel data, is not as static as Bryman's characterization, and can be used to trace processes of social change and past influences on actions (see chapters 3 and 5). However, social action frequently entails micro-processes and individual choices, which are seldom amenable to quantification and better uncovered with qualitative techniques.

The study of violence is also frequently divided between the micro level (experiences and processes) and the macro level (trends and patterns). While the micro level has traditionally been investigated using qualitative methods and the macro with quantitative, this has changed as better data have become available on violence at the individual and community levels. No matter which method is used at which level, though, a more complete understanding of violence results if we are able to integrate micro and macro explanations. Varshney (2008:353), introducing a journal issue on collective violence in Indonesia, emphasizes the need for both quantitative micro-level research and qualitative macro-historical research, arguing that “Temporal variation is best explained by macrofactors, but spatial variation is best analyzed when we pay attention to local processes,” and concluding that “A more thorough explanation of Indonesian violence will clearly require both macro- and

¹¹ Tarrow has similarly highlighted the role of qualitative research in exposing the processes underlying patterns in quantitative data. He argues that, “Whenever possible, we should use qualitative data to interpret quantitative findings, to get inside the processes underlying decision outcomes, and to investigate the reasons for the tipping points in historical time-series” (1995:474).

microexplanations.” Once again, Bryman anticipated this need, suggesting mixed methods research as a means of tying together the micro and macro levels (1988:147-149; see also Creswell 2009). Using only one method, we may wind up with a myopic view of a research subject, one that either neglects processes of social interaction to the point of abstraction or, instead, fails to examine larger patterns that may permit generalization from the work (see Ragin 1987:69).

This last point highlights the persistent problem of the relationship between structure and agency in the study of social action. Structure, the systems of social relations and systems of meaning (Hays 1994) within which social action takes place, can be studied empirically using either quantitative or qualitative methods, though quantitative methods render structure more legible. However, within the framework of structure, social action results from the decisions of individual agents. In Weber’s formulation, “behavior that is identical in its external course and result can be based on the most varied constellations of motives” (in Oakley 1997:817). Thus to capture these motives we must learn about the thought processes of agents, a task for which qualitative methods are better suited.¹² If we take the standard view that structure and agency are in fact intertwined, with agents’ actions both shaped by and producing structure (Giddens 1984), then mixed methods, while not necessary in this task, are ideally suited for examining this structure-agency interaction and achieving the Weberian goal of *Verstehen*, “making intelligible and thereby understanding the causes of events and phenomena generated by the social actions of individual subjective agents” (Oakley 1997:813). In studying violence, mixed methods capture both the broader structural context and the agent’s motives, decisions, and interpretation in the perpetration or experience of a violent act. If, like Collins (2008), following the philosophical pragmatists (see Emirbayer and Mische

¹² However, psychological experiments, which tend to produce quantitative data, may also permit us to get ‘inside the heads’ of agents. For an application of this method in the study of violence, see Nisbett and Cohen (1996).

1998:967-968), we view violent social action as a product of unique and constantly evolving situational dynamics, we must still account for the structures that shape situations and the decisions of the actors within them, a task which mixed methods can accomplish with scientific rigor.

2.3 Evaluating and Critiquing Monomethod Studies of Violence

Maruna (2010:134), in an overview of MMR in criminology, argues that “there is a long history of mixed method research in violence research, in particular...as understanding the micro-dynamics of aggression is facilitated through both observation as well as rigorous cause-and-effect analysis.” There is immense variation in the topics studied in the broader field of interpersonal violence—child abuse, partner violence, criminal assaults and homicides, weapons, etc. It is also at the level of interpersonal violence that one most frequently finds intervention programs, which may be evaluated using mixed methods, with quantitative data demonstrating whether or not the program succeeded, and qualitative data illuminating the meaning of changes for participants (see e.g. Edwards et al. 2005).

Despite the promise of MMR, though, the field remains dominated by single-method studies. To demonstrate the contribution that MMR can make to the study of interpersonal violence, I evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of two classic monomethod sociological research programs on crime and violence. These are considered some of the best examples of qualitative and quantitative criminology and sociology of violence, yet I argue that each holds an unrealized potential for deeper insights that is not tapped due its single-method approach.

2.3.1 Anderson's Ethnography

Elijah Anderson, formerly at the University of Pennsylvania and now at Yale University, has devoted his research to understanding how racialized inequality and exclusion drive violence in the inner-city ghettos of the United States. Anderson uses a deep ethnography of the city of Philadelphia, and most specifically its disadvantaged black areas, to formulate and test a theory of social structure and youth interactions, through which he seeks to explain “why it is that so many inner-city young people are inclined to commit aggression and violence toward one another” (1999:9). Anderson (1998:65-6) describes the ethnographer's goal as “illuminat[ing] the social and cultural dynamics that characterize the setting by answering such questions as ‘How do the people in the setting perceive their situation?’ ‘What assumptions do they bring to their decision making?’ ‘What behavior patterns result from their choices?’ ‘What are the social consequences of those behaviors?’” He is, as all researchers should be, cognizant of the assumptions and biases that he brings to his work, and attempts to “override” them (1998:66).

Anderson frames his theory with a distinction between black residents of disadvantaged areas, dividing them into Weberian ideal types, those with a ‘decent’ orientation and those with a ‘street’ orientation. These categories are based on the self-presentation of Anderson's subjects:

“The labels ‘decent’ and ‘street,’ which the residents themselves use, amount to evaluative judgments that confer status on local residents. The labeling is often the result of a social contest among individuals and families of the neighborhood. Individuals of the two orientations often coexist in the same extended family. Decent residents judge themselves to be so while judging others to be of the street, and street individuals often present themselves as decent, drawing distinctions between themselves and other people. In addition, there is quite a bit of circumstantial behavior—that is one person may at different times exhibit both decent and street orientations, depending on the circumstances. Although these designations result from

so much social jockeying, there do exist concrete features that define each conceptual category” (1994:82).

Anderson’s description of situational behavior and the ability of people to code-switch or move back and forth between orientations, highlights a particular strength of qualitative research. Qualitative research is able to capture these changes in orientation that may occur even from minute to minute by asking respondents about their responses to changing situational dynamics.¹³ While it may be possible with quantitative techniques to examine differing reactions to hypothetical changes in situational dynamics through the use of vignettes (see below), Anderson’s ethnography builds on real-life experiences, rather than hypotheticals. However, despite Anderson’s claim of “concrete features” defining decent and street orientations, these ‘conceptual categories’ remain vague. This can make replication and testing of Anderson’s theory difficult due to different interpretations of the definitions he provides, something that can be avoided in quantitative research with specified values or survey responses.

Anderson argues that for those with a street orientation, violence is learned at an early age as the manner in which disputes must be resolved, a way of testing others and ensuring one’s survival on the streets. Violence is governed by the ‘code of the streets’:

“[The code’s] basic requirement is the display of a certain predisposition to violence. Accordingly, one’s bearing must send the unmistakable if sometimes subtle message ‘to the next person’ in public that one is capable of violence and mayhem when the situation requires it, that one can take care of oneself. The nature of this communication is largely determined by the demands of the circumstances, but can include facial expressions, gait, and verbal expressions—all of which are geared mainly to deterring aggression” (1994:88).

¹³ As Wacquant (2002:1488) points out, though, Anderson abandons caution and quickly begins treating decent and street as hard and fast categories, reducing “process to static conditions” and failing to critically examine the processes by which these categories have been adopted and how one might move between them in a more permanent, rather than transitory manner.

The code must also be learned by those decent youths who want to be able to present themselves as tough in their interactions with street youths in school or on the streets. Anderson offers illustrative quotations from field notes and interviews to provide concrete examples of how children learn and are taught the code, and how the code structures social interactions on the streets. Through interviews, Anderson is able to let his subjects speak with their own voices and he himself is able to apply their language in his descriptions. There is less freedom to use the language of subjects in quantitative research. In a mixed methods study, one could apply terms from the subjects' definitions of social life to quantitative variables, though with caution to ensure as close congruence as possible between the subjects' conceptions and the variable definition.

Anderson seeks to demonstrate the agency of his subjects in creating "an oppositional culture to preserve themselves and their self-respect" (1998:102) against the backdrop of an unequal and exclusionary socioeconomic structure. Yet for all the thick description of the structure, one is left at times without a sense of context. There are simply too many possible confounding variables on the road from childhood to the adoption of the code that Anderson is unable to account for in his description or examples. Anderson makes a causal inference that social disorganization in the household and neighborhood leads to violence and a street orientation, using the example of one young child, Casey. Beyond a mention of Casey's mother and step-father sometimes beating him and a recitation of incidents in which he has caused trouble, though, there is no consideration of what factors in particular in this child's background and surroundings lead to his behavior (1998:87-88). This particular child might have developmental disabilities due to fetal alcohol syndrome, he could be acting out due to the absence of his biological father, or he could be emulating older street-oriented children from his neighborhood. Anderson's inference is thought-provoking and intuitive, but it is

weak. Without knowing how many other children share Casey's set of characteristics, it is impossible to know whether he is a representative example or an exception, and it is impossible to place the blame for his behavior at the feet of socioeconomic structure as Anderson does. Casey himself does not have agency in Anderson's story—community members give their own accounts of Casey's behavior and home life, but we do not know how Casey himself understands his situation and what reasons he would give for his aggression. By presenting Casey as an ideal type and failing to delve more deeply into Casey's situation and self-understanding, Anderson calls into question the generalizability of his example.

Anderson's theory is encompassing and intuitively logical, but it is ultimately unconvincing due to the lack of clear specification and failure to qualify the examples provided. Anderson's work is also limited by its focus on one section of Philadelphia, though he believes it "may offer insight into the problem of youth violence more generally" (1999:9). When sampling/case selection is adequately scrutinized, ethnographies (and qualitative research more generally) tend to have high internal validity, due to their ability to let subjects and the historical record speak for themselves. However, the external validity may be questioned, as it can be problematic to define the 'fuzzy' concepts in qualitative research in such a manner that a study may be replicated, and it is much more difficult to hold factors constant across cases or geographic locations in trying to generalize from qualitative research. By being clearer and more consistent in his definition of the broad, categorical variables in his study, Anderson could combat these problems.

The strength of Anderson's accounts is his attempt to present his subjects and their surroundings from their own point of view, a point he makes forcefully in response to

Wacquant's critique (Anderson 2002). The ethnographic field notes, interviews, participant-observation notes, and life histories compiled by Anderson provide a rich picture of the communities which generated this data. Anderson at times loses track of this data in his own analysis and theorizing, but this is certainly not an indictment of qualitative research in general. Where the work could most be complemented by quantitative data and analysis is in contextualizing the subjects and areas of study and in controlling for confounding variables. This would also permit an evaluation of the generalizability of Anderson's findings to other settings. These additions would create a more comprehensive and convincing account of the code itself and its effects on the levels and quality of violence in the American inner-city.¹⁴

2.3.2 Elliott and Huizinga's Survey Analyses

A large quantity of research on the sociology of deviance, and specifically on violent crime, in the United States from the 1980s onwards has made use of the National Youth Survey (NYS), conducted and first analyzed by Delbert Elliott, David Huizinga, and colleagues at the Institute of Behavioral Science of the University of Colorado, formerly the Behavioral Research Institute (Elliott, Huizinga, Knowles, and Canter 1983; Elliott and Huizinga 1983; Elliott, Huizinga, and Ageton 1985; Elliott, Huizinga, and Menard 1989; Elliott 1994). Elliott, Huizinga, et al. have conducted exclusively quantitative analyses. The NYS¹⁵ is a longitudinal study of a representative panel of young people in the U.S., tracking them from early adolescence through their 20s and early 30s. This longitudinal data on the same panel of

¹⁴ Brezina, Agnew, Cullen and Wright (2004) attempted to model the code of the street and test street and to statistically test its effects on violence in a national sample of American youth, finding support for Anderson's theory and suggesting its applicability beyond Philadelphia. However, as Anderson's variables were vaguely defined, the question remains whether he and Brezina et al. measure the same phenomena.

¹⁵See <http://www.colorado.edu/ibs/NYSFS/>.

respondents enables the testing of hypotheses across waves of the survey, making it possible to implement robust controls and to be more confident about the direction of causation than one can be with cross-sectional data (see Elliott 1994:17). Elliott, Huizinga, et al. sought to improve the internal validity of their studies by trying to illuminate and correct for biases that might be introduced by the use of self-report data (Elliott and Ageton 1980; Elliott and Huizinga 1983) and critically examining the scales they created for analyzing survey data (Elliott and Huizinga 1983), thus enhancing the quality of their quantitative analyses.

After the initiation of the NYS in 1976 and preliminary analysis of data from the first few waves, Elliott, Huizinga, et al. found a potential problem in their coding of delinquent events: there can be a great range of variation in the seriousness or triviality of offenses within the same category. For instance, shoplifting a case of beer from a store is generally considered qualitatively less serious than using a weapon as a tool of coercion to steal a case of beer. To achieve greater precision in their coding of delinquent events, the researchers began to ask follow up questions about the respondents' most recent offense for each category: "for example, what was stolen, how much it was worth, how did you attack the person, how badly was the person hurt, did you use a weapon, what was the victim's relationship to you?" (Elliott and Huizinga 1983:168). These follow up questions help to clarify the coding and to restrict the recorded instances of delinquency to those the researchers wish to measure.¹⁶ Responses were deemed "trivial" and no longer coded as instances of offenses if they were "judged to be logically appropriate but so minor that no official action would have resulted from such behavior," so, for instance, "slugging my

¹⁶ These follow-up questions are helpful, though they may still not provide as rich an account of offenses as is necessary; for instance, if "slugging my brother on the arm during an argument" (Elliott and Huizinga 1983:168) in fact resulted in an injury to the brother, this would in fact be a more serious offense. Complementing the statistical analysis with qualitative data can help address problems of concept stretching (Sartori 1970) and misspecification that might arise from the coding of quantitative data (see also Goemans 2007).

brother on the arm during an argument” would be considered trivial and removed from the assault category (Elliott and Huizinga 1983:168).

While these follow-up questions do improve the internal validity of the studies by reducing measurement error, they are descriptive only of the offense itself, stopping short of a consideration of situational dynamics and the motives and orientations of delinquent subjects at the times of their transgressions. Taking advantage of the longitudinal nature of the data, Elliott (1993) is able to trace the career paths of serious violent offenders and examine which factors in offenders’ backgrounds predict the onset of their serious violent offending. However, the actual circumstances of onset are not and cannot be explored with the NYS data. Motivations and choices are difficult to measure and quantify. One is left wondering, why was it at a certain moment that the offender decided to begin acting violently? Within a pre-existing context of peer normlessness, positive attitudes toward deviance, and delinquent peers, what caused this individual to turn to violence when another in similar circumstances did not? Was the offender’s adoption of violence a sudden shift or a long slide? To answer these questions, it is necessary to hear the stories of the offenders, a task best accomplished through qualitative methods such as interviews or life histories.

Elliott, Huizinga, et al.’s research does an excellent job of measuring the prevalence and incidence of offending and enabling tests of correlates of offending. They posit and test potential causal mechanisms. Interestingly, Elliott (1993:19) reaches a conclusion similar to one of Anderson’s arguments, that young, poor, black men, denied opportunities by a discriminatory socioeconomic structure, find it very difficult to escape from a life of violence and deviance once they enter it. However, while Anderson is unable to provide data that sufficiently illuminate the structure within which his account takes place, Elliott, Huizinga, et

al. clearly delineate the structures in their respondents' lives, but fail to engage with the agency of respondents' and the decisions they make.

Mixed methods can help us bring these two strands of research together, letting the strengths of one method compensate for the weaknesses of the other and producing a more valid inquiry that permits stronger inferences. To demonstrate how this has been achieved, I now provide two exemplary mixed methods studies of interpersonal violence.

2.4 The Use of Mixed Methods in Studies of Violence

Family and intimate partner violence research has been an expanding subfield as awareness of and legislation against this problem has brought it to the fore. Recently, scholars have responded to Weis's critique of family violence research that "Given the often contrary findings and the validity problems that typify this subject, multimethod and multiple-indicator research should be encouraged and used more often" (1989:154). For example, Hindin and Adair (2002) sought to examine the role of power dynamics in couple relationships in predicting women's suffering intimate partner violence. To study this "couple-level context of violence" (1386), Hindin and Adair analyzed a survey of women in Cebu in the Philippines and selected a subsample of survey participants for in-depth interviews about their exposure to intimate partner violence, using household decision making as a measure of the balance of power within relationships.

The interview data is used in support of the findings from regression analysis of the survey data, but it also allows extensions of the survey findings by providing a more nuanced

understanding of the relationship between power and violence among couples. The qualitative data show relationships between independent variables (1390), and also allow Hindin and Adair to look at the *absence* of violence and how couples may resolve their conflicts non-physically (1395). As the survey data used are cross-sectional, it is not possible to infer causality from the relationship found between power inequality and intimate partner violence exposure; however the interviews provide a view of the process by which violence takes place by presenting both a macroscopic account of the dynamics of the relationship and a microscopic account of the situations in which violence occurs. Hindin and Adair close their paper by stating that it is “clear that a better understanding of IPV in marital relationships may require quantitative measures that look at the factors associated with violence as well as qualitative measures that capture the marital dynamic from both partners’ perspectives” (1398).

Mixed methods prove equally useful in examinations of violent crime more generally. Brezina, Tekin, and Topalli (2009) wanted to test more systematically the relationship that quantitative and qualitative researchers have posited between anticipated early death and seeking instant gratification through crime, a ‘live fast, die young’ mentality. To unite the previous quantitative and qualitative strands in the literature, Brezina et al. chose a mixed methods approach, arguing that it “allow[s] researchers to combine the scientific objectivity afforded by quantitative techniques with a rich understanding of context that can only be derived through qualitative interviews with offenders” (1093). The authors are overzealous in their attribution of “scientific objectivity” only to the quantitative approach, as qualitative social science research may also be carried out on scientific principles (Strauss 1987; King, Keohane, and Verba 1994); the quantitative techniques in Brezina et al.’s work are better described as affording systematic generalizability.

Wording aside, Brezina et al. seek to combine methods and viewpoints and achieve this objective by analyzing quantitative data from a panel study of a nationally representative sample of adolescents in the United States and comparing the findings with data from in-depth interviews with active street offenders in Atlanta. The statistical analysis controlled for a wide range of variables and, as a further step toward improving the internal validity of the study, the analysis was replicated using a sample of twins and siblings to eliminate possible confounding variables. The statistical analysis, though, “does not allow us to explore the meanings that offenders attach to the prospect of early death or how such meanings impact their decisions to offend” and thus the qualitative phase of the study was necessary to examine the cognitive processes by which offenders’ discounting of the future could lead them to violence (1098). Brezina et al.’s study is exemplary in its attention to achieving valid causal inference: it extended previous quantitative research by using longitudinal data to enable inference of the direction of causality; improved the internal validity of their own quantitative findings through replication with a more controlled sample; and confirmed their theory and the causal inference generated by the statistical analysis through comparison with the personal accounts of offenders.

2.5 Personal Experiences with MMR

My current work examines various aspects of interpersonal violence perpetration in Cape Town, South Africa. South Africa remains a society in transition as it grapples with the legacies of racism and inequality left by apartheid and low-intensity civil war leading up to and following the beginning of democratic, majority rule. While political violence is largely a thing of the past (beyond the occasional violent protest over public service delivery [Atkinson

2007]), South Africa has experienced high rates of violent crime and the development of crime as the primary concern for many citizens (see e.g. CSVR 2007).

To investigate the patterns and potential sources of violence in the Cape Town area, I have adopted a mixed methods approach, combining household survey data and field interviews.¹⁷ Survey data come from the Cape Area Panel Study, or CAPS (Lam et al. 2010), a longitudinal study of a panel of young people from the Cape Town area, which has tracked respondents from adolescence into adulthood across five survey waves between 2002 and 2009. Questions on violence were only included in the fifth and most recent wave. However these questions were informed in part by informants' responses in a series of 45 interviews carried out with residents of low-income, high-violence townships in the Cape Flats area. Following an exploratory analysis of the CAPS data, I determined areas of interest for further investigation and conducted interviews with a purposive sample of respondents with specific social and behavioral characteristics. In this way, my associates and I integrated our data collection between qualitative and quantitative phases, with initial interviews informing the development of the survey module, and the resulting survey data provoking questions and providing a subsample for supplementary interviews.

Analyzing the data and writing up the results has led to a very thorough embrace of pragmatism. Depending on the quality of the data available on the specific research topic, different mixed methods procedures have been used for different papers. All analysis was conducted sequentially, with the findings from one research method informing the analysis of data from the other (see Creswell 2009), but the order of mixing and the amount of emphasis on qualitative or quantitative data varied. Chapter 3 of this dissertation, an examination of

¹⁷ This approach is recommended by Sieber (1973). Most of the data I employ in my analysis was compiled before I joined the project, and thus I was not responsible for the initial research design.

violence against strangers committed by young men, used the interview data to illuminate broad perceptions about who commits violence and why; we then statistically tested these perceptions and other hypotheses using the survey data. Weapon carrying, a subject on which additional interviews were conducted, was analyzed first by exploring ground-level views on weapons and weapon carriers using interview data, followed by a statistical analysis of weapon carrying in the survey sample, and finally a return to the interview data as means of explaining the quantitative results (see chapter 4). In examining factors driving male perpetration of family and intimate partner violence, I conducted multivariate and path analyses of the survey data to test hypotheses from the existing literature and then supplemented this with interview data to explicate the quantitative findings with individual experiences and perceptions (see chapter 5).¹⁸

As Bryman (1988:126) writes, “when quantitative and qualitative research are jointly pursued, much more complete accounts of social reality can ensue.” Mixing methods has allowed me to combine straightforward statistical evidence about the self-reported behavior of survey respondents¹⁹ with the rich evidence about lived experience and perception provided by interview respondents. I have also found much truth in the ways described by Sieber (1973:1345) that fieldwork complements survey analysis and interpretation, in particular that “certain of the survey results can be validated, or at least given persuasive plausibility, by recourse to observations and informant interviews;” “statistical relationships can be interpreted by reference to field observations;” and that “provocative but puzzling replies to the questionnaire can be clarified by resort to field notes.”

¹⁸ Morgan (1998) provides a more systematic ‘Priority-Sequence Model’ to characterize sequence and emphasis in integrating quantitative and qualitative data. In Morgan’s formulation (capitals indicate greater emphasis), the stranger violence paper was qual→QUAN; the weapons paper was a multiphase QUAL→quan→qual; and the family and intimate partner violence paper was QUAN→qual. For another mixed methods classification system, see Creswell (2009).

¹⁹ Though self-presentation biases will always affect self-reports of violence, even when anonymity is assured (see Thornberry and Krohn 2000).

This last point was of particular importance in the study of violence against strangers (chapter 3), where we discovered a disconnect between interviewees' perceptions of the causes of crime and the results of our statistical analysis: while interviewees believed unemployment and poverty led to crime, variables measuring these conditions were not significant in our models. This apparent inconsistency led us to conclude that while those who commit violence against strangers may in fact tend to be poor and unemployed, in a country such as South Africa where poverty and unemployment are widespread, it is other factors, such as heavy drinking and neighborhood social disorganization, which set the violent apart from their nonviolent socioeconomic peers. This process illustrates the importance of mixed methods in acting as checks and balances upon each other. The findings from one method may confirm those of the other, or they may contradict it, with contradiction leading to necessary scrutiny of matters that would have been missed with a single method approach, as well as providing a direction for future investigation.

Finally, in studying norms and attitudes about violence, I have found it useful to integrate data from quantitative and qualitative vignettes. Vignettes are "short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond" (Finch 1987:105). They are particularly useful in the examination of norms about sensitive subjects like violence because of the "relative distance between the vignette and the respondent" (Hughes 1998:384). In a study of norms about intimate partner violence, I compared data from open-ended responses to vignettes presented in interviews with statistics from agree-disagree responses to survey vignettes (see chapter 6). The longer responses from the interviews made it possible to understand justifications for survey responses endorsing violence by providing detailed accounts of gender norms.

Beyond the study of interpersonal violence, vignettes could also prove useful in examining subjects such as soldiers' norms about collateral damage or what level of provocation might be necessary for military and political leaders to resort to force in an international conflict. One particular problem that emerged in my own vignette study, however, was that while a relatively large percentage of survey respondents endorsed violence in a number of situations, interviewees nearly unanimously disagreed with the use of violence, but said 'some people' would consider it justified. The face-to-face interaction of interviews may have created a self-presentation bias that is not present in an anonymous survey.²⁰ Thus if we were trying to capture only the subject's *personal* norms, a quantitative, survey-only approach might be better, though in this case the qualitative evidence gained through interviews was still useful for understanding *community* norms.

2.6 Stumbling Blocks and the Limitations of MMR

Mixing methods is not a panacea. The appropriate choice of methods depends on the nature of the inquiry. Quantitative research is more useful for capturing patterns in the variation of violence and understanding its distribution and correlates. It allows us to control for spurious relationships and generate causal inferences with a quantifiable margin of error, and the definition of variables and conditions allows for generalizability to other settings. Qualitative research is more useful for understanding experiences of violence and their psychosocial effects or capturing the characteristics of violent situations, allowing us to examine micro-processes and to learn about violent agents' own understanding of their actions. Given these different strengths, it is important when using mixed methods to be clear in defining the

²⁰ It may also be that our interview sample was, in fact, normatively opposed to violence, but recognized that others more readily use violence in response to provocative situations.

concepts and variables that each method is capturing. As the dissonance between qualitative and quantitative responses in my research on norms demonstrated, qualitative and quantitative data may be capturing different aspects of a phenomenon. Sale, Lohfield, and Brazil (2002:50), writing about nursing research, argue that, “a mixed-methods study to develop a measure of burnout experienced by nurses could be described as a qualitative study of the lived experience of burnout to inform a quantitative measure of burnout. Although the phenomenon ‘burnout’ may appear the same across methods, the distinction between ‘lived experience’ and ‘measure’ reconciles the phenomenon to its respective method.” This does not mean, however, that the evidence presented about these slightly different, but related phenomena should not be integrated in the presentation of findings, for the qualitative and quantitative evidence together provide a clearer picture of the social reality of the population being studied. Following this line of argument, Ahram (2009:6) cautions us to view mixed methods as “complementary, rather than corroborating.”

Conducting a study employing multiple methods is also more difficult and expensive than a monomethod study. It requires a researcher to have familiarity with the tools and methods of both qualitative and quantitative research, or to work as a team in which quantitative and qualitative experts’ skills may complement each other. Such a team, though, has potential for conflict, as there are many decisions to be made about research design and how results will be presented (Bryman 2007:15-16). The process of conducting, for instance, both a survey and in-depth interviews is more time-consuming and also more costly than conducting only one of the two. There also may be different ethical considerations involved in different phases of a project. Additionally, despite the increasing employment of mixed methods and past calls across disciplines for the integration of quantitative and qualitative research, there will always be those who believe in the primacy of one method over others. Publication of

MMR may be more difficult in journals or with presses whose editors and reviewers have a strong preference for a particular method (Bryman 2007:18).

Finally, there are particular problems that may affect the conduct of MMR on a sensitive subject like violence. Quantitative analysis of violence through the use of previously compiled or archival datasets avoids the dangers that face researchers conducting fieldwork (be it interviews, field surveys, or observation) in violent areas (see e.g. Nordstrom and Robben 1995; Lee-Treweek and Linkogle 2000). There are increased worries about the validity of responses in dangerous contexts, as respondents may worry about the protection of their anonymity and potential negative consequences from sharing the truth with researchers. As more researchers examine violence at the micro level, continued engagement with ethical concerns will hopefully lead to further such new approaches that can enable the collection of better data while ensuring the safety of informants.

2.7 Conclusion

Greater use of MMR has the potential to make important contributions to the study of violence and conflict. As noted by Collins (2008) and others, violence is too complex and pressing a social problem to be subjected to methodological puritanism. We should take from the range of methodological tools those which may be best applied to our research subjects and feel free to mix them as seems appropriate. To keep quantitative and qualitative methods separate is to limit ourselves and reduce the potential impact of studies on such a critical subject. Tarrow (1995:474) admonishes that “a single-minded adherence to either

quantitative or qualitative approaches straightjackets scientific progress,” while Hammersley (1992:50) argues in the same vein that:

“the distinction between quantitative and qualitative approaches does not capture the full range of options that we face; and that it misrepresents the basis on which decisions should be made. What is involved is not a crossroads where we have to go left or right. A better analogy is a complex maze where we are repeatedly faced with decisions, and where paths wind back on one another. The prevalence of the distinction between qualitative and quantitative methods tends to obscure the complexity of the problems that face us and threatens to render our decisions less effective than they might otherwise be.”

In my own research, I have found that mixing methods provides checks and balances in the generation and testing of hypotheses and requires a useful interrogation of the differences that arise between qualitative and quantitative data. Taking an ontologically neutral stance has allowed me to maintain the agency of interviewees and to take seriously their lived experiences and the meanings they find in action, rather than dismissing them as not being as ‘factual’ as quantitative data, as Cameron (2009:214) would have us believe. Quantitative researchers worry about spurious correlations, and may feel that their models are unable to fully explain certain relationships, such as Demombynes and Özler’s (2005) conviction that there is a mechanism connecting inequality and violent crime in South Africa, but that it has a “sociological” explanation that they cannot measure. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, suffer from uncertainty about the generalizability of their findings. In a place like South Africa where there is methodological fragmentation and little dialogue between quantitative and qualitative research on violence,²¹ using mixed methods helps bring the two strands of research together, testing hypotheses generated by each method with both methods.

²¹ I have come across only two other mixed methods studies of violence in South Africa (Leggett 2005; Philips and Malcolm 2010) predating the research currently being conducted by myself and Jeremy Seekings.

Mixing quantitative and qualitative methods promises to lead us beyond the abilities of one method alone, and to provide a more holistic view of the phenomena we study, of patterns and processes, effects and causes. This fuller view is extremely helpful (though not necessary) for the production of theories that more accurately explain social phenomena. The formulation of theories (or “clear concepts” in Weberian terms) is a central goal of social science (e.g. Durkheim 1964 [1895]; Weber 1978 [1922]; King, Keohane and Verba 1994; Geddes 2003; George and Bennett 2005).²² However, as Geddes (2003:4) eloquently states, “To be successful, social science must steer a careful course between the Scylla of lovely but untested theory and Charybdis, the maelstrom of information unstructured by theory.” Mixed methods provide the necessary empirical grounding for theory generation and data for theory testing that should be convincing and replicable for researchers of any orientation.

From these tested theories and empirical evidence, formed by the combination of best practices in research methods, we may formulate ideas for the prevention, management, and resolution of violence and conflict. Through the ability of each research method to fill in the gaps in knowledge left by the others, mixed methods give us the opportunity to conduct research that both satisfies the criteria of social scientific inquiry and provides more useful information for policy makers and practitioners.

²² See Hirschman (1970) for a critique of the centrality of theory in social science.

Chapter 3: Socioeconomic Conditions, Young Men, and Violence in Cape Town

3.1. Introduction

Democratization in South Africa has been accompanied by an increase, not a decrease, in levels of everyday violence.²³ South Africa competes with Colombia, Venezuela, and a number of Central American countries for the unwelcome distinction of having among the world's highest homicide rates. Other forms of violence – including domestic and sexual violence – are also appallingly prevalent.²⁴ Rising violence has been a major concern for privileged white South Africans, many of whom seem to view violence as a racialized reaction by young black men to the inequalities that have outlasted apartheid itself. But violence has been as much of a concern to black South Africans. Even though black South Africans, especially in urban areas, experienced high levels of violence in the past, the perception that personal security was better then has contributed to elements of nostalgia for the apartheid era (Kynoch 2003).

There are many possible causes of high and rising levels of everyday violence. While the political impetus to violence has been removed or greatly diminished by the transition to democracy, South Africa today continues to be plagued by high unemployment (especially among young people), widespread poverty, racialized inequality, low-quality education and poor opportunities. Family life has fragmented, the ties of kinship have eroded, and social cohesion has weakened at the neighborhood level. All these socio-economic ills negatively affect the experiences, actions, and outlooks of young people. Furthermore, many young people have grown up amidst ubiquitous violence: at home, at school, and in the streets and

²³ See Ward and Flisher (forthcoming).

²⁴ See the Conflict Crime and Violence (CCV) datasets compiled by the Department of Social Development of the World Bank.

neighborhood. Firearms are readily available. The state's conspicuous failure to convict the perpetrators of most violent crimes both undermines the deterrent of criminal justice and legitimates violent and extra-legal popular action.

Our understanding of the causes of trends in violence remains limited, however, by the paucity of good data. Ideally, we would be able to draw on two kinds of data. First, we would have data on the incidence of violence by neighborhood and over time, which would be matched to data on varying and changing socio-economic conditions and to the efficacy of the criminal justice system. Variations over time and space would allow us to identify the conditions that drove or permitted varying and changing levels of violence. This approach has been adopted widely in the USA (see, for example, Glaeser, Sacerdote, and Scheinkman 1996), and in some countries in the global South (for example, Indonesia; see Tadjoeidin and Murshed 2007). In South Africa, Demombynes and Özler (2005) matched social and economic data from the 1996 Population Census to data on crime in police districts during 1996. Their cross-sectional analysis found that, *inter alia*, the relationship between mean household expenditure and violent crime (both serious assault and rape) took the form of an inverted-U: lower rates in poorer and richer districts, and higher rates in between. Both mean expenditure and the square of mean expenditure had very significant relationships with both categories of violent crime, even in a multivariate analysis that controlled for a range of other social, demographic, and economic factors. They found also positive and significant correlations between unemployment rates and armed robbery and murder (but not rape). Altbeker (2008:139-40) matches police data on murder to neighborhood level variables, for 2001-02, and found no relationship between mean household income and the murder rate.

Unfortunately, official statistics on violence and other crimes are highly suspect. Not only is the reporting of crime varying, as well as low (Louw 2008:9; Bruce 2010), but there have also been well-documented cases of police stations discarding records in order to improve their apparent performance (Bruce, 2010:12-14). While cross-sectional data can be adjusted to take into account differential reporting,²⁵ the low quality of official data seems to preclude *panel* analysis. The absence of census data since 2001 in any case precludes analysis of the effects of socio-economic factors on recent trends in violent crime.

The second kind of data that would ideally be available are data on individuals collected through a panel study designed from the outset to assess how and why some young people end up with violent careers. An example is the National Youth Survey (NYS) in the USA which began collecting data in the late 1970s on a cohort of young people, then aged 11-17 (see discussion in chapter 2). Such studies have resulted in important findings with regard to the ages at which young people first perpetrate violence, the sequence of forms of violent behavior and the ages at which perpetrators cease to perpetrate violence. They have also pointed to the factors and pathways that lead to serious violence, including social class, specific conditions at home and school during childhood, and more proximal predictors such as norms and peer influences (Elliott 1983, 1994; Heimer 1997; Brezina et al. 2004).

In the absence of any such panel study of individuals focusing on violence and delinquency in South Africa, researchers have turned to cross-sectional surveys. These allow the perpetration of violence (or victimization) to be linked to the individual characteristics of the perpetrators or victims. Information about the respondents' pasts is collected through

²⁵ Demombynes and Özler (2005) show that their general results hold even if crime rates are adjusted for the under-reporting of crime. First, they regress non-reporting of crime by individual respondents in the 1998 National Victims of Crime Survey on a range of individual-level variables. They then use this equation and district-level data on the same variables to adjust the official district-level crime data. They show that their findings are robust in the face of these adjustments.

retrospective questions (such as ‘were you exposed to violence as a child?’). One major shortcoming of these data is the possibility of retrospective information being influenced by subsequent experiences. Another is that the direction of causation might run in either direction between factors such as drinking or employment status, measured at the time of the survey, and the perpetration of violence in the recent past. In one South African study, researchers compared data collected from a sample of young offenders (i.e. young people who had been convicted of crimes, mostly involving violence) with data from a sample of young people who had not been convicted of any crime, in four of South Africa’s provinces. There were no significant differences between offenders and non-offenders in terms of household incomes or general neighborhood conditions. However, offenders were more likely to report that they came from households and neighborhoods where violence was more commonplace, had completed less schooling, were more likely to have engaged in substance abuse, and had delinquent friends (Burton et al. 2009).

In this contribution we go beyond existing studies by using two new sources of data. First, we draw on semi-structured interviews conducted in 2008 with forty-five residents living in high-violence, African²⁶ neighborhoods in Cape Town, to examine local knowledge about the causes of violence. Secondly, we draw on data from a panel study of young people in Cape Town, the Cape Area Panel Study to model the causal pathways to violence.

3.2 Data

In the interview study, our goal was to tap into ‘local knowledge’ about violence in selected neighborhoods on the eastern periphery of Cape Town, (Delft and Khayelitsha). The

²⁶ Under apartheid, individuals were classified as white, African, coloured or Indian. Even fifteen years after the end of apartheid, most neighborhoods remain racially segregated (see Seekings 2011).

interviewees are people who must navigate through the everyday possibility of violence. It is their neighbors and members of their own families who are the perpetrators as well as the victims of everyday violence. We pay particular attention to interviewees' views on the involvement in violence of young men. Almost every one of our interviewees identified the perpetrators of violence as young men, as "these boys" or "young guys". Some young women are not innocent, especially if they associate with delinquent boys, but violence in public is largely a male preserve

The second source of data used in this chapter is the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS) of adolescents in Cape Town. In 2009, about 1,420 young men, by then aged between 20 and 29 years, were interviewed as part of the most recent, fifth wave (together with a larger number of young women, who are not discussed in this chapter). The strength of a panel study is that it provides very detailed data on the lives of these young people, allowing us to assess the consequences over time of their living conditions, their attitudes and beliefs, and their choices. The disadvantage of a panel study such as CAPS is that the panel shrinks over time through 'attrition'. After five waves, CAPS has very detailed data on a panel that due to attrition, is no longer representative of the general population of young people in Cape Town in their 20s (Lam et al. 2010).

CAPS was not specifically designed to examine pathways into delinquency, violence or crime. It was initially focused on adolescents' pathways through education and into the labor market, through changing households, and into and through the world of sexual activity. Questions about the perpetration of violence were not included in the first four waves. CAPS therefore does not provide the kind of detailed data on the actual pathways into delinquency and violence that a survey like the NYS provided in the USA. It does, however, allow us to

analyze the predictors of violence with a precision unmatched in once-off surveys. In our analysis of the data, we use the first four waves of the study (i.e. up to and including 2006), wherever possible, to predict what respondents reported (in the fifth wave in 2009) about their *perpetration of violence* over the previous three years (i.e. 2006-2009). This gives us more confidence that violence really is the dependent variable in our regressions, and our independent variables really are the causes, rather than consequences, of violence.

In the fifth wave, the measure of the dependent variable was participants' response to being asked whether, in the past three years, they had hit or physically assaulted each of (a) "a girlfriend, boyfriend, partner or any adult in your family," (b) a friend or neighbor, and (c) a "stranger or someone you do not know well." There was no measure of chronicity and the perpetration could have occurred at any time in the period. To reduce the extent to which the perpetration of violence would be under-reported, respondents completed the module about the perpetration of violence themselves without being questioned by the interviewer. In total, about *one in four* young men and *one in eight* young women said that they had hit someone (i.e. in any of these categories) in the previous three years. In each of the three categories, about one in eight men (and a smaller proportion of women) said that they had hit someone. These figures broadly accord with other data on the perpetration of everyday violence. Whilst violence is not ubiquitous, a substantial minority of young men admit to using violence.

In this chapter we focus on the data on violence against strangers. Analysis of the data suggests that violence against strangers and domestic violence have different predictors and correlates. Using a mix of the testimony of people living in high-violence neighborhoods and quantitative data on perpetrators and non-perpetrators, we now turn to an examination of the roles of various social and economic 'drivers' in the high levels of everyday violence. Our

focus is on the causes, not the consequences, of violence. We divide our analysis into three main categories: economic factors, especially poverty and unemployment; social disintegration; and drinking and drug-taking. After considering each of these categories separately, we conduct a multivariate analysis of the quantitative data.

3.3 Poverty and Unemployment

There are many possible reasons why poverty and unemployment might lead to violence. Poverty means that young men have an incentive to commit crime, especially when poverty coexists with inequality, and crime is likely often to entail violence (especially against strangers, outside of the home). Unemployment means that young men have lots of free time. Unemployment probably also undermines traditional bases of masculinity, resulting in young men resorting to violence – inside as well as outside the home – as an alternative marker of their masculinity (Campbell, 1992). Moreover, the unemployed, and perhaps the poor generally, might either see themselves as outsiders in society or are actually outside of the social networks that sustain norms against violence.

When we asked our respondents in wave 5 of CAPS about the causes of violence in South Africa, almost everyone (89%) agreed that poverty and unemployment were important causes.²⁷ Similarly, in our semi-structured interviews, interviewees frequently pointed to

²⁷ Agreement that unemployment and poverty lead to violence was stronger among respondents who said that they were poor, sometimes went without food, and faced poor opportunities. Young people who were working at the time of the interview were significantly *less* likely to agree with the statement, while those young people who were unemployed at the time of the interview were neither more nor less likely to agree.

these economic factors: “What causes violence the most is poverty, people are starving, which is why they go out stealing other people’s stuff, they are starving” (V1, male, 38). We were told that violent people themselves justify their actions in terms of poverty:

“When you asking the person who is committed on violence, when asking that person why, the person would answer by saying, ‘Sister, you would not know because you are not living at my home. Because I am doing this because I do not have money, I do not have bus fare, sister, so I changed because of that, and when spending time with my friends we discuss how do we get money and the solution is to go all out and snatch people’s belongings or do house breakings’” (V5, female, 33).

Poverty is widely attributed to unemployment and difficulties in securing a job. Interviewees acknowledged that the government has sought to create jobs, but there is a widespread perception that employment opportunities have actually worsened since the end of apartheid, with permanent and formal employment ever scarcer: “Now there are less jobs; people get employed on a contract basis” (V20, male, 42). With their prospects for employment diminished, young people are said to turn to crime as an alternative source of income. “I think it is because of the job scarcity and these children also want money and the jobs are not there so they tell themselves that they will get it from those who are working” (V21, female, 44).

Our interviewees emphasized that employment reduces violence: Among people who have jobs, “waking up and going to work is the only thing they think of, even those that have businesses, they just wake up and think of their businesses; so if one does not have a business they just think of robbing others, even those who do not have work” (V1, male, 38). A resident of Khayelitsha said that in his part of the township, “most of the people who live here in Harare are actually employed, so we have lower crime here” (V6, female, 43).

However, unemployment does not inevitably lead to crime or violence, as a number of interviewees pointed out. “I don’t want to say maybe it’s unemployment [that causes crime]

because I am also not working, I am always here at home; I buy the newspaper and try to read and all that; I never think of going to rob someone, or go and steal because I don't work and I want something to eat" (V13, female, 26).

There is no doubting the scale of the employment crisis in South Africa. Unemployment rates are, particularly high among young men and women, at least in part due to their low levels of qualification. Many young people leave school, either without sitting the public examination sat at the end of the 12th grade or with a poor pass, and spend long periods in unemployment. The Quarterly Labour Force Survey for the second quarter of 2010 found that the unemployment rate among economically active residents of the Western Cape was 73% for 15-19 year olds, 40% for 20-24 year olds, and 28% for 25-29 year olds, all lower than the national average, but still high.²⁸

Among the CAPS panel, we find modest bivariate correlations between some measures of economic conditions and the perpetration of violence against strangers. Young men who report that their household had not had enough to eat sometime in the past month, or who had been living in poor or very poor households in 2006, were about one and a half times more likely to have hit a stranger than young men without these characteristics.

But various measures of unemployment did *not* predict violence against strangers. Nor was there any significant relationship between whether a young man had lived in a poor neighborhood in 2002 and the subsequent perpetration of violence against strangers. Even together, these conditions have little effect.

²⁸ Our calculations, using a broad definition of unemployment that excludes those who were not economically active but stated that they did not want to work, such as young people still in school.

A young man who reported not having enough to eat in the past month *and* who had been unemployed at the time of the 4th interview (in 2006) *and* who had lived in 2002 in a poor or very poor neighborhood was *no more* likely to have hit a stranger than a young man with *none* of these characteristics.

These findings mean that young employed men are almost as likely as their unemployed counterparts to have assaulted a stranger. Similarly, young men who have graduated from high school are almost as likely to have hit a stranger as those who dropped out of school. They also mean that other factors are causing considerable variance within each of these categories in terms of the perpetration of violence. Evidently some forms of violence are widespread in South African society, rather than being heavily concentrated in particular economic contexts.

Economic variables explain only a small part of the variance in violence among the young men in our panel. Our 'best' multivariate regression model, regressing violence against economic and educational variables, has an r-squared of only 1% for violence against strangers (much less than the 4% for domestic or intimate partner violence). As many of the interviewees in our in-depth study noted, young men from economically disadvantaged backgrounds make choices: some choose to use violence, many choose not to do so.

These findings are broadly consistent with the findings of Burton et al. (2009), who compared young offenders and non-offenders. They found that offenders could not be distinguished on the basis of the poverty of their households, the education levels of their household heads, or unemployment rates in their households. They did find that offenders were less likely to have completed school than non-offenders – which was not replicated in our comparison of

perpetrators of violence against strangers compared to non-perpetrators. But their finding might be, at least in part, a consequence of arrest and conviction.

Overall, contrary to the ‘local knowledge’ of residents of high-violence neighborhoods, unemployment does not seem to be a direct cause of violence, economic conditions appear to have weak effects, and education does not deter young men from violence.

3.4 Social disintegration and indiscipline

The choices that young men make about the use of violence are likely to be shaped by their social experiences. As discussed elsewhere in this volume, exposure to violence or other forms of social adversity during childhood often has a lasting effect into adulthood. In the original interviews (in 2002) with young men and women in Cape Town, just under one in ten reported that they had occasionally, sometimes or often been hit hard when they were growing up, and one in three said that they had been pushed around. Almost one in four respondents told us that they had grown up in a household with an adult who had either a drinking problem or took street drugs. Almost one in ten reported that, when they were children, some of their kin were in jail.

About one half of adolescent boys and girls in Cape Town do not live with their biological fathers. In high-income neighborhoods in Cape Town, most children and adolescents live with their fathers. In most poor and many medium-income neighborhoods, only about one-third of children live with their fathers. Whilst some absent fathers make great efforts to play a role in their children’s lives, and in some cases stepfathers or other men assume the roles of

a father, in many cases separation from a father results in an important gap in the life of a young person (Bray et al. 2010). This is in part because of the shrinkage of the extended family. At the same time as the proportion of young people growing up in nuclear-family households has declined, non-nuclear kin seem to recognize fewer obligations to each other than in the past (see Harper and Seekings 2010).

We did not ask our CAPS participants whether they saw any relationship between childhood experiences and violence, but we did ask them about the contributions to violence of a lack of respect and discipline. Three out of four CAPS respondents agreed that a lack of respect and discipline was an important cause of violence. In our in-depth interviews, most interviewees said that beating a child is wrong, but many expressed consternation that post-apartheid legislation intended to protect children from abuse has had the unintended effect of increasing violence in society.

“Back in those days there was less violence. But today they [young people] say they have gained freedom and say it is their time now. Back then you could say ‘no’ to a child and they would listen. But now – you say no and they’ll still continue and tell you they are free now... A child will tell you can’t beat them and they will have you arrested if you beat them up. So they are unruly now” (V39, female, 54).

The lack of physical discipline is said to result in children “ending up rotten” (V16, male, 43).

In our CAPS data we have no measures for ‘discipline’ or ‘respect’, but we have asked young people about aspects of their home environment during childhood (see above). We find a weak statistical relationship between reported exposure to violence during childhood (as reported in 2002) and the perpetration of violence in early adulthood against strangers (as reported in wave 5, in 2009). A young man who reported growing up in a violent household

was 1.6 times more likely to have hit a stranger than young men who grew up in non-violent households (although this relationship was significant only at the 10% level).

Paternal absence during childhood clearly matters. A young man who spent little of his childhood living with his biological father was one and a half times as likely to perpetrate violence as a young man than someone who had mostly or always lived, as a child, with his father. The time that a boy spent living with his mother had no such effect: the few young men who did not live with their mothers during their childhood were no more likely to grow up into violent young men than the large majority of young men who had lived with their mothers. The effects of paternal presence during childhood were stronger still with respect to domestic or intimate partner violence.

Exposure during childhood to drinking and drug-taking also correlated with violence during early adulthood (and here the effect was strongest with respect to violence against strangers). A young man who had reported (in 2002) that he had grown up in a household with someone who 'was a problem drinker or alcoholic' or 'used street drugs' was almost twice as likely to say (in 2009) that he had hit a stranger in the previous three years, compared to someone who had not grown up amidst drinking and drug-taking. The effect of exposure to violence during childhood was slightly weaker (a bivariate odds ratio of 1.6) and significant (at the 10% level only).

We also investigated whether marital status, parental status or household headship affected the perpetration of violence. On the one hand, we might expect that young men who are integrated into society would be less likely to perpetrate violence. On the other, however, young men who are both married (or the head of their household) *and* unemployed or poor

might be more inclined to violence, as a mechanism of buttressing their masculinity. In bivariate analysis, neither being a household head nor being married (in 2006) had a statistically significant relationship with the perpetration of violence, and the odds ratios were close to 1.

Our findings are consistent with those of Burton et al. (2009). They found – using once-off rather than panel data – that some social factors do distinguish young offenders from non-offenders. Young offenders were less likely to have good relationships with their fathers or mothers than non-offenders. They were also more likely to come from households where violence was common, where parents disciplined them violently, or other household members engaged in crime, than non-offenders. Data from the fifth wave of CAPS also show a strong relationship between whether a young man has kin who are in jail, take drugs or steal, and the perpetration of violence against strangers, but because these data are all from the fifth wave there is some uncertainty over whether the direction of causation runs solely from kin to violence. It is possible that perpetrators of violence corrupt their kin as much as vice-versa.

3.5 Drinking and drugs

Drinking and using drugs are widely seen as behaviors that are associated with violence, in South Africa and elsewhere (e.g. Elliott 1994: 11-12; Otero-Lopez et al. 1994; Parry et al. 2004). Seventy percent of CAPS respondents agreed that excessive drinking by men was an important cause of violence. This was a lower proportion than agreed that poverty and unemployment, and disrespect and ill-discipline were causes, but was nonetheless a

substantial majority. Women, and men who reported not consuming alcohol in the past month, were significantly more likely to agree that male drinking was a cause of violence. African people were more likely to agree, while white people were more likely to disagree. This racial difference may be attributable to differences in either drinking cultures or locations. White people are more likely to drink alcohol in licensed establishments with security personnel, while African people are more likely to drink in unlicensed shebeens. Interviewees concurred that shebeens are sites of frequent violence.

South Africa has one of the highest rates of alcohol consumption per drinker in the world, as well as some of the highest rates of hazardous drinking (see Peltzer and Ramlagan 2009). When the country is broken down by province, the Western Cape emerges as having the highest rates of lifetime and previous year alcohol use and 'risky' drinking among both males and females, though with higher rates for males for both variables (Harker et al. 2008:7-9).

According to our interviewees, alcohol may increase aggression, prompting violent behavior. "As you know there many alcohol abusers in our communities who become abusive when they are drunk and if you try to confront on the day after they always blame what they had done on the alcohol" (V30, female, 42). At shebeens, the high levels of intoxication among customers frequently lead to violence, often over small matters. When asked for an example of a petty fight, an interviewee said, "Let's say I'm in a shebeen and I haven't bought a round of drinks and my friend tells me to buy a round. And then a fight erupts because I haven't contributed drinks." Asked why most shebeen fights start, he replied, "You can even beat someone if they spill your beer by accident. It might seem like that person spilt my drink intentionally. And that is already the beginning of a fight" (V40, male, 39).

Drug use was closely associated by interviewees with alcohol abuse and violence. Robbery is believed to be a means to pay for alcohol and drug habits. When a robbery is committed, “Like when they snatch a purse – they snatch it to get money for liquor and dagga [marijuana] and get drunk” (V41, female, 37). Like drunkenness in shebeens, the influence of drugs is also seen as leading to violence independent of other motivations. “I’d say what leads them into violence – are all these things they eat – such as drugs and tik [methamphetamine]. So when they drink and eat those things and they get high, they become very dangerous and they are led into violence” (V26, male, age unreported). Drug and alcohol abuse is clearly a social ill associated with increased levels of violence, and is an especially great problem in Cape Town, where one study found 46.8% of arrestees for violent offenses to have been under the influence of at least one drug (Parry et al. 2004:178). However, as one interviewee aptly highlighted, violence cannot be solely attributed to substance abuse, and reductions in drug and alcohol use would not stop all violence. “People can use violence without much reason; drug users don’t think much when they have consumed drugs so sometimes what they do is unintentional. Sober people get violent after having taken considerable time to think about a situation” (V37, female, 35).

Within the CAPS panel, when interviewed in 2009, we find a strikingly bipolar distribution of alcohol consumption. Almost one half of the panel (45%) say that they have never drunk alcohol, and another 10% say they last had a drink more than twelve months earlier. On the other hand, more than one half of young men and more than one quarter of young women reported having consumed some alcohol in the past month. One in ten young men say they drink at least 2-3 times per week, and another 30% say they drink about once per week. When asked how many drinks they typically consumed on one of these drinking days, hardly any young men said ‘one or two’. The median consumption was 5 or 6 drinks, and as many as

one-third of the young men (who said they had drunk in the past month) said that they typically drink ten or more drinks. Our panel of young men thus includes a large number of non-drinkers, some moderate drinkers, and a significant minority of heavy, binge drinkers. CAPS respondents were asked about drinking in previous interviews also, allowing us to build up a picture of our respondents' drinking histories.

Young men who drink are approximately twice as likely to report perpetrating violence against strangers (and the odds ratios are similar for violence against girlfriends, family, friends and neighbors). Men who drink heavily are more likely to report violence than men who drink moderately. Men who have reported drinking through successive interviews, and men who say they grew up in households where someone had a drinking problem, are more likely to report perpetrating violence. All of these measures of drinking have sizeable and statistically significant effects on violence even when they are included together in a multivariate model. A young man who had reported drinking in successive interviews and who had been exposed to excessive drinking at home, as a child, was over five times more likely to report perpetrating violence than a young man who never reported drinking or exposure to drinking problems.

Taking drugs, or exposure to drug-taking, also correlates with violent behavior. Young men who admitted to taking drugs in the 4th wave of CAPS (in 2007) were almost twice as likely as others to report (in the 5th wave) that they had perpetrated violence during the intervening years. Being exposed to drug-taking in childhood, or having kin who take drugs now, also correlate with the perpetration of violence.

Almost all studies that probe the effects of drinking and drugs on violence in South Africa find that they matter. In Burton et al.'s (2009) study, offenders reported much higher levels of alcohol and drug abuse than non-offenders. Jewkes et al. (2006) found that problem drinking correlated positively and significantly with both intimate partner rape and non-partner rape. Abrahams et al. (2006) found that drinking (and drug use) correlated positively with intimate partner violence among working men in Cape Town. Data from urban hospitals and mortuaries show that one half of the victims of fatal injuries and three-quarters of the victims of non-fatal injuries tested positive for alcohol. These proportions were highest in Cape Town, where alcohol-related deaths and injuries peak distinctively over weekends (see Matzopoulos, Mathews and Myers 2007).

The precise relationship between drinking and violence has not been demonstrated empirically, but the accounts given by our in-depth interviewees above are likely to be accurate. A high proportion of non-domestic violence is situational in that it occurs in and around bars and shebeens. Returning drunk from bars or shebeens also exposes people to violence. Drunk men also seem more likely to be violent in or around the home.

3.6 The relative importance of different factors in the perpetration of violence by young men

CAPS data allow us to run a multivariate analysis to examine how different factors are related to the perpetration of different forms of violence. First we conduct the kind of multivariate regression analysis used previously in some South African studies of rape and intimate partner violence (Abrahams et al. 2004, 2006; Jewkes et al. 2006). Then we present the results of a second set of multivariate regressions, designed to build a model of violence

that more fully demonstrates the causal pathways leading to the reported perpetration of violence against strangers. This is the category of violence that is of most concern to ordinary people, but has been largely neglected in the existing South African literature. In this chapter we do *not* model violence against non-strangers; our preliminary analysis suggests that there are important differences between the various categories of violence.

Table 3.1 reports the results of a series of regression models for the perpetration of violence against strangers by young men, as reported in CAPS. Successive models incorporate selected variables. Variables that are consistently not significant in these multivariate models are not included. The first regression model (model 1.1) considers only four economic and educational variables: whether the respondent said (in 2009) that any household member had gone without food in the past month, whether the respondent had been unemployed in 2006, whether the respondent had lived in a poor neighborhood in 2002 (i.e. at the time of the first wave of interviews for CAPS), and whether the respondent had passed matric by 2006. (To reduce uncertainty about the direction of causality, we use data for 2006 or earlier whenever possible.) The regressions are logistic regressions, and the table reports odds ratios (with standard errors in brackets) and statistical significance indicated by asterisks. Model 1.1 shows that going without food in 2009 is highly significant in this multivariate model, with an odds ratio of 1.8. Neither unemployment nor educational attainment is significant, and coming from a bad neighborhood actually has a negative effect when controlling for the other economic and educational variables. The r-squared for this model is low, at only 1%. An equivalent model for domestic violence shows larger coefficients, higher significance, and a larger r-squared.

Adding variables for the home environment during childhood improves the model (see model 1.2). Paternal absence during childhood predicts violence against strangers, even controlling for the economic and educational variables already considered. The presence of someone with a drinking or drugs problem at home during childhood was a stronger predictor of violence against strangers in later life. The economic and educational variables remain significant with the addition of these childhood environment variables. Model 1.3 includes also variables for drinking and drug-taking in early adulthood, showing that they also predict violence against strangers. The economic variables continue to have weak effects with respect to violence against strangers; the presence of a drinker or drug-taker during childhood continues to be significant, even controlling for similar behavior on the young man's own part later in life.

The final model (1.4) shows the conditional correlations when we add in variables for whether the young man is (self-reportedly) impulsive or short-tempered, has 'bad' kin (i.e. kin who take drugs, do things that could get them into trouble with the police, or are actually in jail) and lives in a 'bad' neighborhood (i.e. one in which the respondent knows personally people who sell drugs, steal, or are in jail). All of these are variables from wave 5, not from previous waves. Bad kin is not significant, but temper/impulsivity and bad neighborhood are significant. The one economic variable ('gone without food'), the presence of a drinker or drug-taker in the childhood home, and heavy drinking remain significant. The r-squared for model 1.4 is higher, at 8%. Although this is not shown, adding dummy variables for race does not improve these final models, and the relationships between race and violence are not significant.

In summary, this preliminary multivariate analysis corroborates the picture from bivariate analyses: past poverty and unemployment are not strong predictors of the perpetration of violence by young men against strangers. Drinking, both by others in the childhood home and by the young man in adolescence and early adulthood, is a predictor, and factors linked to the immediate context ('gone without food' and the neighborhood) also correlate significantly and conditionally with violence against strangers. None of these models include any variables measuring the perceived efficacy of the criminal justice system, 'discipline' or respect, or norms and beliefs.

One problem with this kind of multivariate analysis is that the correlations are conditional on the other variables included in each model. If there are important relationships between independent variables, then the model might serve to disguise both direct and indirect effects between any independent variable and the dependent variable. Whilst there is no overall problem of multi-collinearity with the regression models reported in Table 3.1, an alternative approach can more fully set out the causal pathway leading to the outcome of perpetrating violence against strangers. Table 3.2 shows the correlations between the various variables. For most pairs of variables, the correlation coefficients are less than 0.1. These independent variables measure substantially different phenomena.

Table 3.3 sets out the models used in this approach, and Figure 3.1 summarizes the causal pathways found. The starting point is the relationship between socio-economic background, measured here in terms of both the poverty of the neighborhood in which the young man lived in 2002, seven years before we enquired about violence (henceforth 'background') and exposure to adult drinking or drug-taking in the childhood home (henceforth 'CHDD'). Model 3.1 shows that there is no direct, bivariate relationship between background and

violence. The relationship might, however, be mediated through other variables that are more proximal to violence perpetrated between 2006 and 2009. Models 3.4 and 3.6 regress unemployment status and educational attainment in 2006 on the initial socio-economic background variable. There is no significant relationship between background and unemployment status – probably because unemployment is so common among young men – but there is a negative relationship between background and educational attainment. Models 3.2, 3.5 and 3.7 repeat this for the CHDD variable. They show that there is a strong bivariate relationship between exposure to drinking or drug-taking in the childhood home and violence against strangers, several years later. Exposure to drinking or drug-taking in the childhood home also predicts both unemployment and low educational attainment later. Model 3.8 regresses violence on all four of these variables, so as to identify the marginal effects of including the unemployment and education variables. It shows that CHDD continues to have a significant relationship with violence, even controlling for the other variables, but none of the other three has a statistically significant conditional association with violence.

Models 3.9, 3.10 and 3.11 repeat this exercise with the variable for drinking heavily (DH). Both background and CHDD predict drinking heavily, but neither unemployment nor educational attainment have a significant marginal effect on drinking heavily. Model 3.12 regresses violence on drinking, background and CHDD, showing all three statistically significant conditional correlations. Drinking heavily has both direct effects on the perpetration of violence, and probably serves as a mechanism through which background and CHDD have indirect effects. Note, however, that the indirect effect of background is *negative*: Poor background reduces the likelihood of violence through the mediating mechanism of drinking, because young men from poor backgrounds are less likely to drink heavily.

Models 3.12, 3.14 and 3.15 do the same for the variables ‘gone without food’ (FD) and ‘bad neighborhood’ (BN). Poor background and unemployment increase the likelihood of going without food, and education reduces it; these effects are quite large. CHDD and unemployment increase the likelihood of living in a bad neighborhood, but the effects are small; education reduces the likelihood of living in a bad neighborhood. Both going without food and living in a bad neighborhood correlate with violence (in model 3.15). Only CHDD continues to correlate with violence in this model.

The final model (3.16) incorporates all these variables, as well as the variable for being short-tempered or impulsive. This model is very similar to model 1.4 in Table 3.1, with minor and inconsequential differences because of the omission of some of the variables used in the earlier model.

The results are more easily seen in Figure 3.1. Socio-economic background has no direct effect on violence, and if there is an indirect positive effect, it is very indirect. Background affects educational attainment but not unemployment status; neither educational attainment nor unemployment status themselves have direct effects on violence, but they do affect whether the young man lived (in 2009) in a ‘bad neighborhood’ or in a household where someone has gone without food. Only indirectly, through the latter factors, might socio-economic background, unemployment status in 2006 or educational attainment in 2006 have any effect on subsequent violence against strangers.

Socio-economic background does have an indirect negative effect, however. Drinking predicts violence, and socio-economic background has a significant but negative effect on

drinking. We do not know the reason for this relationship, but it is likely to be in part because heavy drinking is not easily afforded by young men in poor neighborhoods.

Exposure to drinking and drug-taking in the childhood home does have strong direct effects on the perpetration of violence in later life, might have indirect effects through the young men's own drinking histories, and might also have indirect effects through recent and current socio-economic circumstances.

Our results do not necessarily 'corroborate' the finding by Demombynes and Özler (2005), using district-level data from 1996, that the relationship between income and violence in South Africa has the shape of an inverted U. Their data are national, and at the level of districts, whereas ours are limited to Cape Town, and are at the level of individual young men. But it is striking, nonetheless, that neither study finds that deep poverty is associated with most violence against strangers.

3.7 Conclusion

'Local knowledge' in violent neighborhoods suggests that violence is due to, especially, poverty and unemployment, with social disintegration, disrespect, drinking and drugs also playing important roles. Our panel data provide little support for the hypothesis that a poor background or unemployment are direct causes of violence by young men against strangers, although immediate poverty might be. Experiencing violence during childhood does not predict perpetrating violence later in life, but growing up in a home where someone drank heavily or took drugs does predict subsequent violence. A history of drinking or taking drugs oneself also predicts violence, as does living in a 'bad' neighborhood. Our multivariate

analysis suggests that the evident effects of immediate poverty and neighborhood are unlikely to reflect the indirect effects of past economic conditions. Overall, deep-rooted social and economic factors are less important, directly or indirectly, than is commonly imagined. We are struck by the importance of behavioral factors (notably drinking and drug-taking) and the immediate context.

Our findings do not mean, however, that socio-economic background has no importance. It might be the case that the inter-individual differences in background simply pale into insignificance in the current context of high levels of everyday violence. Almost everybody in Cape Town is growing up in an environment that is both violent and, to some extent, is normatively tolerant of violence. Good longitudinal data at the district-level would make it easier to identify the macro-determinants of violence. There is neither evidence nor reason to suspect that increased levels of violence in the 1990s can be linked to increased drinking. Rather, it is heavy drinking which explains why some people have been more violent than others in circumstances that seem to have been generally conducive to rising violence. What the micro-level data suggests is that few young people in South Africa in the early 2000s come from backgrounds that strongly predispose them *against* the use of violence. Across society, therefore, young men from diverse backgrounds are making similar choices about the use of violence.

These findings are constrained by the limits of our data and our sample. Whilst the detailed longitudinal data on the lives of individual young people allow us to identify the antecedents of violence for some perpetrators, compared to non-perpetrators, we need to exercise some caution in inferring more general conclusions about the overall population. It is not only likely that a small proportion of young men account for a very high proportion of violence

against strangers, but is it also possible that such perpetrators are under-represented in the realized wave 5 CAPS sample. More generally, CAPS lacks data on histories of violence: We do not know when young men began to use violence, how often, in what situations or against precisely whom.²⁹ Thus our findings, while contributing to a better understanding of the drivers of violence in Cape Town, also highlight the need for further research.

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²⁹ Some evidence on this subject may be obtained from the CSVR's case studies of young violent offenders (CSVR 2008b).

3.8 Tables and Figures

<i>Table 3.1: Predictors of violence against strangers, young men aged 20-29</i>				
	Model 1.1	Model 1.2	Model 1.3	Model 1.4
Gone without food (2009)	1.8 (0.3) ***	1.7 (0.3) ***	1.6 (0.3) **	1.7 (0.3) ***
Unemployed in 2006	1.1 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)
Background in poor neighborhood (2002)	0.7 (0.1) *	0.7 (0.1) *	0.7 (0.1)	0.8 (0.2)
Passed matric by 2006	0.8 (0.1)	0.9 (0.1)	0.9 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)
Absent father during childhood		1.3 (0.2) *	1.3 (0.2)	1.3 (0.2)
Childhood home drink or drugs		1.8 (0.3) ***	1.7 (0.3) ***	1.6 (0.3) ***
Takes drugs (2006)			1.4 (0.4) *	1.2 (0.3)
Drink moderately (various waves)			1.4 (0.3)	1.3 (0.3) *
Drink heavily (various waves)			1.7 (0.3) ***	1.6 (0.3) **
Short tempered or impulsive				1.8 (0.3) ***
Bad kin (2009)				1.0 (0.1)
Bad neighborhood (2009)				1.4 (0.1) ***
Pseudo r2	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.08
N	1420	1420	1264	1264
Logistic regressions, reporting odds ratios (with standard errors in brackets). All variables are dummy variables. Significance: * p<0.1; **p <0.05; *** p<0.01.				

Table 3.2: Correlation matrix for independent variables

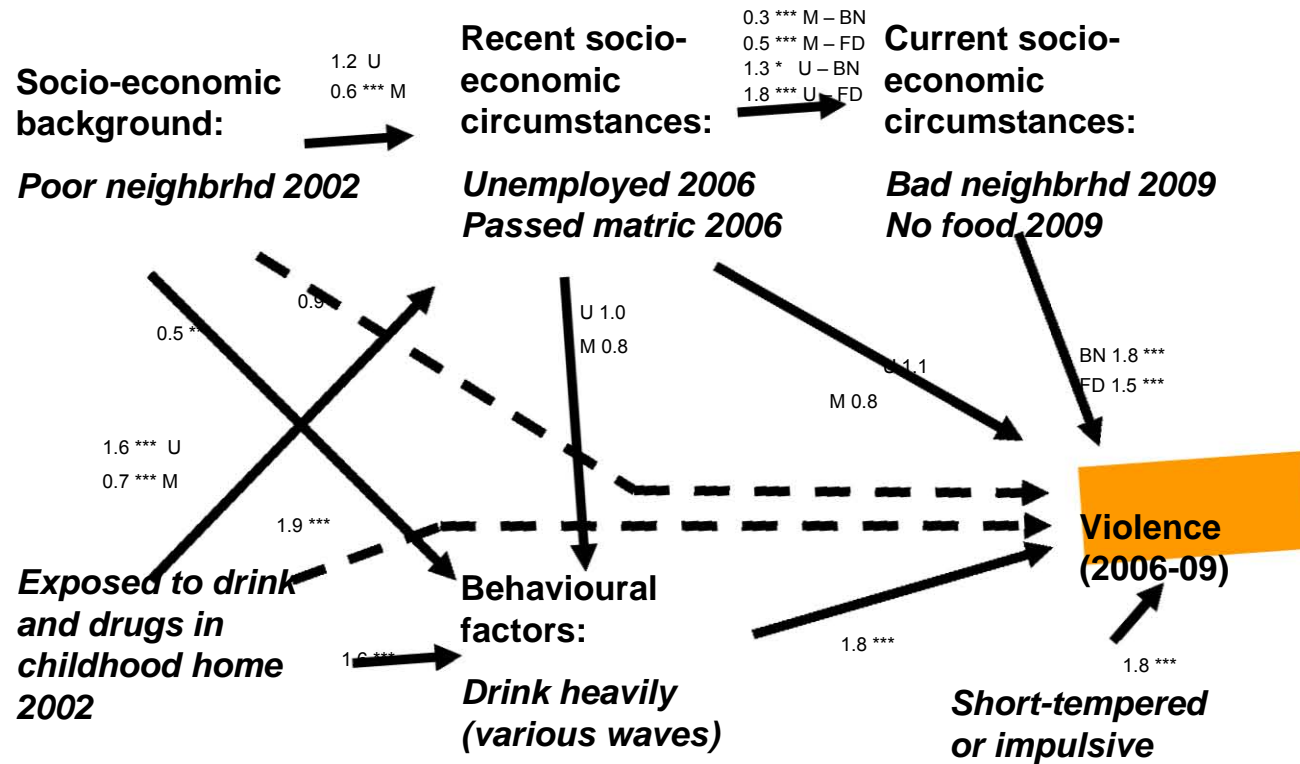
	V	BG	CDD	U	M	DH	FD	BN	STT
Violence against strangers (V)	1.00								
Background in poor neighborhood (2002) (BG)	-0.03	1.00							
Childhood home drink or drugs (2002) (CDD)	0.09	-0.05	1.00						
Unemployed in 2006 (U)	0.03	0.01	0.08	1.00					
Passed matric by 2006 (M)	-0.01	0.09	-0.06	-0.06	1.00				
Drink heavily (various waves) (DH)	0.10	0.14	0.10	0.03	0.02	1.00			
Gone without food (2009) (FD)	0.05	0.31	0.03	0.10	-0.10	-0.02	1.00		
Bad neighborhood (2009) (BN)	0.19	0.06	0.07	0.07	-0.16	0.01	-0.01	1.00	
Short tempered or impulsive (2009) (STT)	0.12	0.04	0.04	0.02	-0.09	0.03	-0.03	0.12	1.00

Model	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.9	3.10	3.11	3.12	3.13	3.14	3.15	3.16
Dependent variable	V	V	BG	U	U	M	M	V	DH	DH	DH	V	FD	BN	V	V
Background in poor neighborhood (2002) (BG)	0.9 (0.1)			1.2 (0.2)		0.6 (0.1) ***		0.9 (0.2)	0.5 (0.1) ***		0.6 (0.1) ***	0.9 (0.2)	0.3 (0.5) ***	1.2 (0.1)	0.8 (0.1)	1.0 (0.2)
Childhood home drink or drugs (2002) (CDD)		1.9 (0.3) ***	0.8 (0.1)		1.5 (0.2) **		0.7 (0.1) ***	1.8 (0.3) ***		1.6 (0.2) ***	1.6 (0.2) ***	1.7 (0.3) ***	1.1 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2) *	1.7 (0.3) ***	1.5 (0.3) **
Unemployed in 2006 (U)								1.1 (0.2)			0.8 (0.1)		1.8 (0.3) ***	1.3 (0.2) *	0.9 (0.2)	1.1 (0.3)
Passed matric by 2006 (M)								0.8 (0.1)			1.0 (0.1)		0.7 (0.1) ***	0.5 (0.1) ***	1.0 (0.2)	1.3 (0.3)
Drink heavily (various waves) (DH)												1.7 (0.3) ***				1.8 (0.3) ***
Gone without food (2009) (FD)															1.8 (0.3) ***	1.6 (0.3) **
Bad neighborhood (2009) (BN)															1.5 (0.1) ***	1.6 (0.1) ***
Short tempered or impulsive (2009)																1.8 (0.3) ***
Pseudo r2	<0.01	0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0.01	0.01	<0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.08	0.02	0.07	0.09
n	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1153	1153	1153	1153	1420	1420	1420	1153

Logistic regressions, reporting odds ratios (with standard errors in brackets). All variables are dummy variables. Significance: * p<0.1; **p <0.05; *** p<0.01.

Figure 3.1

Modelling the correlates of the perpetration of violence against strangers



Chapter 4: Weapons, Violence, and the Perpetrator-Victim Nexus in South Africa

4.1 Introduction

Crime and violence have dominated everyday life in South Africa since the end of apartheid and civil war in the 1990s, permeating conversations, filling newspaper headlines, and shaping people's thoughts and actions. In discussions of violence in South African society, as elsewhere, there is a tendency to view victims and perpetrators of violence as hardened, separate categories. Yet victimization and perpetration are frequently intertwined. Likewise, weapon carriers are frequently dichotomized as those who carry weapons for self-defense and those who use them to aggressively attack or threaten others. However, the capacity for violence inherent in a weapon means that a carrier may use it for either purpose, and thus a weapon may be carried by one person for both offensive and defensive purposes, with its use situationally determined. In a violent incident, whether a weapon or only fists are used, the difference between who is the victim and who is the perpetrator may be decided by which actor strikes first or strikes the most damaging blows.

Weapons are tools that help to change the balance of power in violent situations. In contemporary South Africa, this imbalance is frequently used to aid in the extraction of material goods or sexual compliance, or in interpersonal disputes. Weapons are used to obtain what Arendt calls "the indeed 'unquestioning obedience' that an act of violence can exact" (1970: 41). Thousands of South Africans who generally lead nonviolent lives, though, also carry weapons, hoping that if threatened or attacked, they will be able to use the violent potential of their weapon to shift the situational balance of power in their favor and repulse the threat. Weapon carrying for defense from attack is a behavior shared, though, with

another group with high prospects of violent victimization: criminal perpetrators, who are often themselves victims of assaults and robberies. Of course, a person may carry a weapon and never actually use it, but the possession of this means of violence still affects feelings of personal security and hence can change behavior.

I have presented an ambiguous picture of the nature of weapons to highlight the complexity of weapon carrying and the potential of weapons to both bolster and break down personal security. Focusing on the Cape Town area, and paying special attention to the experiences of young people, this chapter attempts to elucidate the phenomenon of weapon carrying and how it relates to violence victimization and perpetration, and perceptions of personal security. After reviewing previous findings in international and South African research on weapon carrying and violence, perceptions of weapons in Cape Town are examined using data from qualitative interviews. Next, correlates of weapon carrying among young people are analyzed using survey data from completed waves of the Cape Area Panel Study, henceforth CAPS (Lam et al. 2010). The statistical findings are discussed in comparison with the interview data and the question of the interrelation of violence victimization and perpetration. Finally, possible policy implications with regard to weapons and violence reduction more generally and avenues for further research are addressed.

Legal and scholarly definitions of weapons vary, but Brennan and Moore (2009:216) provide a good general description of a weapon as “a tool that is designed or adapted to cause physical harm.” For the purposes of this dissertation, weapon carrying refers to carrying a weapon outside the home, excluding use in sport or as an occupational requirement (i.e. gun carrying by police and security guards). Victimization and perpetration refer to experiences of suffering or carrying out threats or acts of physical violence.

4.2 Weapon Carrying in the Literature

Weapon carrying is usually addressed in the literature on violence as one of a number of interrelated 'risk factors' contributing to delinquency and suffering and perpetrating violence, alongside factors such as family dysfunction, low educational attainment, substance abuse, and peer delinquency. The majority of research on weapon carrying comes from the United States and focuses on young people, especially in urban areas. To give a few examples, in a study of youths living in "low-income, moderate to extremely high crime areas" in Chicago, Bell and Jenkins (1993) found weapon carrying to be the strongest predictor of witnessing violence, victimization, and perpetration. Histories of both perpetration and victimization were found to be significant predictors of gun and knife carrying among youth in Washington D.C.; Webster et al. (1993:1607) concluded that for knife carriers having been victims of knife threatening was more "indicative of respondents' propensity to get into fights with others who carry knives than of random victimization," and that gun carrying "could more realistically be explained as a part of an extremely aggressive, rather than defensive, system of thought and behavior." DuRant et al. (1995) found weapon carrying among adolescents of lower socioeconomic status in Georgia to be significantly associated with attacking others and being injured in physical fights.

There has also been an increasing focus on violence in schools in the U.S. since the mid-1990s. For example, Simon et al. (1999) found little difference in the predictors of weapon carrying on or off school grounds, with substance use, fighting, and exposure to school crime and violence significant for both settings. Kingery et al. (1999) similarly found in-school weapon carrying to be associated with violence perpetration and victimization and

involvement in gangs, drugs, and property crime.³⁰ In an attempt to determine the causal order of fear of victimization, victimization, and weapon carrying, Wilcox et al. (2006) concluded that prior victimization had a significant but modest effect on future weapon carrying, but that weapon carrying subsequently increased fear, risk perception and victimization. All of the above-mentioned studies of both in-school and general weapon carrying found male gender to be a significant predictor of weapon carrying.

Most U.S. studies have examined the predictors and effects of gun carrying as part of the debate on gun control measures and the efficacy of concealed weapon carrying for self-defense. While some scholars have argued that concealed gun carrying is beneficial to society in that it can help reduce violent crime victimization rates (e.g. Kleck 1988; Kleck and Gertz 1995; Lott 1998), there is much evidence to suggest that increased gun carrying in fact contributes to greater insecurity in society (e.g. McDowall et al. 1991; Cook et al. 1998; Kellermann et al. 1998), with Hemenway and Miller's (2004:398) study of California youth finding that "Even taking the self-reports as accurate and unbiased, most of the self-defense gun uses reported by these California adolescents seem to be little more than escalating arguments or armed conflicts among rivals." Wilcox (2002), looking at all types of weapon carrying, finds that weapon carrying *increases* individual likelihood of victimization, which is of much greater concern to weapon carriers than any effects on aggregate crime levels. Overall, guns may not increase the total number of violent events, but they do greatly increase the lethality of such incidents (see Cook 1981; Roth 1994).

South Africa, despite its high levels of violent crime, has seen little research specifically examining weapons, who carries them, and their effects on personal and community security. Much of the existing research has been in youth studies conducted by the Centre for Justice

³⁰ See Kingery et al. (1999:311-315) for a review of further studies of weapon carrying in schools.

and Crime Prevention. Leoschut (2009), analyzing a national survey, found the Western Cape to have the highest prevalence of self-reported weapon carrying in a sample of 12 to 22 year olds, at 9.3%, with weapon carrying nationally significantly associated with male gender, coloured and Indian/Asian identity, increasing age, and witnessing or being a victim of violence. Leoschut, Burton and Bonora (2009), comparing samples of youth criminal offenders and non-offenders ages 12 to 25, found unsurprisingly that youth offenders were much more likely to know where to access firearms in the communities and to have carried or known people who carried weapons, but a large group of non-offenders stated that it was important to have a firearm in their neighborhoods, with the highest percentage (51.2%) in the Western Cape; protection for themselves and their families were the most frequently cited reasons for this perceived importance of gun possession.

The South African Medical Research Council has also included questions on weapon carrying in its surveys on the behavior of secondary school students. The 2002 National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey found weapon carrying, defined as having ‘carried a weapon such as a gun, knife, “panga” or “kierrie” [South African terms for long knives or clubs, respectively] on one or more days in the past month,’ to be most prevalent in the Western Cape, where 38.2% of males and 7.7% of females answering affirmatively (Reddy et al. 2003). The 2008 version of the survey had similar results, with the Western Cape once again having the highest prevalence of weapon carrying, with 35.2% of males and 9.1% of females reportedly having done so (Reddy et al. 2010). In analysis of the national data in both surveys, male gender and coloured racial identity were found to be significant predictors of weapon carrying.

Liang et al. (2007), in a study of bullying in schools in Cape Town and Durban found that children classified as “bully-victims,” those who were both perpetrators and victims, were the most likely to carry weapons. Leggett (2005), reporting the results of school surveys and interviews with gang members in the high-crime suburb of Manenberg in Cape Town, found weapon carrying to be more prevalent among males than females, with 17% of males in the school survey reporting having carried a gun compared to only 1.6% of girls; guns were also found to be a fetishized component of gang life. Hennop, Potgieter and Jefferson (2001), examining police dockets in firearms related cases in Cape Town, Durban, and Pretoria also found that the vast majority of firearms offenders were male. Several recent studies have also looked at the issue of gun possession in South Africa, with Cock (2001) undertaking a gendered analysis, and Altbeker (2004), Keegan (2005), and Lamb (2008) examining gun availability, government policy, and their effects on levels of crime and violence.

Beyond the above studies, little if any published work has been done specifically focusing on the issue of who carries weapons in South Africa. This paper attempts to fill that gap by providing both qualitative evidence on perceptions of who carries weapons and why, and quantitative analysis of survey data.

4.3 Capetonians’ Views on Weapon Carrying and Use

In order to assess weapon carrying and its impact in Cape Town, it is necessary to understand how weapon carrying is viewed, especially in high crime areas where we might expect higher rates of defensive weapon carrying. Analyzing data from the ‘V’ and ‘S’ series interviews, three main themes are discernible in the interviewees’ discussion of weapons: weapons are used primarily by criminals; gun possession and use has been increasing since the transition

to democracy in 1994; and some people do carry weapons for protection or in response to victimization, but they are in the minority.

As in most societies, there is a sense that weapon use is legitimately the province of state security forces, that “the only people who are supposed to have a gun is those people who are fighting crime, like police, soldiers” (V44, male, age unreported). Beyond security forces, though, it is mainly violent criminals, almost universally seen to be young males (see chapter 3), carrying weapons, with one informant describing violence as happening because “these boys carry guns and that makes it very difficult to deal with them” (V20, male, 42). Young males who have weapons are believed to carry them with criminal intent:

“Q: Do you think that they use these guns for protection or to use when they are violent?”

A: They use guns in violent situations, especially when they mug you of your possessions. When they break into houses there is usually no one at home but when they mug you they hold you up with a gun, this mostly happens to males, and with us as females they usually harass us without even taking the gun out. But there are some who use weapons at women as well, specifically knives” (V32, female, 34).

Accounts of muggings and robberies frequently featured threats or attacks with knives and/or guns:

“We were near the fence and when I went past the first one, another one jumped in front of me and took out a gun and told me ‘old brother don’t waste our time! We want your phone and money!’ So, I even thought of fighting them off thinking they had a toy gun and they don’t have strength. Whilst I was thinking of fighting the other two came behind my back with two knives and that’s when I knew I had no chance” (V26, male, age unreported).

Among violent criminals using weapons in their work, the presence of guns has apparently been increasing. “Q: Is violence increasing as times progress? A: Yes. Back then we used to get robbed with knives but now they’ve progressed to guns” (V20, male, 42). When asked if there was less violence under apartheid, one interviewee responded, “I would say so. Well I

wasn't that active or never saw it. I mean yes, they were beating up our grandfathers but you see today there is more violence because these young boys have access to guns. Guns are very central to today's violence. I mean we never had guns during our times. Because now guns are free for anyone who wants one" (V7, male, age unreported). This mirrors the findings of Kynoch (2003: 10) in Johannesburg, whose respondents told him that "prior to the 1990s most criminals only carried knives, whereas nowadays the townships are awash with firearms and shootings are a daily occurrence."

This shift in technology has increased fear among township residents. Discussing what kind of violence she feared most, one interviewee said, "It's a gun, because you can't fight with a gun wielding person, but at least you can fight with someone who points a knife at you" (V17, female, 43). Asked if certain types of violence are more difficult to stop than others, another said, "At times people carrying guns cannot be stopped, if you hear a gunshot in the streets you never even think of going out to check...you just peek through the window, because you can see that the person is armed and you're not" (V1, male, 38).

This perceived proliferation of guns and their value both for potential resale and as a tool for criminals makes them a sought-after commodity in robberies. The purpose of robberies is "to get phones and guns," according to one interviewee (V40, male, 39). In a robbery witnessed in a supermarket in Khayelitsha, "there was a group of armed people who came in there and take the money and the guns of the people who are working there" (V4, male, 30). A pregnant tavern owner also found herself in the middle of a gun-seeking robbery: "Another guy got up and pulled out a gun and demanded money and my gun. I was dumbfounded and froze. I told them I don't have a gun. The others closed the doors and started searching my customers as well. They demanded a gun even though I told them I don't have one" (V17,

female, 42). It was suggested that it is better not to have a gun, because possessing a gun places one at higher risk of being robbed:

“You can’t say if you have a gun you are protecting, no...It’s not like that. The only way to be safer is having nothing, nothing. You must be clean and then it’s safer. Sometimes you find that if maybe a guy owns a gun, and then there are those big guys from around and they know that I own a gun. Maybe I’m cooking here at night, watching TV and they will come and say, ‘Give us your gun, it’s for us it’s not for you,’ whereas I bought it for myself, you see. And they will want it and then...maybe four guys and each have a gun – but they want that gun, there’s no other way, just give them” (S4, male, 21).

These robberies feed a large market for unlicensed firearms. It is much cheaper to purchase an unlicensed firearm than a licensed one. One informant suggested that most armed robbers get handguns from “corrupt officials...like police, they are getting it from R200” (S3, male, 26).³¹ Young people may not even be aware of the price of legal guns, since they are only exposed to the illegal market. Asked how much a gun would cost, a young interviewee responded, “R300, R400, R200...but at the shop I don’t even know the price” (S4, male, 21). Unlicensed guns are also preferable to licensed ones due to their perceived untraceability: “if you shoot someone with a licensed gun – if you are wrong they going to take your license and your gun. They better do what...they better have unlicensed guns, and they going to shoot you and there will be no evidence and the case will be closed” (S3, male, 26).

The population targeted by these gun-seeking robberies is the small, but significant group of people who carry weapons for self-defense.³² Asked how hijacking victims can protect themselves, an interviewee said “some carry knives and are ready to fight” (V42, female, 36).

Weapon carrying for self-defense is also seen as a response to police ineffectiveness:

³¹ Police weapons being stolen or sold by corrupt officers was an issue highlighted in multiple interviews. Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa said that between March 2008 and March 2010, South African police nationally reported 5,362 guns lost or stolen; over 90% of those firearms have not been recovered (Agence France-Presse, 3 June 2010).

³² In the Institute for Security Studies’ 2003 Victims of Crime Survey, only 3% of respondents said they carried a weapon ‘to protect themselves or their households from crime or violence’ (Burton et al. 2004:67).

“...some protect themselves in their homes, others carry guns and weapons because police are not always around” (V14, female, age unreported). Summing up possible means of protecting oneself from crime and violence, an interviewee stated that, “some people buy guns, some have burglar bars in their houses, some also just walk around with no valuables in their possession” (V15, female, 24). Overall, though, behavioural modifications, such as staying indoors and avoiding alcohol, and target hardening measures like putting burglar bars or extra locks on one’s home are more common than weapon carrying.

Weapon carrying is also seen to put the carrier at risk. One interviewee, despite having reported carrying a weapon in the past, said he does not generally carry one; when asked why not, he answered, “I’m scared of the police, when they catch you with the knife...they beat you. So that’s why I’m not carrying anything” (S5, male, 26). Another self-reported weapon carrier said:

“I can’t say I’m protecting myself if I go around with a knife...it’s not protecting myself, you see. The only way I can protect me is having nothing on me so I can run away. If I have a knife, no, I’m not protecting myself. I’m making it worse...Maybe, if you start with me, or want to hit me – then I’m gonna stab you – you see. But if that knife wasn’t by me, then it would be fine...easier for you to get away” (S4, male, 21).

From these interviews, we are left with a view of weapon carriers as primarily young, male violent criminals. They frequently use guns and knives in the assaults and robberies they commit, with gun use having increased since the end of apartheid. A much smaller group of weapon carriers exists who possess weapons solely for self-defense, but this may in fact make them more vulnerable to victimization, arrest, or perpetration of violence. Using survey data from CAPS, we can quantitatively analyze the factors significantly associated with weapon carrying to test perceptions and suspicions more systematically.

4.4 Weapon Carrying in Cape Town in Quantitative Analysis

This chapter analyzes data from the 2,823 CAPS respondents who answered the question in Wave 5 on weapon carrying (see below). The sample consisted of 1,550 women and 1,273 men. By race, the sample consisted of 1,311 African respondents, 1,424 coloureds, and 153 whites.

Respondents were asked, “In the past three years, have you ever carried a concealed knife or gun, outside of your home?” There are both problems with and benefits from this phrasing of the question. The range of weapons considered is more narrow than in other comparable studies, not including clubs (Leoschut 2009) or traditional African pangas and knobkerries (Reddy et al. 2003, 2010). No condition was specified as to the purpose of the weapon carrying, which is preferable to studies that ask solely about weapons carried “for protection” (e.g. Burton et al. 2009). Also, given the urban nature of our sample, weapon carrying for hunting or sport is highly unlikely, and these and occupational uses of knives or other potential weapons, like box cutters, should be excluded by the specification that the weapon have been concealed. The time window for weapon carrying is long, and there was no measure of frequency of weapon carrying within the three year period, which one might expect to lead to higher reported percentages of weapon carriers than studies with shorter time windows. However, the overall and gender-specific weapon carrying rates reported in CAPS are similar to those found by Leoschut (2009) for a 12 month time window, and much lower than those found by Reddy et al. (2003, 2010), who used a 30 day time window. Finally, this is self-report data,³³ so respondents might have answered untruthfully to avoid revealing weapon carrying, especially if they had carried an illegal weapon. This effect

³³ See Thornberry and Krohn (2000) on the issue of the reliability and validity of self-report data on crime and delinquency.

should to some extent have been mitigated by the fact that this section of the survey was filled out by the respondents themselves, so responses would not have been disclosed to field workers unless a respondent was illiterate and unable to complete the survey form him or herself.

In total, 8.7% of respondents reported having carried weapons, with 16% of males and 3% of females saying they had carried weapons. This gender differential supports the findings of Leoschut (2009:54) and the two National Youth Risk Behaviour Surveys (Reddy et al. 2003:84, 2010:46-47) in South Africa, as well as those in the international literature. In a survey of 16-19 year old students in Manenberg, almost twice as many boys as girls reported having held a loaded gun, and while 17% of boys reported having carried a gun “to protect themselves in the past,” only 1.6% of girls had done likewise (Leggett 2005:18).

The higher rate of weapon carrying among males is likely related to the masculine social context in which a capacity for violence is a way of improving one’s status and asserting one’s masculinity. As one young Sowetan informant told Cock (2001:47), “...for you to prove your manhood these days, you’ve got to own a gun.”³⁴ The gendering of weapon carrying, and especially guns, does not mean, though, that women are significantly less exposed to weapons. Female members or affiliates of gangs are frequently called upon by male members to hide guns, and may join in fights using other weapons (e.g. Kynoch 2005b:54). A young female gang member told Leggett, “Yes, we only carry knives, maybe we’ll have brick gang fights and backpack gang fights and knife gang fights, but we never went to the limit of guns. Because a girl is not supposed to wear a gun...” (2005:30). As international studies suggest, girls may be more likely to carry primarily defensive weapons

³⁴ For some men this sentiment may be a product of a ‘crisis of masculinity’ caused by structural inequalities and a resultant inability to succeed through ‘mainstream’ means, turning them instead toward violence (see e.g. Campbell 1992; Morrell 2001; Walker 2005b).

“such as pepper spray or knives, while boys might be more likely to carry firearms” (Simon et al. 1999:346; see also Erickson et al. 2006).

There are many theories as to what constitute the risk factors for a young person to become involved in violent activities. Drawing together these theories, there emerge basic broad categories of risk factors, outlined in Table 4.1. With the exception of biological factors, these hypothesized risk factors can be tested for their influence on weapon carrying using the data available from the CAPS surveys.

As the majority of weapon carriers in the sample were male, and the overwhelming perception in Cape Town is that the majority of weapon carrying and violence perpetration are carried out by males, the statistical analysis in this study focuses on the 1,273 young men in our sample. Variables corresponding to the risk factors in Table 4.1 were tested using multivariate logistic regression for significance of influence on weapon carrying. Variables were progressively incorporated into models in four categories: socioeconomic; family and neighbourhood environment; lifestyle and personality; and personal violence exposure. Examining weapon carrying by racial population group, 10% of African respondents, 8% of coloureds, and 4% of whites reported weapon carrying. Models controlled for race, as in a multivariate regression examining racial categories, African (OR 2.52, $p < 0.05$, 95%CI 1.09-5.83) and coloured (OR 2.04, $p < 0.10$, 95%CI 0.88-4.72) respondents were more likely than white respondents to report weapon carrying, though no more likely than each other to have done so. This finding diverges from those of Leoschut (2009) and Reddy et al. (2003, 2010) who found coloured identity to be a significant predictor of weapon carrying. However, many young weapon carriers are involved in gangs, which are more prevalent in coloured areas. These highly delinquent individuals would be unlikely to respond to a survey such as CAPS,

but they might have been captured at higher levels in the earlier studies which were conducted using school-based samples. The model building process is shown in Table 4.2.

The full model, Model 4, was then refined by removing insignificant variables, resulting in the final model (see Table 4.3). Dropping the insignificant variables from the full model had a very small effect on the explanatory power of the model, only reducing McFadden's pseudo R-squared value from 0.24 to 0.23.

Socioeconomic Factors: Measures of perceived or actual low socioeconomic status were not significantly related to weapon carrying in the final model. Low educational attainment also did not have a significant effect on weapon carrying. While crime and violence are often viewed as products of poverty and unemployment (see chapter 3), this is not borne out by the statistics from the CAPS sample.

Lifestyle: Using illegal drugs and having engaged in concurrent sexual partnerships, measurements of deviant lifestyle choices, were both significantly associated with weapon carrying. The association of these variables with weapon carrying suggests that weapons are a part of what Katz (1988) calls the "life of deviant action," characterized by hedonism in the form of sexual promiscuity and substance abuse, as well as profligate spending and perpetration of crime and violence. Cock (2001:47) found gun possession to be a key component of the deviant and consumeristic lifestyles of young men in Johannesburg, with one informant telling her, "If you have a BMW, a cell phone and a glamorous woman, you've got a lot; if you've got a gun as well, you've got everything." Drug use among criminals in Cape Town has also been found to be linked to higher rates of violent offending, with more arrestees in Cape Town charged with violent offenses than those in Durban and

Johannesburg, and 46.8% of these violent arrestees testing positive for at least one drug (Parry, Plüdemann, and Leggett 2004).

Personality: Personality and psychological background may predispose some people to violence and to seek a life of action. Reporting having a short temper or being impulsive significantly increased the likelihood of weapon carrying. Impulsiveness may be linked to “deficiencies in the executive functions of the brain, located in the frontal lobes,” hindering “effective self-monitoring and self-awareness of behaviour, and inhibitions regarding inappropriate or impulsive behaviours” (Mercy et al. 2002:33). This may lead to greater engagement in violent activities, including weapon carrying.

Social environment: Weapon carrying is also shaped by the family and neighborhood contexts in which young people live. Living in a socially disorganized neighborhood or having family members who use drugs or commit crimes, increasing the likelihood of deviant behaviors being accepted or normalized, made respondents significantly more likely to report carrying weapons. One would think that living in a neighborhood with drug users and criminals would be a cause of fear and feelings of insecurity. Weapon carriers, however, were significantly more likely to report feeling safe walking around their neighborhoods after dark. This is one of the few variables for which the causal direction of the relationship with weapon carrying seems clear: those who carry weapons should consequently feel safer walking in their neighborhoods after dark, as carrying a weapon bolsters one’s sense of personal security, making nighttime, when “even the gang members who are thought to be the main culprits of violence” recommend not going out (Standing 2006:27), seem less menacing. This lack of fear is also affected by gender and age, as young men “express more confidence in

their after-dark safety,” despite being the most frequent victims of violence (Skogan and Maxfield 1981:64-65).

Violence: Finally, perpetration of assaultive violence was significantly associated with weapon carrying. Having assaulted a stranger in the past three years had the largest effect of any variable on the likelihood of weapon carrying. This was expected, as weapons are tools of the trade for those who frequently engage in violence. Having assaulted a family member had a significant, but smaller effect, though if we were to include weapon carrying or use in the home, this association would likely be stronger. Being a victim of assaultive violence did not have a significant effect on weapon carrying in the final model. However, when the sample of assault perpetrators was divided into groups of ‘only perpetrators’ and ‘perpetrator-victims,’ perpetrator-victims were significantly more likely to have carried weapons than those who were only victims or had not been assaulted (see Table 4.4).

4.5 Victimization and Perpetration

The associations of both assault perpetration and assault victimization with weapon carrying beg the question of whether being a victim of violence makes one more likely to commit violence or vice versa. The temporal order cannot be inferred from the survey data, but it does appear that there is a significant nexus of perpetration and victimization, with many people experiencing both sides of violence. Among male CAPS respondents, a bivariate regression shows assault perpetrators were almost six times more likely than non-violent respondents to have been victims of assault ($p < 0.001$).

Studies in the U.S. (Jensen and Brownfield 1986; Sampson and Lauritsen 1990; Lauritsen, Sampson and Laub 1991; Shaffer and Ruback 2002; Plass and Carmody 2005), United Kingdom (Sampson and Lauritsen 1990), Iceland (Bjarnason, Sigurdardottir, and Thorlindsson 1999) and Colombia (Klevens, Duque and Ramirez 2002) have found that those engaging in criminal and deviant activity are more likely than the 'average person' to have been victims of crime, and vice versa (Nofziger and Kurtz 2005). This may result from their association with other criminal types, involvement in gang activities, living in or frequenting violent locations, and the fact that offenders make attractive targets for criminal victimization because they will be less likely than 'nonoffender-victims' to call the police, and if they do involve the authorities, their credibility will be called into question (Lauritsen et al. 1991:268). In South Africa, Keegan (2005:32) was told by an anti-crime advocate in the Western Cape that "small-time drug dealers operating more or less on their own are not protected. So, other gangs can come in and demand protection money, which can be paid in drugs, or rob him. The criminal-as-victim cannot complain to the police, so he must get a gun to protect himself." Given this vulnerability, a weapon becomes for criminals an attractive form of personal protection,³⁵ in addition to its utility in victimizing others. This may explain why weapon carrying in CAPS was so strongly associated with both violence perpetration and being a perpetrator-victim. The direction of causation may also be reversed, though, for as one respondent noted, "Some victims end up being violent and get guns and they no longer trust anyone" (V6, female, 43).

Yet what of those 'everyday people' who carry weapons for protection? Weapons can improve one's sense of personal security and in some cases can permit self-defense that foils an attempted attack. Some studies in the United States find that increased gun ownership leads to reductions in crime due to deterrence and increased self-defense ability, but this may

³⁵ Sheley and Wright, among a sample of U.S. juvenile offenders, found that protection was more often cited as a very important reason for carrying a gun among those 'who "always" or "usually" were armed with a gun when committing a crime' (1993:385).

not be generalizable internationally (see Kates and Mauser 2007). In South Africa, while weapons are occasionally employed in self-defense, the effect of weapon possession by ‘ordinary citizens’ appears anecdotally to contribute to increasing, rather than decreasing, violence.

Guns are highly valuable commodities for criminals, and so, as mentioned above, they are sought in robberies, making gun possessors targets.³⁶ In interviews, respondents argued that it is easy to tell when someone is carrying a gun, even when it is concealed. One interviewee said, “You know, when, someone, you know, is carrying a gun, you see, like, the way they act, they feel like they big and things, you know? So, you, like, kind of see it in the walks, you know, the way a guy responds when he talks to you” (S1, male, 21). This increases the likelihood of attack and robbery, with the same respondent, who had a conviction for armed robbery, saying “the people that buy the licensed ones [guns], we take those...we rob them” (S1, male, 21). Keegan (2005:82) likewise found in focus groups in Cape Town that “Although individuals carry handguns because they can be concealed, it seems that people can be trained to identify when a person is carrying a gun – based on their deportment, their body language and their actions,” turning them into targets for robbery. Thus legally owned weapons transition to illegality and contribute to future crime. As Cock (2001:48) notes, “the distinction between legal and illegal weapons is a dubious one: guns are long-life commodities and their change of legal status does not affect their lethal power. The legal supply of small arms is generally the seedbed of illegal flows.”

Even if one is carrying a weapon, in the event of an attack, it is difficult to deploy it, as criminals will seek to increase their situational advantage by sneaking up on the victim,

³⁶ Statistics on lost and stolen guns in South Africa are available, but are unreliable due to victims’ reticence to report incidents in case they might be charged with negligent handling of the firearm, a criminal offense (Chetty 2000:41).

physically disabling the victim by pinning or tying limbs, or simply outnumbering the victim. A female interviewee said that women cannot fight back against attackers because they are less powerful; when asked if there was a temptation to balance out this power differential by carrying a weapon, she replied, "No, you can't. Because even then, they don't come to you with one person, there are going to be five or six or eight of them. And you can't fight many people when you are only one person" (S2, female, 24). Another interviewee discussed this problem in the context of a housebreaking: "You can have a gun and all that but if someone comes into your house and they already have their gun drawn out, and your gun is hidden in your safe, there's nothing you can do" (V17, female, 42). In a previous study of over 500 police case files in which guns were used, Altbeker (1999) found that in over three-quarters of the incidents in which the victim was carrying a gun, the victim was disarmed by the attacker, while in only 2% of these cases was victim able to use the gun for self-defense; drawing a gun in self-defense increased the likelihood of the attacker's weapon being fired by a factor of between three and four.

Carrying a weapon may also lead to greater risk-taking and more aggressive and confrontational behavior. Keegan (2005:96) was told that a person's comportment changed when he got a gun: "He also can become more aggressive, less ready to cooperate or compromise and far more ready to take risks: 'Having a gun, you feel like no one can do anything to you.'" There is also the risk that when carrying a weapon one will overreact violently to perceived threats or attacks from others who are, in fact, unarmed. The one instance discussed in the course of interviews of a criminal being shot by someone with a licensed firearm did not occur during the commission of the crime, but afterwards, as a measure of revenge for the robbery that had taken place: "They [my boyfriend and his brother] looked for them and identified one of them by my jacket, he was wearing it. His

brother has a gun and he has the licence, he shot the one who was wearing my jacket in the leg and his friends ran off” (V13, female, 26).

An additional worry for those who would carry a weapon for protection is its potential to escalate situations—a heated argument can turn deadly if one side pulls out a gun or knife, whereas it might otherwise lead only to bruises. A final concern is the potential, mainly with guns, for accidents to occur. Combining these two issues of escalation of disputes and accidents, one study in the United States found that “For every time a gun in the home was used in a self-defense or legally justifiable shooting, there were four unintentional shootings, seven criminal assaults or homicides, and 11 attempted or completed suicides” (Kellermann et al. 1998:263).

4.6 Conclusion

In Cape Town, weapon carrying appears to be engaged in primarily by males involved in perpetration of violence and other deviant activities, such as drug use. Having committed assault is the strongest predictor of weapon carrying among young men. Carrying a weapon makes one feel safer, especially after dark, but it also increases the risk of becoming a victim of violence, with gun carriers targeted for robbery. For non-criminal weapon carriers, it is unclear that the protective benefits of weapon carrying outweigh the potential personal and societal costs.

The findings from CAPS must be treated with caution, as previously mentioned, due to the sample in Wave 5 no longer being representative. The sample also does not include the most seriously violent youth, who are currently institutionalized and who are likely “not only more

delinquent than the ‘average kid’ in the general youth population, but also considerably more delinquent than the *most delinquent* youth identified in the typical self-report survey” [emphasis original] (Cernkovich et al. 1985:706). However, a fully representative sample would in all likelihood increase the strength of the relationship between violence perpetration and weapon carrying, as well as other measures of a deviant lifestyle. Additionally, only about one-quarter of the variation in weapon carrying was explained by the final model, meaning other variables not included in CAPS, such as gang involvement, may in fact be more important in determining who carries weapons.

Weapon carrying can be a response to victimization, with weapon carriers significantly more likely to have been victims of assault, but it is more plausibly a component of violent lifestyle in which weapon carriers both perpetrate and suffer violence. This finding lends support to the idea of certain people being involved in “lifestyles of violence” (Nofziger and Kurtz 2005), an offshoot of the routine activity (Cohen and Felson 1979) and lifestyle (Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo 1978) theories of crime,³⁷ which suggest that certain people, especially the young and males, may find themselves at increased risk of violence due to engagement in activities that make them more vulnerable, such as substance use and going out at night, as well as placing them in closer proximity to criminal offenders. As Felson writes, those going out at night, for instance, “may be more likely to engage in aggression, deviance, and other behaviors that others find offensive” and “Their provocative behavior may lead them to be the target of violence” (1997:209). This combination of aggression, deviance, and risk of victimization may encourage weapon carrying. Meanwhile, the minority of weapon carriers who do so for purely defensive purposes may on occasion foil an attack,

³⁷ These theories, while slightly different, can be treated as complementary (see e.g. Miethe et al. 1987:184; Nofziger and Kurtz 2005:4-6). Vazsonyi et al. (2002) argue that though these theories tend to be based on studies from the United States, they may be validly applied cross-nationally.

but they are just as likely, if not more so, to become a victim of violence or to injure themselves or others.

In future research on the relationship of weapon carrying with victimization and perpetration, it would be helpful to ask weapon carriers about the time sequences of their behaviors and experiences, for instance if they began carrying a weapon after victimization, or if they had perpetrated a violent crime before being a victim, or vice versa. This can lead to a clearer understanding of the relationship between weapon carrying and violence. Further qualitative research in coloured and white communities in Cape Town would also be useful to examine similarities and differences between their perceptions of weapon carrying and those of the African interview subjects in this study.

The use of metal detectors, now deployed in over 100 'high-risk' schools in the Western Cape (*Cape Argus*, 14 September 2009: 1), and measures such as the South African Police Service's gun amnesties, which help remove weapons from public spaces and from general circulation,³⁸ may help improve safety and reduce the lethality of that violence which does occur. Given that the majority of those carrying weapons outside their homes appear to be involved in the perpetration of violence, further screening for weapons in public spaces seems warranted. Additionally, it is important to restrict the availability of guns on the illegal market, for, as one interviewee said, "I'd say once a firearm is involved – then it's hard to stop such crimes. They can get arrested today and that person will return tomorrow and buy a new gun and start shooting the people who reported him. I think to stop this [armed robbery] one has to find the person selling the gun" (V18, male, 29). In addition to restriction of the

³⁸ One informant specifically mentioned gun amnesties as beneficial. When asked if there were many firearms in his community, he said, 'Lots, lots. But it's better for the past few years...it's better. Because the government has introduced these things for...if you don't want your firearm you can take it [to the police]...I think it has helped a lot that thing' (S4, male, 21).

supply side, though, it is important to reduce demand for weapons. Further education about the dangers of weapon carrying is needed and could help to change norms, especially among young men in poorer areas where “everybody who wants to be respected needs to own a gun first” (S1, male, 21). Through this two-pronged approach, it may be possible to reduce the burden of serious injuries due to weapons and combat the perceived normalcy of violence in South African society.

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4.7 Tables and Figures

Table 4.1: Risk Factors for Youth Violence

Category	Factors
Biological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Birth complications • Low resting heart rate
Psychological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impulsiveness • Daring • Low intelligence • Aggressiveness
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low parental involvement • Harsh parental treatment • Low levels of family cohesion • Violent or otherwise delinquent kin
Socioeconomic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty • Low educational attainment • Income inequality • Poor prospects for employment and advancement
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High levels of crime in neighbourhood • Exposure to violent adults in neighbourhood • Community disorganization • Drug and weapon availability in neighbourhood
Lifestyle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug and alcohol abuse • Early sexual activity and promiscuity
Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norms supporting violence • Low religious socialization • Violence begetting violence
Adapted from Hawkins et al. (2000) and Mercy et al. (2002:32-38).	

Table 4.2: Multivariate Logistic Models of Weapon Carrying by Young Men, Controlling for Race

Independent Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI
Feel Poor	0.87	0.54-1.38	0.79	0.49-1.29	0.74	0.45-1.23	0.78	0.45-1.36
Bad Opportunities	1.01	0.68-1.49	0.98	0.65-1.47	0.95	0.62-1.47	0.91	0.57-1.44
Unemployed	1.49**	1.04-2.13	1.34	0.92-1.95	1.13	0.76-1.69	1.25	0.81-1.93
Food Insecurity	1.81**	1.15-2.85	1.73**	1.09-2.75	1.51*	0.94-2.43	1.21	0.72-2.04
Did Not Matriculate	1.21	0.75-1.97	1.18	0.71-1.96	1.09	0.63-1.87	1.21	0.68-2.16
Parental Absence			1.41*	0.97-2.04	1.21	0.82-1.78	1.09	0.72-1.65
Delinquent Kin			1.99***	1.38-2.88	1.82***	1.20-2.75	1.78**	1.14-2.79
Family Fights Violently			1.56	0.90-2.70	1.27	0.70-2.32	0.79	0.39-1.58
Neighborhood Social Disorganization			3.27***	1.95-5.48	2.81***	1.64-4.82	1.96**	1.12-3.44
Neighborhood Unsafe During Day			0.86	0.53-1.40	0.79	0.48-1.32	0.75	0.43-1.30
Neighborhood Unsafe at Night			0.60***	0.41-0.86	0.57***	0.38-0.84	0.58**	0.38-0.89
Use Drugs					1.63**	1.00-2.65	1.81**	1.07-3.08
Binge Drink					1.52**	1.05-2.21	1.40	0.94-2.10
Concurrent Partners					2.46***	1.68-3.60	1.73***	1.15-2.61
Temper and/or Impulsivity Problems					1.98***	1.37-2.86	1.60**	1.08-2.38
Irreligious					1.58*	0.99-2.51	1.44	0.87-2.37
Beaten as Child							1.14	0.57-2.25
Assault Victim							1.22	0.69-2.16
Assaulted Relative or Partner							1.75**	1.06-2.87
Assaulted Friend or Neighbor							2.42***	1.50-3.90
Assaulted Stranger							3.34***	2.06-5.40
N	1147		1147		1078		1076	
Pseudo R-squared	0.02		0.10		0.16		0.24	
Significance: * p<0.10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01								

Table 4.3: Final Model of Weapon Carrying by Young Males, Controlling for Race

Independent Variable	OR	95% CI
Delinquent Kin	1.66**	1.11-2.48
Neighborhood Social Disorganization	2.49***	1.47-4.20
Neighborhood Unsafe at Night	0.57***	0.39-0.83
Use Drugs	2.36***	1.49-3.75
Concurrent Partners	1.86***	1.27-2.70
Temper and/or Impulsivity Problems	1.71***	1.19-2.48
Assaulted Relative or Partner	1.72**	1.08-2.75
Assaulted Friend or Neighbor	2.34***	1.49-3.65
Assaulted Stranger	3.21***	2.06-5.00
N	1199	
Pseudo R-squared	0.23	
Significance: * p<0.10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01		

Table 4.4: Final Model of Weapon Carrying by Young Males, Controlling for Race and Distinguishing Assault Perpetrator-Victim Type

Independent Variable	OR	95% CI
Delinquent Kin	1.78***	1.19-2.68
Neighborhood Social Disorganization	2.43***	1.44-4.10
Neighborhood Unsafe at Night	0.59***	0.40-0.86
Use Drugs	2.31***	1.45-3.67
Concurrent Partners	1.86***	1.28-2.71
Temper and/or Impulsivity Problems	1.67***	1.16-2.41
Perpetrator Only	5.57***	3.78-8.22
Perpetrator-Victim	6.95***	3.89-12.42
N	1201	
Pseudo R-squared	0.24	
Significance: * p<0.10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01		

Chapter 5: Drivers of Male Perpetration of Family and Intimate Partner Violence in Cape Town

5.1 Introduction

Awareness of and concern over South Africa's extremely high levels of family and intimate partner violence (FIPV) has intensified since the end of apartheid in 1994. While the fear of violence committed by *strangers*, whether in public spaces or the home, fuels the intense fear of crime that permeates South African society, violence in the home committed by *partners or family members* may be more prevalent and a more immediate threat to many South Africans. Despite the increases in scrutiny of FIPV among the public and policymakers and the passage in 1998 of a new, more comprehensive Domestic Violence Act, violence against family members and partners remains disturbingly common, with South Africa reportedly having the world's highest rate of killings of women by intimate partners (Mathews et al. 2004).

In their efforts to understand the sources of this violence in South Africa, researchers in the social sciences and public health have most frequently examined the social, economic, and behavioral factors that predict women's violent victimization by intimate partners, using either quantitative data (Jewkes et al. 2001; Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana 2002) and qualitative research (Wood, Maforah and Jewkes 1998; Fox et al. 2007). Recently, attention has shifted to understanding what may predispose or drive men to perpetrate violence against those to whom they are supposed to be closest (Abrahams et al. 2004, 2006; Strebel et al. 2006; Boonzaier 2008; Gupta et al. 2008). As Abrahams et al. (2004:248) affirm, if we are interested in understanding the dynamics of and preventing violence in the family and in intimate relationships, it is

imperative to look more closely at the risk factors for male perpetration of such violence and not only at female victimization. This investigation in turn should enable more effective policy interventions.

Previous studies of perpetration of FIPV in South Africa have used cross-sectional survey data. In its National Youth Risk Behaviour Surveys, the Medical Research Council (MRC) asked samples of male and female secondary school students whether they had hit a girlfriend or boyfriend (Reddy et al. 2003, 2010). Other MRC studies have used cross-sectional survey data on rape perpetration by young rural males in the Eastern Cape (Jewkes et al. 2006) and perpetration of rape (Abrahams et al. 2004) and IPV (Abrahams et al. 2006) by male municipal workers in Cape Town. While researchers may ask retrospective questions about respondents' pasts, memories and perceptions of the past may be shaped by intervening experiences. It is also difficult to determine the direction of causation between variables such as drinking and FIPV perpetration when these behaviors are reported in the same time frame. These problems may be overcome, however, by using data from a panel survey, with variables from earlier waves tested to see if they predict a particular outcome in a later wave.

This chapter uses data from a panel study of young people in Cape Town that allow us to test a number of hypotheses derived from the existing literature on the perpetration of violence. We can examine, for instance, if childhood abuse reported in 2002, or poverty reported in 2005, or unemployment reported in 2006 predict subsequent FIPV perpetration, as reported in 2009.³⁹

This provides us with greater certainty as to the direction of causation for factors that have

³⁹ Different versions of the survey were used in different waves, so variables for similar attributes may have different specifications depending on their source wave. See <http://www.caps.uct.ac.za> for survey forms and documentation.

previously been found to be associated with male FIPV perpetration in South Africa. I then used multivariate analysis to examine possible causal pathways and the potential effects of race on socioeconomic predictors of FIPV perpetration. These findings are elucidated with evidence from qualitative interviews with residents of high-violence neighborhoods and the results of this analysis are discussed in terms of their implications for improved policy making in Cape Town, and possibly elsewhere, for the prevention of FIPV.

5.2 Data and Methods

Data for this chapter come from ‘V’ series interview and the CAPS surveys. The fifth wave of CAPS in 2009 collected data from over 3,000 young people, including answers to the question, “In the past three years, have you ever hit or physically assaulted a girlfriend/boyfriend/partner or any adult in your family?” (emphasis original). Unfortunately, respondents who answered affirmatively were not asked further questions about whom exactly they had assaulted, the prevalence of such violence, or the situation in which the violence had occurred. Questions about the perpetration of child abuse were not asked. Additionally, while many definitions of IPV include sexual and psychological harm to victims (see e.g. Heise and Garcia-Moreno 2002), our data only allow us to consider assault perpetration. Thus this paper examines assaultive family violence⁴⁰ and intimate partner violence (IPV) perpetration, though these types of violence and the motivations for committing them may have intricate differences.

⁴⁰ The term “family violence” is used instead of the more common “domestic violence” because our survey question asks about assaulting *any* adult family member, not only one who was cohabiting with the respondent.

In this chapter, I analyze only the perpetration of FIPV by young *men*. Other researchers in South Africa have found concern among focus groups and respondents about male victimization by female intimate partners (e.g. Strebel et al. 2006), though also some skepticism (Britton 2006:158-9), as well as high levels of reported male IPV victimization in surveys (Wong et al. 2008). Some studies in the United States conducted with the widely used Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) (Straus 1979) or its revised successor, the CTS2 (Straus et al. 1996), have found approximately equal levels of family violence and IPV reported by men and women. In South Africa, Dawes et al. (2006), using the CTS2, found women more likely to report victimization, but approximate gender symmetry in perpetration rates. However, CTS and CTS2 studies tend to obscure the fact that men are more likely than women to underestimate or underreport their own violence (Cano and Vivian 2001), that women's use of violence is more likely to be defensive, and that men are more likely to cause serious injury (see generally Kimmel 2002). As discussed in chapter 3, most violence in Cape Town is attributed to young men, and in our sample more men (12%) than women (8%) reported having committed FIPV,⁴¹ so this chapter focuses on the over 1,300 young men who responded to the fifth wave of CAPS (henceforth, 'respondents').

The thoughts of interviewees are used to augment discussion of the results of regression analysis with personal elements of the lived experience. Through this combination of methods we gain not only a clearer picture of who among young Capetonian men assaults his family members or intimate partner(s), but also of how this pattern reflects or diverges from the views of members of communities where this violence may be prevalent.

⁴¹ The 2008 National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey similarly found male secondary school students significantly more likely than their female counterparts to report having ever hit a partner (Reddy et al. 2010:48).

5.3 Formulating Hypotheses

There has been a great expansion in research on FIPV in South Africa and elsewhere in the region in the past twenty years. I use evidence from studies specifically examining risk factors for male perpetration of violence and from studies of risk factors for female victimization, especially those including variables such as female reports of partner problems with substance abuse to formulate hypotheses that are testable with the CAPS data.

1) Men who are beaten as children will be more likely to perpetrate FIPV.

Some U.S. studies suggest that the path to perpetration of FIPV may begin early in childhood with the experience of abuse committed by one's parents (e.g. Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz [1980] 2007; Hotaling and Sugarman 1986; Ehrensaft et al. 2003). Being hit as a child is a relatively common experience in South Africa, with one study of high school students in Cape Town finding that almost half had been victims of violence in the home or perpetrated by someone known to them (Ward et al. 2001). Abrahams et al. (2006) and Gupta et al. (2008) have both found childhood abuse to predict later IPV perpetration. In the CAPS sample, 8% of male respondents reported being beaten or pushed around as children.

2) Men who drink or use drugs will be more likely to perpetrate FIPV.

Abuse of alcohol or illegal drugs is a frequently cited risk factor for FIPV perpetration.⁴² South Africa has some of the highest rates of alcohol consumption and "hazardous" drinking in the world (see Parry and Dewing 2006; Harker et al. 2008; Peltzer and Ramlagan 2009) and Cape Town has a rate of drug-related crime that in 2007-8 was over three and a half times the national

⁴² Past perpetration of IPV, though, may actually predict men's later substance abuse (Abrahams et al. 2006:261).

average (City of Cape Town 2009:14). In a study of arrestees in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg, Parry et al. (2004) found that 49% of those charged with family violence offenses reported having been under the influence of alcohol at the time of the offense. Jewkes, Levin, and Penn-Kekana (2002:1609) found that female IPV victims were more likely to report their male partners drinking alcohol and having conflicts over both partners' drinking. In qualitative interviews, alcohol and drug abuse is often described as precipitating family violence and IPV (e.g. Boonzaier and de la Rey 2003; Dissel and Ngubeni 2003; Morojele et al. 2006; Fox et al. 2007). In our sample, 36% of men reported drinking across multiple waves of the survey and 27% said they binge drink in wave 5 (consuming seven or more drinks on a typical day), while 5% reported drug use across multiple waves.

3) Men of low socioeconomic status will be more likely to assault family members or partners.

4) Men who are financially dependent on a wife or girlfriend will be more likely to perpetrate FIPV.

It has been found internationally that poverty can increase the likelihood of FIPV by creating high levels of stress (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller 1999:9; Jewkes 2002). Unemployment is endemic in South Africa and poverty remains widespread. In Cape Town, 38.9% of households were living below the poverty line in 2005 (City of Cape Town 2006). The Western Cape has an unemployment rate lower than the national average, but still very high among young people (see chapter 3, footnote 28). South African studies have suggested that feelings of inadequacy and an inability to provide for oneself or one's family or partner due to lack of education,

unemployment, or financial dependence on a partner, much of this rooted in structural issues related to the post-apartheid transition, may result in a “crisis of masculinity” for some men, leading them to commit violence against family members or partners (Campbell 1992; Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana 2002; Boonzaier and de la Rey 2004; Walker 2005b; Strebel et al. 2006). Out of our sample, 39% of men reported growing up in a poor neighborhood, 25% were very poor in 2005, 17% were unemployed in 2006, and 24% lived in a food insecure household in 2009.

5) *Men in disorganized social environments will be more likely to perpetrate FIPV.*

Peer groups, kin, and neighborhoods form the social environment of young men, shaping their norms and influencing their behavior. In interviews with IPV victims in Gauteng Province, Dissel and Ngubeni were told that “the abuser was adversely influenced by his bad friends” (2003:6), though it is uncertain if this means the abuser was receiving peer support for his own behavior, or was emulating the behavior of his peers. Within CAPS we can measure peer delinquency and its possible effect through responses to a question asking whether respondents’ had any friends who “have been in trouble with the police because of their behaviour.” We can also examine the effects of having kin or knowing people in the neighborhood who use drugs, steal, or are otherwise engaged in criminal activity or have been incarcerated. These are measures of social disorganization at a family and community level, and can determine the role models available to young men. In the CAPS sample, 40% of men reported friends having been in trouble with the police, 31% have delinquent kin, and 62% live in “bad,” socially disorganized neighborhoods.

6) *Impulsive and short-tempered men will be more likely to commit FIPV.*

Some men may also be behaviorally predisposed to violence, acting impulsively and having short tempers, leading them to lash out at those closest to them—family and partners. This explanation for FIPV has been frequently suggested by participants in qualitative studies in South Africa (e.g. Campbell 1992:624; Dissel and Ngubeni 2003). In our sample, 41% of men reported having either a short temper or impulsivity issues.

7) *Men who report having had concurrent sexual partners will be more likely to perpetrate FIPV.*

Multiple concurrent sexual partnerships occur frequently in South Africa, with a review of the literature on sexual behavior of those aged 14-35 suggesting that “between 10% and 30% of sexually active young people have more than one sexual partner at a given time, with more men than women engaging in concurrent multiple partnering” (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø 2003:151). Mah (2010:105), looking at only those CAPS respondents who in 2005 reported having had “full penetrative sex,” found that 20.4% of young men reported concurrency. While suspected infidelity on the part of a woman may cause her husband or boyfriend to attack her, an unfaithful man may also beat his partner due to conflict about his own affairs (Kim and Motsei 2002:1246; Abrahams et al. 2006). Among young male CAPS respondents, 41% reported having engaged in concurrent partnerships.

8) *Men who normatively endorse violence against women will be more likely to perpetrate FIPV.*

Finally, one of the most immediate predictors of IPV perpetration may be adherence to norms endorsing the use of violence against partners or women in general. These norms supporting violent behavior may be shaped by one's background circumstances or experiences, but they can have a direct and immediate effect on perpetration of violence, a relationship found in South Africa (Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana 2002; Kim and Motsei 2002; Strebel et al. 2006) and elsewhere (e.g. Heise et al. 1999; Andersson et al. 2007).⁴³ Of the group in our sample who were asked vignette questions about the acceptability of IPV (n=901), 17% said IPV was acceptable for a given reason.

Using the data from CAPS, we can next test these hypotheses by examining their bivariate and multivariate relationships with perpetration of FIPV using logistic regression analysis. This analysis will then be extended in an attempt to determine causal pathways from background and behavioral factors of respondents' to reporting FIPV perpetration in the fifth wave of CAPS.

5.4 Who Commits FIPV? Quantitative Analysis

In total, out of the 1,369 male respondents in wave 5 of CAPS, approximately one in eight reported having hit a partner or adult family member in the three years since they had last been interviewed. FIPV perpetration rates are slightly higher among younger respondents, with the

⁴³ We have data specifically on personal norms, though community norms are also likely to effect on perpetration of family violence and IPV (Koenig et al. 2006).

highest reported rate among 20 year olds at about 17%, though age is not significant in bivariate regression (not shown). Among African male respondents, about 17% reported FIPV perpetration, compared to 10% of coloured and only 2% of white male respondents.⁴⁴ This pattern matches Reddy et al.'s (2003, 2010) findings that African male students were the most likely to report assaulting a girlfriend, followed by coloured and white students.

Our finding that about 12% of respondents self-reported FIPV perpetration in the past three years is in line with previous research. Abrahams et al.'s (2006) study in Cape Town found 9% of men reporting having committed IPV in the past year and 42% in the past ten years, putting our numbers perhaps at the low end of the range, but well within the realm of statistical possibility, considering also their inclusion of older men. Gupta et al. (2008) found that 28% of men reported perpetrating IPV in their current or most recent marriage or cohabiting relationship, but this is in a nationally representative survey (not Cape Town-specific) and only among married or cohabiting men, of whom we have relatively few in CAPS, as well as using an indeterminate time frame.

In bivariate analysis (see Table 5.1), being beaten in childhood is *not* significantly associated with FIPV perpetration, contradicting Abrahams et al. (2006) and Gupta et al.'s (2008) findings that South African men who had suffered childhood abuse were about three times more likely to report perpetrating IPV. Exposure to delinquent behavior among one's peers and in the surrounding environment was significant. Reporting most friends using drugs in 2005 and exposure to drugs in the neighborhood and among kin were all significant and positive, as were other measures of neighborhood crime and disorder and delinquent kin. Drug use and heavy

⁴⁴ It must be noted that the white sample is quite small (n=96) and should not be considered as representative.

alcohol use both were significantly associated with FIPV perpetration, results supporting those of Abrahams et al. (2006), who found past and current drug and alcohol use significant.

Low socio-economic status was associated with FIPV perpetration, though this only applied for real, lived poverty, rather than perceived poverty. Growing up in a poor household, being very poor in 2005, and being unemployed in 2006 all predict FIPV perpetration between 2006 and 2009. Household income per capita quintile in 2006 had a significant negative effect on FIPV perpetration, meaning that the higher one's per capita household income, the less likely one was to report perpetration. Low educational attainment, operationalized as not having finished "matric" year and graduating secondary school was weakly significant.⁴⁵ Gupta et al. (2008) likewise found that higher income significantly reduced the likelihood of IPV perpetration, but they found no effect for employment status. Feeling poor as a child and feeling in 2005 that one had few opportunities for the future were not significant. While the impact of poverty may lead to greater stress and low self-esteem and subsequently to violence, as predicted by general strain theory (see Agnew 1992; Agnew 2001), it may also be that poverty is associated with other mediating factors, such as neighborhood environment, an issue which will be explored further below. Despite general measures of poverty predicting FIPV perpetration, our measure of economic inequality within a relationship, reporting receiving material support from a partner in 2006 (which might trigger a crisis of masculinity) was not significant.

Unsurprisingly, those men who reported impulsive tendencies or having a short temper were also more likely to report having committed FIPV. Male sexual concurrency was also found to be significant, and is the strongest predictor of FIPV perpetration in bivariate analysis, with men

⁴⁵ In order to use this educational variable, it is necessary to control for age.

who reported having ever engaged in concurrent sexual relationships almost three and a half times more likely to report FIPV perpetration. This mirrors Abrahams et al.'s (2006) finding that men reporting concurrent partners were three times more likely to report IPV perpetration in the past ten years and more than twice as likely to report perpetration in the past year. Men who reported that religion did not play a role in their lives were significantly more likely to report FIPV perpetration, supporting Abrahams et al.'s (2006) finding that religious men in Cape Town were about 30% less likely to have committed IPV in the past year.

Norms may shape violence by legitimating attacks against lower-status individuals (in the case of a patriarchal society, women) or by more generally legitimating the use of violence as a means of resolving conflict (see WHO 2009a). Respondents were presented with different versions of a vignette involving IPV, four of which included a husband hitting his wife: 1) for suspected sexual infidelity; 2) for finding out she was cheating; 3) due to unhappiness with her cooking; 4) for her disobeying his will. Since different respondents received different versions, the number of respondents for each individual vignette was quite small; thus a variable was created measuring acceptance of IPV regardless of the scenario.⁴⁶ Accepting husband-to-wife violence when presented with a vignette in 2009 was also significantly associated with FIPV perpetration, though the effect was weaker than the one Abrahams et al. (2006) found using a very different index of attitudes concerning gender.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Running bivariate regressions for each of the vignettes reveals that men who endorse IPV for suspected sexual infidelity (OR 2.88; 95%CI 1.36-6.11; $p < 0.01$) or for disobedience (OR 2.51; 95%CI 0.90-6.99; $p < 0.10$) are significantly more likely to perpetrate FIPV.

⁴⁷ On variation in norms, see chapter 6.

Bivariate analysis of the CAPS data largely supports the hypotheses and the previous findings of Abrahams et al. (2006) and Gupta et al. (2008), with a few key differences. In contrast to those studies, bivariate analysis using CAPS data suggests that childhood abuse is not significant. It may be that what is actually more important is not the experience of violence, but rather exposure to violence as a witness, especially violence against one's mother. This is suggested in a number of studies (e.g. Campbell 1992; Boonzaier 2008; Gupta et al. 2008). CAPS, however, did not measure this specific form of exposure during childhood. Past and present economic hardship are associated with FIPV perpetration, including unemployment, in contrast to Gupta et al. (2008). One's surrounding environment emerges as important, with peer, kin, and neighborhood behavior and circumstances all influencing FIPV perpetration, but individual behavior and psychology also have significant effects. Finally, attitudes accepting violence against women were found to be significant. Multivariate analysis is necessary, though, to control for possible interrelationships between independent variables.

5.4.1 Multivariate Analysis

Using variables that emerged as significant in bivariate analysis, we can create multivariate models to examine which factors remain significant predictors of FIPV perpetration. Categories of variables are progressively incorporated. Wherever possible, independent variables from wave 4 (2006) or earlier are included so as to be more certain of the direction of causality with respect to a dependent variable from wave 5 (2009). The results are shown in Table 5.2 with adjusted odds ratios reported and 95% confidence intervals in parentheses.

Model 2.1 incorporates only socioeconomic variables: whether the respondent lived in a poor neighborhood in 2002, whether he was very poor in 2005 as determined by household per capita income, whether he was unemployed in 2006, and household food insecurity 2009 (measured by his reporting someone in his household going without food at least once during the previous month).⁴⁸ Model 2.2 adds in variables on peer, kin, and neighborhood influences, while Model 2.3 adds variables on the lifestyle choices of the respondent, while Model 2.4 incorporates personality variables to create a full model. This full model explains about 14% of the variation in men's perpetration of FIPV.

Unemployment, food insecurity, drinking routinely, partner concurrency, living in a bad neighborhood, and temper/impulsivity are significant in Model 2.4. Model 2.5 contains only these significant variables and explains about 11% of the variation in FIPV perpetration among our sample. The r-squared for Model 2.5 is slightly lower than that for Model 2.4, but it has a larger sample size and greater specificity. In Model 2.6, the variable for accepting IPV perpetration in vignette scenarios is added to Model 2.5.⁴⁹ Poor background and deep poverty become significant, while unemployment and food insecurity are no longer significant. Acceptance of IPV is not itself significant.

These analyses suggest that recent and immediate poverty, neighborhood disorder, consistent alcohol use, partner concurrency, and psychological volatility predict FIPV perpetration. Abrahams et al. (2006) similarly found in multivariate analysis that "problematic" drinking and conflict about the man's sexual affairs were associated with FIPV perpetration over the past ten

⁴⁸ These specific variables were used in this temporal order because not every variable was assessed in every wave of the survey.

⁴⁹ The IPV acceptance variable reduces the n by over one-third.

years, though they also found drug use and justification of hitting women significant. It may be that drug use is in fact a product of socioeconomic background circumstances for which Abrahams et al. (2006) did not control.

While dummy variables for race were significant in bivariate regressions, they are not significant when added to either Model 2.4 or Model 2.5 (results not shown), as also found in Gupta et al.'s (2008) multivariate analysis. While this might lead one to conclude that race is not a significant driver of FIPV perpetration in our sample, race is in fact a proxy for socioeconomic disadvantage. Including race variables in Model 2.1, coming from a poor background loses significance. Poverty's association with race reflects the disadvantage that has continued to afflict nonwhite populations since the end of apartheid, especially in Cape Town, with the African population also absorbing many economic migrants from the Eastern Cape who have found it difficult to prosper. Similarly, while variables from the earliest waves, such as coming from a poor neighborhood, may lose significance in multivariate models, it could be that their effects are being captured by associated variables from more recent waves. For instance, measures of poverty are highly correlated across the waves of CAPS, with poor background (2002), deep poverty (2005), and food insecurity (2009) all correlated at about 30%. Using an adapted path analysis⁵⁰ by constructing multiple regression models that control for relationships between independent variables in a sequential, temporal manner following Heimer (1997) and Seekings and Thaler (2010), I can capture both direct and indirect effects of background variables on FIPV perpetration, thus improving our predictive capacity.

⁵⁰ See e.g. Alwin and Hauser (1975) on path analysis.

5.4.2 Path Analysis

Models are constructed to examine both relationships between background variables and FIPV perpetration and between the background variables themselves (see Table 5.3). Beginning with growing up in a poor neighborhood in Model 3.1, we test its bivariate relationship with FIPV perpetration, then test its relationship with recent deep poverty (Model 3.2), which is significant. This process is continued moving forward temporally from the Wave 1 variable of poor background from 2002 through to variables from Wave 5 in 2009 such as food insecurity. Model 3.3 shows that while poverty in 2005 directly predicts unemployment in 2006, coming from a poor background does not have a direct effect. However, a poor background has an indirect effect due to its significant relationship with poverty. Not passing matric, however, is directly and significantly related to both a poor background and recent deep poverty (Model 3.4). Coming from a poor background has a significant *negative* effect on drinking routinely (Models 3.6 and 3.7), an issue that will be discussed further below. Food insecurity in 2009 is predicted by prior low socioeconomic status, though drinking behavior is not significant (Model 3.9). Temper and impulsivity issues are negatively predicted by not matriculating (Model 3.11), while living in a bad neighborhood in 2009 is significantly predicted only by not passing matric (Model 3.10). Partner concurrency is significantly and positively predicted by coming from a poor background, unemployment, and not matriculating (Model 3.12).

In the final model (3.13), including all variables from the previous models, drinking routinely has a significant direct effect and predicts FIPV perpetration. Living in a bad neighborhood, food insecurity, temper/impulsivity, and partner concurrency are all significantly and directly

associated with FIPV perpetration; however, since these variables are from Wave 5 of the CAPS study in 2009, it is not possible to infer causality, since respondents were asked about their FIPV perpetration between 2006 and 2009. However, it seems unlikely that FIPV perpetration would have been the cause of these other conditions.⁵¹ Figure 5.1 shows the interrelationships of variables and how a variable with no direct significant effect on FIPV perpetration may have indirect effects, mediated by intervening variables. For instance, coming from a poor background has indirect effects on FIPV perpetration through its significant prediction of all other variables (with the exception of bad neighborhood, though even here, it has an indirect effect through its relationship with unemployment).

The foregoing analysis has provided us with a sense of what variables are associated with FIPV perpetration in the full sample. While previous studies have controlled for race in their multivariate regressions (Abrahams et al. 2006; Gupta et al. 2008), and this is useful for knowing general risk factors for violence, it obscures important differences that may exist between racial groups, to the detriment of the practical application of the finding. South Africa remains socially and residentially segregated by race (see Seekings 2008, 2011), and as many FIPV prevention programs are community-based, it is important to know if different risk factors should be targeted in different racial contexts.

In a path analysis of the African sample (Table 5.5), coming from a poor background is not significantly associated with more recent poverty (Model 5.1). However, it is significantly and negatively associated with drinking routinely (Model 5.2). Routine drug use is not significantly

⁵¹ While acceptance of IPV was significantly predicted by unemployment, not matriculating, and drinking routinely, it was not significant when added to Model 4.12.

associated with either a poor background or recent poverty (not shown). Temper/impulsivity is significantly associated with a poor background and drug use (Model 5.6), while partner concurrency had no significant associations with variables from previous waves (Model 5.7).⁵² In the final model (5.8), drinking routinely, temper/impulsivity, and partner concurrency had significant direct relationships with FIPV perpetration. As Figure 5.2 shows, there are fewer indirect effects and fewer predictive factors of FIPV perpetration among the African sample as compared to the sample as a whole, though the r-squared value of the final model is only 1% lower than that of the final model for the full sample (11% vs. 12%).

In the coloured sample, measures of the two lowest income quintiles in 2005 were both significantly associated with FIPV perpetration in bivariate analysis (see Table 5.1), so a composite ‘poor or very poor’ dummy variable was created, including those in either category. In the path analysis for the coloured sample (see Table 5.7), only variables from Wave 5—delinquent kin, binge drinking, partner concurrency, and acceptance of IPV—were directly significantly associated with FIPV perpetration in the full model (7.10). Adding in acceptance of IPV, this new variable was significant and binge drinking was no longer significant (Model 7.12). However, other than unemployment, the background variables from earlier waves all had some indirect effects (see Figure 5.3); for instance being poor or very poor in 2005 significantly predicted partner concurrency.

While there are some common risk factors that cut across racial lines (heavy drinking and partner concurrency), socioeconomic factors, components of the social environment, psychological

⁵² Neither unemployment nor not matriculating was significant if added to the models for either temper/impulsivity or partner concurrency.

volatility, norms, and drug use are of varying significance in Cape Town depending on one's racial community.

5.5 Discussion

Capetonians tend to believe that poverty and unemployment are causes of violent crime. Our interviewees suggest that living in poverty and lacking employment strains households and a man's inability to provide for his partner or family can cause him to feel his masculinity is in doubt. "Most of times people say that, no one is working in the house. When a woman needs help from a man, a man becomes angry" (V23, female, age unreported). Unemployment is noted as a particular issue. "Mostly the reason for violence between a man and woman is caused by frustration. When men are jobless they are usually angry and take it out on women" (V32, female, 34). This is an especially great problem in households where the woman is employed and the man is not. "Other cases include when a wife is employed and the husband is not – the husband usually gets the feeling that he is being undermined as the man-figure of the family and he feels unvalued and unrespected. So he'll resort to violence to show his authority and manhood in the household" (V38, male, 41). In path analysis, though, poverty and unemployment tended to have only indirect effects on FIPV perpetration through their prediction of other factors, such as alcohol abuse and delinquent family and neighborhood environments. This is similar to the finding in chapter 3 for violence against strangers that while interviewees give poverty and unemployment primacy in their accounting of the causes of violence, low socioeconomic status has only indirect effects on violence perpetration.

Unemployment does have a weak but significant effect on the quality of one's neighborhood in the full sample. Living in a neighborhood characterized by substance abuse and criminality has a direct and significant influence on FIPV perpetration. While this relationship has not been widely explored in South Africa, social disorganization at the neighborhood level has been found to predict IPV perpetration in the United States (Benson et al. 2003).

Interviewees believe that financial strain may be exacerbated by alcohol abuse as numerous respondents suggested that conflict and violence occur "when the man wants beer or alcohol and he takes the family's money to buy that liquor. And if you stop him from taking the food money he will beat you up" (V41, female, 37). Yet in our statistical analysis, poverty is strongly and *negatively* associated with drinking routinely for the full and African samples, and only weakly positively associated for the coloured sample. As discussed in chapter 3, there is a dichotomous distribution of alcohol consumption within the CAPS panel, with 37% respondents in 2009 reporting never consuming alcohol or not having drunk in the past year, but 57% of young men reporting consuming alcohol in the past month. Over one-third of males reported drinking across multiple waves of the survey from 2002 to 2006 and over one-quarter reported binge drinking in 2009. Drinking across multiple waves of the study significantly predicted FIPV perpetration in all analyses, though for the coloured sample its effect is mediated by current binge drinking behavior.

While we do not have measures for the circumstances under which FIPV was perpetrated, alcohol consumption's effects may be more situational. Asked why violence occurs in relationships, one interviewee said, "Let's say I drink a lot of alcohol and keep on coming home

drunk and angering my woman. We end up fighting about my drunkenness” (V20, male, 42). In one case of extreme violence, alcohol was blamed for causing, or at least contributing to the FIPV perpetration. “I don’t know what was wrong, they were fighting and so the husband stabbed his wife. And we were all shocked at night and we could hear the fighting. But you see the husband was also a bit drunk – so I think alcohol also played a role” (V26, male, age unreported).

Drinking across multiple waves of CAPS is not significantly associated with reported temper or impulsivity issues in any sample. Temper and impulsivity were significantly associated with FIPV perpetration in the African sample and were predicted by routine drug use. Temper and impulsivity were not widely mentioned by interviewees, but one interviewee suggested that it may be mediated by alcohol (rather than drug) abuse. “My baby’s father was quite violent – he had a temper and he wasn’t a drinker. So every time he drank liquor he would become very violent and even be jealous of our neighbours – so he would abuse me by beating me up” (V43, female, 34).

Sexual partner concurrency emerged as one of the variables most strongly associated with FIPV perpetration in all analyses. It was raised as an issue by one interviewee in particular, who said “Nowadays – when fathers have affairs, they brag to their wives and tell them that they are getting better sex outside and then that continues and flares up domestic violence. And some women will not tolerate that and there can be violence and the torture from the father can become physical. Let’s say the wife asks or interrogates the husband and the husband gets irritated and ends up beating her up” (V14, female, age unreported). One woman spoke from her

own experience about this problem. “You see the reason my husband beats me up is because he is having an affair and I am jealous and continuously complaining about it. The worst thing is that his girlfriends call him here at home and he can’t even answer his phone at home. And he is also careless of his belongings – for instance I usually come across pieces of paper with phone numbers from girls. So I end up being the bad person when I ask about these phone numbers and calls from women. Which is when I get slapped – for asking” (V19, female, 32). Partner concurrency had the strongest effect in the African sample, and appears to be more prevalent in the African community, with over half of African male respondents report having had concurrent partners compared to about 30% of coloured respondents and 8% of whites.

Attitudes accepting IPV appear to have a significant effect on FIPV perpetration only in the coloured sample. However, it may be that norms of acceptance of IPV against women are simply more widespread among African respondents, held by both those who do and do not perpetrate FIPV.⁵³ Our survey vignettes asked about the acceptability of a man hitting a woman for suspected sexual infidelity, discovered sexual infidelity, the man’s displeasure with her cooking, and her disobedience of the man; all of these themes were mentioned by interviewees. A man is likely to become violent when he is “thinking that she is cheating or that he is being made a fool” (V13, female, 26). Male sexual jealousy and suspicion can lead women to be beaten “even for visiting friends,” for as one woman reported, her abusive boyfriend became “possessive and jealous especially when I was with friends” (V37, female, 35). Men also feel they have a right to hit a woman for cheating, one reinforced “Because he knows that she is not gonna hit him back” (V45, female, 38).

⁵³ As discussed by Dibble and Straus (1980), norms of acceptance of FIPV perpetration do not necessarily translate into perpetration.

Beatings over food preparation are also apparently common. “When a women maybe has cooked but not what the man wants to eat he will beat her up” (V8, female, 36). “Another example is when your husband wants food forcefully and you are too tired to cook. He will beat you up – because he doesn’t want cook. He wants you to cook” (V41, female, 37). While IPV was generally considered unjustified by interviewees, female disobedience of men was seen as problematic and a reason for conflict and violence. “A man must not beat a woman. But there are certain things and circumstance where a man can maybe slap her once – just to shock her and put her in line. Because some women abuse men and swear at men – so a man can maybe put her in her place once in a while” (V6, female, 43). As women have gained more equality in many aspects of South African society, many have also become more assertive in the home, challenging their husbands’ wills. Confronting the patriarchal order, though, can come at a price, as “now it’s easier for men to beat their wives because they exchange words equally so men turn not to tolerate that; they choose to beat them” (V5, female, 33).

5.6 Conclusion

South Africa’s great structural inequalities remain racially tainted by the legacy of apartheid and these combine with high rates of substance abuse and partner concurrency to play a significant role in driving FIPV perpetration in Cape Town. Interviewees suggest that, at least in the African community, socioeconomic conditions have led men to feel that their masculinity is in doubt. Men may seek to bolster their masculinity by cultivating concurrent sexual partnerships and also by violently imposing their will domestically. While empowering women may help reduce FIPV perpetration (see Kim et al. 2007), it may also exacerbate existing gender-based tensions. At the

same time, measures that promote job creation and economic growth targeted toward the most impoverished sector of the population may help reduce the strain on men and thus to prevent FIPV, but additional income could also be spent by men on alcohol and supporting concurrent sexual relationships.

As years of empty rhetoric and ineffective programs aimed at uplifting the impoverished masses have shown little in the way of results, it may be more productive to attack the behavioral and normative roots of FIPV perpetration. South Africa, and the Western Cape in particular, have extremely high rates of alcohol consumption and “hazardous drinking” (see Parry and Dewing 2006; Peltzer and Ramlagan 2009); reducing these would have a direct public health benefit, and should help prevent FIPV.

Norms about sexual behavior are of great concern, as partner concurrency has the strongest direct effect on FIPV perpetration in our analysis in both the African and coloured samples. Shifting norms about the acceptability of partner concurrency has been a component of HIV/AIDS education programs; these efforts should be redoubled due to their potential to reduce FIPV perpetration as well. Reduction of physical FIPV perpetration may also help in combating the high rates of rape in South Africa, as IPV perpetrators are significantly more likely to commit both intimate partner and stranger rape (Jewkes et al. 2006).

Changing cultural norms specifically about violence is also imperative. Despite Fox et al.’s (2007:586) objections to the “pathologizing” and “reifying” effects of “cultural” explanations for violence, our quantitative and qualitative results concur with those of others (Jewkes and

Abrahams 2002; Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana 2002:1605) in finding that a patriarchal “culture of violence” is a likely driver of FIPV perpetration. Male violence in general must cease to be seen as an acceptable or ordinary means of managing family and intimate relationships. The tide may be beginning to turn, though, as this violence is now seen by some as old fashioned. “Because let me say this comes from olden days, where a woman was told to respect a man no matter what the man is doing, no matter the man is beating you. So our parents were telling us to respect a man, but that time has elapsed, but there are still people who do not know that time has passed” (V23, female, age unreported).

Educational programs about FIPV and counseling of male offenders can help keep men from becoming or persisting as FIPV perpetrators. Workshops with community organizations and non-state law enforcement groups such as community policing forums and neighborhood watches can reinforce the seriousness of FIPV and the need for its punishment, helping overcome the influence of neighborhood social disorganization on FIPV perpetration (see Benson et al. 2005), which was found to be significant in the full sample. An attitudinal shift is also necessary within the South African Police Service, whose officers spend much of their time policing FIPV, but are often unsympathetic or unhelpful to victims (see e.g. Artz 2001; Steinberg 2008:136-55).

In South Africa’s extremely security conscious society, vast sums of money are spent on securing and policing public spaces and installing gates, alarms, and other measures to keep criminals out of homes. Yet it is in private, within the confines of homes, where much of the country’s violence occurs. Given that being either a victim or perpetrator of FIPV may increase the likelihood of perpetrating violence outside the home (Hotaling, Straus and Lincoln 1989),

crime prevention in South Africa might be well served by spending less time worrying about electric fences and security cameras and more time concentrating on social relationships and norms.

5.7 Tables and Figures

Table 5.1: Bivariate Logistic Regressions of Possible Drivers of FIPV Perpetration

Independent Variable	Full Sample		African Sample		Coloured Sample	
	Odds Ratio	95% CI	Odds Ratio	95% CI	Odds Ratio	95% CI
Age (2006)	0.95	0.89, 1.01	0.94	0.86, 1.02	0.92	0.83, 1.03
Hit as child (2002)	1.02	0.57, 1.82	0.91	0.34, 2.43	1.25	0.59, 2.63
Felt poor as child (2006)	1.26	0.89, 1.79	0.68	0.41, 1.16	1.18	0.69, 2.01
Grew up in poor neighborhood (2002)	1.74***	1.26, 2.41	0.82	0.49, 1.37	1.64	0.86, 3.15
Poor (2005)	1.31	0.92, 1.87	0.78	0.47, 1.28	1.86**	1.10, 3.16
Very poor (2005)	2.02***	1.42, 2.87	1.49*	0.94, 2.36	1.72*	0.91, 3.26
Poor or very poor (2005)					2.55***	1.51, 4.31
Perceived low opportunities (2005)	1.01	0.66, 1.52	0.88	0.48, 1.62	1.24	0.69, 2.23
Household per capita income quintile (2005)	0.73***	0.64, 0.83	0.94	0.77, 1.14	0.69***	0.56, 0.85
Had not finished matric (2006)†	1.42*	0.97, 2.07	0.93	0.56, 1.55	1.92**	1.02, 3.62
Received financial support from partner (2006)	1.04	0.55, 1.96	1.19	0.46, 2.52	0.67	0.19, 2.35
Unemployed (2006)	1.79***	1.22, 2.64	1.34	0.79, 2.28	2.22***	1.25, 3.95
Household food insecurity (2009)	2.62***	1.87, 3.67	1.75**	1.12, 2.73	2.62***	1.87, 3.67
Drank in 1 wave (2002, 2005, 2006)	1.24	0.87, 1.77	1.41	0.88, 2.26	1.11	0.62, 1.96
Drank in multiple waves (2002, 2005, 2006)	1.45**	1.04, 2.01	1.97***	1.26, 3.09	1.22	0.73, 2.04
Most friends drink (2005)	1.15	0.81, 1.65	1.31	0.81, 2.11	1.29	0.72, 2.30
Binge drink (2009)	1.83***	1.31, 2.57	1.95***	1.22, 3.12	1.90**	1.14, 3.19
Used drugs in 1 wave (2002, 2005, 2006)	1.28	0.81, 2.03	1.20	0.58, 2.48	1.45	0.77, 2.71
Used drugs in multiple waves (2002, 2005, 2006)	2.58***	1.45, 4.58	4.09**	1.08, 15.50	3.40***	1.72, 6.73
Most friends use drugs (2005)	1.47*	0.99, 2.16	1.09	0.53, 2.25	2.24***	1.32, 3.83
Had concurrent partners (2009)	3.43***	2.42, 4.86	2.83***	1.70, 4.71	3.14***	1.85, 5.33
Kin in jail (2009)	1.79***	1.26, 2.55	1.14	0.70, 1.87	2.53***	1.50, 4.29
Kin use drugs (2009)	1.44**	1.02, 2.05	0.68	0.39, 1.17	2.92***	1.75, 4.88
Kin steal (2009)	1.68***	1.18, 2.39	0.93	0.56, 1.55	2.76***	1.64, 4.65
Composite bad kin measure (2009)	1.84***	1.32, 2.56	0.98	0.61, 1.56	3.46***	2.05, 5.84
People in neighborhood use drugs (2009)	2.57***	1.82, 3.63	2.77***	1.78, 4.33	3.62***	1.76, 7.45
People in neighborhood steal (2009)	2.65***	1.84, 3.82	1.95***	1.23, 3.08	3.69***	1.85, 7.38
Criminals in neighborhood (2009)	2.61***	1.79, 3.80	1.90***	1.19, 3.05	3.67***	1.78, 7.56
Composite bad neighborhood measure (2009)	3.07***	2.04, 4.64	2.31***	1.39, 3.85	4.06***	1.82, 9.06
Friends have been in trouble with police (2005)	1.33	0.93, 1.89	1.43	0.87, 2.36	1.70*	0.98, 2.97
Temper or impulsive (2009)	1.98***	1.43, 2.75	2.43***	1.56, 3.79	2.14***	1.26, 3.61
Irreligious (2009)	1.96***	1.38, 2.78	1.18	0.76, 1.82	3.58***	1.45, 8.82
Generally mistrustful of people (2009)	0.83	0.60, 1.14	0.83	0.50, 1.21	1.02	0.61, 1.69
African	2.12***	1.52, 2.94				
Coloured	0.61***	0.44, 0.85				
White	0.14***	0.03, 0.59				
Accept IPV against women (2009)	2.15***	1.35, 3.41	1.69	0.89, 3.20	2.64***	1.33, 5.25

Significance: * p<10%; ** p<5%; *** p<1%. †Adjusted for age. All variables are dummy variables except for age and household per capita income by quintile. Year of data collection in parentheses.

Table 5.2: Multivariate Regression Models Predicting Reported FIPV Perpetration Between 2006 and 2009, Adjusted for Age

	Model 2.1	Model 2.2	Model 2.3	Model 2.4	Model 2.5	Model 2.6
Poor background (2002)	1.31 (0.89, 1.92)	1.31 (0.88, 1.97)	1.38 (0.89, 2.13)	1.39 (0.90, 2.17)		1.81 (1.04, 3.17) **
Deep poverty (2005)	1.29 (0.86, 1.94)	1.39 (0.91, 2.11)	1.37 (0.88, 2.13)	1.36 (0.87, 2.13)		1.71 (0.99, 2.97) *
Unemployed (2006)	1.65 (1.08, 2.51) **	1.60 (1.03, 2.48) **	1.52 (0.96, 2.42) *	1.52 (0.96, 2.42) *	1.49 (0.97, 2.27) *	1.44 (0.80, 2.59)
No matric (2006)	1.26 (0.83, 1.90)	1.02 (0.66, 1.57)	0.87 (0.55, 1.38)	0.80 (0.50, 1.28)		0.86 (0.49, 1.51)
No food (2009)	1.86 (1.23, 2.82) ***	2.04 (1.33, 3.15) ***	1.71 (1.08, 2.70) **	1.68 (1.05, 2.67) **	1.81 (1.22, 2.67) ***	1.08 (0.59, 1.98)
Most friends use drugs (2005)		1.52 (0.98, 2.36) *	1.25 (0.77, 2.03)	1.21 (0.73, 1.98)		1.27 (0.69, 2.34)
Bad kin (2009)		1.10 (0.73, 1.66)	0.97 (0.63, 1.50)	1.06 (0.67, 1.65)		0.82 (0.46, 1.45)
Bad neighborhood (2009)		3.01 (1.77, 5.13) ***	2.61 (1.49, 4.55) ***	2.45 (1.40, 4.31) ***	1.91 (1.22, 2.99) ***	1.93 (1.03, 3.63) **
Drink routinely (2002, 2005, 2006)			1.85 (1.20, 2.84) ***	1.90 (1.23, 2.92) ***	1.76 (1.20, 2.58) ***	2.46 (1.43, 4.22) ***
Binge drink (2009)			1.52 (1.00, 2.31) *	1.42 (0.93, 2.17)		1.37 (0.80, 2.34)
Use drugs routinely (2002, 2005, 2006)			1.87 (0.84, 4.15)	1.68 (0.75, 3.76)		2.04 (0.77, 5.41)
Had concurrent partners (2009)			2.57 (1.67, 3.96) ***	2.58 (1.68, 3.98) ***	2.92 (1.99, 4.30) ***	2.06 (1.22, 3.48) ***
Short temper and/or impulsive (2009)				1.85 (1.22, 2.81) ***	1.98 (1.37, 2.86) ***	1.68 (1.00, 2.82) *
Irreligious (2009)				1.24 (0.77, 2.00)		1.17 (0.64, 2.14)
Accept IPV (2009)						1.44 (0.79, 2.62)
R-squared	0.04	0.08	0.13	0.14	0.11	0.13
N	1106	1023	952	952	1132	626†

All variables are dummy variables. Significance: * p<10%; ** p<5%; *** p<1%.

† A smaller subsample of men was asked questions about the acceptability of IPV, hence the reduced n in this model.

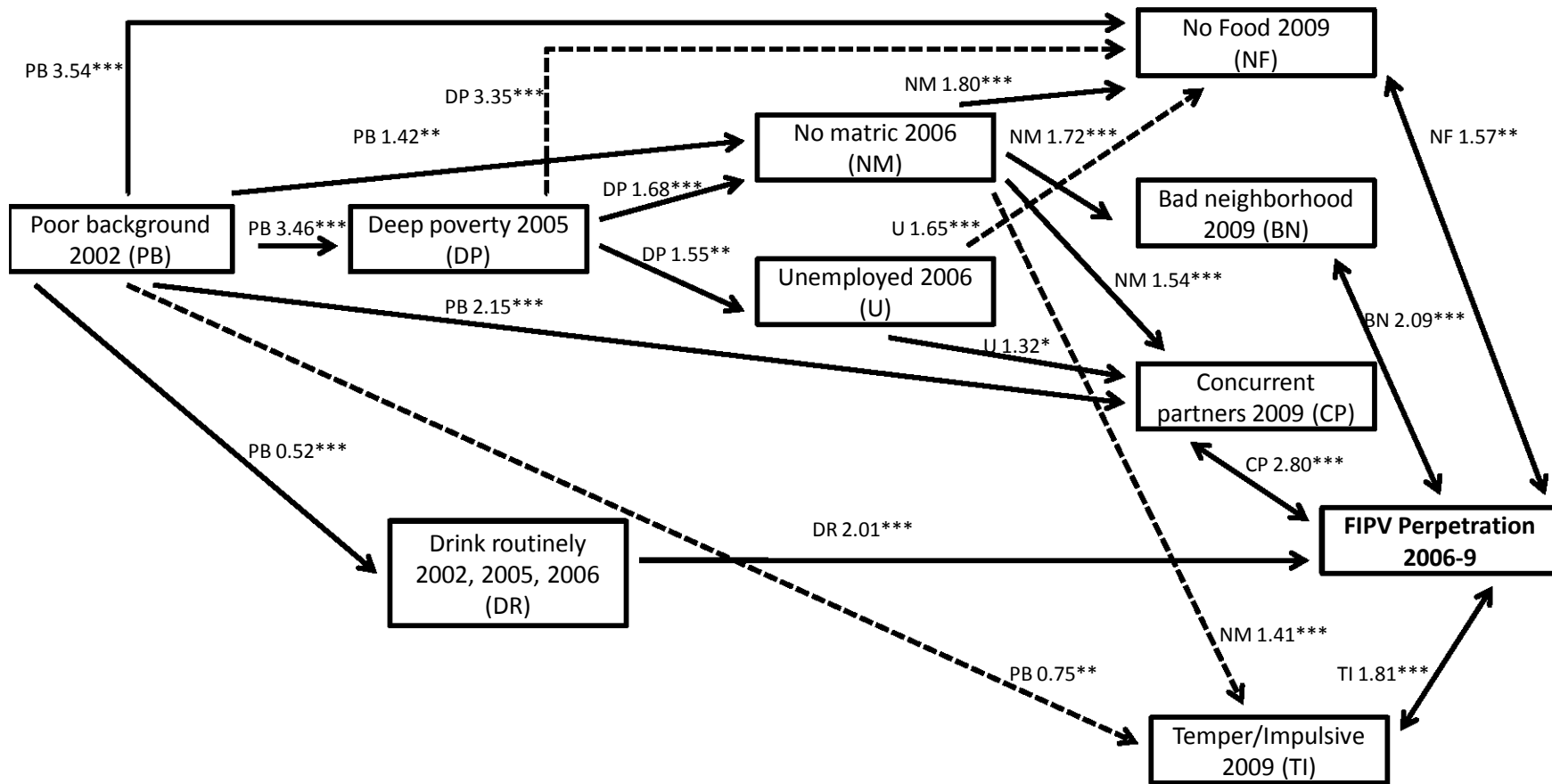
Table 5.3: Path Analysis of Variables Associated with Men's FIPV Perpetration, Adjusted for Age

Model →	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.9	3.10	3.11	3.12	3.13
Dependent Variable →	FIPV	DP	U	NM	FIPV	DR	DR	FIPV	NF	BN	TI	CP	FIPV
Poor background 2002 (PB)	1.72 (1.22, 2.42) ***	3.46 (2.62, 4.58) ***	0.99 (0.71, 1.37)	1.42 (1.08, 1.86) **	1.49 (1.02, 2.16) **	0.50 (0.39, 0.65) ***	0.52 (0.40, 0.69) ***	1.67 (1.14, 2.45) ***	3.54 (2.57, 4.87) ***	0.98 (0.75, 1.28)	0.75 (0.58, 0.98) **	2.15 (1.64, 2.81) ***	1.37 (0.91, 2.08)
Deep poverty 2005 (DP)			1.55 (1.10, 2.19) **	1.68 (1.23, 2.29) ***	1.49 (1.01, 2.21) **		0.86 (0.64, 1.17)	1.55 (1.05, 2.31) **	3.35 (2.43, 4.61) ***	1.04 (0.78, 1.41)	0.98 (0.74, 1.31)	1.19 (0.89, 1.61)	1.34 (0.88, 2.06)
Unemployment 2006 (U)					1.71 (1.12, 2.60) **			1.74 (1.14, 2.65) **	1.65 (1.14, 2.41) ***	1.29 (0.92, 1.80)	1.14 (0.83, 1.56)	1.32 (0.96, 1.83) *	1.49 (0.95, 2.33)
No matric 2006 (NM)					1.33 (0.89, 2.00)			1.32 (0.87, 1.98)	1.80 (1.27, 2.54) ***	1.72 (1.32, 2.24) ***	1.41 (1.09, 1.83) ***	1.54 (1.17, 2.03) ***	0.98 (0.64, 1.52)
Drink routinely 2002, 2005, 2006 (DR)								2.08, (1.41, 3.07) ***	1.05 (0.75, 1.48)	1.08 (0.83, 1.41)	1.04 (0.81, 1.35)	1.16 (0.88, 1.53)	2.01 (1.34, 3.03) ***
No food 2009 (NF)													1.57 (1.01, 2.44) **
Bad neighborhood 2009 (BN)													2.09 (1.29, 3.39) ***
Temper/impulsive 2009 (TI)													1.81 (1.22, 2.67) ***
Concurrent partners (CP)													2.80 (1.86, 4.22) ***
McFadden's pseudo r-squared	0.01	0.07	<0.01	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.16	0.02	<0.01	0.04	0.12
N	1217	1106	1106	1106	1106	1217	1106	1106	1106	1106	1106	1028	1028

Significance: * p<10%; ** p<5%; *** p<1%.

Figure 5.1

Selected Significant Pathways Predicting Male FIPV Perpetration



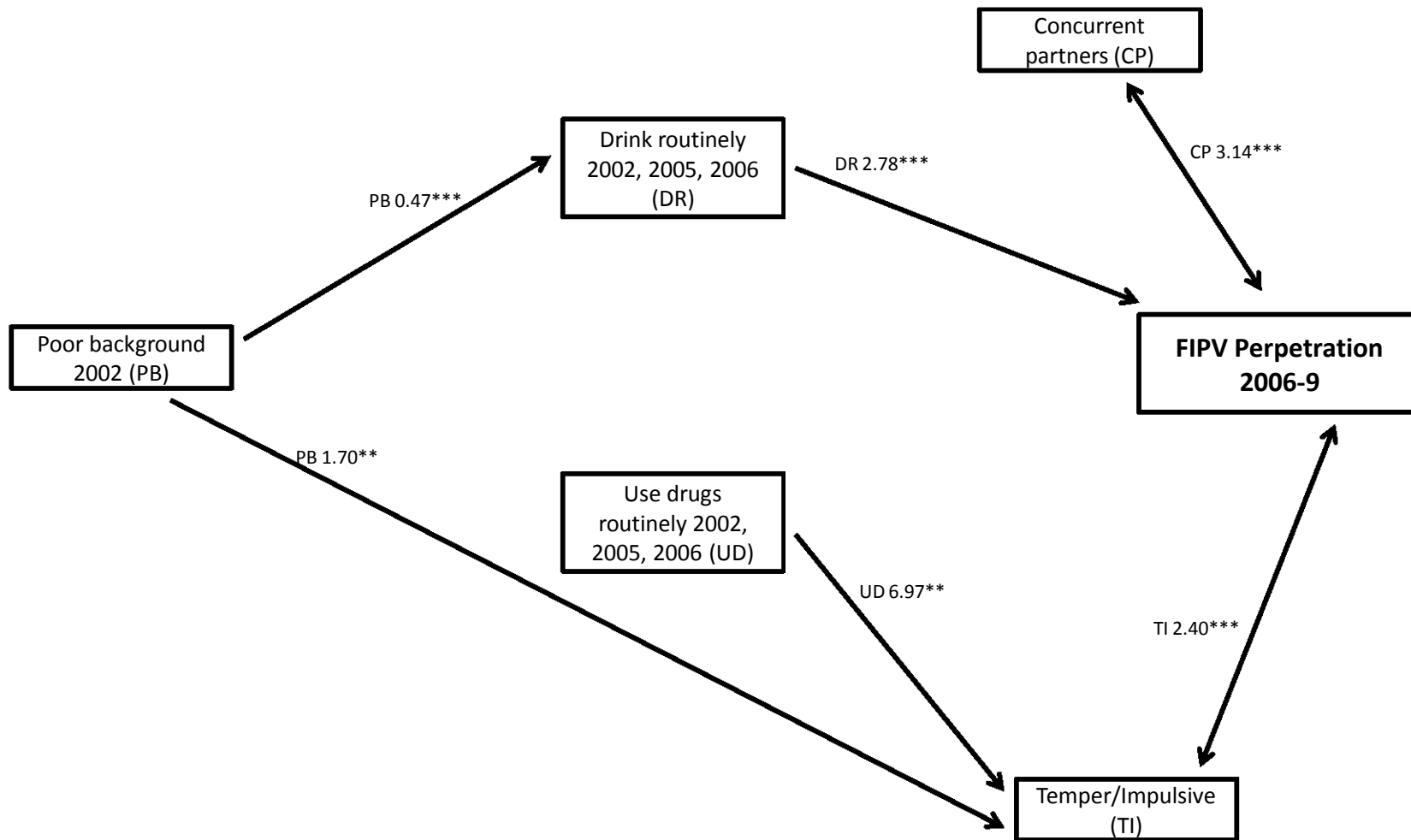
Independent variable and adjusted odds ratios reported above lines. Significance: * p<0.10; ** p<5%; *** p<1%.

Table 5.5: Path Analysis of Variables Associated with African Men's FIPV Perpetration, Adjusted for Age

Model →	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.6	5.7	5.8
Dependent Variable →	DP	FIPV	DR	DR	FIPV	TI	CP	FIPV
Poor background 2002 (PB)	1.08 (0.69, 1.69)	0.85 (0.48, 1.51)	0.47 (0.30, 0.73) ***	0.45 (0.28, 0.73) ***	0.91 (0.52, 1.57)	1.70 (1.03, 2.80) **	0.86 (0.54, 1.38)	1.02 (0.55, 1.91)
Deep poverty 2005 (DP)		1.36 (0.84, 2.22)		0.79 (0.52, 1.21)	1.56 (0.98, 2.49) *	1.12 (0.76, 1.65)	0.76 (0.52, 1.12)	1.50 (0.89, 2.54)
Drink routinely 2002, 2005, 2006 (DR)					2.09 (1.30, 3.38) ***	0.96 (0.62, 1.50)	1.27 (0.82, 1.96)	2.78 (1.58, 4.90) ***
Use drugs routinely 2002, 2005, 2006 (UD)						6.97 (1.35, 35.91) **	1.67 (0.32, 8.89)	2.37 (0.45, 12.57)
Temper/impulsive 2009 (TI)								2.40 (1.41, 4.07) ***
Concurrent partners 2009 (CP)								3.14 (1.72, 5.74) ***
McFadden's pseudo r-squared	0.01	0.01	0.09	0.10	0.02	0.02	<0.01	0.11
N	467	467	524	467	508	467	450	450
Significance: * p<10%; ** p<5%; *** p<1%.								

Figure 5.2

Selected Significant Pathways Predicting FIPV Perpetration for African Men



Independent variable and adjusted odds ratios reported above lines. Significance: * p<0.10; ** p<5%; *** p<1%.

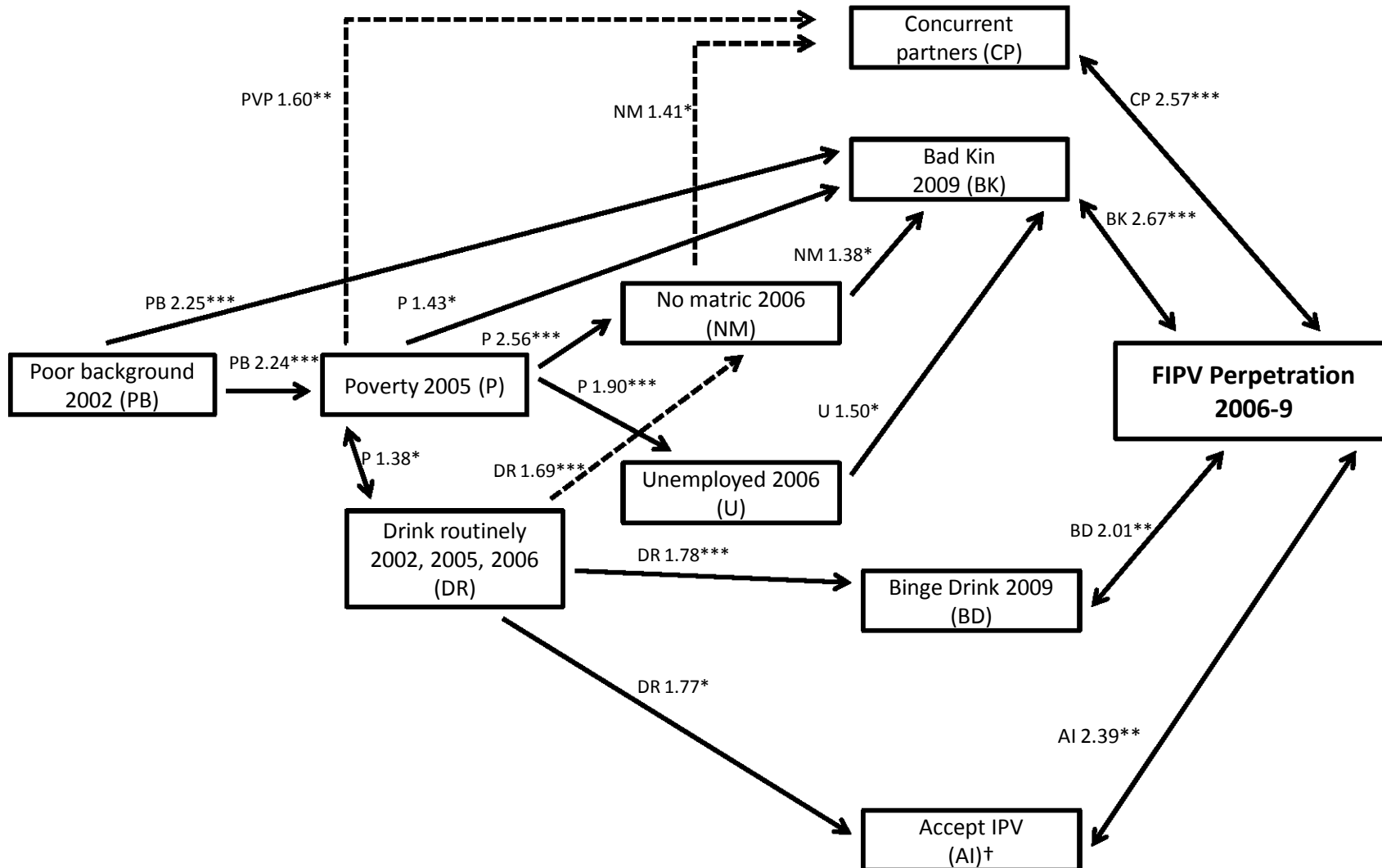
Table 5.7: Path Analysis of Variables Associated with Coloured Men’s FIPV Perpetration, Adjusted for Age

Model →	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.6	7.7	7.8	7.9	7.10	7.11	7.12
Dependent Variable →	P	FIPV	DR	U	NM	FIPV	BK	BD	CP	FIPV	AI	FIPV
Poor background 2002 (PB)	2.11 (1.31, 3.42) ***	1.24 (0.59, 2.58)	0.82 (0.49, 1.36)	1.37 (0.78, 2.41)	1.50 (0.86, 2.50)	1.18 (0.56, 2.48)	2.25 (1.38, 3.64) ***	0.65 (0.37, 1.13)	1.04 (0.62, 1.74)	0.92 (0.41, 2.07)	1.11 (0.50, 2.44)	1.39 (0.59, 3.30)
Poverty 2005 (P)		2.04 (1.17, 3.57) **	1.38 (0.98, 1.95) *	1.90 (1.25, 2.90) ***	2.56 (1.78, 3.68) ***	1.73 (0.98, 3.07) *	1.43 (1.00, 2.04) *	0.87 (0.60, 1.25)	1.60 (1.09, 2.34) **	1.66 (0.91, 3.03)	1.22 (0.69, 2.18)	1.91 (0.92, 3.94)
Drink routinely 2002, 2005, 2006 (DR)				0.74 (0.47, 1.16)	1.69 (1.17, 2.45) ***	1.48 (0.84, 2.62)	0.94 (0.65, 1.35)	1.78 (1.24, 2.55) ***	1.24 (0.84, 1.81)	1.53 (0.83, 2.83)	1.77 (1.00, 3.13) *	1.21 (0.57, 2.57)
Unemployment 2006 (U)						2.07 (1.13, 3.78) **	1.50 (0.98, 2.31) *	0.83 (0.52, 1.32)	1.34 (0.85, 2.10)	1.73 (0.00, 3.35)	0.83 (0.38, 1.81)	1.00 (0.42, 2.38)
No matric 2006 (NM)						1.53 (0.80, 2.94)	1.38 (0.95, 2.02) *	1.24 (0.93, 1.07)	1.41 (0.94, 2.12) *	1.20 (0.60, 2.43)	1.35 (0.74, 2.47)	1.08 (0.48, 2.43)
Bad kin 2009 (BK)										2.67 (1.47, 4.88) ***		2.34 (1.15, 4.77) **
Binge Drink 2009 (BD)										2.01 (1.11, 3.61) **		1.62 (0.79, 3.29)
Concurrent partners (CP)										2.57 (1.43, 4.62) ***		2.44 (1.22, 4.90) **
Accept IPV 2009 (AI)												2.39 (1.05, 5.43) **
McFadden’s pseudo r-squared	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.03	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.13	0.02	0.12
N	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	561	561	404	365

Significance: * p<10%; ** p<5%; *** p<1%.

Figure 5.3

Selected Significant Pathways Predicting FIPV Perpetration for Coloured Men



Independent variable and adjusted odds ratios reported above lines. Significance: * p<0.10; ** p<5%; *** p<1%. † Variable from Model x.11, so n=365.

Chapter 6: Norms About Intimate Partner Violence among Young Urban South Africans

6.1 Introduction

Violence, whether directly experienced or simply feared, is a fact of everyday life in contemporary South Africa. Much of this violence takes place between spouses or non-married intimate partners. Women's victimization is of special concern, as South Africa reportedly has the world's highest rate of intimate partner homicide against women (Mathews et al. 2004), a very high rate of reported rape, and a female intimate partner violence victimization rate of 25-40% (see Jewkes, Sikwewiya, Morrell, and Dunkle 2009:6). Young people in South Africa are frequently exposed to violence within their own families, with 26% of urban youths exposed to violent family disputes, almost 40% of which involved weapons (Leoschut and Burton 2006:30-31).

With so much exposure to violence during childhood and adolescence, especially exposure to violence between parents, young people may be desensitized to violence, creating a sense of violence as a normal means of resolving disputes and predisposing them to commit intimate partner violence (IPV) later in life (see e.g. Boonzaier 2008: 195; Dawes et al. 2006: 231). Norms of acceptance of violence have been highlighted as a driver of IPV perpetration and victimization both in South Africa (Abrahams et al. 2006; Campbell 1992; Kim and Motsei 2002; Strebel et al. 2006; Wood, Maforah, and Jewkes 1998) and more generally (e.g. Andersson, Ho-Foster, Mitchell, Scheepers and Goldstein 2007; Faramarzi, Esmailzadeh, and Mosavi 2005; Heise, Ellsberg, and Gottemoeller 1999; WHO 2010). However, despite these findings of the significant contribution of norms to IPV perpetration and victimization, research

on IPV acceptance norms and their predictors has been lacking in South Africa, with the exception of two studies comparing gender differences in attitudes toward IPV among nurses in the Northern Cape (Kim and Motsei 2002) and a national sample of doctors (Peltzer et al. 2003). Given the contribution of norms to the persistence of IPV, this paper examines who believes IPV is acceptable and in which situations it is seen as such, as well as what background factors may increase or decrease normative acceptance of IPV.

While cross-nationally men have been found to have higher rates of acceptance of IPV (see Nayak, Byrne, Martin, and Abraham 2003⁵⁴; Simon et al. 2001), previous studies in African countries have counter-intuitively found strong norms of acceptance of IPV among women. In a study in rural Uganda, more women than men agreed with the use of violence by a man against his female partner in all the situations with which they were presented (Koenig et al. 2003). In nationally representative surveys of women aged 15 to 49, a vast majority of women (85%) in Zambia (Lawoko 2006) and over half (53%) of women in Zimbabwe (Hindin 2003) agreed with the perpetration of IPV by a man against a woman in at least one hypothetical situation, while over half of Nigerian women aged 10 to 49 agreed that men are justified in hitting their wives (Oyediran and Isiugo-Abanihe 2005). Andersson et al. (2007) conducted a survey in eight Southern African countries,⁵⁵ and while only Malawi had higher female rates of acceptance of IPV against women, the male and female acceptance rates were close in the other countries. Meanwhile in South Africa, some women may view beating as an essential part of a relationship and an “expression of love” (Wood and Jewkes 1997:42-43; see also Kim and Motsei

⁵⁴ This study included India, Japan, Kuwait, and the United States. A review of studies from around the world found nearly identical rates of approval of IPV among men and women in several Latin American cities for the reason of suspected female adultery, with slightly more women than men approving of IPV in Santiago, Chile and San Salvador, El Salvador (Heise et al. 1999:6).

⁵⁵ Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

2002:1246). Thus I predict that acceptance of IPV will be significantly higher among African women than among other demographic groups. Based on previous survey findings about acceptance of IPV in South Africa (CASE 1998), I further predict that African respondents as a group will be more likely than coloured and white respondents to approve of IPV.

Theoretical findings from previous studies provide us with additional socioeconomic factors we may hypothesize are associated with acceptance of IPV: [1] perpetration of violence (Cauffman, Feldman, Jensen, and Arnett 2000; Andersson et al. 2007); [2] being hit by parents as a child (Widom 1989; Brengden, Vitaro, Tremblay, and Wanner 2002; Ozcakir, Bayram, Ergin, Selimoglu, and Bilgel 2008); [3] IPV victimization (Faramarzi et al. 2005); [4] low household wealth (Hindin 2003; Oyediran and Isiugo-Abanihe 2005); [5] community social disorganization (Miles-Doan 1998; Taylor and Sorenson 2005; Koenig, Stephenson, Ahmed, Jejeebhoy, and Campbell 2006; Gracia and Herrero 2007); [6] peer violence and attitudes (DeKeseredy 1988; Smit 1991; Brengden et al. 2002; Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, and Stark 2003); and [7] lower levels of education (Oyediran and Isiugo-Abanihe 2005; Lawoko 2006), and [8] alcohol abuse (Ozcakir et al. 2008).⁵⁶

Given the contribution of norms to the persistence of IPV, this chapter examines who among young South Africans believes IPV is acceptable and in which situations IPV perpetration is seen as legitimate. Socioeconomic and behavioral factors that may increase or decrease normative acceptance of IPV are tested, with special attention paid to gender and, due to the continuing salience of apartheid-era racial categories in South Africa (see Seekings 2008, 2011), racial

⁵⁶ Unfortunately, we do not have a very good measure for economic and power inequalities within relationships, a risk factor suggested by several studies (Dangor, Hoff, and Scott 1998; Boonzaier and de la Rey 2004; Strebel et al. 2006).

differences in norms. After a discussion of the data and methods used, a mixed-methods quantitative and qualitative analysis is conducted to determine factors associated with acceptance of IPV. The findings are then considered in the context of their implications for policy measures to reduce IPV in South Africa and possibilities for further study.

6.2 Data and Methods

This chapter uses a mixed methods approach to examine norms about the acceptability of IPV in both quantitative and qualitative perspective. The fifth wave of CAPS included a set of vignettes asking respondents whether or not they agreed with the use of violence in a given situation. Vignettes are “short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond” (Finch 1987:105). For one of the survey questions, respondents were asked if they agreed with the use of violence amongst intimate partners in one of six hypothetical scenarios (each respondent was randomly assigned one of the six scenarios). Respondents could answer yes; maybe/it depends; no, it is wrong; or don’t know. For the purposes of this chapter, answers of ‘yes’ or ‘maybe/it depends’ are coded as agreeing that IPV is acceptable in a given scenario. Four of the scenarios involved a husband hitting his wife: 1) for suspecting that she has been having sex with another man; 2) for finding out definitively that she has been having sex with another man; 3) for preparing food he does not like; or 4) for disobeying him. These vignettes outline scenarios that have been used in different international studies (Hindin 2003; Nayak et al. 2003; Koenig et al. 2003; Gage 2005; Oyediran and Isiugo-Abanihe 2005; Lawoko 2006), have been highlighted in qualitative studies in South Africa (e.g. Campbell 1992; Wood and Jewkes 1997; Kim and Motsei 2002; Strebel et al. 2006),

and accord with triggers of IPV against women mentioned by our qualitative interviewees (see below). The other two scenarios involved a woman asking her brother to assault her boyfriend to “teach him a lesson” because she 5) suspects him of having sex with another woman, or 6) finds out definitively that he has been having sex with another woman.⁵⁷ Respondents filled out the survey questionnaires by hand and were assured of confidentiality.

Qualitative data come from the ‘V’ series interviews. Living in neighborhoods where violence is an everyday occurrence and concern, the interviewees are expected to have intimate knowledge of the dynamics of violence in their communities, and thus well-formed opinions about whether or not there are situations in which IPV might be considered acceptable. Interviewees were presented with four vignettes about violence, two of which were about IPV, and were asked for their responses.

Vignettes are especially useful in the examination of norms because, as Hughes (1998:384) writes, “Vignettes highlight selected parts of the real world that can help unpackage individuals’ perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes to a wide range of social issues. The relative distance between the vignette and the respondent can facilitate this.” Vignettes are also particularly useful in studies of norms about intimate relationships, “to which it is difficult to gain access in empirical study” (Finch 1987:107; i.e. respondents may be reluctant to discuss norms in the context of their own relationships). Violence is often situational (Collins 2008), and vignettes simulate situational differences, allowing us to examine the acceptability same types of violence in different situational settings. The situational nature of violence itself also means that for many

⁵⁷ The scenarios are not congruent, as in the male victim scenarios, he is not directly assaulted by the girlfriend; however, in both the male and female the vignettes involving sexual infidelity, the reason for resorting to violence is the same.

types of violence, “Values and norms legitimizing [sic] or encouraging violence are situationally specific” (Bernburg and Thorlindsson 2005:460). The inclusion of vignettes in the CAPS survey, while not allowing us to examine how one individual’s norms might vary between situations, permits us to systematically analyze who possesses norms accepting of IPV and in what situations IPV might be considered more justifiable. In contrast, the interview vignettes allow for open ended responses, providing a more nuanced view of norms about IPV in the interviewees’ communities. Through this combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, we should gain a more complete understanding of norms about IPV in Cape Town.

6.3 Norms About IPV in the CAPS Sample

From Wave 5 of CAPS we have data on the situational norms about IPV of slightly under 3,000 young people. The sample is 54% female and 46% male, and when broken down by racial group is 44% African, 49% coloured, and 7% white. As the white sample is so small, it is included in a pooled multivariate analysis of approval of IPV in any of the situations, but is excluded from multivariate analysis of approval of IPV in the individual situations.⁵⁸

An examination of responses to the IPV vignettes involving husband-on-wife violence reveals gender imbalances in the approval of violence, with higher percentages of women approving of IPV in all scenarios (see Table 6.1). When the sample is broken down by gender *and* race, however, it becomes clear that the gender imbalance in the approval of IPV against women is driven mainly by African women, as coloured women approve of IPV against women at a lower

⁵⁸ Violence among white South Africans is an under-studied subject and warrants further investigation.

rate than coloured and African men in all the situations presented. Approval of IPV against women is also higher among African respondents in general than among coloured respondents. Overall, IPV is considered more acceptable when it takes place for reasons of suspected or discovered sexual infidelity than for disobedience or displeasure with food, an intuitive finding which increases my confidence in the validity of the data. The finding of the highest levels of acceptance of IPV being among African respondents is the same as that found in a national survey in 1998, which asked respondents if it was “sometimes necessary for a partner to hit his wife” (CASE 1998). The rate of agreement was “highest among Africans (17%) and coloureds (12%), and lowest among Indians (3%), and whites (2%).” In that survey, however, men (19%) were more likely than women (9%) to agree with the statement (CASE 1998).⁵⁹

6.3.1 Statistical Analysis

Conducting bivariate logistical analysis of the acceptance of IPV against both men and women reveals that acceptance is significantly higher among African women than among any other group, although African men are also significantly more likely than coloured and white men and women to endorse IPV in the event of a man discovering his wife has been having sex with another man (see Table 6.2).

However, to test our other hypotheses and determine whether or not race and gender are acting as proxies for other factors, it is necessary to conduct multivariate analyses. As mentioned above,

⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the CASE study did not report results by gender-race demographic group (e.g. African men, coloured women, etc.).

these analyses include only African and coloured respondents due to the small white sample size. Table 6.3 shows models of acceptance of IPV across all situations, in situations with only female victims, and in situations only with male victims, controlling for the vignette version asked of respondents.

In the pooled analysis of all situations and in scenarios where a woman had her boyfriend beat up, women were significantly more likely than men to approve of the use of violence. African respondents were most likely to approve of violence across the board, though coloured respondents were also significantly more likely to do so than whites. Exposure to family members who fight violently, an experience of 12% of our sample, significantly increases the likelihood of IPV approval for all scenarios, while being hit or otherwise treated roughly as a child, an experience of 10% of respondents, had was only weakly significantly associated with approval of boyfriend beating. Variables measuring low socioeconomic status (living in a socially disorganized neighborhood with high crime and drug use, unemployment, and a household member having gone without food in the past month) were generally negatively associated with IPV approval. Not having completed a secondary school education, a characteristic of 83% of the sample, had a weakly significant impact on approval of IPV against women, with less educated respondents more likely to approve IPV. Finally, drinking heavily (having seven or more alcoholic drinks on a typical drinking day), was significantly associated with IPV approval generally, and especially approval of IPV against women. Examining the odds ratios for the different vignette versions (Table 6.4), which were used as controls for the models in Table 6.3, it is clear that, as intuition would suggest, normative endorsement of

violence is much higher for suspected or discovered sexual infidelity than for non-sexual affronts.

Table 6.5 shows variation in correlates of approval of IPV for each of the six scenarios about which respondents were asked. There were no significant differences by gender in approval of IPV in most scenarios, though women were more likely to approve of violence in the case of a husband disliking his wife's food and a woman discovering her boyfriend was cheating on her. African respondents were significantly more likely than coloured respondents to approve of IPV against women in all scenarios, though there was no significant racial difference in the approval of violence against men. Measures of exposure to violence (being beaten as a child, family members acting violently toward one another, having been a victim of assault) were significant mainly for approval of violence against men, while having perpetrated violence against a family member or intimate partner (FIPV) was significantly associated only with approval of violence in the case of a man discovering his wife was cheating on him and having assaulted a stranger was significantly associated only with approval of hitting a wife for suspected cheating. Interestingly, having criminal friends was positively associated with approval of IPV in the food vignette, but living in a neighborhood characterized by criminality and delinquency had a significant negative effect in both the food and female suspected sex scenarios. Unemployment had a significant and negative effect on approval of violence in the discovered female cheating scenario, while lower educational attainment had an inconsistent effect, significantly increasing approval of violence in the suspected female sex scenarios, and decreasing approval in the female disobedience scenario. The largest and only significant effect of binge drinking was increasing the likelihood of approval of IPV in the female disobedience scenario.

As the above analyses have made clear, there are significant gender and racial differences in rates of and factors behind approval of IPV. While racial integration has been improving since the end of apartheid, South Africa has retained high levels of social and spatial segregation (see Seekings 2008, 2011). In the interest of facilitating more effective interventions aimed at changing norms, which often take place at the community level, it is informative to analyze variation in and correlates of approval of IPV for separately for each demographic group (see Table 6.6).

The gender gap in acceptance of IPV is significant only among African respondents, with women significantly more likely than men to approve of IPV. Exposure to family violence significantly increases approval of IPV only among African women, while household food insecurity is likewise only significant among African women, though negatively so. Having perpetrated assault against a stranger and being an assault victim are both significantly associated with IPV acceptance only among African men, though having perpetrated FIPV has a significant and positive effect among coloured men. Results are inconsistent across gender among coloured respondents, with having criminal friends positively associated with IPV approval among men and negatively associated among women, while the pattern is the opposite for neighborhood social disorganization, which has a negative effect among coloured men and a positive effect among coloured women. Both employed African and employed coloured women were significantly more likely than their unemployed peers to approve of violence. Heavy drinking had a significant and positive effect on IPV acceptance among coloured respondents.

6.3.2 Discussion

That African women are significantly more likely than other demographic groups to approve of IPV supports previous findings from elsewhere in Africa (Koenig et al. 2003; Lawoko 2006). African women, who in our sample are almost exclusively from the Xhosa ethnic group originating from the Eastern Cape, who approve of IPV seem to have internalized patriarchal norms about women's roles and the acceptability of violence in response to transgressions of gender norms (see e.g. Wood et al. 1998). Acceptance of violence among African women also appears to reflect a habituation to violence through exposure to it in their own families. African men are likewise more likely to accept violence due to personal exposure, though their experience of violence has been as either victims of assault or perpetrators of assault against strangers.⁶⁰ This points to an internalization of violent norms in keeping with social learning theory, with young people learning that violence is a tool that can be used to resolve disputes or assert dominance, thus creating a cycle of violence (e.g. Bandura 1973; Mihalic and Elliott 1997; Akers 1998; Funk et al. 1999; Slovak et al. 2007).

Among other behavioral and experiential measures, having friends involved in criminal or delinquent activity has a significant positive association with approval of IPV among coloured men, providing some support for a peer socialization effect on norms about violence (DeKeseredy 1988; Smit 1991; Brengden et al. 2002; Fabiano et al. 2003), though this effect was split across gender lines, as coloured women with criminal friends were significantly *less* likely to approve of IPV. Evidence about the effect of neighborhood social disorganization on approval

⁶⁰ Assault victimization and perpetration against strangers are correlated at 0.19 among African men, suggesting that a small, but significant group of them may lead a dangerous, 'fast' lifestyle that places them at the perpetrator-victim nexus identified in chapter 4, where violence is common and normalized.

of violence was also inconclusive, though the significant negative effects among African women and coloured men were stronger than the positive effect among coloured women, casting doubt on the generalizability of previous findings of normalization of IPV in disorganized communities (Miles-Doan 1998; Koenig et al. 2006; Gracia and Herrero 2007).

Unemployment and household food insecurity had negative effects on IPV acceptance among African women, while unemployment had a negative effect among coloured women, too; this is a somewhat surprising finding, as it is often expected that women who are employed and better off are more empowered and less at risk of IPV victimization (e.g. Kim et al. 2007), so one might expect a concurrent shift toward disapproval of violence. Lower educational attainment had a significant (and positive) effect on approval of IPV only among coloured men. With 85% of African and coloured respondents not having completed a secondary school diploma, though, the sources of socialization to or against violence are likely outside the education system. Binge drinking was a significant correlate of IPV approval only among coloured respondents. Alcohol use is high in the Western Cape in comparison with the rest of South Africa, and is especially high among coloureds (Peltzer and Ramlagan 2009). While the causal links are complex, heavy alcohol use tends to be associated with violence (see WHO 2009b), and especially with IPV (WHO 2002: ch.4), so the positive effect of binge drinking on norms of approval of IPV was expected; however, as the percentage of binge drinkers (30%) is higher among coloured men than among any other demographic group, it was not expected that drinking behavior would be a distinguishing factor between those men approving and disapproving of IPV.

Examining variation in approval of IPV across different situations (Table 6.5), it becomes clear that there is a race effect only for approval of IPV against women, with African respondents more likely than coloureds to accept IPV across all of the female victimization scenarios. This likely reflects a stronger patriarchal structure in the African community, with men's beating of their wives normalized as a means of control within relationships (see e.g. Campbell 1992; Wood and Jewkes 1998). While women overall were more likely than men to approve of IPV, the differences were significant only in the discovered male cheating and disliked food scenarios. The latter result was surprising, as it was expected that displeasure with food would be considered by women to be too trivial a reason for violence; however, women may believe that as the kitchen is their domain, failure in fulfilling their cooking duties is a serious transgression of gender norms.

Exposure to violence as a victim or witness (childhood violence, family violence, assault) was only significant in increasing approval of violence against a boyfriend for suspected or discovered cheating, though family violence did significantly increase approval of IPV against women in the aggregated analysis (Table 6.3), so there is support, albeit weak, for the hypothesis that experiences of violence socialize on to violence and instill norms of approval of violence. Having perpetrated violence, against a stranger or a family member or intimate partner, was significant only in scenarios related to female sexual infidelity, reflecting a habituation to violence and norms against women having multiple sexual partners, even though many of the men who perpetrate violence have concurrent partners (see chapters 4 and 5). Binge drinking was significantly associated with approval of violence only in the female disobedience scenario. Alcohol's tendency to decrease tolerance of affronts means that disobedience, which could

happen in any situation, would seem particularly confrontational to someone who had been drinking, and both men's and women's drinking increases the risk for IPV (Abrahams et al. 2006). The role of alcohol is explored further in the qualitative analysis.

6.4 Qualitative Evidence

Our qualitative interview sample was restricted to African men and women, but in addition to gaining further insights on norms about IPV among this community, we can also bring in information from qualitative studies of IPV in Cape Town using coloured samples. The qualitative findings are discussed in comparison with the results of the statistical analysis.

In the 45 interviews conducted, the interviewees were presented with two vignettes dealing specifically with IPV against women. The first vignette asked about a woman, Nosisana, whose boyfriend has been beating her. A friend tells Nosisana to leave the boyfriend, but she refuses, saying his beating is a sign of love. The second vignette says that a man named Thabo beats his girlfriend because he suspects she is unfaithful to him. Interviewees were asked what they thought of Nosisana and Thabo's situations and their actions. Some responses were lengthy, though in many cases further probing by interviewers was necessary to elicit responses beyond simple agreement or disagreement.

6.4.1 'Beating up is not love'

There was near complete agreement among all interviewees that Nosisana should leave her boyfriend, as “beating up is not love, I don’t think there’s love in beating” (V2, male, 46). Another affirmed that “It’s wrong once a person beats you up; that in itself just means he does not love you, someone who loves you would not beat you” (V8, female, 36). IPV was asserted to have become less acceptable in recent times,⁶¹ as well as being a vestige of the rural heritage of the many Capetonians who have migrated from the Northern and Eastern Cape: “This story about the one beaten by her boyfriend, it was fine in the olden days but not anymore now. If the person is beating you in nowadays you must leave him because he does not want you; it was then when our mothers were ruled by sticks in rural areas but not anymore, no woman is beaten in these days because beating is not right” (V22, female, 36).

One interviewee stated, in accordance with our statistical findings and other studies, that acceptance of violence emerges from earlier exposure to violence:

“You see this goes back to how Nosisana was raised at home. She grew up seeing her mother being beaten up by her father and her mother would say her father loves her regardless of how much the father beats her up. So Nosisana learnt that someone who loves you can beat you up. There’s no such. You can’t beat up someone to show your affection. When you beat someone you leave wounds and that hurts” (V6, female, 43).

Another suggested that Nosisana herself must have been victimized, saying “I think Nosisana has been abused a lot. She’s probably been abused mentally too – because there is no love that requires hitting. If there’s a problem you sit down and resolve it” (V43, female, 34). It was also proposed that women’s acceptance of IPV is based in problems of self-esteem: “It goes back to

⁶¹ Awareness and study of IPV and family violence in South Africa has been growing since the end of apartheid, especially since the passage of the new Domestic Violence Act in 1998.

self esteem and she does not love herself either, she is actually weak, which shows that her partner uses beating as a way of dominating in their relationship, due to her lack of self esteem, she feels without this person no one can love her” (V15, female, 24).

One interviewee thought that Nosisana might be a drunk, which is why she accepts being beaten (V16, male, 43). In the bivariate analysis, binge drinking did make coloured respondents more likely to accept IPV against women, though this was not the case among Africans.⁶² In interviews with coloured women both on wine farms in the Western Cape and in the Lavender Hill township of Cape Town, Gibson (2004) found that women who drank heavily accepted falling into a cycle of IPV in which they would both beat and be beaten by their male partners.

Two interviewees believed the violence of Nosisana’s boyfriend to be acceptable. The first said that beating is a normal and acceptable part of a relationship—up to a point: “when you are dating someone...there are some days in which he will probably get to hit you, but you cannot tolerate someone who breaks your arms and bruises you. That isn’t love” (V39, female, 54). The second interviewee was unequivocal, agreeing with Nosisana that “To show you that he loves you [a boyfriend] must beat you” (V41, female, 37).

Despite their personal disavowal of Nosisana’s position and her boyfriend’s violence, every interviewee agreed that there are people who think, like Nosisana, that beating is a manner of expressing love. One young woman said that “There are some people in our age group; if someone’s boyfriend doesn’t beat her up then she will think that her boyfriend is weak. Or

⁶² There is some evidence, though, from Gauteng province that binge drinking African women may be more accepting of abuse (see Morojele et al. 2006).

maybe she even becomes the one who start the fight, wanting the boyfriend to beat her up, that happens” (V13, female, 26). Another agreed, saying “Those types of people [like Nosisana] still live in a box. Do you know that other girls challenge the man asking for a beating thinking that when the man beats her it means that he loves her” (V30, female, 42). A male interviewee argued that the attitudes of women like Nosisana make them complicit in their victimization:

“Nosisana is also encouraging a violent person like her boyfriend. So it means in her situation that both the perpetrator and the victim are co-operating with one another for this violence to occur. Because this happens to a lot of people and it seems like Nosisana is allowing this violence. At times it can be both the victim and perpetrators fault. So Nosisana might even deliberately enrage her boyfriend who in turn beats her. And then Nosisana will misinterpret that for love. So she will be happy when beaten because it shows that she is loved” (V38, male, 41).

This echoes Wood and Jewkes’s (1997:43) young female interviewee in Cape Town saying that “I fell in love with him because he beat me up” and Kim and Motsei’s (2002:1246) findings in rural South Africa that men believe that “women enjoy punishment.” That some women equate violence with love is also a problem in the coloured community. Elaine Salo, conducting ethnographic research in the Manenberg area of Cape Town was told by a girl discussing the beatings she received from her boyfriend that “He’s demonstrating that he cares about me, Elaine. He’s beating in his care and love” (Salo 2004:252). A woman in Lavender Hill told Diana Gibson that “My boyfriend hit me because he was afraid that some other guy would take me away from him. My friend told me that he hit me because he loved me. My blue eye and split lip is a sign of his love for me” (2004:15).

6.4.2 'He could be wrong...'

The second vignette, about Thabo beating his girlfriend on suspicion of her sexual infidelity, was also met with unanimous condemnation of the violence from interviewees. Primarily, interviewees said that Thabo was not right “because he does not have a proof about what he is suspecting, so he could be wrong” (V3, female, 32). “He’s just assuming. I mean before you take such action you need to have seen or witnessed what you suspect. And then you can decide. You cannot just act based on what you heard via the grapevine” (V7, male, age not given). It was also frequently stated that Thabo should talk to his girlfriend about his suspicions, rather than beating her: “When you have suspicions in a relationships – you would immediately talk to your partner, sit down and talk. So I don’t think beating up a person is a solution. Because you can beat up a person, and if they are really cheating they will just continue cheating” (V26, male, age not given).

If Thabo was not able to feel he could trust his girlfriend, interviewees thought he should simply break up with her, rather than resorting to violence. And if she did turn out to be cheating, he should simply leave her: “There’s no need to be beating up his partner. Because he can just go out and research or find out more about his girlfriend – to establish the truthfulness of his suspicions. And then he can proceed and take action. And by action I don’t mean beating up – he can simply just leave her” (V43, female, 34). This attitude, that breaking off a relationship rather than violence is the best way to resolve discovered sexual infidelity, may help explain why the percentage differences between acceptance of violence for suspected and discovered sexual infidelity were not very large (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). One interviewee did say, though, that if

Thabo discovered that his girlfriend was, in fact, unfaithful, he should beat her up “so that she stops doing what she is doing. She stops cheating” (V41, female, 37). Many others did say, though, that they know of men who think like Thabo, and who would beat their partners on suspicion, rather than proof, of infidelity.

Thabo himself was suspected by interviewees to have been unfaithful to his girlfriend:

“Well the reason for him to beat her up in the first place, is because he too is untrustworthy. A thief does not want to be robbed. So Thabo beats her up because he is also a thief. He beats her up because he is doing the same thievery too. Thabo is a thief and he doesn’t want to be robbed, even though he robs Nosipho his girl. Every time she comes back he suspects her even though she did nothings. And that’s because the person who knows the road is the one who has travelled it. You can’t have experience in something you do not know!” (V39, female, 54).

Another interviewee also used the saying that ‘the one who knows the road is the one who has travelled it,’ and said that Thabo “needs to sit down and talk to her. If he wants her to inform him about her whereabouts – that’s fine – they can talk about that. But he must also come clean and put his cards on the table as well. Because he is probably the mischievous one” (V14, female, age not given). This suggests that social norms may be behind the finding in chapter 5 that men who engage in concurrent partnerships are more likely to perpetrate violence against family members and intimate partners.

6.5 Conclusions

Norms accepting of intimate partner violence may contribute to the increased perpetration of IPV and to a failure to provide necessary support for victims. IPV is a deadly serious problem in South Africa, and thus it is important to examine what norms people hold about IPV and what

may shape these norms. Through the use of a mixed-methods vignette analysis, this paper has looked systematically at variations in the acceptance of violence across gender and racial groups, as well as in different situations. Qualitative interview data has provided a ground-level view of norms about IPV among people living in high-violence communities.

Acceptance of IPV is highest by far among African women, matching up with previous findings of high rates of IPV acceptance among women in Uganda (Koenig et al. 2003) Zambia (Lawoko 2006) and Zimbabwe (Hindin 2003). Levels of support for IPV being higher among women than among men appears to be particular to Africa, as cross-national studies elsewhere in the world have found men to be more accepting of IPV than women (see Nayak et al. 2003). High levels of normative acceptance of violence against women among African respondents support a patriarchal theory of violence in this community.

Neighborhood social disorganization appears to have a negative effect on IPV approval across all scenarios, which is puzzling. One would expect neighborhoods characterized by criminality and delinquency to be more tolerant of IPV, but there may be unwritten norms that operate behind the scenes to control and structure violence (see Salo 2004; Jensen 2008). Socioeconomic status is generally unimportant in shaping norms about IPV. Individual behavioral variables have different effects depending on the demographic group. Coloured men and women who binge drink are more likely to be accepting of violence than their more sober counterparts. African men who engage in concurrent sexual partnerships are especially likely to accept IPV. The most consistent predictor of norms accepting IPV, however, is past experience with violence as a

victim, witness, or perpetrator. Experiences of violence, especially at a young age, can make violence seem acceptable and increase the likelihood of future perpetration and victimization.

While the CAPS data is currently the best available on norms about violence among young people in South Africa, it also leaves much to be desired. Since CAPS was not designed specifically to examine IPV, respondents were only asked one of the IPV vignette questions, splitting the sample into smaller groups. The white subsamples for each vignette were too small to be included in a disaggregated multivariate analysis and the smaller sample sizes increased the margin of error in the analyses that were conducted. Future studies should either employ a larger total sample, or ask respondents multiple vignette questions, though with care to randomize the order in which vignettes are presented. There also appears to be a social desirability bias with the interview data, as nearly all interviewees said violence was unacceptable, but that “others” thought it would be. Since large percentages of CAPS respondents, and especially African respondents, did say violence was acceptable, it would appear that the face-to-face interaction with the interviewer makes interviewees less comfortable in revealing acceptance of IPV. Further, while this study has tried to employ both quantitative and qualitative vignettes complementarily, by using the same vignettes on both a survey and in interviews, one could gain a much richer picture of the norms underlying the quantitative data.

It is especially disheartening that more than a decade after the passage of South Africa’s 1998 Domestic Violence Act, norms of acceptance of IPV are in fact higher in Cape Town than they were in a national survey at the time of the act’s passage (CASE 1998). While the samples of the two studies were different, the high levels of violence in South Africa have not subsided. Norms

accepting of violence are both a product of and an input to a cycle of violence in Cape Town and elsewhere (e.g. WHO 2010). Experiences of violence lead to an internalization of violent norms. To combat this cycle, educational and social marketing programs are needed to shift norms and strongly establish the unacceptability of violence. A microfinance intervention to change norms and reduce IPV victimization among women in South Africa has been successful on a small scale (see Pronyk et al. 2006), but larger structural interventions are needed as well (Hatcher et al. 2010). Interventions to change norms about IPV are most necessary in the African community, and especially among women. Women who are victims of IPV are not to be blamed for their victimization; however, when women accept the perpetration of IPV, whether against themselves or other women, this permits the perpetuation of a culture of violent masculinity. Empowering women and making IPV unacceptable in homes and broader communities can help break the cycle of violence.

6.6 Tables

Table 6.1: Percentages Accepting IPV

	Suspected Sex (F)	Discovered Sex (F)	Dislikes Food	Disobedience	Suspected Sex (M)	Discovered Sex (M)
Male	25	26	5	13	17	16
Female	27	31	14	18	24	25
African	35	43	17	27	26	27
Coloured	21	19	4	8	20	19
White	0	6	10	0	3	3
African Men	28	38	2	17	10	18
African Women	42	47	27	35	37	33
Coloured Men	25	20	6	10	25	16
Coloured Women	17	19	2	7	15	21

Table 6.2: Bivariate Logistic Analysis of IPV Acceptance by Demographic Group

	Suspected Sex (Female)	Discovered Sex (Female)	Dislikes Food	Disobedience	Suspected Sex (Male)	Discovered Sex (Male)
African Man		+	--		--	
African Woman	++	++	++	++	++	++
Coloured Man		-	--			
Coloured Woman	--	--	--	--	--	
+ odds ratio >1 but <2 ++ odds ratio >2 - odds ratio <1 but >0.5 -- odds ratio <0.5 Only results significant at least at the 10% level are reported.						

Table 6.3: Multivariate Logistic Models of Acceptance of IPV by Type, Controlling for Vignette Version

	Any Situation		IPV Against Women		Proxy Beating of Boyfriend	
	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI
Female	1.36**	1.06 – 1.74	1.23	0.91 – 1.67	1.56**	1.04 – 2.33
African†	9.38***	3.70 – 23.78	12.48***	3.76 – 41.39	6.21**	1.43 – 26.97
Coloured†	4.57***	1.79 – 11.66	4.71**	1.41 – 15.76	4.35*	1.00 – 18.92
Childhood Violence	1.06	0.74 – 1.51	0.91	0.56 – 1.45	1.56*	0.93 – 2.61
Family Violence	1.77***	1.30 – 2.40	1.91***	1.30 – 2.79	1.89***	1.18 – 3.04
Perpetrated FIPV	1.16	0.80 – 1.68	1.37	0.88 – 2.13	0.83	0.44 – 1.57
Assaulted Stranger	1.33	0.87 – 2.02	1.30	0.77 – 2.19	1.30	0.66 – 2.56
Assault Victim	1.30	0.91 – 1.85	1.20	0.77 – 1.87	1.52	0.88 – 2.63
Criminal Friends	1.08	0.83 – 1.42	1.09	0.78 – 1.52	1.15	0.76 – 1.76
Neighborhood Social Disorganization	0.71***	0.56 – 0.91	0.66***	0.49 – 0.89	0.91	0.61 – 1.35
Unemployed	0.86	0.66 – 1.11	0.74*	0.54 – 1.03	1.03	0.69 – 1.55
No Secondary School Diploma	1.36*	0.99 – 1.87	1.47*	0.98 – 2.19	1.15	0.71 – 1.86
Household Food Insecurity	0.77*	0.58 – 1.02	0.80	0.57 – 1.13	0.61**	0.38 – 0.98
Binge Drink	1.43**	1.05 – 1.93	1.48**	1.01 – 2.18	1.36	0.85 – 2.17
N	2399		1570		829	
Pseudo r-squared	0.12		0.13		0.05	

All variables dummy variables. Significance: *= $p < 0.10$; **= $p < 0.05$; ***= $p < 0.01$.
†Reference category is white respondents.

Table 6.4: Vignette Version Results from Multivariate Models of Acceptance of IPV by Type (Table 6.3)

	Any Situation		Violence Against Women		Proxy Beating of Boyfriend	
	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI
Disobedience	1.00		1.00			
Suspected Sex (Female)	11.03***	5.78 – 21.04	3.45***	2.26 – 5.27		
Discovered Sex (Female)	12.81***	6.73 – 24.38	4.11***	2.70 – 6.26		
Dislikes Food	2.59***	1.28 – 5.21	0.79	0.48 – 1.30		
Suspected Sex (Male)	8.04***	4.02 – 15.40			1.00	
Discovered Sex (Male)	7.98***	4.15 – 15.37			1.01	0.71 – 1.43

Significance: ***=p<0.01.
 The 'Disobedience' version of the vignette was the reference category for 'Any Situation' and 'Violence Against Women.' 'Suspected Sex (Male)' was the reference category for 'Proxy Beating of Boyfriend.'

Table 6.5: Multivariate Logistic Models of Acceptance of IPV by Situation Among African and Coloured Respondents

	Suspected Sex (Female)		Discovered Sex (Female)		Dislikes Food		Disobedience		Suspected Sex (Male)		Discovered Sex (Male)	
	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI
Female	1.08	0.64— 1.83	0.96	0.58— 1.58	3.45**	1.27— 9.36	1.59	0.81— 3.14	1.33	0.77— 2.33	1.98**	1.07— 3.66
African†	2.10**	1.19— 3.70	3.32***	1.90— 5.80	3.27**	1.16— 9.21	3.80***	1.84— 7.84	1.44	0.83	1.55	0.85— 2.82
Childhood Violence	0.90	0.34— 2.39	0.72	0.36— 1.47	1.69	0.49— 5.84	1.59	0.55— 4.59	1.87*	0.95— 3.68	1.18	0.52— 2.68
Family Violence	1.44	0.71— 2.92	1.67	0.86— 3.24	2.11	0.82— 5.38	2.00	0.87— 4.58	1.85*	0.96— 3.56	2.11**	1.03— 4.32
Perpetrated FIPV	1.09	0.50— 2.38	1.89*	0.90— 3.96	1.09	0.24— 4.99	1.50	0.63— 3.59	0.86	0.35— 2.11	0.77	0.29— 2.02
Assaulted Stranger	2.22*	0.91— 5.43	0.72	0.30— 1.74	1.62	0.25— 10.59	1.55	0.60— 4.00	0.92	0.37— 2.29	2.28	0.78— 6.63
Assault Victim	1.50	0.70— 3.22	0.89	0.40— 1.97	1.08	0.29— 4.12	1.47	0.62— 3.50	1.36	0.62— 2.95	2.07*	0.92— 4.66
Criminal Friends	0.81	0.46— 1.43	0.93	0.53— 1.63	2.52*	0.85— 7.45	1.35	0.66— 2.74	1.04	0.59— 1.85	1.38	0.72— 2.63
Neighborhood Social Disorganization	0.66*	0.40— 1.08	0.78	0.47— 1.29	0.27***	0.11— 0.66	0.60	0.31— 1.14	0.91	0.53— 1.56	0.94	0.51— 1.72
Unemployed	0.68	0.39— 1.19	0.62*	0.35— 1.08	0.96	0.39— 2.36	1.60	0.86— 3.01	1.10	0.64— 1.88	0.93	0.49— 1.76
No Secondary School Diploma	3.24***	1.36— 7.70	1.36	0.71— 2.61	0.96	0.34— 2.67	0.46**	0.23— 0.91	1.32	0.65— 2.68	1.06	0.53— 2.12
Household Food Insecurity	0.95	0.53— 1.71	0.91	0.51— 1.63	0.77	0.31— 1.93	0.80	0.40— 1.61	0.60	0.32— 1.14	0.56	0.26— 1.19
Binge Drink	1.61	0.85— 3.06	1.17	0.60— 2.31	1.06	0.27— 4.21	2.37**	1.00— 5.60	1.18	0.64— 2.19	1.58	0.75— 3.33
N	391		395		390		372		414		375	
Pseudo r-squared	0.06		0.07		0.16		0.12		0.04		0.05	

All variables dummy variables. Significance: *= $p < 0.10$; **= $p < 0.05$; ***= $p < 0.01$.
†Coloured respondents are the reference category.

Table 6.6: Multivariate Logistic Models of Acceptance of IPV by Demographic Group, Controlling for Vignette Version

	African		Coloured		African Men		African Women		Coloured Men		Coloured Women	
	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI
Female	2.12***	1.47 – 3.05	0.82	0.57 – 1.18								
Childhood Violence	0.79	0.44 – 1.43	1.35	0.85 – 2.14	0.90	0.29 – 2.85	0.76	0.38 – 1.54	1.67	0.86 – 3.23	1.01	0.51 – 2.00
Family Violence	1.79***	1.21 – 2.65	1.37	0.80 – 2.33	0.45	0.16 – 1.29	2.38***	1.53 – 3.72	1.56	0.65 – 3.76	1.41	0.69 – 2.86
Perpetrated FIPV	1.10	0.65 – 1.88	1.51	0.88 – 2.59	0.96	0.45 – 2.02	1.26	0.56 – 2.80	2.18**	1.03 – 4.61	1.15	0.49 – 2.71
Assaulted Stranger	1.53	0.83 – 2.83	0.93	0.51 – 1.72	2.79**	1.21 – 6.47	0.67	0.23 – 1.94	1.25	0.61 – 2.54	0.36	0.68 – 1.90
Assault Victim	1.22	0.77 – 1.96	1.35	0.75 – 2.42	3.12***	1.35 – 7.23	0.92	0.49 – 1.74	1.37	0.55 – 3.41	1.44	0.64 – 3.27
Criminal Friends	1.09	0.71 – 1.66	1.02	0.71 – 1.47	1.06	0.59 – 1.92	1.20	0.61 – 2.35	1.67**	1.01 – 2.74	0.55*	0.28 – 1.07
Neighborhood Social Disorganization	0.77	0.56 – 1.07	0.75	0.51 – 1.11	1.67	0.91 – 3.08	0.56***	0.36 – 0.85	0.32***	0.18 – 0.56	1.68*	0.91 – 3.11
Unemployed	0.87	0.63 – 1.22	0.77	0.49 – 1.20	1.14	0.64 – 2.05	0.66*	0.43 – 1.02	1.11	0.62 – 2.01	0.48*	0.23 – 1.04
No Secondary School Diploma	1.19	0.81 – 1.77	1.99**	1.05 – 3.75	1.17	0.57 – 2.38	1.21	0.74 – 1.98	3.24**	1.07 – 9.80	1.72	0.76 – 3.88
Household Food Insecurity	0.70**	0.51 – 0.97	1.37	0.71 – 2.62	1.01	0.58 – 1.79	0.61**	0.40 – 0.91	0.89	0.32 – 2.48	1.80	0.74 – 4.41
Binge Drink	1.33	0.81 – 2.19	1.52**	1.02 – 2.25	1.19	0.64 – 2.19	1.38	0.42 – 4.52	1.42	0.83 – 2.41	1.85*	0.97 – 3.51
N	1086		1186		479		607		562		624	
Pseudo r-squared	0.12		0.10		0.21		0.10		0.14		0.13	

All variables dummy variables. Significance: *= $p < 0.10$; **= $p < 0.05$; ***= $p < 0.01$.

Chapter 7: Discussion of Findings and Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

Violence remains a pressing problem for South Africa, in both its direct human toll and the effects it has on the structuring of society, widening social and spatial gaps between the advantaged and the marginalized. Historical and institutional factors surely play a role in driving the high levels of violence in South Africa, yet these affect all of South African society. On an individual level, other factors must influence who is more likely to perpetrate violence. This dissertation has attempted to determine what these individual-level factors are through analysis of new data on interpersonal violence in the Cape Town area. The data, from self-reports of violence in survey responses and descriptions of personal experiences and perceptions from interviews, provide us with an in-depth, micro-level picture of why individuals may perpetrate interpersonal violence.

7.2 Summary of Findings

Significant correlates of violent behavior and norms from each of the chapters are displayed in Table 7.1. Across the different studies in this dissertation, a few categories of risk factors were consistently significantly associated with violence. Substance abuse, and especially alcohol abuse, is the most consistent correlate of violence. A dysfunctional social environment, in one's family and surrounding community, is consistently associated with violence. Psychological factors, which CAPS data did not allow me to investigate thoroughly, also consistently correlate

with violence. This is likely due to impulsive, short-tempered people reacting quickly, without forethought, in potentially violent situations. Socioeconomic factors, with the exception of immediate household food insecurity, were only indirectly associated with violence, if at all. The findings within each of these categories of risk factors are discussed below.

Family environment, both as children and as young adults, plays an important role in influencing violent behavior. Exposure to alcohol and drug use in the household as a child had significant direct and indirect effects on perpetration of violence against strangers as a young adult. For all young men, having family members who commit crimes, use drugs, or are in prison increases their likelihood of carrying a weapon outside their homes, and for coloured men, this also increases their likelihood of assaulting a family member or intimate partner. Violence within the household, whether personally experienced or witnessed among other family members, contributes to a normalization of violence as acceptable that may lead to future perpetration or tolerance of victimization of oneself or others. Coming of age in a violent environment and surrounded by substance abuse, young people can easily fall into the patterns of their 'role models,' becoming violent and abusing drugs and alcohol themselves.

Substance abuse plays a direct situational role in the production of violence, as interviewees frequently said that people are more likely to fight and act violently when they are drunk or high, and much interpersonal violence in public takes place in shebeens. Substance abuse also increases the risk of engaging in violent behavior: drug use increases the likelihood of weapon carrying for all young men and the likelihood of FIPV perpetration among African men, while

drinking heavily increases the likelihood of young men perpetrating FIPV or violence against strangers, and increases normative acceptance of IPV among coloured men and women.

In addition to dysfunctional family relationships, the structure of intimate relationships, most importantly concurrent sexual partnerships, is a primary driver of intimate partner violence in Cape Town, frequently taking the form of a man beating his wife or girlfriend for bothering him about his own infidelity, or beating his wife due to her suspected or actual infidelity. In a society where a man having concurrent partnerships is seen by many as acceptable or is encouraged (e.g. Kim and Motsei 2002: 1246; Hunter 2005; Parker, Makhubele, Ntlabati, and Connolly 2007), women tend to be on the losing end either way. Partner concurrency among young men is also associated with weapon carrying as part of deviant and materialistic lifestyle in which the risk of both violence perpetration and victimization is heightened.

Socioeconomic factors, such as poverty and unemployment, though frequently mentioned by interviewees as drivers of violence in their communities, often have only indirect significant effects on individuals' likelihood of perpetrating violence, mediated through more proximate factors. While food insecurity was found to be a direct and significant predictor of perpetration of FIPV and violence against strangers, factors such as coming from a poor background and unemployment only had significant effects through their influence on more immediate factors, such as engaging in concurrent partnerships or living in a bad neighborhood. Poverty and unemployment may in fact constrain violence by limiting the ability of individuals to engage in behaviors more directly associated with the perpetration of violence. For instance, a poor and/or unemployed man will not have as much money to spend on alcohol or to provide gifts that might

be expected of him by multiple sexual partners. Poverty does, however, restrict one's choice of where to live, and may keep individuals in socially disorganized neighborhoods. The disconnect between interviewees' perceptions and the statistical data on the role of socioeconomic status does not invalidate the findings of either method. As discussed in the conclusion of chapter 3, poverty and unemployment may still play a role in the production of violence; however, when such a large percentage of the population of Cape Town (and South Africa) is poor and unemployed, other factors distinguish those who act violently. Socioeconomic status may also be irrelevant to perpetration of violence when other risk factors are present (i.e. a man who drinks heavily and cheats on his wife or girlfriend is more likely to hit her regardless of his wealth or employment status).⁶³

One factor at the intersect of socioeconomic status and social environment, living in a neighborhood characterized by drug use and criminality, directly and significantly increases the likelihood of young men perpetrating violence and carrying weapons. Neighborhood social disorganization provides young people with negative role models, increases their access to weapons and illegal substances, and exposes them to violence such that it becomes a normal part of everyday life and is more easily committed personally or ignored when others are victimized.

7.3 Directions for Further Study

This dissertation has explored individual characteristics and individual-level patterns of behavior to try to explain variation in violence, but clearly community and society-level characteristics

⁶³ See also Altbeker (2005:98-9) for a critique of the argument that poverty and unemployment cause crime.

and norms have a greater role to play. Here it is important to return to the ‘culture of violence’ arguments mentioned in the introduction (Hamber 1999; Kynoch 2008; CSVN 2010). It is difficult to pinpoint empirically, but there is a sense that South Africans resort to violence more quickly and easily in response to problems than do people in many other societies. To give an example (albeit one of collective, rather than individual, violence), in April 2010, passengers whose train had broken down and who had become stuck at Ysterplaat station near Cape Town began to stone a full passenger train passing through the station, injuring nine people (*Cape Argus*, 30 April 2010, p.1). Clearly, stoning another train, while demonstrating the frustration of the stranded passengers, would not fix their own train, nor increase rail authorities’ sympathy for them. So why the violent reaction?

Qualitative and quantitative research from the United States has established that within some societies, a ‘culture of honor’ or ‘code’ may develop in which pride and reputation are held as highly important and must be defended by a quick resort to violence in the case of an actual or perceived affront (e.g. Nisbett and Cohen 1996; Anderson 1999; Brezina et al. 2004). A similar culture may exist in South Africa. Especially among African and coloured men, oppressed for so long by apartheid and now often economically marginalized, scholars have highlighted a “crisis of masculinity” (Campbell 1992; Morrell 2001; Walker 2005a). In response to this crisis, men place a high value on reputation as a source of self-worth and recognition within the community, one which must be defended by violence if necessary (e.g. Campbell 1992; Salo 2004; Jensen 2008). This system must be accepted or at least tolerated within the community, highlighting the role of norms, for instance women’s high level of acceptance of IPV. The existence and role played by such a culture of honor or culture of violence must be further explored in the South

African context, especially in terms of how it is enacted in contentious situations which do or do not turn violent. We should be able to ask, through surveys or interviews, about how people would react in the situation of a personal affront to test whether or not South Africa is in fact a more violently disputatious society than others.

Culture of honor and culture of violence arguments imply that it is easy to perpetrate violence, and indeed there is a sense in South Africa that anyone could *choose* to commit violence. One of the subjects in Besteman's focus group discussions in Cape Town said that "township thugs" are no different from non-violent young men like himself, because "We are the township. The township is in us. Any one of us could do that if we decided to. I could kill someone" (2008:239). Despite this young man's confidence in his violent capabilities, violence generally seems to be difficult to commit (Collins 2008), and a number of factors might keep the majority of South Africans from perpetrating violence. For example, Seekings (2010) found that most CAPS respondents were normatively opposed to the use of violence, except in cases of self-defense.⁶⁴ People may avoid alcohol and drugs, which contribute to the development of violent situations, either by choice or because they cannot afford substances. Individuals tempted to behave violently may also restrain themselves out of fear of arrest. Protective factors against violence warrant further investigation in the South African context so that ideally the promotion of protective factors and the reduction of risk factors may converge in the prevention of violence.

⁶⁴ Depending on the scenario presented, 81-84% of respondents approved of violence in self-defense; 18-41% approved of parental violence against children; 12-21% approved of collective retribution against a criminal; 4-13% approved of intimate partner violence; and 6-11% approved of violence for individual retribution/vengeance (Seekings 2010).

7.4 Possibilities for Violence Reduction and Prevention

Based on the evidence and analysis presented in this dissertation, what can and should be done to reduce South Africa's heavy burden of violence? Broader structural changes in South African society to address unemployment, poverty, and inequality, factors identified as drivers of violence by interviewees and as indirect drivers of much violence in statistical analyses, would certainly be welcome, but the South African government has shown itself largely ineffective in tackling these problems since the transition to democracy. The economic benefits of the emancipation of non-whites from apartheid have accrued mainly to a small elite, and while there is a growing black and coloured middle class, *intraracial* inequality is becoming a serious concern (see e.g. Borat 2004; Seekings and Nattrass 2005). As poverty and inequality's relationship to violence is largely mediated by more proximate behavioral factors, though, it is logical to concentrate on changes in individual behavior. Shifts in behavior and norms surrounding weapons, alcohol, family violence, and sexual activity and gender relations should lead to more immediate and enduring reductions in violence than economic improvement would.

Greater restriction must be placed on the carrying of private weapons in public, which, in my analysis, creates more violence than protection. Public buildings should have more metal detectors and weapons checks, and the installation of metal detectors at schools in the Western Cape is an important step in reducing the level of student violence. There also need to be better tracking and accountability systems for police and private weapons. The presence of these weapons on the black market facilitates violent criminality because they are very difficult to trace. The criminalization of negligent loss of a firearm provides some incentive for private weapon owners to keep better track of their weapons, but no one *intends* to lose a firearm, so the

impact of this is likely minimal; however, it creates disincentives to report lost or stolen firearms, making it more difficult for police to trace individual weapons and to determine the overall number of guns in circulation. A change in the culture around guns may also be possible through more education about the potentially endangering effects of carrying a weapon.

A reduction in South Africa's high levels of alcohol consumption, and especially binge drinking, should contribute to a reduction of violence by preventing family dysfunction and reducing the incidence of violent situations caused by intoxication, as well as reducing the burden of unintentional injuries and other health and social ills caused by alcohol. Among the benefits should be a reduction in cases of fetal alcohol syndrome, the rate of which in the Western Cape is among the highest in the world (Viljoen et al. 2005), which can in turn cause impulsivity and volatile temperament. Likewise, changes in norms and behavior about partner concurrency should have the double benefit of reducing intimate partner violence and helping to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Changes in social norms, especially regarding masculinity and violence, are necessary, though they may be difficult to effect. Educational, social marketing, and female empowerment programs have been shown to have success in South Africa in reducing intimate partner violence and changing norms about gender relations (Usdin, Scheepers, Goldstein, and Japhet 2005; Pronyk et al. 2006). Further such interventions can help reduce IPV, while also changing attitudes about what it means to be a man and how conflicts should be resolved.

Much work remains to be done to link the micro-level patterns and variation in interpersonal violence explored in this dissertation with the macro-level structures and culture of South Africa. A clearer picture of who commits violence and the complex interactions behind it enables more effective policy interventions and helps combat the demonization broad categories of South Africans for the actions of a few as discussed in the introduction. Fear of violence separates South Africans with walls both physical and mental. Reducing violence and its attendant fear is necessary to achieve the transformed, open, and more unified society that was hoped for after 1994. By focusing on the risk factors highlighted here, government and civil society groups can move South Africa closer to achieving this goal.

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Table 7.1: Summary of Significant Correlates of Violent Behavior and Norms from Multivariate Analyses

Risk Factor Categories	Violence Against Strangers	Weapon Carrying	Family and Intimate Partner Violence	Norms About Intimate Partner Violence (across all vignettes)
Demographic				Women African
Socioeconomic Status	Household food insecurity Unemployment (i) No matric (i)		Household food insecurity Poor background (i) Past unemployment (i) No matric (i)	No matric
Social Environment	Bad neighborhood	Bad neighborhood Delinquent kin	Bad neighborhood Delinquent kin (c) Norms accepting IPV (c)	
Behavioral	Drink regularly Alcohol and drug use in childhood home	Concurrent sexual partners Use drugs	Drink regularly Concurrent sexual partners Use drugs (a) Binge drink (c)	Binge drink
Cycle of Violence		Assault perpetration Assault perpetration and victimization		Family violence Assaulted a stranger (a)
Psychological	Short tempered and/or impulsive	Short tempered and/or impulsive	Short tempered and/or impulsive	
All findings for young men, except for the norms study. Indirectly significant correlations, mediated by another variable, are noted with an 'i'. Findings specific to one racial group are noted with an 'a' for African or a 'c' for coloured.				

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