

**A SURVEY ON THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF  
POLY-VICTIMIZATION OF ADOLESCENTS IN HEIDEVELD**

**by**

**ALICE McCORMACK**

**submitted in accordance with the requirements  
for the degree of**

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**at the**

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**SUPERVISOR: DR H B GROBLER**

**NOVEMBER 2010**

## **DECLARATION**

**I hereby declare that:**

### **A SURVEY ON THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF POLY-VICTIMIZATION OF ADOLESCENTS IN HEIDEVELD**

**is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.**

**Signed:**

**Date:**

.....

.....

**Alice McCormack**

**Researcher**

## **DECLARATION OF EDITOR**

**I hereby declare that I proofread and edited**

**A survey on the extent and nature of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld by Alice McCormack for the degree MDiac (Play Therapy).**

**PJ Jonas  
DLitt et Phil**

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## **SUMMARY**

### **A SURVEY ON THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF POLY-VICTIMIZATION OF ADOLESCENTS IN HEIDEVELD**

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The goal of the study was to conduct a survey on the extent and nature of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld. This researcher used a quantitative approach, administering an altered form of the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire to achieve the goal. This questionnaire had 34 screener items exploring victimization events across a broad range of possible victimization types. Convenience sampling of grade 8-10 learners was used from a school in Heideveld. Ninety-one respondents completed the questionnaire, the age range spread from 13 – 18 years of age. Descriptive statistics were used to analyse the results. Responses of respondents to victimization (directed either at themselves or a peer) were explored through open-ended questions. Content analysis was performed to describe the data collected. The results showed that the extent of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld is high. The findings were explored and finally conclusions and recommendations were discussed.

#### **Key Terms:**

**Victim, Victimization, Poly-victimization/Multiple Victimization, Re-victimization Risk, Cumulative Victimization, Quantitative Research, Survey, Cape Flats.**

# **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

## **CHAPTER ONE ..... 14**

### **INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY.....14**

<b>1.2</b>	<b>PRELIMINARY STUDY AND RATIONALE.....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>1.3</b>	<b>PROBLEM STATEMENT AND FOCUS.....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>1.4</b>	<b>RESEARCH STATEMENT AND GOALS .....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>1.5</b>	<b>RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>1.5.1</b>	<b>Approach, Type of Research and Design .....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>1.5.2</b>	<b>Sampling.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>1.5.3</b>	<b>Method.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>1.6</b>	<b>IMPACT .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>1.7</b>	<b>CHAPTER OUTLINE .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>1.8</b>	<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>22</b>

## **CHAPTER TWO ..... 23**

### **BACKGROUND AND THEORY ON POLY-VICTIMIZATION**

**.....23**

<b>2.1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>2.2</b>	<b>VICTIMOLOGY .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>2.2.1</b>	<b>Developmental Victimology.....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>2.2.2</b>	<b>Pervasive and Broad Forms of Victimization.....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>2.2.3</b>	<b>Victimization Conditions .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>2.2.4</b>	<b>Cumulative Risk .....</b>	<b>31</b>

2.2.5	Victimization Risk .....	32
2.3	POLY-VICTIMIZATION .....	34
2.3.1	Pathways to Poly-victimization .....	37
2.3.1.1	<i>Living in a Dangerous Family that is Filled with Victimization.</i> .....	37
2.3.1.2	<i>Family Disruption</i> .....	38
2.3.1.3	<i>Unsafe Environment</i> .....	39
2.3.1.4	<i>Personal Characteristics</i> .....	39
2.3.1.5	<i>The Repressive Socio-Political Environment</i> .....	40
2.3.2	Outcomes of Poly-victimization .....	40
2.4	THE EFFECT OF VICTIMIZATION ON EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC SUCCESS .....	48
2.5	RESILIENCE.....	50
2.6	ASSESSMENT OF POLY-VICTIMIZATION .....	51
2.6.1	Lifetime Assessment of Poly-victimization. ....	52
2.6.2	Prospective Designs .....	52
2.6.3	Retrospective Designs .....	53
2.6.4	Poly-victimization in the Past Year .....	53
2.6.5	Assessing Extent and Nature of Poly-Victimization in Heideveld .....	54
2.7	CONCLUSION .....	55

## **CHAPTER THREE ..... 56**

### **VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMUNITIES LIKE HEIDEVELD ON THE CAPE FLATS.....56**

3.1	INTRODUCTION .....	56
3.2	THE ROOTS OF VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA	56

<b>3.3</b>	<b>VICTIMIZATION OF ADOLESCENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA .....</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>3.4</b>	<b>ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>3.4.1.</b>	<b>A Gestalt Perspective (the developing field) .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>3.4.2.</b>	<b>Bronfenbrenner’s Ecosystemic Levels in Communities like Heideveld on the Cape Flats .....</b>	<b>73</b>
3.4.2.1	<i>The Microsystem and Mesosystem Levels .....</i>	73
3.4.2.2	<i>The Exosystem .....</i>	79
3.4.2.3	<i>The Macrosystem .....</i>	81
3.4.2.4	<i>The Chronosystem .....</i>	83
<b>3.4.3</b>	<b>Conclusion on Development .....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>3.5</b>	<b>SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>85</b>

## **CHAPTER FOUR..... 87**

### **METHODOLOGY OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH .....87**

<b>4.1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>4.2</b>	<b>SAMPLING.....</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>4.3</b>	<b>PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF ETHICAL RESEARCH.....</b>	<b>88</b>
4.3.1	<b>Non-maleficence .....</b>	<b>88</b>
4.3.2	<b>Honoring the Research Site.....</b>	<b>89</b>
4.3.3	<b>Informed Consent.....</b>	<b>89</b>
4.3.4	<b>Anonymity and Confidentiality .....</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>4.4</b>	<b>THE SURVEY DESIGN .....</b>	<b>92</b>
4.4.1	<b>Advantages of Survey Designs .....</b>	<b>92</b>
4.4.2	<b>Disadvantages .....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>4.5</b>	<b>THE ADAPTED JUVENILE VICTIMIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE.....</b>	<b>93</b>
4.5.1	<b>Structure of the Adapted JVQ .....</b>	<b>94</b>

4.5.2	Sequencing of Questions .....	96
4.5.3	Construct Validity .....	97
4.5.4	Content Validity .....	98
4.5.5	Reliability .....	99
4.5.5.1	<i>Internal Consistency/Reliability</i> .....	99
4.5.5.2	<i>Test-retest Reliability</i> .....	99
4.5.6	Cultural Relevance of the Adapted JVQ .....	100
4.6	THE PILOT STUDY .....	100
4.7	ADMINISTRATION OF THE ALTERED JVQ .....	101
4.7.1	Time-framing .....	102
4.8	SUMMARY .....	102

## **CHAPTER FIVE ..... 103**

### **EMPIRICAL RESEARCH RESULTS .....103**

5.1	INTRODUCTION .....	103
5.2	BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS .....	103
5.3	PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY AT SCHOOL .....	104
5.4	PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE .....	105
5.5	VICTIMIZATION PROFILES.....	106
5.5.1	Module A: Conventional Crime.....	106
5.5.1.1	<i>Robbery (C1)</i> .....	106
5.5.1.2	<i>Personal Theft (C2)</i> .....	107
5.5.1.3	<i>Vandalism (C3)</i> .....	108
5.5.1.4	<i>Assault with a Weapon (C4)</i> .....	108
5.5.1.5	<i>Assault without Weapon (C5)</i> .....	109



5.5.1.6	<i>Attempted Assault (C6)</i> .....	109
5.5.1.7	<i>Kidnapping (C7)</i> .....	110
5.5.1.8	<i>Bias Attack (C8)</i> .....	110
5.5.1.9	<i>Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Conventional Crime Module</i> ....	111
<b>5.5.2</b>	<b>Summary of Conventional Crime</b> .....	<b>111</b>
<b>5.5.3</b>	<b>Module B: Child Maltreatment</b> .....	<b>113</b>
5.5.3.1	<i>Physical Abuse (M1)</i> .....	113
5.5.3.2	<i>Psychological/Emotional Abuse (M2)</i> .....	113
5.5.3.3	<i>Neglect (M3)</i> .....	114
5.5.3.4	<i>Custodial Interference/Family Abduction (M4)</i> .....	114
5.5.3.5	<i>Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Child Maltreatment Module</i> .....	115
<b>5.5.4</b>	<b>Summary of Child Maltreatment</b> .....	<b>115</b>
<b>5.5.5</b>	<b>Module C: Peer and Sibling Victimization</b> .....	<b>116</b>
5.5.5.1	<i>Gang or Group Assault (P1)</i> .....	116
5.5.5.2	<i>Peer or Sibling Assault (P2)</i> .....	117
5.5.5.3	<i>Non-sexual Genital Assault (P3)</i> .....	117
5.5.5.4	<i>Physical Bullying (P4)</i> .....	118
5.5.5.5	<i>Emotional Bullying (P5)</i> .....	118
5.5.5.6	<i>Dating Violence (P6)</i> .....	118
5.5.5.7	<i>Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Peer and Sibling Victimization Module</i> .....	119
<b>5.5.6</b>	<b>Summary of Peer and Sibling Victimization</b> .....	<b>119</b>
<b>5.5.7</b>	<b>Module D: Sexual Victimization</b> .....	<b>121</b>
5.5.7.1	<i>Sexual Assault by a Known Adult (S1)</i> .....	121

5.5.7.2	<i>Non-specific Sexual Assault by an Unknown Adult (S2)</i> .....	121
5.5.7.3	<i>Sexual Assault by a Peer (S3)</i> .....	122
5.5.7.4	<i>Rape/Attempted Rape (S4)</i> .....	122
5.5.7.5	<i>Sexual Exposure/Flashing (S5)</i> .....	122
5.5.7.6	<i>Verbal Sexual Harassment (S6)</i> .....	123
5.5.7.7	<i>Statutory Rape and Sexual Misconduct (with anyone 18 years or older) (S7)</i> .....	123
5.5.7.8	<i>Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Sexual Victimization Module</i> ....	123
<b>5.5.8</b>	<b>Summary on Sexual Victimization</b> .....	<b>124</b>
<b>5.5.9</b>	<b>Module E: Indirect Victimization/Witnessing</b> .....	<b>125</b>
5.5.9.1	<i>Witness to Domestic Violence (W1)</i> .....	125
5.5.9.2	<i>Witness to a Parent Assault of a Sibling (W2)</i> .....	126
5.5.9.3	<i>Witness to Assault with a Weapon (W3)</i> .....	126
5.5.9.4	<i>Witness to Assault without a Weapon (W4)</i> .....	126
5.5.9.5	<i>Burglary of a Family Household (W5)</i> .....	127
5.5.9.6	<i>Murder of Family Member or Friend (W6)</i> .....	127
5.5.9.7	<i>Witness to Murder (W7)</i> .....	128
5.5.9.8	<i>Exposure to Random Shootings, Terrorism or Riots (W8)</i> .....	128
5.5.9.9	<i>Exposure to War or Ethnic Conflict (W9)</i> .....	129
5.5.9.10	<i>Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Indirect Victimization/Witnessing Module</i> .....	129
<b>5.5.10</b>	<b>Summary on Indirect Victimization/Witnessing</b> .....	<b>129</b>
<b>5.5.11</b>	<b>Most Common and Least Common Items Endorsed on the Altered JVQ.</b>	<b>131</b>
<b>5.5.12</b>	<b>Poly-victimization</b> .....	<b>132</b>
<b>5.5.13</b>	<b>Experiences of Victimization not Asked About in the Questionnaire</b> .....	<b>136</b>
<b>5.5.14</b>	<b>Respondents' Suggestions for Prevention of Violence Against Children</b> ..	<b>137</b>

5.5.15 Conclusion.....	138
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## **CHAPTER SIX ..... 139**

### **EVALUATION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....139**

6.1 INTRODUCTION .....	139
6.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES REVISITED.....	139
6.3 EVALUATION OF EXTENT AND NATURE OF POLY-VICTIMIZATION	140
6.4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....	143
6.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY .....	148
6.6 IMPACT OF THE STUDY .....	150
6.7 SUMMARY.....	151

## **REFERENCES..... 152**

## **TABLES**

Table 2.1: Domains of Impairment in Children Exposed to Complex Trauma from Cook <i>et al.</i> (2003:6).....	45
Table 5.1: Age of Respondents.....	103
Table 5.2: Most Common Items Endorsed on the Altered JVQ.....	131
Table 5.3: Total Number of Victimization Types.....	133

# GRAPHS

Graph 5.1: Number of Types of Conventional Crime Endorsed.....	112
Graph 5.2: Victimization Types Endorsed in the Conventional Crime Module.....	113
Graph 5.3: Number of Items Endorsed in the Child Maltreatment Module.....	115
Graph 5.4: Victimization Types Endorsed in the Child Maltreatment Module.....	116
Graph 5.5: Number of Items Endorsed in the Peer and Sibling Victimization Module .....	120
Graph 5.6: Victimization Types Endorsed in the Peer and Sibling Victimization Module.....	121
Graph 5.7: Victimization Items Endorsed by Respondents in the Sexual Victimization Module.....	124
Graph 5.8: Victimization Types Endorsed by Respondents in the Sexual Victimization Module.....	125
Graph 5.9: Number of Items Endorsed in the Witnessing/Indirect Victimization Module.....	130
Graph 5.10: Victimization Types Endorsed in the Indirect Victimization/Witnessing Module.....	131
Graph 5.11: Number of Items Endorsed by Respondents who were Not Poly-victims...	134
Graph 5.12: Number of Items Endorsed by Respondents who were Low Poly-victims..	134
Graph 5.13: Number of Items Endorsed by Respondents who were High Poly-victims..	135
Graph 5.14: Total Number of Items Endorsed by Respondents on the Altered JVQ.....	136

# APPENDICES

- APPENDIX 1: SCREENER QUESTIONS OF THE JUVENILE VICTIMIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE
- APPENDIX 2: THE ALTERED JVQ QUESTIONNAIRE
- APPENDIX 3: FREQUENCY TABLES OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA AND PERCEPTION OF SAFETY
- APPENDIX 4: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR THE CONVENTIONAL CRIME MODULE
- APPENDIX 5: FREQUENCY TABLES ON CHILD MALTREATMENT
- APPENDIX 6: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR PEER AND SIBLING VICTIMIZATION
- APPENDIX 7: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION
- APPENDIX 8: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR INDIRECT VICTIMIZATION OR WITNESSING
- APPENDIX 9: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR THE GENERAL QUESTION SECTION
- APPENDIX 10: LETTER OF CONSENT SENT TO THE PARENT/GUARDIAN AND LETTER OF ASSENT SIGNED BY THE RESPONDENT.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY**

### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter a broad overview of victimization is given and the negative consequences resulting from conditions of victimization are described. Poly-victimization (more commonly known as multiple victimization) often arises out of these conditions of victimization. The consequences for poly-victims are devastating – calling for early recognition and intervention. The need for this early recognition and intervention forms the basis of the rationale for this study. The rationale is discussed and then the proposed research process is outlined in brief and more fully discussed in chapter four. The chapter closes with the possible impact of and the outline of this study.

### **1.2 PRELIMINARY STUDY AND RATIONALE**

Individuals raised in environments that are rife with violence and abuse assimilate these influences into the ground of their experience, impacting on the formation and structure of the self, behavioural, cognitive and affective responses (Fernandes, Cardoso-Zinker, Nogueira, Lazarus & Ajzenberg, 2006:99; Crocker, 2009:23-24). Gestalt philosophy teaches that the self comes into being in the course of the contact process and reformation of the self (selves) must include new experiences of contact (Perls, Hefferline & Goodman, 1951:373; Polster 1999:220; Latner, 2000:41; Polster, 2005:38). According to Gestalt theory, unless something changes in the contact experiences of individuals within families and communities plagued by violence and abuse, the contact patterns already established may be perpetuated. In the literature the perpetuation of violence and abuse has been referred to as a complex inter-generationally transmitted phenomenon or cycle resulting in victimization (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Hankla & Stormberg, 2004:19; Fagan, 2005:279, 280, 287; Carothers & Weaver, 2006:116; Dankoski,

Keiley, Thomas, Choice, Lloyd & Seery, 2006: 327-328; Scarpa & Haden, 2006:502-503, 513; Burton, 2007:2; Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, Hamby & Kracke, 2009:2; Jinsoek, 2009:761).

Research in the field of victimology has in the past been more focused on particular types of victimization. The broad range of victimizations or common forms of victimizations that occur to most children in the course of development, like child maltreatment, conventional crime and exposure to community and family violence are seldom given much attention to as a whole (Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2007b; Finkelhor, 2008:34, 45). Victimization (the event/s) may lead to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), or even complex trauma where victimization has become more of a condition than an event, such as in child maltreatment or abuse (Finkelhor, 2008:67). Early occurring, interpersonal victimization conditions for children that result in complex trauma may lead to the development of negative emotional, cognitive and attitudinal changes in the victim (Williams & Poijula, 2002:11; Finkelhor, 2008:36-37). Other areas may be affected by child maltreatment and trauma such as hormonal patterns, neural transmission and brain development, particularly in infancy (Teicher, Andersen, Polcari, Anderson, Navalta & Dennis, 2003:33; Teicher, Dumont, Yutaka, Vaituzis, Giedd & Andersen, 2004:80; Volpe & Wetherall, 2006:17; Schatz, 2006:85; Finkelhor, 2008:66; Philippson, 2009:42). In addition victims of ongoing interpersonal trauma may exhibit problems with social adjustment, increased psychopathology and likelihood of personality disorders. Over their life span abuse survivors exhibit higher rates of auto-immune and other chronic diseases (Kendall-Tackett, 2007:8; Dube, Fairweather, Pearson, Felitti, Anda & Croft, 2009:243). The consequences of conditions of victimization are therefore often devastating.

For the purpose of this study the focus will be specifically on poly-victimization. Sabina and Straus (2008:677) refer to poly-victimization as the extent of overlap between different types of victimization and Richmond, Elliott, Pierce, Aspelmeier and Alexander (2009:127) refer to poly-victimization as high cumulative levels of victimization. In research using the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (JVQ) poly-victims were operationalised as children who experience four or more different kinds of victimization in a single year (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005a 1307; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:7). This study will use the JVQ to determine the extent and nature of poly-victimization of adolescents.

Previous victimization is one of the most reliable predictors of further victimization, the risk of further victimization being typically three to six times higher and even greater for poly-victims. “Children who were poly-victims in the last year had seven to ten times the risk of victimization in the next year” (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a cited in Finkelhor, 2008:55). Poly-victimization was more frequent for older youths (hence this study’s interest in poly-victimization of adolescents) and appeared to be connected not so much to poverty and minority backgrounds as to family problems (Finkelhor, 2008:35-39; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b). Different kinds of victimization appeared to have more impact and increased symptomatology, than repeated episodes of the same type of victimization (Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2005a:1297; Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2007a; Ousey, Wilcox & Brummel, 2008:3, 4, 6; Cuevas, Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2009:636). Poly-victimization, especially where it was interpersonal (Green, Goodman, Krupnick, Corcoran, Petty, Stockton & Stern, 2000:280; Krupnick, Green, Stockton, Goodman, Corcoran & Petty, 2004:275), was most closely associated with mental health problems and bad outcomes than any other phenomena. These victims fared the worst, carried more psychological distress and showed signs of being stuck in a pattern or downward spiral (Finkelhor, 2008:35-36; Felix, Furlong & Austin, 2009:1673; Richmond *et al.*, 2009:127). More research is required in order to identify poly-victimized children through different methods so that interventions can change established patterns (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005a:1297; Finkelhor, 2008:35-36).

In South Africa, as in many other nations, young people are exposed to high levels of crime and violence both as victims and perpetrators (Burton, 2007: 4, 114). Apartheid contributed to this with its culture of violence, inequality of education, poverty, unemployment and family breakdown (Burton, 2007:117). Thirty-three percent of all crime in statistics released in 2009 were due to contact crimes with which violence is usually associated (Mthethwa, 2009a, b; South African Police Service, 2009:3). Individual characteristics and the risk environment on micro, meso-, exo-, macro- and chronosystem levels in which children develop, determine whether they will adopt criminal and violent behavior or perhaps become victims (Burton, 2007:114; Ward, 2007:12-27). Early repeated exposure to family or community violence may be a precursor to later violent behaviours and the development of an intergenerational cycle of violence (Carothers & Weaver, 2006:115-116; Scarpa & Haden, 2006:502). Other risk factors include media portrayals and sanctioning of violence, availability of alcohol and drugs, access to weapons, and low Socio Economic Status (SES) (Carothers & Weaver, 2006:115, 117).



According to Jones (2010) Heideveld and similar communities on the Cape Flats have high levels of family violence and disruption, inadequate housing (where the family often share a room), unemployment and poverty, teenage pregnancy, crime, substance abuse and gangsterism, all impacting negatively on the quality of child care and likely to predict and forge pathways to poly-victimization (cf. Berk, 2006:569-572, 592; Sigelman & Rider, 2006:514; Finkelhor, 2008:55-56; Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner & Holt, 2009c:316).

Adolescents will be focused on in this study because they may experience increased, as well as further victimization outside the family (Finkelhor, 2008:36-37, 42; Lila, Herrero & Gracia, 2008; Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2009b:711) with the expansion and differentiation of the adolescent's life space (McConville, 2001:30-32). The adolescent disembeds from the family, turns to friends and social activities in striving for autonomy (McConville, 2001:38-40; Partlett, 2005:56; Toman & Bauer, 2005:182; Reynolds, 2005:155; Berk, 2006:460, 569-572; Sigelman & Rider, 2006:514; Finkelhor, 2008:42). Increased victimization at the hands of strangers becomes more common in adolescence since they are more likely to carry valuables and money, whilst they interact in public arenas without adult supervision (Finkelhor, 2008:42). Healthy developmental shifts require adequate support and challenge offered within the field (Mcconville, 2001:48; Partlett, 2005:58; Berk, 2006:460). Low Socio Economic Status families and communities have higher stress factors that often weaken the family system, quality of caregiving and supervision of adolescents, which may lead them to be more vulnerable targets for victimization (Berk, 2006:571; Sigelman & Rider, 2006:428). In addition the social environments in low SES communities may be unsafe (Erasmus, 2007:60) with exposure to crime, substance abuse, violence and gangsterism. These factors may increase the likelihood of victimization.

### **1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND FOCUS**

Adolescents in Heideveld live in conditions that are likely to promote victimization, even poly-victimization. No empirical research has been done to investigate the actual extent and nature of poly-victimization in Heideveld. The effects of poly-victimization are long lasting and particularly devastating for poly-victims both psycho-socially and physically as discussed above. Some possible outcomes of poly-victimisation include PTSD or complex PTSD, anxiety,

depression, somatization, substance abuse, eating disorders, personality disorders, alterations in self-perception, suicidal or other self-harming behaviors, delinquency and crime, poor social outcomes and increased risk of victimization from others (Menard, 2000:2; Thompson, Arias, Basile & Desai, 2002:1115-1116; Hegadoren, Lasiukn & Coupland, 2006:167; Whealin & Slone, 2009). Poly-victimization of the adolescent also impacts on the community in multi faceted ways: poly-victims may become perpetrators of violence (Fagan, 2001:1, 34; Menard, 2002:2; Holt, Finkelhor and Kaufman Kantor 2006b:511), their self efficacy both educationally and later economically is more likely to be negatively affected (Macmillan & Hagan, 2004:127,152; Holt, Finkelhor & Kaufman Kantor, 2006b:512; De Bellis, Hooper, Spratt & Woolley, 2009:874;). These negative outcomes increase the stress on the family perpetuating the cycle of victimization and continuance of social inequality (Macmillan & Hagan, 2004:153; Macmillan, 2009:661; Zielinski, 2009:673 – 674). Where victimization is common and pervasive serious societal effects may occur (Finkelhor, 2008:33-34), victimization and violence may become the norm condoned in the media, within the family and community (Carothers & Weaver, 2006:115-117; Ward, 2007:2). Where victimization is common practice there may also be a minimization of the trauma, the dismissal of the needs of the victim and perhaps even the blaming of victims for their failure to thrive and symptoms.

Addressing poly-victimization may in some way contribute towards steps that need to be taken to help break the cycle of violence. This study is a first step that will explore and describe the nature and extent of poly-victimization. Poly-victims will be identified providing data for further needed research into poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH STATEMENT AND GOALS**

The research statement for this study is: Psycho-social, economic and political conditions of adolescents living in Heideveld are likely to promote victimization and poly-victimization.

The goal of the study (Fouché & De Vos, 2005:104; Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:29) is to conduct a survey on the extent and nature of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld. In order to attain the goal, the following objectives (Fouché & De Vos, 2005:104) have been identified:

- To do a thorough literature review on victimization and poly-victimization, adolescence, and Heideveld and other similar communities on the Cape Flats in order to contextualise, investigate and expound upon on the phenomenon of poly-victimization.
- To take the 34 screener items of the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (Finkelhor, Hamby, Ormrod & Turner, 2005c) and adapt it from the original telephone survey format to a written self-report questionnaire. This will be done in order to establish an appropriate tool for the purposes of this study. The questionnaire will be tested for simplicity and culturally relevant language by a counselor in the school who has grown up in Heideveld.
- To add an open-ended question after each screener item to explore the victim's response to the victimization episode. One further open-ended question will be added at the end of each of the five modules of victimization to explore the respondent's response when a peer is victimized. This is to explore and establish what the current response patterns of victims and peers are when adolescents in Heideveld are victimized.
- To conduct a pilot study (Fouché & Delport, 2005:82) to check whether the language and question answer categories are understandable to the respondents since the JVQ is an American instrument and the researcher is of a different culture.
- To administer the altered JVQ to learners that can speak and read English in a high school in Heideveld. Adolescents in grade eight to ten will be surveyed and the data will be analysed in order to determine the nature and extent of poly-victimization.
- To make recommendations in the light of the data-analysis to the school and other role players in the community, e.g. the Department of Education and Childline who have already expressed an interest in the proceedings and/or findings.

## **1.5 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS**

### **1.5.1 Approach, Type of Research and Design**

This study will be a quantitative descriptive survey design, using the adapted JVQ administered to groups of children (cf. Fouche & De Vos, 2005:137; cf. Durrheim, 2006:45). The research proposed is an applied study through which empirical evidence of the nature and extent of poly-victimization of adolescents may motivate intervention and support within schools (cf. Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006:45; Durrheim, 2006:45). The nature thereof is explorative and descriptive (cf. Babbie & Mouton, 2004:80).

### **1.5.2 Sampling**

The universe includes all 13-18 year old adolescents in low SES urban schools of the Western Cape and the population demarcated to high schools on the Cape Flats. The sample (Strydom, 2005a:193) will include 13-18 year old adolescents who speak and can read English in a high school in Heideveld. The survey will use convenience sampling methods. Respondents selected will be those that have parental consent and respondents that give their assent to the process.

### **1.5.3 Method**

The literature study will cover research articles and excerpts from books on victimization and poly-victimization, as well as possible resultant outcomes over the victim's life span. Adolescence will be expounded from a gestalt focus and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory. A historical and current review of lower SES communities on the Cape Flats such as Heideveld will be described.

Cultural relevance and language appropriateness of the altered JVQ will be checked with a counselor/educator who has grown up and worked in schools in the area. A pilot study will be run to ensure that the content of the tool can be administered safely to respondents, with adequate comprehension and ability to complete questions.

After successful completion of the pilot study, the altered JVQ survey will be administered in full. The questionnaire will be administered to the selected sample group during school hours after consent has been obtained (cf. Strydom, 2005:59). Victimization is associated with trauma–

related symptomatology (Campbell & Fiske, 1959 in Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005c:396). Construct validity of the JVQ could therefore be demonstrated by Finkelhor *et al.* (2005c:396) by showing how each item endorsement was associated with trauma symptomatology. Moderate and significant correlations were found for all modules of the JVQ and for most of the individual screener items. Individual screener items lacking significant correlations to trauma symptoms were those that had very low levels of endorsement (e.g. kidnapping, war or ethnic conflict).

The JVQ showed adequate test-retest reliability for the 34 screener items when re-administered 3-4 weeks later. The survey method used was a random digit dial telephone survey (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005c:402). Test re-test agreement in their research showed that 95% of the screener items were endorsed on the re-administration with a range from 79% to 100% of the 34 screener items. In internal consistency reliability, the overall Cronbach's alpha for the 34 screener items was .80 which is very good (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005c:410).

Response forms will be collected and stored securely in the researcher's office in a locked up cupboard. Data will be entered for statistical analysis. The researcher will use the PASW statistics version 18 to describe the data gathered. Finally the results will be described, as well as the possible impact and limitations of the study.

## **1.6 IMPACT**

A survey on the extent and nature of victimization of adolescents in Heideveld will perhaps highlight the need for support and provide the evidence and information needed to mobilize intervention. This study will identify poly-victims whilst maintaining the anonymity of the individuals' victimization details. This is a needed first step of further research on the plight, experience and needs of poly-victims in South Africa.

## **1.7 CHAPTER OUTLINE**

Chapter One: A brief introduction and overview of the study.

Chapter Two: A literature review on poly-victimization, related factors and outcomes.

Chapter Three: A literature review on violence and victimization in South Africa and in the context of communities like Heideveld on the Cape Flats. Adolescent development is described in the context of the Cape Flats.

Chapter Four: The methodology of the empirical research process is discussed in detail.

Chapter Five: The results of the survey are discussed.

Chapter Six: An evaluation and conclusions of the research process are given. Limitations are outlined, recommendations are made and the impact of the study is discussed.

## **1.8 CONCLUSION**

Chapter One provides a brief introduction to the intended study; a brief overview of literature on the process of victimization and poly-victimization is given. The research problem, statement and goals are then outlined. This is followed by a brief discussion on research design and method which are more fully described in Chapter Four. The general overview of the chapter layout is given to inform the reader of the flow of this document. In the next chapter an in depth literature review on poly-victimization is given.

# CHAPTER TWO

## BACKGROUND AND THEORY ON POLY-VICTIMIZATION

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is poly-victimization, more commonly known as multiple victimization. Adolescents who are poly-victimized are firstly victimized and so some discussion is needed about victimization. The dictionary describes a victim as one who is harmed by, or made to suffer, or is adversely affected by a force, act, circumstance, agency, or condition (British Dictionary, 1986, s.v. ‘victim’; Merriam-Webster, 2010, s.v. ‘victim’; Dictionary.com, 2010, s.v. ‘victim’).

This chapter will discuss victimization broadly, firstly focusing on the field of victimology and developmental victimology. Pervasive and broad forms of victimization, as well as the conditions of victimization and the cumulative and re-victimization risk that may arise as a result of victimization will also be discussed. Poly-victimization will be expounded on in terms of what a poly-victim is, how pathways may be formed drawing youth into poly-victimization, what the negative outcomes are in terms of traumatic symptomatology, psycho-social adjustment, health, educational and economic attainment. Factors that contribute towards resilience are then briefly touched on. The researcher critically discusses some of the ways that victimization has been assessed in the past and motivates the particular approach adopted for this study.

Whilst the focus of this study is on adolescents, victimization is a process that often begins in childhood. The term youth is used to interchangeably discuss children as well as adolescents. This study focuses on victimization across multiple types. Much of the literature found which has focused on the wide spectrum of different types of victimization and its cumulative effects have been described by Finkelhor and fellow researchers. The researcher has not found authors other than Finkelhor referring to the field of “developmental victimology”, which is discussed below. For this reason there is quite an extensive use of Finkelhor in this review.

## 2.2 VICTIMOLOGY

The subject matter of victimology is blurred but the central focus is on the victim (O’Connell, 2008:92). Victimology is described as the study of and understanding of the process of victimization. This includes the cause and effect of victimization, the efficacy of treatment, the outcomes of victimization and the needs of those who are victimized (Finkelhor, 2008:21; O’Connell, 2008:11). Finkelhor (2008:vii) and Lila *et al.* (2008:346) accentuate the need for a more integrated approach in victimology. Historically victimology has been a fragmented field that has ultimately reduced the understanding of the real extent, complexity and gravity of childhood victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:vii). Research on single forms of victimization may overrate trauma effects and mental health consequences through failure to account for effects due to co-occurrence with other forms of victimization (Fitzgerald, Danielson, Saunders & Kilpatrick, 2007:5; Kaslow & Thompson, 2008:889; Sabina & Straus, 2008:679). Walsh, MacMillan, Trocmé, Jamieson and Boyle (2008:1038) reviewed past research using survey instruments to assess victimization, and identified many problems. For instance, surveys may focus on only one form of victimization reducing it to a single item; or surveys may assess abuse in general leaving the respondent to interpret the concept; lastly, few instruments had established reliability and validity. Instead of single forms, multiple forms of victimization need to be studied where victimization may become more of a condition than a discrete event (Kaslow & Thompson, 2008:889; Richmond *et al.*, 2009:127). For youth, exposure to multiple types of victimization or poly-victimization is a common experience contributing far more significantly to mental health outcomes than singular forms of victimization alone (Elliott, Alexander, Pierce, Aspelmeier & Richmond, 2009:330; Richmond *et al.*, 2009:127).

In Finkelhor’s view (2008:vii) childhood victimization has been taken too lightly and overlooked as a phenomenon with more emphasis being placed on offending or less common forms of victimization (e.g. more emphasis on events such as sexual abuse rather than sibling or peer violence which is more prevalent). The study of child abuse and neglect has broadened the field of research on victimization and other traumas (Macmillan, 2009:661). Finkelhor (2008:21) suggests a further refinement in the field of victimology. He suggests the term “developmental victimology” which gives the field specific application to children and youth. This conceptual emphasis would help to highlight how the process of victimization evolves and impacts on the child’s development.



### **2.2.1 Developmental Victimology**

Children are vulnerable to victimizations that are particular to childhood because of their developmental status (Finkelhor, 2008:22). Children are dependents because of their social, psychological and physical immaturity and suffer forms of victimization (such as physical neglect) that adults do not, unless they become dependent through gerontology, sickness or disablement (Finkelhor, 2008:27). Because of their dependent status, children also indirectly suffer when significant others are victimized (Finkelhor, 2008:26). Victimization that have less to do with dependency occur more in the adolescent group (Finkelhor, 2008:38).

The obvious physical smallness or weakness of children are factors that contribute to the child's vulnerability to victimization, but these factors standing alone are not sufficient criteria for increased victimization risk (Finkelhor, 2008:7). Other considerations include factors such as the child's inexperience, lack of self-control, lack of control of access to them and exercising discretion over whom they associate with. Due to their inexperience they may engage in risky behaviours such as experimentation with drugs, alcohol, delinquency or gangsterism that expose them to victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:7-10). These risky behaviours may be more pronounced in low SES communities where adult supervision may be less vigilant.

Children are dependent and lack discretion regarding their living arrangements and patterns of contact (Finkelhor, 2008:10). This includes patterns of contact in their homes and families, their neighbourhoods and the schools they spend much of their time in. This lack of discretion affects intra and extra-familial victimization vulnerability. Adults are able to regulate who they work with, travel with and reside with to a large extent but children are stuck. They do not have the same control of access to them, they do not choose who they live with or travel with (Finkelhor, 2008:10). In low SES communities many children are more vulnerable in the process of going to and from school, many have to navigate their ways through dangerous neighbourhoods. Even at school children may not be able to control who they come into contact with and may find it difficult to find a safe place protected from victimization of peers and educators (Finkelhor, 2008:10).

Children are amongst the most highly victimized of all humankind. They suffer through a high frequency of the same acts of violence and crime that adults do (Finkelhor, 2008:22). According

to Menard (2002:1) adolescents experience even more widespread victimization than adults. We commonly assume that when young children engage in child-on-child violence, the acts are not as serious as when the same occurs between adults or older youth because there is less of a norm violation (Finkelhor, 2008:8). For example, violent acts such as bullying and sexual harassment are presumed to be less injurious when the parties concerned are children. When such violent acts occur between adults instead, they tend to be regarded as serious, even criminal or assaultive in nature. A further complication increasing the vulnerability of children is the need to preserve the family and parent-child bond. This makes victimization in the home a far more complex phenomenon to address. Extra-familial assailants are easier to take action against than significant caregivers (Finkelhor, 2008:8-9).

Finkelhor, Turner and Ormrod (2006:1401) conducted a national study in the United States of America comparing the impact of violent peer and sibling exchanges to those of older youth to investigate the seriousness and link to traumatic symptoms. Their findings suggested that there was no basis for the common assumption that peer and sibling violence is less harmful where younger children are involved (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2006:1415). Peer victimization in childhood, especially if it is chronic or severe, is associated with psychotic symptoms in early adolescence (Schreier, Wolke, Thomas, Horwood, Hollis, Gunnell, Lewis, Thompson, Zammit, Duffy, Salvi & Harrison, 2009:527). Victimization in earlier school years is often situational. Children may soon acquire a stable victim status where they become targets of peer victimization (Sweeting, Young, West & Der, 2006:589). For such children victimization continues through much of their time in school. Younger children and older youth had similar trauma symptoms associated with peer and sibling victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:97). This study found that even at low frequencies of peer violence against younger children, there was a significant relationship to trauma symptoms (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2006:1415; Finkelhor, 2008:97). Peer victimization is related to depression in a bi-directional way. Sweeting *et al.* (2006:590) found in a study that at age 13, victimization of respondents led to depression but depression also led to victimization. These patterns shifted, so that for instance by the age of fifteen, the relationship between depression and victimization for boys was more in the direction of depression to victimization. Peer victimization and fear of future victimization disrupt class room concentration (Boulton, Trueman & Murray, 2008:484) as do negative thoughts in response to stressors. This negative stress-reactive rumination was found to mediate the relationship between victimization and

depression (Erin, 2005:1). Peer victimization has been associated with a range of adjustment difficulties such as loneliness, anxiety, fear or avoidance of social interactions, more negative self-esteem and social self-concept (Reijntjes, Kamphuis, Prinzie & Telch, 2010:245). Literature is unclear whether peer victimization is caused by or is a consequence of maladjustment, or both (Reijntnes *et al.*, 2010:245).

In lifetime assessment of poly-victimization in a national sample of children and youth in the USA, Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner (2009a:406) found that peer and sibling assaults were the most frequent forms of victimization, with sibling violence being the most common (Finkelhor, 2008:33). Because of inescapable living conditions children are faced with as dependents, sibling violence is more likely to become a chronic condition than peer victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:97-100). This is especially true for younger children. Increased trauma symptoms were only noticed amongst younger children living in conditions of chronic sibling violence (where the child experienced five or more episodes during a year) as opposed to infrequent exposure to sibling violence (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2006:1415).

Victimization of younger children is not less serious than it is for older youths. This implies that attitudes of parents and schools need to change with regard to setting procedures in place to minimize initiation and recurrence of violence thereby protecting the child (Finkelhor, 2008:98). The researcher agrees that not enough attention is given in the South African context to peer and sibling victimization and the focus is more often on adult-on-child victimization. Since chronic peer and sibling forms of victimization have such negative consequences, it is vital that this phenomenon be addressed more intentionally through school intervention and the education of parents. Perhaps educators and parents alike need to be trained to recognize peer and sibling victimization. They also need to be educated on how to combat the problem both in terms of addressing the perpetrator and supporting the victim.

In the literature there are mixed reports on how victimization patterns differ across the course of development for both age and gender. Both genders appear to be equally represented amongst poly-victims (Finkelhor, 2008:37). Poly-victimization has been found to be more common amongst older children (Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2007b:21). Physical victimization and witnessing of violence was greatest for boys and physical victimization increased for boys with age (Erin, 2005:1; Hanson, Self-Brown, Fricker-Elhai, Kilpatrick, Saunders & Resnick, 2006:11;

Finkelhor *et al.*, 2009b:711). Sexual victimization was experienced more frequently by girls, sexual assault or witnessing of it also increased in occurrence with age (Erin, 2005:1; Hanson *et al.*, 2006:11; Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2005b:5) although Finkelhor *et al.* (2009b:711) found this as well as child maltreatment increased in frequency with age for girls only. Van Niekerk (2007) disagreed stating that boys experience sexual assault as frequently as girls do (she was referring to the South African context). Other forms of victimization such as physical bullying or sibling assaults occur more frequently in childhood, declining into adolescence (Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2009b:711). In terms of context, Lila, *et al.* (2008:343) found that poly-victimization was highest in the street, followed by the school and then home environment. In this study of victimization of Spanish adolescents, victimization on the streets and at school was double the amount of victimization experienced at home; this was true more for boys than for girls (Lila *et al.*, 2008:345).

Research on gender differences in victimization has yielded mixed findings, perhaps due to difficulties in operationalising victimization terms. There may be differences in that boys experience more physical or direct victimization, whereas girls may experience more relational or indirect victimization. These authors also found that there were no significant gender differences in symptomatology related to victimization. Gender differences in the experience of victimization were also small (Sweeting, Young, West & Der, 2006:590). Pronk & Zimmer-Gembeck's (2010:175) findings on relational aggression and/victimization corroborated – girls experienced more relational victimization within close friendships in order to maintain exclusivity. Victimization of boys occurred around exclusion from larger groups in relation to themes such as masculinity, athleticism and/or perceived sexual identity. The motivation for relational aggression in both groups included factors such as the need to gain popularity and power, or the need to fit in. Relational aggression and victimization have become more complex with the use of technology such as texting and online social networking (Pronk & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2010:177).

### 2.2.2 Pervasive and Broad Forms of Victimization

Recent research indicates that the exposure to victimization is both pervasive and broad, forming a routine part of childhood (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner & Hamby, 2005:5; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:19; Lila *et al.*, 2008:333). Peer and sibling assault, stealing and vandalism are commonly experienced, yet historically more attention has been given to what are considered more serious, singular forms of victimization such as physical abuse, neglect, abduction or homicide (Finkelhor, 2008:33-34). Focusing on singular forms of victimization has led to failure to obtain complete victimization profiles and has led to misconceptions about victimization. More focused studies may exaggerate the association between victimization type and negative outcomes, since other forms of victimization may be inadequately accounted for (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:20).

More recently, literature on victimization has put more emphasis on victimization across broader types and contexts, recognising the serious cumulative effect it has on negative outcomes (Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2007c:149; Felix *et al.*, 2009:1673; Richmond *et al.*, 2009:127). The more common or pervasive forms of victimization impact on the here and now living of children, possibly causing serious societal effects because of the frequency with which they occur in a large population (Finkelhor, 2008:33-34). Such common forms of childhood victimization (especially peer and sibling violence) may cause conditions of victimization to arise (discussed later).

Assessing multiple victimization types may help researchers to recognize those children for whom victimization has become more of a condition than an event (Finkelhor *et al.* (2007b:9). Through the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire Finkelhor *et al.* (2005a) began to consider broader forms of victimization that include child maltreatment, conventional crime and violence within communities and families. This questionnaire asks about victimizations in five broad domains including conventional crime, child maltreatment, peer and sibling abuse, sexual victimization and witnessing/indirect victimization. Conventional crime pertains to the most important crime categories in police states in the United States of America. A broader focus on victimization types may improve the ability to intervene or prevent victimization, possibly facilitating a better understanding of the pathways leading to victimization vulnerability (Finkelhor, *et al.* (2007b:23). Within the South African context this focus on broad domains of

victimization or the integration of different domain types is greatly needed so that poly-victimization is better understood and counteracted.

### **2.2.3 Victimization Conditions**

Victimization should be regarded as more of a condition which is a stable ongoing process rather than a discrete time lined or episodic traumatic event (Finkelhor, 2008:67; Kaslow & Thompson, 2008:894). Child maltreatment (physical or sexual abuse and neglect) can be understood more broadly as a condition of interpersonal victimization or interpersonal violence (Spatz-Widom, Czaja & Dutton, 2008:793; Zielinski, 2009:667).

Children caught up in a poly-victimization condition are at particular risk of the situation persisting. Finkelhor *et al.* (2007a:493) found that the risk ratio for repeat poly-victimization was more than five times greater (5.1) for poly-victims than non-poly-victims. Poly-victims “were at increased risk to experience subsequent sexual victimization, child maltreatment, and virtually all other forms of victimization” in the following year. The commonness of victimization, strong association between all types of victimization and the consequent increased vulnerability to all other types of victimization illustrate how victimization is more of a condition than a discrete set of events (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:493). This reinforces the necessity to identify poly-victims and to intervene in order to change established victimization patterns (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:493).

Finkelhor (2008:36) suggests that the children who experience victimization conditions will probably have different characteristics and diagnosis. The concept of complex Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) or Complex trauma recognizes this reality of a victimization condition. Child maltreatment or other types of victimization conditions may occur over a long period of time. These victimization types may be more “degrading, humiliating and stigmatizing” conditions rather than frightening and life threatening events that are more focused on in the PTSD field (Finkelhor, 2008:67). These conditions result in a long-term process of “mis-socialization” (Finkelhor, 2008:67), that produces enduring distortions of development and the child’s view of self, as well as negative emotional, cognitive and attitudinal changes (Williams & Poijula, 2002:11;- 68; Finkelhor, 2008:36-37).

Whilst there are many factors that may form pathways to conditions of poly-victimization (discussed later), anger and aggression are strong factors predicting persistence of poly-victimization conditions (Finkelhor, 2007a:493). The poly-victim's anger and aggression do not explain onset of victimization, nor can they be separated from the pattern or cycle that follows. Once the child is caught up in an intense victimization condition, anger or aggression is likely to be generated leading to unruly and challenging behavior of the child. This antagonizing behaviour then generates further victimization from exasperated parents and others (Finkelhor, 2007a:493). Since anger and aggression generate further victimization, such symptoms should be noted as clear indicators to schools and parents that support is needed to help buffer the effects of victimization and to build resilience (discussed later).

Finally economic status of parents also contributes to the likelihood of a victimization condition arising. Poverty and single parenthood are salient risk factors for the perpetration of child abuse and neglect (Paxson & Waldfogel, 2002:2; Zielinski, 2009:764). Poverty has also been suggested in literature as “a potential mechanism in the intergenerational transmission of violence” (Zielinski, 2009:666). Whilst victimization occurs at all levels of SES the danger for low SES communities is more the lack of buffering or support available to build the resilience of the child and counter the effects of victimization.

#### **2.2.4 Cumulative Risk**

Finkelhor *et al.* (2007b:20) and Leventhal (2007:4) suggest that researchers need to be more systematic and rigorous in investigating the potential cumulative and interactive effects of different kinds of child victimization, to realize the real impact of poly-victimization. Previous research discusses the cumulative stress model where the combined effect of different forms of victimization impacts more severely than if one form of victimization had been experienced (Flouri, 2008:913; Chiung-Tao Shen, 2009:157). For instance, a co-occurrence study on college students who experienced both interparental violence and physical maltreatment found that those experiencing dual violence reported increased and long lasting, trauma symptomatology and behavioural problems than those students who experienced only one form of violence (Chiung-Tao Shen, 2009:157). Similarly African American children experiencing both intimate partner

violence and who were maltreated were at particularly high risk for psychological distress (Kaslow & Thompson, 2008:888). Children who experience a single type of victimization, even when the victimization is serious, or experienced in repeated episodes, are not so likely to be so traumatized that they struggle to recover (Finkelhor, 2005a:1309; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:7). Trauma is better predicted by different types of victimization rather than through single types (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b: 21). The accumulation of stressors and number of risks have a greater impact (Flouri, 2008:914). With multiple adversities the child's ability to cope decreases dramatically since the adaptive capacities of the organism are overwhelmed (Flouri, 2008:913). Rather than being independent, these multiple adversities are interrelated and may co-occur, hence the need to consider cumulative effects (Leventhal, 2007:4). Cumulative risk measures explain more variance in outcomes than single factors do (Flouri, 2008:914). Given this, it is necessary to look beyond the most recent victimization experience and consider the history of victimizations the child has experienced when a child shows trauma symptoms (Finkelhor, 2005:1309).

The researcher considers that the above illustrates the need for educators to have continuance in school records (over both junior and high school). Such documentation may enable educators to be more cognisant of the victimization profiles of learners. Learners who have experienced numerous episodes of victimization need to be recognised as youth whose ability to cope may be lessened and whose need for support and understanding is greater.

### **2.2.5 Victimization Risk**

Victimization is diverse and repetitive, best considered nearly normal rather than unusual (Hart, 2007:474). The relationship between victimization and re-victimization is more complex than the terms suggest. Charting victimizations across time has been difficult as the first identified or remembered victimization may not actually be the first (Hart, 2007:474).

Previously, childhood sexual abuse and sexual re-victimization in adulthood were given more attention in literature than child maltreatment with regard to victimization risk (Spatz-Widom *et al.*, 2008:785; Cuevas, Finkelhor, Clifford, Ormrod & Turner, 2010:235-236). Research has



since expanded showing that other forms of childhood maltreatment are associated with adult re-victimization. Children experiencing multiple forms of abuse or neglect (poly-victims) have a heightened risk of experiencing further trauma and re-victimization (Spatz-Widom *et al.*, 2008:793). This increased risk of re-victimization is confined more to interpersonal violence (Spatz-Widom *et al.*, 2008:793).

Whilst the association of childhood victimization with re-victimization in adulthood has had a greater emphasis in research, studies focusing on children and re-victimization patterns within childhood show similar trends. Prior victimization is a risk factor for later victimization, the psychological consequences of victimization possibly precipitating re-victimization (Cuevas, *et al.*, 2010:235-236). The greatest impact of past victimization is the indirect effect it has on increasing the occurrence of adversities, symptoms and subsequent victimization (Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2007c:161). Indirect victimization, as in the witnessing of violence, is an important risk factor for direct victimization (Hanson *et al.*, 2006:12).

Previous victimization is one of the most reliable predictors of further victimization across a lifetime. This greater vulnerability to re-victimization is referred to in literature as transitivity of victimization risk (Finkelhor, 2008:35, 54; Hanson *et al.*, 2006:3; Spatz-Widom *et al.*, 2008:785). Re-victimization is not a matter of experiencing more of the same kind of victimization in one year, but rather, the child who has been victimized has a much greater chance of being victimized across a broad range of other kinds of victimization in the same year (Cuevas *et al.*, 2010:236; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:492; Finkelhor, 2008:55). In the literature this has also been referred to as cross-type recidivism. In a study done on cross type recidivism among child maltreatment victims and perpetrators, it was found that there was substantial cross-type recidivism over time (Jonson-Reid, Drake, Chung & Way, 2003:912). For example, a child who is bullied one year or experiences theft of property is more likely to be sexually victimized or to experience community violence in the same year (Finkelhor, *et al.* 2007a:492). Finkelhor *et al.* (2007a:492) found that compared to non-victimized children, children who were victimized in one year had a two to seven times greater risk of being victimized again in the following year. No particular kind of victimization better predicted future victimization. All types of victimization followed similar patterns (Finkelhor, 2008:55).

Poly-victimization is very important in understanding victimization risk (Finkelhor, 2005:1309) as multiple victimization experiences are especially strong predictors of future victimization. The poly-victim has high levels of vulnerability and persistence in re-victimization across all victimization types (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:492). There appear to be no “gateway” victimizations such as sexual abuse or maltreatment that increase the risk of re-victimization more than others (Finkelhor *et al.* 2007a:492). “Children who were poly-victims in the last year had seven to ten times the risk of victimization in the next year” (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a cited by Finkelhor, 2008:55). These children appeared to be stuck in a victimization pattern or condition and the victimizations they experienced seemed to have the most grievous outcomes (Finkelhor 2008:55). Children exhibiting anger or aggression and those having life adversities are at a higher risk of persistent poly-victimization (Hart, 2007:474). This higher risk of victimization and the poly-victim’s exceedingly greater levels of traumatic symptomatology strongly motivate the need to identify and offer interventions to assist poly-victims (Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2005:1297; Finkelhor, 2008:55).

The researcher recommends that educators and parents need to be trained to recognise that youth who are victimized are at a greater risk of re-victimization (especially poly-victims and angry victims). With this knowledge of increased re-victimization risk for the victim, carers may be more motivated to intervene and address the psychological impact of victimization timeously. As stated above the psychological impact of the victimization may be one of the factors that cause persistent victimization as well as the failure of adults to support youth in overcoming adversities.

### **2.3 POLY-VICTIMIZATION**

The term “poly-victim” was adopted to more clearly describe an individual who experiences multiple types of victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:34). Sabina and Straus (2008:677) referred to poly-victimization as the extent of overlap between different types of victimization (physical assault, psychological aggression and sexual coercion by a dating partner were specifically studied). In this study a poly-victim is taken to be the former, that is an individual who experiences multiple types of victimization. The term poly-victimization is an important and

useful conceptualization in understanding victimization risk and victimization trauma (Finkelhor, 2005a:1309). Poly-victimization was found to be more predictive of negative outcomes, depressive symptoms and post traumatic stress than singular kinds of victimization (Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2007b:21; Sabina & Straus, 2008:667; Felix *et al.*, 2009:1673; Richmond, Elliot, Pierce, Aspelmeier & Alexander, 2009:127). Poly-victims fared the worst on psycho-social adjustment (Felix *et al.*, 2009:1673). Additionally, the contribution made by the complex inter-relationship of different types of victimizations has been understated and the combination of victimization experiences (as discussed above under cumulative risk) is an important risk factor (Finkelhor *et al.* 2007; Flouri, 2008:913; Kaslow & Thompson, 2008:888; Chiung-Tao Shen, 2009:157).

Youth who are victimized mostly experience multiple forms of victimization in multiple contexts (Finkelhor, 2008:34; Lila *et al.*, 2008:344). When considering low SES communities of the Cape Flats in South Africa, victimization does occur in multiple contexts (as discussed in the next chapter). In the researcher's view, this exposure to different contexts provides more scope for different types of victimization to take place increasing the likelihood of poly-victimization. Spinozzola *et al.* (2003:14) found that 77.6% of children in their study had experienced multiple victimization or prolonged trauma. Finkelhor *et al.* (2007b:19) using a nationally representative sample in the USA, found that 92% of rape victims and 76% of youth experiencing dating violence were also poly-victims. Poly-victims made up a large part of any group of children identified for one victimization type (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:19). Research has shown that it is more of a norm for victimized children to experience multiple contemporaneous victimization rather than singular forms of victimization (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:19; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007c:150; Sabina & Straus, 2008:678). Research investigating one type of victimization in isolation is limited in effectiveness (Sabina & Straus, 2008:678) and often fails to recognize the most chronically victimized within their samples of victimized respondents (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:7-9). Finkelhor *et al.* (2007b:19) found that when poly-victimization was taken into consideration it overshadowed, or significantly covered the influence of singular forms of victimization. In a study done on college adjustment of women in USA, poly-victimization accounted for a significant proportion of variance in scores of adjustment going beyond variance explained by the concurrent entry of singular categories of victimization (Elliot *et al.*, 2009:330).

In past research on victimization over a year, poly-victimization has been operationalised as victims who experienced four or more different types of victimization over the course of the previous year period (Finkelhor, 2007b:7). Poly-victims in this study formed 22% of the sample (2030 respondents) and were further classified into two groups: the “high poly-victims” (at least seven different types of victimization), who were 7% of the sample, and the “low poly-victims” (four to six types of different types of victimization), who formed 15% of the sample (Finkelhor, 2007b:16; Leventhal, 2007:4). Victimization occurred across three or more victimization domains (sexual, physical assault, property, child maltreatment, peer/sibling or witnessing/indirect victimization) for 95% of the poly-victims. Thirty-seven percent of poly-victims were victimized across five or more domains (Finkelhor *et al.* 2007b:16).

In a more recent study on lifetime assessment of poly-victimization, Finkelhor *et al.* (2009a:403) operationalised poly-victims as those children and youth with the highest 10% of victimization scores. The entirety of different lifetime victimizations highly predicted symptoms of current distress. Even in past year victimization experiences, Finkelhor *et al.* (2007b:21) found that the number of victimizations (even though they include victimizations that seem less injurious such as “theft, vandalism, sibling assault and household burglary”) predicted trauma symptomatology. The most widely experienced forms of victimization included peer and sibling assault, physical and emotional harassment and intimidation, stealing and either being assaulted or witnessing someone else being assaulted, both without weapons (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2009a:407). Children experiencing certain types of victimization were more likely to have further kinds of victimization. Finkelhor *et al.* (2007c:156) in a study done on a national sample found that 94% of youth who experienced sexual victimization also experienced other types of victimization within the same year. Most of these youth (73%) were poly-victims experiencing four or more different types of victimization (with an average of 6 types of victimization) within the same year. Youth who experienced some kind of child maltreatment had a mean number of 5.7 other different types of victimization within the same year (Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2007c:156). These findings indicate that youth experiencing sexual victimization or child maltreatment are particularly at risk of being poly-victimized.

Youth exposed to victimization types such as “war or ethnic conflict, rape, flashing, bias attack, witnessing parental assault of a sibling, kidnapping, witnessing a murder and dating violence”

were largely (75% ) poly-victims, who on average had more than seven types of victimization in a year (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:16). Sibling, peer violence and bullying were much less likely to co-occur with multiple other kinds of violence and poly-victims formed a small number of these victimized youth (Finkelhor, 2007b:16; Leventhal, 2007:4).

Research on victimization of youth has shown that poly-victims are often the youth with the most serious types of victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:35). Similar increases in symptomatology occur amongst a wide range of poly-victimization profiles (Finkelhor, 2005a:1309). Poly-victims were significantly more distressed, experienced more non-victimization adversities than other respondents and were not as likely to have intact families (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007c:156; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2009a:403). Non-victimization adversities assessed included problems experienced by youth such as serious infirmity, accidents, incarceration of a parent, natural calamities, conflict or substance abuse in the home (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2009a:406).

Poly-victimization is to some extent more commonly experienced by older youth, though many poly-victims have been found to be very young (Finkelhor, 2008:37). Research has not strongly supported that poly-victimization is associated with certain demographics such as SES or race; rather poly-victimization has more of an association with family disruption, e.g. divorce, separation or remarriage.

### **2.3.1 Pathways to Poly-victimization**

Factors contributing to the likelihood of poly-victimization may form pathways to poly-victimization (Finkelhor, 2008: 55-56):

#### *2.3.1.1 Living in a Dangerous Family that is Filled with Victimization.*

Conflict, violence and victimization are witnessed, experienced and modelled within these families (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:493). Family environment is significantly associated with violence exposure (Hanson *et al.*, 2006:12). Youth who endorse violence exposure, have been found to be significantly more likely to come from families where a member had substance abuse problems (Hanson *et al.*, 2006:11). Family alcohol and drug use was significantly associated with intrafamilial and extrafamilial physical assault and community violence (Hanson

*et al.*, 2006:12). In dangerous families children may be maltreated in various ways, suffering (and witnessing) violence, physical, sexual and emotional abuse from parents and siblings. Domestic violence in the home significantly increases the child's risk of experiencing physical assault, sexual assault and/or neglect (Hanson *et al.*, 2006:4). From victimization experiences such as these certain psychological states and problem behaviours are socially learned (Ward, 2007:11; Howells & Rosenbaum, 2008:203). Emotional deficits created by victimization conditions may lead the child to seek support and need satisfaction elsewhere from other peers or adults. This may increase the risk of exploitation, extrafamilial victimization and exposure to problematic peer groups who introduce him/her to gangs (Cook, Blaustein, Spinazzola & Van Der Kolk, 2003:17-18; Ward, 2007:12). Re-victimization outside the family is then more likely to occur (Finkelhor, 2008:55).

Exposure to the above may move a child into a generalized condition of victimization that generates anger or aggression (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:493). Child physical abuse by both parents, or by the mother alone in the home, or simply witnessing sibling violence was significantly related to aggression (Howells & Rosenbaum, 2008:203). Witnessing sibling abuse had the same effect as if the participants in the study were abused themselves. When physical abuse (or witnessing of sibling physical abuse) is combined with the witnessing of intimate partner violence, more aggressive and depressive symptoms arise (Howells & Rosenbaum, 2008:203-207). This anger or aggression (occurring also in family disruption in 2.3.1.2. below) in turn fuels unruly defiant behavior that further binds them into a more serious victimization condition where there is a high risk of persistent poly-victimization (Hart, 2007:474; Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2007a:493). Barker, Boivin, Brendgen, Fontaine, Vitaro, Bissonette & Tremblay (2008:1185) found that child physical aggression predicted high/chronic and moderate/increasing peer victimization trajectories.

### *2.3.1.2 Family Disruption*

Family disruption such as single parenthood, separation, divorce, living with step-parent families or/and experiencing adversity in the home that creates a chaotic, multi-problem family environment may be pathways to poly-victimization (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:493).

This pathway may not involve direct exposure to violence in the family. These families may experience adversities such as illnesses, accidents or homelessness, conditions that lead to poor supervision, emotional deprivation or exposure to untrustworthy dangerous people. On this pathway the child is prone to victimization by peers and sexual and other types of victimizations (Finkelhor, 2008:56).

In the first two categories of living in a dangerous family or experiencing family disruption, the style of parenting and quality of relationships impact on victimization. For example, Barker *et al.* (2008:1185) found that high levels of harsh, reactive parenting predicted high or chronic peer victimization. Adolescents who had poorer family relationships were more victimized at home, at school and on the streets (Lila *et al.* 2008:345). Youth who endorse violence exposure are significantly more likely to come from homes where they had not always lived with both natural parents (Hanson *et al.*, 2006:11). Homes where a natural parent has not always resided have been found to be associated with intrafamilial physical and sexual assault as well as the witnessing of domestic or community violence (Hanson *et al.*, 2006:12).

#### *2.3.1.3 Unsafe Environment*

The family may be a safe place but the environment may not be. Dangerous communities and schools create surroundings in which bullies, gangs, vandalism and theft of property flourish (Finkelhor, 2008:56). The risk of victimization or witnessing violence in such neighborhoods is obvious. Finkelhor *et al.* (2007a:493) hypothesize that any form of victimization may promote gang membership. Gang membership ironically exposes the youth to an array of other types of victimizations rather than safeguard against them (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:493).

#### *2.3.1.4 Personal Characteristics*

Lastly the child may have certain personal characteristics that influence the way he or she interacts (Ward, 2007:12-14). Certain temperaments, incapacities or unique differences may attract victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:57; Pronk & Zimmerman-Gembeck, 2010:194). Pronk & Zimmerman-Gembeck (2010:194) found two groups of victims of relational aggression: 1. Individuals who were socially isolated and were perceived to have fewer desirable individual

traits; and 2. Those with very desirable traits who were seen as a threat to the social hierarchy evoking jealousy.

Emotional problems such as excessive nervousness, being overly sensitive, or too passive or reactive attract victimization (Pronk & Zimmerman-Gembeck, 2010:195). Emotional problems may weaken the ability to protect oneself and give rise to increased risk behavior provoking aggression and animosity (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner & Holt, 2009c:316). Finkelhor *et al.* (2007a:493) hypothesize that certain psychological states may develop through any form of victimization, further increasing the risk of different kinds of victimization in future. Whilst certain temperaments or other characteristics are more likely to be found in victimized youth (Sweeting *et al.*, 2006:591), literature is mixed on whether victimization occurs because of personal characteristics or whether victimization causes certain personal characteristics to develop. For instance Reijntjes *et al.* (2010:244) found that internalizing problems functioned as both antecedents and consequences of peer victimization in a meta-analysis of longitudinal studies.

#### *2.3.1.5. The Repressive Socio-Political Environment*

In the next chapter victimization in the South African context is discussed. The researcher considers the socio-political conditions to be a further pathway to poly-victimization. This is clearly illustrated in the following chapter particularly with reference to the consequences of the demasculation of coloured men over past generations in South Africa.

### **2.3.2 Outcomes of Poly-victimization**

As previously mentioned victimization of youth in general is widespread and significantly greater than the victimization rates of adults (Thompson *et al.*, 2002:1116). Some possible outcomes of victimization include PTSD or complex PTSD, anxiety, depression, somatization, substance abuse, eating disorders, personality disorders, alterations in self-perception, suicidal or other self-harming behaviors, delinquency and crime, poor social, academic and economic



outcomes and increased risk of victimization from others (Menard, 2000:2; Thompson *et al.* 2002:1116; Macmillan & Hagan, 2004:152; Macmillan, 2009:662 & Whealin & Sloane, 2009).

Research shows that recent poly-victimization is a more important risk factor for trauma symptoms than individual victimization histories (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:19) and recent poly-victimization is a very important predictor of trauma symptoms (Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2007b:19-21). Poly-victimization in the past year highly predicted trauma symptoms at the end of the same year even when controlling for prior victimization and mental health problems (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007c:149). Symptomatology is evident primarily in poly-victims, rather than other victims in any individual category of victimization (Finkelhor, 2005a:1309). When poly-victimization is accounted for, it substantially overshadows the association between specific types of victimization and the outcomes of traumatic symptomatology (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005:1309; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:19; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007c:149; Leventhal, 2007:4). There may have been an overestimation of negative outcomes of single forms of victimization due to inadequate control of other victimization types (Finkelhor, 2007b:20).

Since symptomatology has been shown to be evident primarily in poly-victims, educators, other professionals and parents need to be trained to recognise that the presenting type of symptoms related to an alleged particular type of victimization may only be the tip of the iceberg. A child presenting with symptoms allegedly from one type of victimization may well be a child who is a poly-victim. Adults and even adolescents trained to recognise this, may be better equipped to investigate further and ask the relevant questions in order to identify and intervene for poly-victims. Carers need to be able to recognise how trauma symptoms of poly-victims may manifest, they would then be more empowered to recognize the problem and take action earlier.

Poly-victims make up a large part of any group of children identified for one victimization type and poly-victimization eclipses the association between single types of victimization and trauma outcomes (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005:1309; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:19; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007c:149). Given this, the researcher assumes that outcomes of single types of victimization will also be reflected to a large extent amongst poly-victims. The ensuing review of outcomes of poly-victimization will therefore touch on specific as well as multiple forms of victimization. The researcher takes this stance because of the narrow focus on victimization and lack of integration

across literature with regard to the cumulative impact of different forms of victimization on development and health.

The psychological impact of victimization is complex depending on multiple factors such as the chronicity and severity of the victimization events but also on how these events interact with the child's individual make-up and personal coping resources, available supports, family and situational characteristics (Wolfe, Jaffe, Leschied & Legate, 2010:139-140). For instance, increased severity of childhood sexual abuse and negative appraisals of the abuse lead to the greater use of avoidant coping methods. Appraisals are antecedents of coping which in turn, directly and strongly impact on symptom variability. Adolescents experiencing abuse as being more harmful or more negative, show more avoidant as well as more active coping strategies (Bal, Crombez, De Bourdeaudhuij & Van Oost, 2009:725). Appraisals of sexual abuse made, coping strategies adopted and crisis support received play important roles in symptom development and variability (Bal *et al.*, 2009:724). Crisis support lessens negative appraisals and increases active coping buffering symptomatology (Bal *et al.*, 2009:723). Avoidant coping methods predict increased externalizing and internalizing trauma symptomatology and severity of sexual coercion in adulthood (Bal *et al.*, 2009:717; Fortier, DiLillo, Messman-Moore, Peugh, DeNardi & Gaffey, 2009:308). The above illustrates the importance of intervention to change cognitive and behavioural patterns established. In the researchers view, especially pertaining to the South African context, attitudes about crisis support need to be changed before assistance will be willingly sort out. Perhaps this is possible through educating children about why there is a need for it and what the consequences may be if help is not accessed. Children also need to be trained to recognise that accessing support is a sign of courage and an declaration of self worth that is admirable rather than a sign of weakness.

Findings in past research on the impact of victimization on health outcomes have been clouded by methodological issues. Confounding variables (such as family background, childhood characteristics and childhood adversities) have not been controlled for, leading to less accuracy in the estimation of the impact of abuse or victimization on later health (Springer, Sheridan, Kuo & Carnes, 2007:518-527). Springer *et al.* (2007:526) controlled family background and childhood adversity measures and found that "childhood physical abuse predicted a graded increase in depression, anxiety, anger, physical symptoms and medical diagnoses. Childhood

physical abuse also predicted severe ill health and an array of specific medical diagnoses and physical symptoms” (Springer *et al.*, 2007:518-527). In another study on interactive effects of child abuse and neglect and intimate partner violence on psychological adjustment of low socio-economic status (SES) 8 – 12 year old African American children, Kaslow and Thompson (2008:894) found that poly-victimized children who were victimized at home and also witnessed violence against their mothers had the highest risk of negative psychological symptomatology. Finkelhor (2007b:20) reports mixed findings in studies on interactive effects and cumulative effects of different forms of victimization, for example some studies found worst outcomes with co-occurrence of direct victimization and witnessing violence in the home but others did not. Limitations of the studies mentioned by Finkelhor *et al.* (2007b:20) were that they focused on specific types of abuse and violence. In their research, Finkelhor *et al.* (2007b:20) found that when a broader range of victimization exposures were focused on, cumulative outcomes were found.

Spinazzola *et al.* (2003, cited by Cook *et al.*, 2003:30) found in their study that interpersonal victimization is the most prevalent form of trauma exposure experienced by children and it most frequently occurred in the home. Interpersonal violence is intensely personal in nature, disrupting self-perception, identity formation, systems of meaning, emotional self-regulation and basic trust in others and in the world as a safe and predictable place. Victims often blame themselves and are left with debilitating shame and are vulnerable to further injury inflicted by self or another (Hegadoren *et al.*, 2006:167; Herman, 1997:119; Whealin & Slone, 2009).

In juvenile delinquents, PTSD mediated the relationship between interpersonal trauma and mental health problems for all youth and especially for females (Kerig, Ward, Vanderzee & Moeddel 2008:1214). Those who experience only non-interpersonal trauma may not have an increased risk for current or later ongoing symptoms than those who have no trauma exposure (Green, Goodman, Krupnick, Corcoran, Petty, Stockton & Stern, 2000:280). Those who experience multiple interpersonal exposures to trauma have the highest risk for current symptom distress (Green *et al.* 2000: 280).

Poly-victimization, particularly where the victimization is interpersonal (Green *et al.*, 2000:280; Krupnick *et al.* 2004:275), is “most closely associated with mental health problems and bad outcomes” than any other phenomena (Finkelhor, 2008:36). Poly-victimization is also the best

predictor of scores on mental health measures (Leventhal, 2007:4). Poly-victims have the highest levels of traumatic symptomatology (Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2005a:1309; Finkelhor, *et al.* 2007b:20; Holt, Finkelhor & Kantor, 2006b:503). They may experience more life-time adversities and are the most distressed of all youth, appearing to be “locked in a pattern or trapped in a downward spiral” (Finkelhor, 2008:35-36). On mental measures, poly-victims are more likely to score in the clinical range with the exception of anxiety in younger children (Leventhal, 2007:4).

Gayla and Vickerman (2007:613) discuss how intrafamilial victimization can complicate a PTSD diagnosis. Children exposed to ongoing violent conditions may experience problems in many domains of functioning. These deficits meet many of the criteria for multiple disorders over and above the symptoms of PTSD. This echoes literature which discusses the need for a further category of complex trauma or complex PTSD (Whealin & Slone, 2009). Now a continuum of human trauma responses has been conceptualized, with one polarity being acute stress reactions that are resolved on their own without treatment, and the other polarity being complex PTSD. The more common or classic understanding of PTSD falls somewhere between the two (Herman, 1992:119; Hegadoren, Lasiukn & Coupland, 2006:163). Another name sometimes used to describe long-term trauma symptoms is Disorders of Extreme Stress Not Otherwise Specified (DESNOS) (Whealin & Slone, 2009). Field trials testing the DSM-IV found that 92% of individuals with complex PTSD or DESNOS also met the criteria for PTSD. This further classification of trauma outcomes is not separate but is an extension of PTSD and is necessary to prevent blame being mistakenly placed on survivors for their symptoms (Whealin & Slone, 2009). In South Africa perhaps this is an area that educators and other carers need to be trained in, both the understanding of what complex trauma is and how one should respond to it. An understanding of complex trauma would facilitate more support and understanding from carers who otherwise may blame the victim for their failure to deal with and overcome the trauma.

Complex trauma describes the problem of exposure to traumatic events as well as the short and long-term effects it has on the individual (Cook *et al.*, 2003:5). Chronic and early occurring victimization through exposure to simultaneous or sequential occurrences of child maltreatment such as emotional abuse, physical or sexual abuse or other victimization conditions may lead to complex trauma. Complex trauma impacts negatively on multiple domains of functioning including attachment, biology, affect regulation, dissociation, behavioural regulation, cognition

and self-concept (Cook *et al.*, 2003:8; Williams & Poijula, 2002:1; Finkelhor, 2008:36-37). The table below lists domains of impairment.

<p><b>Attachment:</b> Uncertainty about the reliability and predictability of the world Problems with boundaries Distrust and suspiciousness Social isolation Interpersonal difficulties Difficulty attuning to other people's emotional states Difficulty with perspective taking Difficulty enlisting other people as allies</p>
<p><b>Biology:</b> Sensorimotor developmental problems Hypersensitivity to physical contact Anolfidcisi Analgesia (insensitivity to pain (Reber, 2001:31)) Problems with coordination, balance, body tone Difficulties localizing skin contact Somatization Increased medical problems across a wide span, e.g., pelvic pain, asthma, skin problems, autoimmune disorders, pseudoseizures</p>
<p><b>Affect Regulation:</b> Difficulty with emotional self-regulation Difficulty describing feelings and internal experience Problems knowing and describing internal states Difficulty communicating wishes and desires</p>
<p><b>Dissociation:</b> Distinct alterations in states of consciousness Amnesia Depersonalization and derealization Two or more distinct states of consciousness, with impaired memory for state-based events</p>
<p><b>Behaviour Control:</b> Poor modulation of impulses Self-destructive behavior Aggression against others Pathological self-soothing behaviors Sleep disturbances Eating disorders Substance abuse</p>

<p>Excessive compliance</p> <p>Oppositional behavior</p> <p>Difficulty understanding and complying with rules</p> <p>Communication of traumatic past by reenactment in day-to-day behavior or play (sexual, aggressive, etc.)</p>
<p><b>Cognition:</b></p> <p>Difficulties in attention regulation and executive functioning</p> <p>Lack of sustained curiosity</p> <p>Problems with processing novel information</p> <p>Problems focusing on and completing tasks</p> <p>Problems with object constancy</p> <p>Difficulty planning and anticipating</p> <p>Problems understanding own contribution to what happens to them</p> <p>Learning difficulties</p> <p>Problems with language development</p> <p>Problems with orientation in time and space</p> <p>Acoustic and visual perceptual problems</p> <p>Impaired comprehension of complex visual-spatial patterns</p>
<p><b>Self Concept:</b></p> <p>Lack of a continuous, predictable sense of self</p> <p>Poor sense of separateness</p> <p>Disturbances of body image</p> <p>Low self-esteem</p> <p>Shame and guilt</p>

Table 2.1: Domains of Impairment in Children Exposed to Complex Trauma from Cook *et al.* (2003:6).

The chronically victimized child is forced to expend resources meant for development and growth, on survival (Cook *et al.*, 2003:7). Disruptions in early caregiving rob the child of co-regulation experiences needed to develop self-regulatory capacities and may lead to the development of insecure attachment patterns. These patterns create an “environment of vulnerability” where the child may be exposed to complex trauma (Cook *et al.*, 2003:8).

Child maltreatment and trauma impact on hormonal patterns, neural transmission and brain development (Teicher, Andersen, Polcari, Anderson, Navalta & Dennis, 2003:33; Teicher, Dumont, Yutaka, Vaituzis, Giedd & Andersen, 2004:80; Volpe & Wetherall, 2006:17; Schatz,

2006:85; Finkelhor, 2008:66; Philippson, 2009:42) particularly in infancy where the brain is sculpted into “an image of the infant’s caring environment” (Philippson, 2009:42). In a situation where opposition or escape is impossible the defence system of the individual becomes “overwhelmed and disorganized” (Herman, 1992:34). Long-term and perhaps even permanent changes occur to biological systems and psychological schemas with the cumulative effects of stress responsive hormones and neuromodulators (Hegadoren *et al.*, 2006:6).

Structural changes in the brain occur with early exposure to severe stress and maltreatment (Teicher, *et al.* 2003:33). In children who were neglected, the corpus callosum was 17 % smaller (Teicher, *et al.*, 2004:80) than control subjects and 11 % smaller than in psychiatric patients who had not been abused or neglected. Research on the alterations in brain volume in adults with PTSD consistently supports a reduction in the volume of the hippocampus, whereas recent research involving children and adolescents with PTSD has shown smaller medial and posterior portions of the corpus callosum (Jackowski, de Araujo, de Lacerda, de Jesus & Kaufman, 2009:1). The corpus callosum connects the cortical hemispheres facilitating integration of cognitive functioning (“perception, attention, memory, language and problem solving”) and motor coordination of the different sides of the body (Berk, 2006:188). Other “major functional consequences include increased electrical irritability in limbic structures and reduced functional activity of the cerebellar vermis” (Teicher, *et al.* 2003:33). These “neurobiological sequelae of early stress and maltreatment play a significant role in the emergence of psychiatric disorders during development” (Teicher, *et al.* 2003:33).

Thompson *et al.* (2002:115) found that women who were both sexually and physically abused as children had greater risk of health problems than women who experienced one type of victimization. In adulthood early violent victimization has been associated with later health outcomes such as major depressive disorders in women. The severity of the abuse had a linear dose-response relation with depression (Wise, Zierier, Krieger & Harlow, 2001:881). Over their life span abuse survivors exhibit higher rates of auto-immune and other chronic diseases (Kendall-Tackett, 2007:8; Dube, Fairweather, Pearson, Felitti, Anda & Croft, 2009:243) and may use drugs and alcohol habitually to avoid and numb feelings (Thompson *et al.*, 2002:115; Whealin & Slone, 2009).

Holt, Finkelhor and Kaufman Kantor (2006b:511) explored victimization experiences of youth in three areas, namely: family, community and peers. Suicide ideation was high (one in three students) for youth victimized mostly by peers and poly-victims. Youth who were poly-victims had social difficulties and nearly half of them were bully-victims. These youths are highly victimized in home, school and within their communities but are also perpetrators of aggressive acts at school. Khoury-Kassabri (2009:914) found that bully-victims (particularly boys) had the highest risk of maltreatment by school staff. In victimization literature the relationship of victimization and subsequent offending is well established (Menard, 2002: 2). There is a strong correlation between childhood maltreatment and adult offending (Fagan, 2001:1, 34). The likelihood of being a victim of violence in adulthood, or a perpetrator of violence is increased through violent victimization in adolescence (Menard, 2002:14). Milner, Thomsen, Crouch, Rabenhorst, Martens, Dyslin, Guimond, Stander & Merrill (2010:332-341) found that a history of child physical abuse was associated with increased risk of later physical abuse of their own children. This relationship was mediated by trauma symptoms for both men and women.

#### **2.4 THE EFFECT OF VICTIMIZATION ON EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC SUCCESS**

The longitudinal study of Macmillan (2000) over 10 years used data from the National Youth Survey to study the impact of adolescent victimization and later income of the same respondents as young adults. Macmillan (2000:553) found economic losses from violent victimization were related to age. The greatest losses were for those respondents who were victimized in adolescence. Continuing from this Macmillan and Hagan (2004:127) bring together research on social and psychological consequences of victimization on socioeconomic success. They propose a possible theoretical model that links violence or victimization experienced by adolescents to the processes of educational and socio-economic attainment over a life course.

Educational deficits in academic functioning are considerably greater for poly-victims (Holt *et al.* 2006b:512). Macmillan and Hagan (2004:127) found that victimization lessened educational self-efficacy which led to reduced educational competence and performance. Indirectly this diminished educational outcome of victimized learners produced substantially negative wide



ranging effects on later socio-economic and occupational attainment (Macmillan & Hagan, 2004:152). Reduced educational self-efficacy was shown by negative attitudinal and behavioural investments that consequently lowered educational attainment.

De Bellis, Hooper, Spratt and Woolley (2009:874) found that “neglected children showed significantly lower IQ, language, visual-spatial, learning/memory, and attention/executive functions and academic achievement” than the control groups who were not neglected. There was a negative relationship between IQ and severity of abuse. Lower IQ was related to neglect and total PTSD symptoms. Their findings suggested that neglected children are likely to have learning problems in school and “ongoing risk for neurodevelopmental challenges...particularly in memory and attention/executive function” (De Bellis, Hooper, Spratt and Woolley, 2009:874). In order for long-term improvement of educational and occupational achievement to occur, interventions for victims are needed to buffer the damage caused by victimization (Macmillan & Hagan, 2004:153).

Violent victimization diminishes the self’s expression of agency, efficacy and esteem (Macmillan, 2000; Macmillan & Hagan, 2004:152). Those victimized in adolescence were twice as likely to be unemployed and 65% more likely to be receiving public assistance (Macmillan & Hagan in Zielinski 2009:668). Zielinski’s study (2009:673 - 674) found that adult victims who had experienced multiple types of maltreatment were particularly at risk for economic hardship. They were twice as likely to have low family income and were three times more likely to fall below the poverty line. Physical abuse did not follow the same pattern in Zielinski’s study.

Ultimately social inequality may be reproduced through victimization because of its devastating outcomes (Macmillan & Hagan, 2004:153; Macmillan, 2009:661). The relationship between child maltreatment and low socio-economic status is complex and bi-directional (Macmillan, 2009:662). Child maltreatment increased the likelihood of personal and familial unemployment, poverty, generically low income, and a lack of medical insurance (Macmillan, 2009:661). At the same time low socio-economic status increases the risk of child maltreatment (Macmillan, 2009:661). Economic problems of the family are related to other forms of victimization. In a study on trajectories of peer victimization in preschool, insufficient income and child physical

aggression predicted high/chronic and moderate/increasing peer-victimization trajectories (Barker *et al.*, 2008:1185).

Multifaceted maltreatment almost triples the risk of unemployment, loss of familial employment and poverty whilst doubling the risk of low income (Macmillan, 2009:662). The relationship between maltreatment and socio-economic well-being found by Zielinski (2009:674) “may represent an important mechanism in the intergenerational cycle of violence”.

## **2.5 RESILIENCE**

Finkelhor *et al.* (2007b:21) discuss the variability in distress of poly-victims. This variability suggests that not all poly-victims are so highly distressed. Individual characteristics and the goodness of fit between the child and the environment are important in understanding resilience (DuMont, Spatz-Widom & Czaja, 2007:268). Protective factors such as social support from friends or caring members of the family, socio-economic advantages, parental attachment, temperament, intelligence, coping skills and hobbies may buffer the child from the trauma of poly-victimization (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:493; Finkelhor, 2007b:21; Fitzgerald *et al.*, 2007:5). Poverty may not be what perpetuates violence but rather the lack of protective factors available to such families (Hanson *et al.*, 2006:11). Resources can accumulate providing better protection than single protective factors (Flouri, 2008:914). Resilience is multidimensional with the simultaneous interplay of several domains of risk and protective factors (Ward *et al.*, 2007:181).

Children can be protected from early life stressors if secure caregiving is restored. This reduces long-term biological and behavioural impairment. Restoration of secure caregiving is a protective factor even when living in severely impoverished sociophysical environments, receiving caregiving from a non-biological caregiver, or even when only receiving visual contact with the caregiver (Cook *et al.*, 2003:11).

Stable living conditions where the child has both parents or long-term foster care triple the odds of being resilient in adolescence. Research has shown that with increasing age school support becomes a more important protective factor than parental support (Ward *et al.*, 2007:167-168). Resources made available to children on an individual as well as neighbourhood level appear to play significant roles in resilience (Du Mont *et al.*, 2007:270). Growing up in an advantaged

neighbourhood does not by itself directly affect resilience, but in conjunction with other characteristics, such as stability in the home and cognitive ability, neighborhood advantage may influence the likelihood of resilience (Du Mont *et al.*, 2007:269). The previous authors also found gender differences in resilience. Women who were maltreated in childhood were more likely to be resilient in adolescence and adulthood than men.

Finkelhor *et al.* (2007a:493-494) found that the risk of repeated poly-victimization was reduced for those youths with a greater number of friends. This finding suggests that interventions focused on social connectedness with peers may be important preventative measures that can be taken against the persistence of poly-victimization (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:494). Finkelhor *et al.* (2007a:493) point to possible further research opening up this resilient factor of friends; what exactly forms the buffering role is unknown. Finkelhor *et al.* (2007a: 493) ask whether it could be the strengthening of the victim's self – self-esteem and self-efficacy, or whether it is the kind of assistance friends give in terms of teaming with victims against bullies or counsel given that helps the victim build the skills needed to decrease victimization. Perhaps some answers may come from the researcher's study which has the added element of looking at the response of peers to another's victimization or the response of learners when they themselves are victimized. Finkelhor *et al.* (2007a:494) suggest that education and mobilization of peers may help highly victimized youth by the intervention of third party allies or bystanders. Other child characteristics that contribute to greater resilience include social skills, an internal locus of control, having expectations about the future and a view of oneself as competent (Ward *et al.*, 2007:167).

In South Africa like other African nations more research is needed to ascertain the risk and protective factors for victimized children. Degree of acculturation varies across and within subgroups, complicating the issue of whether culturally supported practices become protective or risky (Plummer & Njguna, 2009:524).

## **2.6 ASSESSMENT OF POLY-VICTIMIZATION**

As previously mentioned, past research has had a narrow focus on victimization type, for instance child maltreatment. More recently surveys on broad ranges of victimization have been

used to assess poly-victimization since this phenomenon involves victimization across several different forms of victimization. Differing methodologies have been used to research victimization of children, youth and adults:

### **2.6.1 Lifetime Assessment of Poly-victimization.**

This method may provide a more complete inventory of victimizations. Total number of different lifetime victimizations over a lifetime highly predicts symptoms of current distress and adversities for both younger and older children (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2009a:407). In lifetime assessment of poly-victimization in a national sample of children and youth the best predictor of distress occurred when additional weighting was given to child maltreatment and sexual abuse. These types of victimization were seen as particularly traumatic, therefore needing greater emphasis on the summing of victimizations (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007c:161; Finkelhor *et al.*, 2009a:408). Different thresholds need to be established for different age groups as lifetime victimizations accumulate with age. The younger child therefore would experience a smaller number of victimizations as more severe as opposed to an older child (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2009a:408).

Lifetime assessment studies of victimization may “capitalize on selective recall”, exaggerating the association between victimization and distress (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2009a:403-409; Widom *et al.*, 2004). “Telescoping” may also occur where respondents lose the chronological sequencing of events in time and so duplicate the same victimization in separate reports, inflating re-victimization rates (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:495). In prospective longitudinal research on maltreatment more occurrences of maltreatment are documented than in retrospective designs, perhaps due to repeated reviews (Shaffer, Huston & Egeland, 2008:689). However, neither lifetime nor past year assessments of poly-victimization were more advantageous than the other in assessing victimization (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2009a:409).

### **2.6.2 Prospective Designs**

Prospective designs are not representative of victims as a whole but have been used in child maltreatment. These designs have problems in that cases will be missed due to non report of the abuse (Shaffer *et al.*, 2008:683). Unreported abuse could be more severe since abuse when it is identified is more likely to stop. Those that are identified as maltreated, by legislation have to

have intervention. Intervention may arrest some of the biological and psychological processes that may have occurred had there not been intervention, thereby resulting in a false perception of the outcomes of maltreatment (Kendall-Tackett & Becker-Blease, 2004:724). On the other hand prospective studies help us not to overlook those survivors who have full or partial amnesia of their abuse experiences. These individuals would be missed in self-identification methods as they are picked up through the documentation of social agencies (Kendall-Tackett & Becker-Blease, 2004:724). Lastly prospective studies may give misleading reports on effects of victimization if the period participants are followed for does not extend adequately over the life course of the participants into adulthood (Fagan, 2001:36).

### **2.6.3 Retrospective Designs**

Retrospective designs measure a part of the adult survivor population missed by prospective designs (Kendall-Tackett & Becker-Blease, 2004:727). Retrospective studies provide much of the literature on long-term effects of child abuse (Kendall-Tackett & Becker-Blease, 2004:723). In these studies data is collected at a single point in time. This has disadvantages when drawing conclusions about causal relations between victimization and later outcomes (Spatz-Widom *et al.*, 2004:721; Shaffer *et al.*, 2008:683). The respondent's present condition of physical or psychological health may lead to recall bias and even reverse causality (Spatz-Widom *et al.*, 2004:721). Poor health status may cause the respondent to interpret earlier experiences negatively or recall negative interpersonal experiences more readily. Current mood may also influence assessment of past experiences and finally respondents may have had poorer mental health in childhood, which increases the risk of victimization in childhood from parents (Greenfield & Marks, 2010:170; Spatz-Widom *et al.*, 2004:718). The respondents' motivation and relationship with the abuser also may interfere with reporting of past experiences of victimization (Shaffer *et al.*, 2008:683). Spatz-Widom *et al.* (2004:721) suggest rather that prospective longitudinal studies are needed to extricate etiological and causal elements of child maltreatment.

### **2.6.4 Poly-Victimization in the Past Year**

These assessments are useful in that they provide educators and counselors with more accurate information on the immediate risk environment that children are living in. The recent

victimization period may, to some extent, overcome problems of validity of victimization recall due to problems such as recall bias and telescoping. Finkelhor *et al.* (2009a:409) suggest a compromise where victimization in the past two years could be assessed. This compromise seemed to extract 76% of lifetime victimizations for all children and 63% of lifetime victimizations for the oldest respondents. In a study done by Finkelhor *et al.* (2007c:161) victimizations preceding the present year victimization assessment for older children, did not provide more predictive power over victimization than was predicted by the current year's assessment of victimization.

Past research on maltreatment has shown that adolescents' self-reports and parents' reports of maltreatment were stronger predictors of emotional and behavioural problems than files from Child Protective Services or social worker's ratings (McGee *et al.*, 1997 in Shaffer *et al.*, 2008:683).

#### **2.6.5. Assessing Extent and Nature of Poly-Victimization in Heideveld**

Little survey research has been done to actually assess the nature and extent of poly-victimization of adolescents in South Africa. The International Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (ISPCAN) has compiled multicultural tools such as the ICAST children's instrument (Zolotor, Runyan, Dunne, Jain, Peturs, Ramirez, Volkova, Deb, Lidchi, Muhammad & Isaeva, 2009:834) for comparison of victimization across nations. Whilst this is a simple and useful tool it, like most other instruments to assess victimization, fails to address the broad range of victimization experiences. The Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (JVQ) has been found to be one of the most comprehensive and exhaustively tested instruments of childhood victimization (Hamby *et al.*, 2005:2). The JVQ is a self-report questionnaire of victimization experiences in the last 12 months. Advantages of surveying victimization in this way include greater validity of victimization recall, whilst providing accurate information on the immediate risk environment that adolescents in Heideveld experience. Past studies have shown that children from school age or older, have the most information to offer about their experiences (Hamby *et al.*, 2005:4). Other sources of information may under-report occurrences of child maltreatment with the child being subject to the control of parents or other authority figures (Zolotor *et al.*, 2009:834). For this reason the researcher has selected an adapted version of the JVQ to assess the extent and nature of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld. The original JVQ is a

telephonic interview which is not feasible in this study. The screener questions are therefore taken and adapted into a written questionnaire. The researcher questions the reliability of time framing victimization events to the previous twelve month period. The researcher wonders whether the need of the child to acknowledge a particular form of victimization, may in some cases, supercede that of adhering to a time frame when answering a self-report victimization survey.

## **2.7 CONCLUSION**

This review has shown that the plight of poly-victims in the past has been overlooked by the narrow focus on victimization types. There is a need to attend to broader ranges of victimization, as the cumulative impacts are far greater and explain much of the symptomatology. The cost to individual victims, families, communities and society is great and devastating. Since poly-victims have the worst outcomes and often are caught in conditions of victimization they deserve more recognition, support and intervention. Intergenerational cycles of victimization are likely to continue unless intervention changes established patterns. These interventions need to provide a more supportive developmental context to counter problems that arise through poly-victimization.

# **CHAPTER THREE**

## **VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

### **IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMUNITIES LIKE**

#### **HEIDEVELD ON THE CAPE FLATS**

##### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter focuses victimization in South Africa in general and the cycle of violence that seems to have been perpetuated across many communities over many years. The roots of these patterns of violence and victimization are discussed. These roots stem partly from the legacy of apartheid and continued economic and educational inequalities, unemployment, substance abuse and gangsterism which devastate many communities and families in South Africa. How violence has become so widespread is discussed particularly with reference to working class coloured communities in Cape Town. Victimization of adolescents in South Africa is discussed. Development of the adolescent is a function of the environment, “a dynamically evolving relational field” (McConville, 2007:12). This relational field is discussed from a gestalt perspective. Bronfenbrenner’s ecosystemic theory is used to discuss different parts of the developmental field in communities such as Heideveld on the Cape Flats.

The focus of this study is on Heideveld, a predominantly coloured community on the Cape Flats. Discussing race is pertinent since it is still a major part of identity for South Africans (Erasmus, 2005:29-30). Since research in this particular community was not found in the literature, violence and victimization are discussed more in the context of similar low socio-economic status and largely coloured communities on the Cape Flats or other areas defined by the Group Areas Act of 1950.

##### **3.2 THE ROOTS OF VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The legacy of apartheid still impacts on everyday lives of many in South Africa. Income inequality has worsened, with the vast majority of those who were made poor under the apartheid



regime continuing in poverty with very high levels of unemployment (Moses, 2006; Seekings, 2006:18-27). This increased economic inequality now has less to do with race as it was under apartheid, and now has more to do with class (Bray, Gooskens, Kahn, Moses & Seekings, 2010:23). Inequality has increased with inter-racial inequality decreasing but intra-racial inequality increasing – today class rather than race is proxy for disadvantage (Seekings & Nattrass, 2002:25; Seekings, Leibbrandt & Nattrass, 2004:5). These influences may be seen as part of the macro- and exo-system of Bronfenbrenner’s ecosystemic theory that will be discussed later in this chapter under development.

In Cape Town, more than elsewhere in South Africa, race is still often proxy to class (Bray *et al.*, 2010:30). The Population Registration Act of 1950 defined people into racial categories (Salo, 2003:349; Salo, 2005). During apartheid whites received more resources and opportunities; people of colour were prejudiced against although coloured people fared better than the black population (Beyers, 2009:84). The socio-political position of coloured people was an ambiguous mix of racial exclusion as well as selective inclusion (Erasmus, 2000:71). The Group Areas Act of 1950 forced the relocation of coloured and black people into racially homogenous and barren townships far from their workplaces (Salo, 2003:349; Polgreen, 2003; Beyers, 2009:79). They had to reconfigure their sense of self and adjust to new social networks with strangers from other communities, former networks being destroyed with the forced removals (Trotter, 2009:55). Unemployment was particularly high for black people and the Pass Laws imposed restricted their movement, forcing them into a migrant labour system that severely disrupted family unity (Bray *et al.*, 2010:49-50). Prospects for employment were further complicated with Cape Town being designated a Coloured Labour Preference area in 1950 (Salo, 2003: 349; Salo, 2005; Beyers, 2009:79; Bray *et al.*, 2010:49). With the feminization of the industrial workforce coloured women became preferred workers in positions of permanent employment. As a result, they were economically more powerful than men in their communities, holding enormous social and cultural power (Salo, 2003:350; Salo, 2005).

Poor coloured men on the other hand have been marginalized and stigmatized with degrading stereotypes such as the “skollie” or “gangster”. In the last 100 years the “skollie” stereotype labeled poor coloured men as hooligans, lazy, exploitative, with a propensity towards violence

and crime (Jensen, 2006:280). In later years the “gangster” label took precedence in stereotypical constructions of poor coloured men (Jensen, 2006:284). The Department of Coloured Affairs (DCA) was established in 1943 to regulate the lives of coloured people, who were categorized into three groups: the middle class, poor men and poor women (Jensen, 2006:281). ‘Polite society’ amongst coloured people was considered to be constituted by the middle class and women. With the negative stereotyping of poor men, they were considered threatening and problematic in the upholding of the welfare of the family and community (Jensen, 2006:281-284). Women became important allies for the welfare of the state (Jensen, 2006:281). Assumptions about westernized two-parent family norms and stereotypical gendered roles by the apartheid state, influenced legislation regarding welfare benefits (Salo, 2003:349). Gendered legislation was passed granting welfare benefits to mothers only and public housing was only made available to families with women and children (Salo, 2005; Jensen, 2006:282). Poor coloured men by contrast were given labour camps and training for work ethics (Badroodien, 2001 in Jensen, 2006:282). They became the most imprisoned group from the 1930s onwards, with the longest incarceration in South Africa (Jensen, 2006:282).

Gangs began to form in the 1940’s but were disrupted with the forced removals, resurfacing ten years later on the Cape Flats (Jensen, 2006:282). Within the state defined coloured areas women became the power holders and were often the bread winners. Older respectable coloured women played a large part in the co-construction of local spaces defined by gangsters. Men by contrast defined where the authority of women was recognized; in some areas (such as Manenberg) this was defined by the spatial boundaries of ganging practices (Salo, 2005). Within these small intimate communities different constructions of identity exist, reputation being shaped through gossip and observable performance (Salo, 2003:351). Respectable women to a large extent became the moral and social upholders of the community and family (Salo, 2005). Today gang activities in urban spaces are reconfigured more by state intervention along with allies from within these communities (Jensen, 2006:278). Past stereotypes and segmentations have had serious consequences on the co-creation of urban spaces and possibilities for livelihood as well as identity formation (Jensen, 2006:284). Government definition of local community does not follow the same pattern as that established by gangs. As a result people have to cross these locally defined boundaries in order to make use of social organizations such as schools or clinics

located in state defined communities (Salo, 2005). Frequent gang warfare across areas leads to the exposure of innocent bystanders to violence and trauma (Salo, 2005). In an ethnographic study done by Jensen (2006:288) in Valencia Park, he records how ‘street gangsters’ as well as other ‘young men’ are confined to a large extent to the area or ‘die agterbuur[t]e’ (the back streets) that are controlled by them. These gangsters and young men know few others outside their turf. They often have little money to travel and are in constant danger of victimization by other gangs. Whether affiliated or not to the gang controlling ‘die agterbuur[t]e’ every young man staying in the territory is in danger of being victimized by other gangs (Jensen, 2006:288-289). For this reason ‘each and every’ boy needs to consider being part of a gang in order to cope with the victimization that occurs whilst navigating township streets (Jensen, 2006:289).

Apartheid legislation led to the disempowerment and frustration of coloured and black men, breeding violence (Bray *et al.*, 2010:73). The resistance movement against the apartheid regime created a culture of violence which impacted on gender identity, particularly for black male youth. Violence was part of masculinity (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:41-42). Since apartheid many of those that were part of the liberation movement still struggle with long standing inequality remaining. For many men who have experienced powerlessness and marginalization created either during apartheid or under the new dispensation, violence and criminal activity have become ways of reasserting masculinity (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:42-44). Violence in South Africa has become an acceptable means for dealing with conflict and this has filtered down to the family level where domestic violence rates are amongst the highest globally (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:42). Adhikari (2005:181), commenting on the findings of recent studies, indicates that murder was twice as likely to be carried out on coloured people, than on those of other race groups. The cycle of violence continues as youth who internalize violence as normal and acceptable, may use the same on their own families as parents (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:43).

Dominant masculinity was defined by race in the apartheid era. Today dominant masculinity has more to do with economic roles and whether men are the bread winners of their families and protectors of their communities (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004:454; Salo, 2005; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:44). Unemployment is high and amongst youth of 16 – 25 years old, more than half are unemployed and experience high levels of frustration (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:44). The failure to

provide for their families has led some men to experience a lack of control, a loss of confidence, self-esteem and emasculation. Factors such as the inability to provide and disparities in income and education often fuel conflict between partners (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004:454-460; Boonzaier, 2005 in Strebel *et al.*, 2006:517-520). Where the dominant masculine identity cannot be attained, participation in gangs or other criminal activities provide alternative means for constructing and asserting masculinity (Salo, 2005; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:44). This is seen in acts of physical violence and daring feats engaged in by gang members using such methods as rape, murder and physical assault (Salo, 2005; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:46). Females sometimes play secondary roles as 'cheer leaders or camp followers' in gangs; their sexuality is used to affirm young men's masculinity and they may be used as sex objects, concealers of weapons or drugs from the police or to lure men from competing gangs (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:45).

For many communities on the Cape Flats family life continues to be undermined by poverty and high levels of unemployment today (Bray *et al.*, 2010:50). Areas with few resources to a large extent are still occupied by non-whites (Beutel & Anderson, 2008:336). Since apartheid was dismantled there has been little change to neighbourhood demographics, still leaving highly segregated communities (Bray *et al.*, 2010:324). Few families have moved into or out of areas designated to their race during apartheid, whilst drug and criminal gang activities move freely across communities (Bray *et al.*, 2010:323-326).

This study focuses on Heideveld, a largely working class coloured community. The working class coloured community in particular have experienced much frustration (Adhikari, 2005:179). Privileges previously enjoyed by coloured people under apartheid have been diminished or removed with the process of democratization since 1994 (Erasmus, 2000:72). Employment has been difficult for them with government policy enforcing black economic empowerment and affirmative action (Polgreen, 2003). These policies have led to the preference of black people in formal employment as companies try to have a more racially representative workforce (Adhikari, 2005:179). This refers more to the black upper and middle class while the lower class masses continue to be victims of racial discrimination and poverty stricken (Seekings & Nattrass, 2002:xx; De Swart, 2003 & Bezuidenhout, 2003 in Erasmus, 2005:12). Many of the low to middle income groups of coloured and mixed-race residents of the Cape Flats consider

themselves to be worse off under the new government and marginalized, perceiving the government to be practicing reverse racism (Polgreen, 2003; Adhikari, 2005:180-185). Factors such as rising unemployment, crime, gangsterism, drug and alcohol abuse as well as the declining efficiency of social services, widespread corruption of the government, increased cost of living (especially with subsidies for municipal services phased out selectively by the new government), amongst other factors add to this perception (Adhikari, 2005:179-181). Adhikari (2005:186-187) and Polgreen (2003) describe coloured identity in the new South Africa as one that is fragmented, full of uncertainty, confusion and fluctuation. The same authors say that coloured people are struggling to find where they fit in. Many perceive themselves to be stuck, either being “not white enough” and now “not black enough” under the new government (Caliguire, 1996:12 in Erasmus, 2000:72). Although coloured identity is linked to the experience of racial oppression and white racism, which in the past may have been defined by ‘lack’, they are rich with cultural uniqueness and texture. Coloured identities are like “rich tapestries made and re-made by those historically classified coloured, rather than simply imposed by the apartheid regime” (Erasmus, 2000:73).

Under apartheid, schools were racially segregated and less money was allocated per pupil to non-white schools (Chisholm, 2005:204; Beutel & Anderson, 2008:340). Although there is more integration now, the majority of coloured and black children are still more likely to attend overcrowded schools with inadequate resources due to economic constraints (Beutel & Anderson, 2008:340). Governmental spending on education has become targeted on the poor. The extent to which schools are able to provide quality education is determined by the economic status of the community which the school serves (Chisholm, 2005:212). Past research in the 1995 October Household Survey in South Africa showed a negative relationship between pupil/teacher ratio and years of completed schooling (Anderson, Case & Lam, 2001:52). Black and coloured children are less likely to complete secondary and tertiary education (Beutel & Anderson, 2008:340). The poor, who are mostly black, attend compromised schools with high rates of failure, drop-out and underqualified educators (Chisholm, 2005:218-222; Bray *et al.*, 2010:23). School dropout rate is very high in South Africa. The Department of Education in 2003 reported that 60% of learners enrolling for grade one would dropout before completing high school (Flisher, Townsend, Chikobvu, Lombard & King, 2010:237). In another longitudinal study

conducted over four years in Cape Town, 54.9% of learners dropped out (Flisher *et al.*, 2010:237). Other research has shown that years of schooling completed by learners, is positively related to the level of education of their mother (Anderson, Case & Lam, 2001:56). Perhaps providing attractive opportunities and motivating the benefits of continued adult education would improve this. Further education of caretakers may help to improve their attitudes towards education and possibly promote a more supportive and encouraging environment for their children's education.

Past apartheid educational policies led to many black and coloured learners to underachieve at school. These learners are now parents, their low level of educational attainment hampers their ability to support their own children with learning challenges. Children living with neither parent are also disadvantaged in terms of educational outcomes (Anderson, Case & Lam, 2001:56). Coloured males not raised by both biological parents were at particular risk (Flisher, *et al.*, 2010:25). The same authors suggest that males may experience more pressure to contribute economically and therefore may drop out to find employment. Adult economic outcomes were also strongly affected by quantity and quality of schooling. Adults who were schooled in areas with higher pupil/teacher ratios experienced lower unemployment and higher earnings as adults (Anderson, Case & Lam, 2001:56). Learners from families of lower SES were more likely than those of a higher SES to drop out (Flisher, *et al.*, 2010:250). With high school dropout and failure rates the qualifications needed for entry into employment are often not attained (Bray *et al.*, 2010:23). This results in continued frustration, apathy and poverty often contributing to violence and victimization within families and communities.

Poverty for low SES households with one or both parents infected with HIV/AIDS is likely to escalate with expenditure on health services. Poverty-stricken families may be unable to pay for the necessities required for school such as school fees, books, uniforms and transport. These families experience shame and humiliation (Chisholm, 2005:211). Learners in families affected by HIV/AIDS, may drop out of school or experience high absenteeism in order to work or care for parents. Others drop out in order to avoid social ridicule and victimization that occur because they lack necessities, such as school uniforms or because of the victimization due to the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS (Bray, 2003:120; Flisher, *et al.*, 2010:251).

South Africa has the world's largest and fastest growing HIV-positive population (Shefer, Crawford, Strebel, Simbayi, Dwadwa-Henda, Cloete, Kaufman & Kalichman, 2008:158; Patrick, 2010:474) with youth and particularly women being a vulnerable group with the spread of this pandemic (Selikow, Zulu & Cedras, 2002:22; Lalor, 2004:439-460). Masculinity by youth in many parts of South Africa is conceptualized by men having multiple female partners, further adding to the spread of HIV/AIDS and victimization. By contrast women are censured for having multiple partners and stigmatized for it, perhaps even more so in coloured communities (Strebel *et al.*, 2006:527; Sheffer *et al.*, 2008:167). Women are often blamed and victimized by their partners for HIV positive diagnoses, even when their partners have infected them (Sheffer *et al.*, 2008:167). Blame for the disease (as well as other factors such as crime, the stealing of jobs and women) is also ascribed to foreigners in local communities such as Nigerians and Zimbabweans. These accusations contribute towards 'othering', victimization and xenophobia (Erasmus, 2005:16-17; Strebel *et al.*, 2006:527). Inequalities of gender power result in women having fewer opportunities to negotiate the terms of intimacy and safe sex practices (Morrell, Moletsane, Karim, Epstein, Unterhalter & Moletsane, 2002:11-12). Literature has shown that requests for condom use by women may signify infidelity and lead to violence (Shefer *et al.*, 2008:165-174). The cultural belief that AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases may be cured by having sex with a young girl is commonly reported in literature. This further adds to sexual violence and the vulnerability of girls (Lalor, 2004:439-460). Gangs frequently use sexual assault to assert power, also adding to the statistic of South Africa having amongst the highest reported incidence of rape and sexual violence in the world (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:48; Petersen, Bhana & McKay, 2005:1233). As a result of the above, women are at increased risk of the sexual assault, transmission of HIV and other sexual diseases, as well as unwanted pregnancies (Strebel, Crawford, Shefer, Cloete, Henda, Kaufman, Simbayi, Magome & Kalichman, 2006: 517). They are often on the receiving end of violence and victimization (Morell, *et al.*, 2002:11-12; Selikow, Zulu & Cedras, 2002:53; Lalor, 2004:439-460; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:49). South Africa ranks amongst the highest in the world for rates of violence against women and continues to have widespread gender inequalities (Strebel *et al.*, 2006: 517; United Nations, 2003 in Shefer *et al.*, 2008:158). Respondents in the study done by Strebel *et al.* (2006:520) felt that gender roles become more pronounced in working class communities as there are fewer possibilities for identity formation that holds power. The normalization of violence has led some women

(particularly in coloured communities) to rationalize violence in intimate relationships as evidence of love (Sheffer *et al.*, 2008:165). In the researcher's view, this normalization of violence may contribute to the minimization, rationalization and denial of trauma. With the misconception of violence being acceptable and even evidence of love, victims may not recognise their need to access support and intervention.

Literature overwhelmingly focuses on male perpetrated violence and crime, usually against women, reinforcing stereotypes (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:50). Men are also victimized by other men, especially in the context of interactions between young boys and gangs; many men are not violent (Strebel *et al.*, 2006: 519). Men are also victimized by women and at times were portrayed in Strebel *et al.*'s study as "powerless victims of women's anger" (Strebel *et al.*, 2006:527; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:50). With the increasing power of women under the new constitution to take action against abuse, more violence is perpetrated by women as a declaration that 'enough is enough' (Shaffer *et al.*, 2008:169). Abuse of men by women often goes unreported and is not taken seriously. When men do report abuse against them they may suffer embarrassment and ridicule (Strebel *et al.*, 2006:524).

The above review highlights a multi-problemated context or field that has been created through racial, economic and gender inequality. The overturning of traditional gender roles and persistent high levels of unemployment has led to the demoralization of many men. As a result men have resorted to the use of high levels of violence and victimization, particularly against women and children, to counter the threat to their masculinity (Strebel *et al.*, 2006:519-525). Violence is modeled in the home, at school and in the community and has become a normal way of living in South Africa. As a result of the problems discussed above, particularly for those in impoverished communities, many people in South Africa continue to experience excessively high levels of victimization as part of their daily living.

### **3.3 VICTIMIZATION OF ADOLESCENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Youth falling between the ages of 10 – 29 account for 40% of the entire population in South Africa (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:37). Research in South Africa shows that youth between the age of 12 to 25 fall into a high risk category having the most frequent rates of being victimized and for



offending (Burton, 2007:1; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:37). Youth-on-youth violence is also increasing and is significantly higher than victimization rates of adults (Burton, 2007:4; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:37). Violence against young people in South Africa is reaching endemic stages, occurring in what should be safe places such as home or schools and other private or community spaces (Burton, 2007:2; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:37; Ward, Martin, Theron & Distiller, 2007:166). Statistics released in 2009, show that 33% of all crime statistics were due to contact crimes with which violence is usually associated. Further, this violence is perpetuated mostly by men against women and children (Burton, 2007:113; Mthethwa, 2009a, b; South African Police Service, 2009:3). Strong patriarchal values, gender inequality and fixed perceptions of masculinity and femininity form part of the causes of youth violence (Selikow, Zulu & Cedras, 2002:24; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:38).

South Africa has one of the highest rates of sexual violence in the world (Adar & Stevens, 2000 in Petersen, Bhana & McKay, 2005:1233; United Nations, 2003 in Shefer, *et al.*, 2008:158). Girls between the ages of 12 and 17 are most at risk of victimization, experiencing a high proportion of rape and attempted rape cases nationally (Human Rights Watch, 2001 in Petersen, Bhana & McKay, 2005:1233). Alarmingly 51% of sexual assault on youth is perpetrated by youth under the age of 21 and usually by boys. In a study interviewing 283 000 children in South Africa sexual abuse occurred to boys as often as it did to girls, even exceeding exposure of girls to sexual abuse by a small degree (Van Niekerk, 2007). Boys have higher rates of non-report of abuse and are more likely to become perpetrators of victimization re-enacting the abuse on other children (Van Niekerk, 2007) adding to the cycle of violence and victimization. Since sexually victimized boys are more likely to become perpetrators later, the researcher considers that greater awareness of the frequency, causes and consequences of the sexual victimization of boys needs to be fostered. Strebel *et al.* (2006:524) reported that when men do report abuse against them they may suffer embarrassment and ridicule, perhaps this is the same for boys. In the researcher's view there needs to be an attitudinal change in that the sexual victimization of boys and men needs to be taken seriously. Ultimately interventions for the sexual victimization of boys and men may help to counter the psychological damage that eventually moves male victims towards becoming perpetrators of sexual violence.

The high accessibility of drugs, alcohol and firearms has made violence and victimization part of everyday living for many youth in South Africa (Burton, 2007:114). Many youth have family members or friends involved in crime and violence. Further, parents who know of their children's trafficking of drugs, often fail to do anything about it (Charles, 2010). To add to this, South Africa, as a country in transition, has opened and attracted international criminal organizations (e.g. drug cartels) which have exploited South Africa as an emerging market adding to further violence and victimization (Kinnes, 2000).

In South Africa violence is frequently witnessed or experienced in the family, at school and amongst peers. Literature reports mixed findings on the extent of violence and victimization witnessed or experienced. Ward *et al.* (2007:178) found that violence was most frequently witnessed in the neighbourhood, followed by the home, with the least instances occurring at school (the study was conducted with grade six learners). Children were victims most often at home, then in the community and least often at school. Jefthas and Artz (2007:46-48) on the other hand say that studies show the school context is where youth are most likely to be victimized, even across differences in SES. Death rates on school premises have risen (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:46-48). Young people experience a broad range of victimizations such as physical and sexual assault, robbery, intimidation, bullying, shootings, stabbings, gangsterism and drug trafficking from within or around their schools (Burton, 2007:113; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:47). Weapons such as guns or knives in the hand of youths are often used to terrorize other young victims (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:47). Gangsterism occurs on school premises with turf wars occurring amongst rival gangs and school grounds being used to gain status. Other learners may be coerced into selling drugs for gang members (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:47).

Gender differences in victimization patterns exist with boys more likely to be assaulted or bullied and girls are more often victims of sexual violence and harassment at the hands of both educators and male learners (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:47). Van Niekerk (2007), discussed above, disagreed saying that boys experience sexual assault as often as girls do. Certain girls may be more targeted – those who have leadership roles or are assertive or arrogant (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:47). Boys experience peer pressure to prove their masculinity. Behaviour that demonstrates toughness, risk taking and emphasizes heterosexuality (such as multiple sex partners, trophyism and objectification of girls) gains them special status and approval of peers (Blackbeard &

Lindegger, 2007:25; Jefthas & Artz, 2007:47-48). Sexual social norms for boys/men that promote sexual relations as evidence of masculinity may motivate those boys without partners to rape in order to remain aligned with norms (Petersen *et al.*, 2005:1244). Heterosexual interpersonal problems form a risk factor for perpetration of abuse by boys. Interventions are needed to build heterosexual social skills as well as the adolescent's sense of self (Petersen *et al.*, 2005:1246). In South Africa community based programmes are needed to build protective peer norms, especially in more collectivist cultures where behaviour is more strongly motivated by social norms, rather than by the individual's judgment (Petersen *et al.*, 2005:1246). In the researcher's view adolescents are particularly at risk of deferring to social norms rather than their own judgments in order to be accepted. This points to the high need of low SES schools and communities for extra mural activities that promote attractive prosocial means of identity formation.

Amongst female peers, learners may be ostracized if they are sexually inexperienced as they are perceived to be more like children (Jefthas & Artz, 2007:48). Research has indicated the need for intra-personal training for girls aimed at improving their assertiveness and refusal skills (Petersen *et al.*, 2005:1246). The pressure of consumerism and the need to belong and forge identity may lead some adolescents to become perpetrators of victimization, or victims themselves. The culture of consumerism and materialism may place pressure on the adolescent to gain luxury or designer items to enhance identity. In areas where parents are unable to meet the economic needs of adolescents, transactional sex (the "sugar daddy phenomenon" and the "taxi queens") and involvement in gangs and crime become alternative means to acquire what they perceive is needed to be accepted or for an admirable self-image (Morell *et al.*, 2002:11-12; Selikow, Zulu & Cedras, 2002:25-26; Lalor, 2004:439-460; Strebel *et al.*, 2006:525). According to Charles (2010) many girls in Heideveld engage in transactional sex to procure drugs.

A study in Ocean View, a largely working class coloured community, showed how residence in a particular part of a community affected the chances of inclusion and holding rank within peer groups (Bray *et al.*, 2010:131). Those that lived in flats were looked down on by those who lived in houses. Adults in such communities may feel pressure to buy items such as electronic goods or fashion items for their children to counter class labels. This has its own repercussions in that finances needed for meeting the basic needs of the family, have been spent in an attempt to label

oneself as equal (Bray *et al.*, 2010:131-132). Ultimately, the result may be further victimization and humiliation for the adolescent.

As a result of social learning, violence for many young South Africans has become an acceptable means through which to meet needs or solve problems (Ward, 2007:12). Ward observes that children who have learned aggressive behaviour and have used it from early on are more likely to drift towards pro-violent social networks (Burton: 2007:116). Cycles of violence may arise as a result of victimization, victimized adolescents being at risk of becoming re-victimized or perpetrators of violence (Burton, 2007:2). Individual characteristics and the risk environment on micro, meso-, exo-, macro- and chronosystem levels in which children develop, determine whether they will adopt criminal and violent behavior or perhaps become victims (Burton, 2007:114; Ward, 2007:12-27). Risk factors are found in every level or part of the eco-system from families, to peers, to neighbourhood, to the socio-political context of the individual (Burton, 2007:113). The South African Constitution gives full recognition of children's rights, particularly the more protection oriented rights (Moses, 2008:329). Despite this, young South Africans continue to be highly victimized, their rights frequently violated in their day to day living within the family, school and neighbourhood (Moses, 2006).

The above literature review shows that for many adolescents of Heideveld, the system of contacts organized to give meaning to the self is often characterized by violence and victimization. The 'self' in gestalt theory is the system of contacts and the organization of experience into clusters of characteristics (Latner, 2000:41; Polster, 2005:22). These characteristics are later designated as selves by the individual. Many adolescents experience little support at home, at school and from within their communities. The possibilities for self-configuration are limited and negatively influenced by the many toxic conditions of the field. This may lead to flawed summations of self which guide the adolescent's behaviour and feelings (Polster, 2005:22).

So far this chapter has discussed the roots of violence and victimization in South Africa and the nature of victimization of adolescents in this context. Development cannot be separated from the

context in which the adolescent lives, the two are inextricably linked. Therefore development will be discussed in the next section.

### **3.4 ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT**

Development is a function of the adolescent-environment inter-relationship, which in Gestalt theory is part of the field (Wheeler, 2002:76). Bronfenbrenner's ecosystemic theory will also be used to explore different levels of the field in communities such as Heideveld and their effect on adolescent development. In Gestalt theory the 'self' is the integrator of experience (Wheeler, 2002:46). Experience requires contact within the organism-environment field. Development is the continual organization of that experience (Latner, 2000:22) into more complex wholes of meaning and action which evolve over the individual's life span (Wheeler, 2002:49).

#### **3.4.1. A Gestalt Perspective (the Developing Field)**

Unlike Gestalt theory, more traditional theories of development such as Erickson's Psycho-social, Freud's Psycho-sexual or Piaget's Cognitive Development have a more stage-like approach in understanding development. Gestalt theory sees development as a successive and recursive, or circular processes of creative adjustments (Fernandes, Cardoso-Zinker; Nogueira, Lazarus & Ajzenberg, 2006:99). Conventional theories often fail to consider the context or field as central in development (McConville, 2001:29). In Gestalt theory, development is a function of the field (Wheeler, 2002:50) and all phenomena are of-a-field, a vast network of interaction in a unified interactive whole of interdependent forces (Yontef, 1993:295; Latner, 2000:20-21). Organisms and environments form shared wholes, "organisms act and adapt," whilst "environments support and surround", each engaging in relation to the other (Dent-Read & Zukow-Goldring, 1997:7). The adolescent's being is therefore a thoroughly relational emergent phenomenon, a constant process of configuration and re-configuration within the context of the organism/environment field (Jacobs, 2005:44). The adolescent creatively adjusts to the conditions of the field (McConville, 2001:29), but the field also adjusts to the adolescent in a constant process of movement or becoming (Yontef, 1993:295; McConville, 2001:30). This mutual cycle of inter-influence and shaping within the context of the field is continuous in time

and space (Yontef, 1993:295; Jacobs, 2005:45-47). The well-being of an adolescent is not solely determined by the environment but also by the adolescent's subjective experience and his or her patterns of interaction with the environment (Yontef, 1993:300, 322; Donald *et al.*, 2000:4 in Moses, 2005:3).

The interpersonal dimension or inter-subjectivity is the most fundamental organizing mechanism that shapes the subjective world of the adolescent (Wheeler, 2002:49; Jacobs, 2005:46). A model or map of their own world is continually created and recreated, informing the adolescent what is possible or impossible, what can be predicted or expected from others, how others will experience and treat them and how to behave or act in order to get along and satisfy needs (Wheeler, 2002:49; Fleming Crocker, 2009:23). The here-and-now living of the adolescent is patterned according to how past experiences have been assimilated, which gives meaning or forms the ground of current behavioural, cognitive and emotional responses (Fleming Crocker, 2009:23). Faulty messages introjected in childhood may continue throughout the child's life span (Oaklander, 2006:94). Even from infancy the brain is sculpted into "an image of the infant's caring environment" (Philippson, 2009:42) and the child throughout life continues to internalize a thoroughly intersubjective field (Wheeler, 2002:45).

As the child grows contact patterns change. In early years more time is spent in the home but later children enter school and their worlds expand. By the time of adolescence the field of the child has evolved and more time is spent further outside the family and in the community amongst peers (Ward, 2007:14). Changes occur from either within the child, such as puberty and the drive for individuation which enlarges the adolescent's field, or they may occur in the environment. Adolescents are therefore both the products and the producers of their environments (Berk, 2008:29). The major developmental task of adolescence is individuation, a salient process in adolescence to establish their own identities (Oaklander, 2006:94). How well the field tolerates and supports this process of separation, redefinition and movement towards self-reliance will determine how the developmental process unfolds (Toman & Bauer, 2005:186).

Development is a function of the whole field. The whole field evolves rather than development simply occurring in a field (Wheeler, 2002: 50). For instance, the parents of a pre-schooler are different to the parents needed for an adolescent, because the parents grow and construct

different selves to meet the different requirements of the field (Wheeler, 2002:50). All members of the family undergo a process of re-configuration and development when the adolescent reaches a new developmental threshold; each regulates the other, especially emotionally (Jacobs, 2005:47). The child's way of being, or process, developed in earlier years becomes more rigid in adolescence (Oaklander, 2006:94). Where the child has developed certain processes to deal with negative emotions, other more sophisticated behavioural patterns may become more prominent in adolescence. For example, the adolescent may instead turn to drugs, engage in sexual or anti-social behaviours or develop eating disorders or suicidal tendencies in an effort to avoid feelings and to cope (Oaklander, 2006:95). The adolescent's life space conceptualized by Lewin, included the biologic, psychological and social domains as an integrated whole (McConville, 2001:30). This life space undergoes three major inter-related processes of development. Firstly, there is an extension in the life space or enlarging of the field of the adolescent over time. Childhood years are spent embedded or immersed in the context of the family. The adolescent moves from dependence to self-reliance as they disembed or separate from the family (Toman & Bauer, 2005:185; McConville, 2001:38). This requires a reorganization of the whole field (Toman & Bauer, 2005:185; McConville, 2001:38). Support is needed from the field for new and different patterns of behaviour to emerge (Blumenthal, 2007:13). Prohibitions or supports offered in the disembedding process impact on the growing involvement and interaction of the adolescent in extra-familial spaces (McConville, 2001:31).

Puberty triggers psychological distancing from parents, aiding the process of separation and the drive towards autonomy (Berk, 2006:569). Parenting style impacts on how much sway they hold over their teenage child. The adolescent experiences anxiety whilst negotiating living between the two worlds of family and peers or other external influences (Oaklander, 2006:98). Families that serve as secure bases support adolescents in exploring their worlds and developing identity (Berk, 2006:460). Adolescents whose parents offer too much or too little control tend to be influenced more strongly by peers. Adolescents in families that are enmeshed with a strong hold over them have to use stronger defense mechanisms and resistance to separate (Oaklander, 2006:98). Caring and involved parents help the teenagers overcome unfavourable peer pressure (Berk, 2006:618).

Close friendships also provide adolescents with a secure base to explore from, and role models for identity development (Berk, 2006:460). The adolescents begin to identify more with cliques or groups (Toman & Bauer, 2005:189), conforming in areas such as dress and grooming. Some adolescents may use drugs or alcohol, or engage in delinquent acts in order to be accepted in a group. Others may do it in a more pro-social way, for instance through playing sport or joining clubs at school. Choices made are driven by their high need for companionship and acceptance (Toman & Bauer, 2005:189).

As the life space enlarges, a second process of differentiation of the life space occurs: a growing variety of separate parts that function independently develop (Mc Conville, 2001:33). The adolescent develops new awarenesses, activities and interests that form more separate areas of their lives (McConville, 2001:32-35). These separate areas of the adolescent's life can be seen in the different selves they present. For instance, different selves are on the foreground, depending on context and who the adolescent is interacting with, such as parents, peers or teachers (Berk, 2006:446). With the differentiation of the life space adolescents then learn to re-organise the parts, integrating them into more workable wholes (McConville, 2001:31-35, 38; Toman & Bauer, 2005:183). Contradictory selves are organized by integrating principles, or qualifiers; for instance "I am outgoing among friends but withdrawn when I am with family," or "I can sometimes be outgoing" (Berk, 2006:446). In this way a clearer identity is established from contradictory parts.

The developmental context or field is defined well in Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory. The researcher will use this theory and Gestalt theory of development to discuss the influence of the different levels on adolescent development in the context of Heideveld. Each level of the ecosystem, starting from the microsystem, is nested in each other and impacts on adolescent development (Berk, 2006:27; Burton, 2007:5). None of the layers in the ecological systems theory can be viewed in isolation, similar to the holistic approach of field theory – everything affects everything else in the field (Yontef, 1993:322). The chronosystem acknowledges that the system is dynamic and ever-changing over time (Berk, 2006:29).



### **3.4.2. Bronfenbrenners Ecosystemic Levels in Communities Like Heideveld on the Cape Flats**

The different levels of the ecosystem are nested in each other and inter-connected. The microsystem falls at the centre, surrounded by the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem (Burton, 2007:5). Whilst the contexts of the microsystem, mesosystem and exosystem are visible in the everyday lives of adolescents the macrosystem is less visible but still influential (Ward, 2007:250).

#### *3.4.2.1 The Microsystem and Mesosystem Levels*

The microsystem and mesosystem levels overlap. The microsystem refers to the child's immediate environment of continuous face-to-face interactions in everyday living with other people (Ward, 2007:12) such as parents, extended family, teachers, carers or other adults, siblings and peers. This is the most influential level in shaping development (Ward, 2007:12). The microsystem consists of psycho-social as well as physical characteristics that impact on development of the adolescent (Evans & English, 2002:1238). The mesosystem covers the inter-relating or connecting of the microsystems such as the home, school, neighbourhood and after-care centres. Development is better supported when there is communication between microsystems, such as information passing between the home and school (Berk, 2006:28). Goodness of fit between the adolescent's own characteristics and field demands contributes to successful adjustment (Landy & Menna, 2006:13).

With the extension of the adolescent's life space, creative adjustment is necessary in terms of finding a balance between connectedness and individuality (Blumenthal, 2007:13). Low income communities or households may experience more stressors such as family disruption and turmoil, chaotic as well as more violent households (Evans & English, 2002:1243; Evans, 2004:77). Substandard living conditions create overcrowding and noise impacting on the adolescent's development (Evans & English, 2002:1238). Overcrowding also increases the likelihood of sexual victimization and makes it difficult for adolescents to negotiate space in order to engage in their own activities (Moses, 2006). Perpetrators of sexual abuse are often known by the adolescent being members of the family, community members, educators or other professionals (Lalor, 2004:439-460). Adolescents in these crowded conditions perhaps feel these stressors more acutely with their drive towards individuation. Poor housing and limited space

cause the adolescent to seek other areas to socialize in. As a result the adolescent's independent life space enlarges and vulnerability to victimization and danger in the community increases (Bray *et al.*, 2010:132). Paradoxically adolescents in more well-resourced areas may have the support needed but they come with greater dependence on parents or teachers which may be experienced as disempowering (Bray *et al.*, 2010:133). So the assumption is made that adolescents in communities like Heideveld may experience more power and independence in this sense.

In more impoverished families and neighbourhoods adolescents are exposed to an increased accumulation of physical and psycho-social stressors that impact on their psycho-social adjustment (Evans & English, 2002:1238). The accumulation of multiple environmental stressors imposes a greater pathogenic risk (Evans & English, 2002:1244; Evans, 2004:77). Spatz-Widom *et al.* (2008:793) speculate that growing up in disadvantaged communities may be associated with greater risk of general traumas and crime victimization. Child maltreatment may also be more likely (Macmillan, 2009:661). Parents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods may not be able to afford quality after-care facilities that provide stimulation, protection, pro-social models and supervision for their children. Many youth remain unsupervised outside of school and vulnerable to victimization.

Impoverished environments add to the paucity of support available to the developing adolescent, parents may become more authoritarian and so less responsive, emotionally unavailable and preoccupied with the anxieties of survival (Evans & English, 2002:1245; Evans, 2004:77; Landy & Menna, 2006:9; Oil, 2006:4). Proximal variables such as high parental punitiveness and criticism may have a greater effect on outcomes for young children than more distal variables, such as poverty or other community factors (Landy & Menna, 2006:7). Evans (2004:78) comments on research that shows a link between the duration of poverty and parental unresponsiveness or harshness; the longer the period of poverty the harsher and less responsive parents became. The adolescent's drive for autonomy may be frustrated in dangerous environments where parents may need to be more controlling in order to protect the adolescent, who may not yet have the knowledge and skills to manage the dangers around him or herself (Shelmerdine 2005:21). In such contexts parents are more likely to control and direct adolescents, delaying autonomy until the adolescents are regarded as competent to handle the

dangers they are exposed to (Shelmerdine, 2005:13). How adolescents respond may depend on how they understand the risk environment and the control exerted over them by the parents. If there is mutual understanding where the dangers of the environment are acknowledged by the parent and adolescent, there may be more acceptance of the authority of adults (Sherlmerdian, 2005:21). At the same time this kind of control in a high-risk context by the parent may create a barrier that gets in the way of empathic communication and shared understanding between parties (Sherlmerdian, 2005:23).

Shelmerdine's (2005:17) study showed that whilst adults may be absorbed in the role of protecting their children from dangers in the field, the grandparents may provide a protective function against dangers existing within the home. Grandmothers may be the ones providing love, food, security and consistent support where it is not provided by the parents (Shelmerdine, 2005:17). They may be more likely to hear the adolescent's point of view with respect, trust and empathy as they are less directly responsible for the protection of the adolescent (Shelmerdine, 2005:17).

Empathy is learnt in the family. Involved parents model empathy and help their children using discipline as teaching opportunities (Berk, 2006:410). The children gain a better perspective about how their wrongs have impacted on others. Many children in this country are disciplined physically with little explanation. Such coercive tactics do not provide the opportunity for the child to learn empathy and so there may be little guilt felt when they victimize another (Ward, 2007:17). Models of violence in the family as a means to solve problems promote similar violent behaviour of adolescents towards others in solving their own problems (Ward, 2007:12).

Family disruption is a common stress factor for youths in communities of low or medium SES in South Africa. Heideveld has a high incidence of family disruption and the absence of paternal support (Charles, 2010). The Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS) in 2000 found that the most prominent feature of households in Cape Town was the degree of parental absence (Bray *et al.*, 2010:51), the physical absence of one or both biological parents being commonly experienced by youth in longstanding disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Only half of black and coloured youth from low income homes have lived with both parents for more than half of their lives. Differences across race are evident in that black youth are less likely to have lived with one or both parents and are more likely to live with neither (Bray *et al.*, 2010:52). Only 25% of black

adolescents have always lived with maternal support, whereas permanent maternal caring is experienced by 75% of coloured adolescents (Bray *et al.*, 2010:54).

Caregiving may also happen within relationships and physical spaces outside the household, such as through neighbours, kin and older youth or other adults who play significant roles (Bray & Brandt, 2007:9). Support gained through these networks is seldom studied in research on child care and little is known about the effects on the child and the family of such formal or informal supports (Bromer & Henly, 2004:958). Support gained forms a buffer against the stress of poverty whilst possibly enabling more effective caring practices (Bray & Brandt, 2007:9).

With the expansion of their life space adolescents begin to turn more to peers and interests outside the family. The adolescents' confidence and positive self-esteem may help them resist peer pressure more (Moses, 2005:19). The influence of peers may be stronger when the home environment fails to support adolescents in ways they need (Oaklander, 2006:98; Ward, 2007:12). Ward (2007:23) states that adolescents from dysfunctional or bad homes are also likely to have bad school and peer contexts. For adolescents peer groups, like families and schools, play an important part in their socialization. Adolescents are protected with pro-social models but friendships developed with delinquent peers or siblings, or connection to gangs, predict youth violence (Ward, 2007:12, 22). Schools are under-resourced and lacking in support from other possible pro-social models such as teachers (Burton, 2007:115). Lack in pro-social support may lead the adolescents to feel more pressure to give in to questionable activities simply because of their high need for acceptance by a group and companionship (Toman & Bauer, 2005:189). Lack of support in the family and at school leads to a high school drop-out rate where many youth are on the streets with little to occupy their time. Boredom may lead to involvement in high-risk behaviours amongst youth such as gangsterism, delinquency and violence (Ward, 2007:22; Hermanus, 2008:4).

Adolescents of Heideveld, as in other areas of the Cape Flats, are exposed to widespread substance abuse, particularly alcohol and tik, which are increasingly available (Burton, 2007:3; Charles, 2010). Many adolescents have difficulty avoiding drugs since peer and family members are often open users and traffickers (Bray *et al.*, 2010:113-114). Gang activity connected to this further adds to violence experienced or witnessed in communities adolescents live in. In South Africa children from around eleven years of age become involved in gangs. This is a gradual

process and the movement towards violent environments begins even earlier (Ward, 2007:15). Interpersonal difficulties result from the effect of substance abuse within the family and among peers (Bray *et al.*, 2010:113-114). Substance abuse often contributes to problems such as low self-control leading to teenage pregnancy, sexual promiscuity and related diseases. Tik (or other drugs) and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) babies born to these mothers are often difficult to raise. These children may struggle in school with learning difficulties and psychiatric disorders such as depression, anxiety or personality disorders (Nair, Schuler, Black, Kettinger & Harrington, 2003:999; Landy & Menna, 2006:23; Ward, 2007:16). Teenage mothers have a higher risk of victimizing their own children through abuse and neglect than older mothers do. This is true especially with the accumulation of stressful risk factors such as problems with their families, punitive parenting of their child, difficulty coping with stress and substance abuse (Nair *et al.*, 2003:1012; McCurdy, 2005:251; Yookyong, 2009:634-635).

Families involved in substance abuse are especially likely to neglect their children (Van Niekerk, 2007). Since there are high rates of substance abuse on the Cape Flats the researcher postulates that neglect is likely to be widespread. Neglect is more often ignored and may result in more serious psycho-social consequences for children. Abuse still regards children as beings, but neglect fundamentally disregards who the children are (Van Niekerk, 2007). This makes children more vulnerable to abuse and re-victimization as they seek to have their needs met in relationships that often exploit them (Van Niekerk, 2007). The researcher believes that carers need to be trained to identify symptoms of neglect. Carers also need to be trained in how to counter the devastating psycho-social consequences that distort the child's sense of self and drive their choices.

Violence and trauma experienced in the home or the community may lead to stress symptomatology and subsequent emotional and learning problems. In under-resourced schools there may not be adequate resources to recognize and support the needs of the victimized youth (Ward, 2007:23). Individual academic support is much less available and adolescents are not empowered to take action about their own academic progresses (Bray *et al.*, 2010: 315). Further, many adolescents have difficulties at school since they have been schooled from the start in a language that is not their mother tongue (Chisholm, 2005:218; Moses, 2006). Parents are often

unable to support the adolescent as they themselves may have low levels of education or are consumed in their own worries (Bray *et al.*, 2010:315). In such an environment many learners may experience a lack of mastery at school and low levels of literacy and self-esteem. A stronger sense of self increases confidence and resilience, helping the adolescent overcome peer pressure (Moses, 2005:19) and victimization.

In adolescents' striving to develop identity clubs for special interests, religious groups or other neighbourhood organizations bolster psychological, educational and social development (Berk, 2006:28). They provide opportunities for the differentiation of the adolescents' life spaces and discovery of different aspects of self. Research shows that resilience is improved with parental support but as the child gets older school support becomes an increasingly important protective factor (Ward, Martin, Theron & Distiller, 2007:167-168). Where there is a paucity of such support in disadvantaged communities such as Heideveld, youth are often left unsupervised with little in the way of after school activities or holiday interests (Burton, 2007:115; Charles, 2010). Parents are often pre-occupied with their own problems and struggles in meeting the economic needs of the family (Burton, 2007:115). A lack of support and opportunity, particularly after school and during school holidays, increases the vulnerability of the adolescent who may align more with peer groups or be attracted to gangs and the life style they flaunt as a means to establish identity (Ward, 2007:23; Cape Times, 2008:4; Charles, 2010). Religious affiliation protects the adolescents, providing healthy role models and norms that discourage anti-social behaviour (Ward, 2007:18). Where the peer group holds a strong influence the adolescents may make choices that are not aligned with their own personal views (Bray *et al.*, 2010:316). Their identity may be more aligned with the external locus of their field rather than their inner subjective world. With a lack of resources through which to establish an identity adolescents may deem success in externals such as in what fashionable items they wear, their material possessions (e.g. cell phones), or what their girl- or boyfriend has. These may add to their feelings of well-being and acceptance by peers (Bray *et al.*, 2010:316), but also increase the risk of engagement in behaviours such as transactional sex, or involvement in gangs (Ward, 2007:26), in order to gain the means of satisfying needs (as discussed under 3.3). Problems at home with authority figures are mirrored in the school. Where adolescents lack power at home they may rebel and vent anger at school, with disruptive confrontational outbursts against

educators or other learners (Bray *et al.*, 2010:315; Charles, 2010). Truancy is another form of displaying power (Bray *et al.*, 2010:315). This further strains the learner-educator relationship, making it harder for educators to support.

#### 3.4.2.2 *The Exosystem*

The exosystem does not contain children but rather the social structures that impact on their experiences. Children have little direct access to these influences (Ward, 2007:12). These include friends of the parents or extended family who offer support to the parent, the social nature of the neighbourhood, welfare services, religious organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGO), media and perhaps employers of parents (Berk, 2006:29; Ward, 2007:12,23). Abuse or victimization is more likely in impoverished exosystems where the parent or carer is socially isolated and stressed by unemployment or poverty (Berk, 2006:29).

Neighbourhood profoundly impacts on most of adolescents' day to day living and future opportunities (Ward, 2007:23-24; Bray *et al.*, 2010:323). Low income neighbourhoods have an array of problems, they are often more dangerous, not maintained well and have poorer services (Evans, 2004:88). Local spaces remain highly racially segregated, with many of the dysfunctional patterns of relating arising from apartheid times continuing as discussed in 3.2. These patterns arose in this generation of adults who protested against oppression in their own youth. Problems such as substance abuse, violence and demeaning patterns of discourse have been repeated as habitual patterns of interaction in the home and in the community (Bray *et al.*, 2010:326). For instance gossip is used to promote a better sense of self, if the one slandered is made to look worse, then the gossiper feels or looks better by comparison. These negative patterns of interaction are most widely seen in coloured neighbourhoods like Heideveld, and also in black communities and is least evident in formerly white designated areas (Bray *et al.*, 2010:326).

Neighbourhoods like Heideveld that experience high levels of drug and alcohol availability, crime and poverty may be more disorganized (Ward, 2007:24). Widespread poverty in a community is associated with lower expectations for shared child control (Ward, 2007:25). The family may provide pro-social models, but different standards may be experienced in communal spaces such as in parks or in the homes of peers. Disorganised communities may therefore

receive less social support from neighbours and the chances of child maltreatment are higher (Ward, 2007:24). Communities that are disorganized do not support common pro-social values. They may not rally together taking responsibility to support the youth, with failure to buy into and support pro-social initiatives. When such initiatives are run in Heideveld, they are often ill attended by the community (Charles, 2010). Responsibility may instead be shifted onto the school to fix problems with the youth (Cape Times, 2008).

Overcrowding may lead to more time spent in communal spaces as households in poor areas have little room for adolescents to hang out and socialise (Moses, 2005:19). Communal spaces are also limited and often used by others to drink and take drugs or for crime. In Heideveld people roam the streets with insomnia from tik (Charles, 2010), which increases violence, aggression and sexual drive leading to victimization. The National Youth Victimization Survey documented drug-selling in South African communities. A high proportion of respondents were exposed to the trade of drugs within their neighbourhoods (Ward, 2007:24). Such activities encourage violence and generate feelings of being unsafe for others in areas where they occur (Moses, 2005:18). In Heideveld, some school fields are even cut off from the school due to high crime rates (Heideveld, 2009:2; Charles, 2010). Public spaces that are made to create recreational opportunities for youth such as the two community centres or the library in Heideveld are under resourced with inadequate space, maintenance and staff to meet the needs of the community (Heideveld, 2009:2). Creative adjustments (such as avoidance of certain areas or simple choices like averting eyes from witnessing an assault) protect the adolescent from witnessing violence or victimization and so reduce the trauma experienced (Moses, 2005:21). This may be easier for some adolescents than others, depending on where they reside in the neighbourhood (e.g. near a shebeen or a drug lord) (Moses, 2005:20). In Heideveld, one high school is amongst the flats and more exposed to dangers in the community, yet even the one located in a safer position struggles with gangsterism (Charles, 2010).

Violence is modeled through the media and television, as well as in the home and community. As a result it may become viewed as acceptable and normative (Ward, 2007:2). In a context that lacks anti-violence norms adolescents are more likely to become aggressive (Ward, 2007:25). Parents who are uninvolved due to neglect or preoccupation with work may not provide adequate



supervision on what adolescents are exposed to. Adolescents exposed to high levels of violence may resort to the use of violent behaviour in times of stress (Ward, 2007:12).

The adolescents' perceptions of their community, as well as the communities' view of their own environment and media driven constructions, impact on the adolescents' sense of well-being and identity formation (Moses, 2005:13,38). Media perpetuating negative stereotypes of previously disadvantaged neighbourhoods impact negatively on the formation of a collective identity and community levels of self-esteem, leading to an increase in apathy (Moses, 2005:13-15). Negative views of Cape Flats communities such as Heideveld affect how young people feel about their everyday environment and what they believe is possible, influencing behaviour (Moses, 2005:14). These negative views also discourage interrelation with external communities of more privileged youth. Moses (2005:39-40) writes about the responsibility of media and the state to challenge these negative stereotypes that keep neighbourhoods segregated. This negative stereotyping thwarts adolescents' development of a healthy community identity and encourages continued patterns of "anti-social behaviour and poor self-efficacy" (Moses, 2005:40). In the study done by Moses (2005:39) in Ocean View, youth who focused more on the positive aspects of living, were more committed and determined with school work and more set on achieving their goals. Encouragement and support from other people helped them to maintain positive attitudes. Apathy on the part of adults who feel that coloured people are still excluded from opportunity, may undermine the adolescent's drive to succeed (Bray *et al.*, 2010:133-134). Many adolescents in Heideveld are likely to internalize negative messages about themselves and their possibilities both from the family and the community. In the researcher's view, this points to the need to celebrate the positive aspects of the community frequently and fully. The uniqueness, talents and achievements of the people of Heideveld need to be commended and regarded as evidence of a community that they can be proud about. Perhaps more resources and opportunities need to be made available for community celebrations and announcements.

#### *3.4.2.3 The Macrosystem*

The macrosystem includes cultural values, socio-economic and socio-political factors, laws, customs and resources (Burton, 2007:5; Ward, 2007:13). Priority of the macrosystem in addressing children's rights and needs support the child (Berk, 2006:29). Support received on this level filters down to the lived experience of the child. For instance, socio-economic

conditions effect the quality of facilities available to the child. Children in lower SES areas may not have fully equipped and stimulating playgrounds, classrooms, libraries or quality aftercare facilities. They are unlikely to have access to extra mural programmes, specialist teachers or the benefits of low teacher-pupil ratios that contribute to healthy development. In lower SES communities where the parents also lack in education because of socio-economic factors, the children are less likely to receive support with their homework. There may be a low value attached to education in the community which impacts on the child's attitudes towards learning. Macrosystems that lack the laws and socio-political factors needed for protecting children leave them in a vulnerable position. For instance, where laws are not enforced about quality of child care, corporal punishment or police clearance for adults who work with children, the child may be more vulnerable to exploitation and victimization. The family who is not protected by law (and the law which is practically worked out) may experience greater prejudice with regards to factors such as religion, race and chronic diseases. In the South African context, communities' attitudes towards diseases or conditions such as HIV may leave children vulnerable to further victimization. For instance, cultures who continue to have certain myths about the cures and causes of HIV may feel they are justified in victimizing children who are living with or are affected with HIV.

The influence of apartheid and continued inequality discussed under 3.2, describe the macrosystem of many communities such as Heideveld and the resultant problems that have emerged which impact on the adolescent in complex ways. How adolescents respond depends on support offered within their individual micro- and mesosystems which are impacted on by what occurs in the other levels of the system.

Poverty is a major factor across many Cape Flats communities such as Heideveld. Although poverty is not directly causally related to violence, it contributes to setting a multi-problem context in which crime, violence, delinquency, drugs and alcohol abuse as well as victimization thrive (Ward, 2007:13). Chronic poverty gives rise to increasing social and environmental risk exposures, the cumulative risk being a key factor impacting negatively on child development (Evans, 2004:87). Current and past governmental policies and social problems discussed under 3.2 contribute towards continued inequality, frustration and violence in communities such as Heideveld. Lack of resources in schools and neighbourhoods, gender inequality, the construction

of masculinity and patriarchal values also contribute to this field of multiple problems where interactions are often filled with violence and victimization (discussed under 3.2).

#### *3.4.2.4 The Chronosystem*

The chronosystem refers to the changes that occur in the system over the course of development. These occur from within the child and are also imposed on the child (Berk, 2006:29). Man's history, culture, language and behavioural patterns (from our own generation and those before) shape the context children are born into and their selfhood (Jacobs, 2005:45), as discussed under 3.2 and 3.3. Continued challenges on every level of the system impact on the support offered to the child and their possibilities of constructing healthy identities. With the global market more drug and criminal syndicates enter our country (discussed under 3.3.). Along with this is likely to come more crime, more violence and victimization. The researcher referred to literature under 3.4.2.1., which showed how harsh parenting was necessary because of the dangers of the environment. By inference then, increasing levels of danger in communities may impact further on families by creating a need for increased parental harshness. This creative adjustment may become necessary to protect their offspring from the dangers of the environment. This in turn impacts on family relationships and the salient task of individuation of the adolescent also discussed under 3.4.2.1. Increasing levels of substance abuse in South Africa feeds into continued cycles of violence and victimization and the breakdown of family and community support available to the youth. Interventions made and more pro-social role models will help the adolescent to be more resilient and construct healthier identities.

### **3.4.3 Conclusion on Development**

Development is a function of the whole field; it is the organization of inner and outer realms of experience by the self into more complex and evolving wholes of meaning and action (Wheeler, 2002:76). These wholes of meaning are created through story, "we live our lives by stories we tell about ourselves and that others tell about us"; these narratives shape our experience and behaviour (Corey, 2005:397). The self is constructed in relation to others, through stories developed in a field that has both voice and listener (Wheeler, 2002:77). The story constructed is a map for the adolescent of what is supported and possible or unsupported and impossible in the field. A lack of support indicates a field condition of shame - that is what is punishable, not

received or validated, where this occurs parts of the self retract, remaining hidden and underdeveloped (Wheeler, 2002:68). Communities and families filled with apathy and multi-problem environments create an unsupportive developmental field that thwarts the development of a healthy self-process in the child.

The self-process develops first through the lead of others interacting in the field. This intersubjective dialogue with the other supports self-development (Wheeler, 2002:74). Many adolescents in Heideveld on the Cape Flats do not have warm supportive caring networks. They may have school environments and communities that have little space to recognize, receive and support the unique developing voice of the adolescent. Their possibilities of self-exploration by pro-social means through clubs and activities offered at school and in the community are limited (Charles, 2010). Their opportunities then for discovering different selves in the process of the differentiation of the life space are also limited and so too are the possibilities of re-configuration or reorganization of the self (McConville, 2001:31-35, 38; Toman & Bauer, 2005:183). This sentiment is reflected by Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007:43-44) in a study on adolescent masculinity in South Africa. Gender is a major part of self-organization in identity development (Wheeler, 2002:71). Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007:43-44) say that multi-level intervention is needed, giving boys access to social resources and alternative discourses. In this way space will be created for new narratives, where boys can negotiate alternative, pro-social and empowered meanings of masculinity that run contrary to dominant hegemonic norms.

Many adolescents in contexts such as Heideveld map out a field in which violence and victimization are normal. They internalize messages from parents and other influential adults in their community which tell them they will never amount to much. Their possibilities are limited mostly through poverty, community and parental apathy, and the lack of power and choice (Charles, 2010). Where warmth, acceptance and support do not come from family members and significant others, adolescents seek it from peer groups or perhaps gangs, who help them develop voice in their striving towards identity formation. Alternative means of asserting power and constructing identity are used when the individual lacks pro-social possibilities. This is a pattern that has been repeated since apartheid, breeding violence and victimization.

The self must organize experience integrating inner and outer worlds into workable wholes, which requires both internal and external support from the field (Wheeler, 2002:77). Where

adolescents have a stronger sense of self they are able to mobilize more internal support and can more flexibly and choicefully build supports in the external field (Wheeler, 2002:69). Adolescents who experience field conditions of shame (which indicates a lack of support) begin to orientate themselves more around the outer pole of experience, to the neglect of their felt inner world (Wheeler, 2002:70). When this denial of inner experience begins early and continues, it results in the development of a false self (Winnicott in Wheeler, 2002:70). For these individuals self-cohesion at a deep level is unstable (Wheeler, 2002:70-71). Where shame is extreme, the consequences are catastrophic and related to self-harming behavior, rage, substance abuse and violence, feeding into cycles of violence and victimization (Wheeler, 2002:71). Where there is a continual failure of the field to support the individual, the self destructs in some way (Wheeler, 2002:71). Perhaps this is what is seen in some of the youth of Heideveld because of field conditions discussed in this chapter. Adolescents may use violence and victimization to feel a sense of power and to establish identity. Some may be both victims and perpetrators of victimization, others may be just victims; both are at increased risk of re-victimization. Some become the poly-victims of Heideveld who, according to literature in Chapter Two, will suffer lifelong mental and health consequences with continued patterns of re-victimization. These are the ones stuck in a downward spiral that need intervention (Finkelhor, 2008:35-36).

### **3.5 SUMMARY**

The focus of this study is on poly-victimization of adolescents, which is linked to the context or field in which adolescents grow up. Whilst many adolescents have protective factors, these have not been discussed in full, as the focus has been on what contributes towards a context of poly-victimization. There are many responsible, successful role models and families in Heideveld, as well as successful pro-social initiatives already happening; just not enough.

In terms of violence and victimization, the legacy of apartheid has been shown to contribute significantly to this in South Africa. Underlying problems of poverty, economic and gender inequality, family disruption, substance abuse, gangsterism and pro-violent values need to be addressed to alter patterns of victimization and give pro-social means of constructing selfhood.

Media promoting violence need to be addressed, as well as negative stereotyping that has developed about communities such as Heideveld. Negative stereotyping by the media and

community members themselves, limit the possibilities of receiving fresh voice in the constructing of self-narratives. Negative attitudes of older people and peers themselves, within Heideveld, about the possibilities and agency of adolescents lead to apathy and frustration, encouraging anti-social behaviour, violence and victimization. The need for more positive pro-social role models and interventions for adolescents in communities such as Heideveld is apparent. Changes in victimization patterns or cycles of violence established require a change of contact styles on multiple levels of the eco-system within which the adolescent develops.

# **CHAPTER FOUR**

## **METHODOLOGY OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

The preceding chapters gave a detailed literature review of victimization and discussed adolescent development in the context of Heideveld, a largely coloured community on the Cape Flats. This chapter will explain the research process.

The goal of the study (Fouché & De Vos, 2005:104; Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:29) was to conduct a survey on the extent and nature of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld. This was achieved through administering an altered version of the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (discussed later).

### **4.2 SAMPLING**

The sample (Strydom, 2005:193) included 13 to 18 year old adolescents from grades eight to ten who attended a secondary school in Heideveld and could understand and read English. The researcher originally set out to use a probability, stratified sampling method but due to ethical reasons (no back-up counselors available in the second school as had been intended by parties external to this study), the study was diminished in number of schools surveyed. Convenience sampling methods were used instead. This was also necessitated because of the paucity of response in terms of obtaining consent from parents or guardians. The disadvantage of this method is that it did not provide a truly representative sample. Convenience sampling, however, is used in exploratory research to generate an approximation of the truth (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:177). Given this, the researcher decided that convenience sampling was the only other feasible option in sampling methods for this study which was both exploratory and descriptive in nature. Convenience sampling was also appropriate as it provided a relatively fast and cost-effective way of obtaining information (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:177). Since all adolescents in the study were at the same school, which occupied a large part of their daily routine, they were

considered a fairly homogeneous population. In homogeneous populations, where members are similar with respect to variables that are important to the study, smaller samples may adequately represent the population (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:178). According to Maree and Pietersen (2007:178), bigger sample sizes are needed where the more complex forms of statistical analysis are undertaken. Smaller samples are adequate for simpler models, as long as they are representative of the population (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:179). Since only simple statistical techniques in the analysis of data were used in this study, the sample of 91 respondents was considered representative of adolescents in Heideveld (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:179).

### **4.3 PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF ETHICAL RESEARCH**

#### **4.3.1 Non-maleficence**

Before any of the research was undertaken, permission was obtained from the Department of Education (DOE) and the ethics committee of the Institute for Child, Youth and Family Studies, Huguenot College (cf. Mouton, 2001:244; Strydom, 2005:68). This process formed part of ensuring that ethical practice was followed. The principle of non-maleficence (Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006:141) was considered and certain conditions were put in place to achieve this end, for example the principal, educators, learners and the school were not permitted to be identifiable in any way from the results of the study. Secondly, no parties were obliged to participate in the study and all needed to be informed of the nature of the study as well as the possible risks. Thirdly, the researcher was only to use schools where back-up counselors were available in case respondents needed to debrief.

The researcher approached Cornerstone Christian College to enquire about schools where they were placing counselors for their internships. Two counselors were sent to the school concerned in this study. The researcher approached this school because the extra provision of support was available, should the respondents need it at the time of data collection, or thereafter, as trauma responses may have emerged later as a result of the questions (cf. Reamer, 2005:41).



### **4.3.2 Honoring the Research Site**

Respect was shown by gaining permission from the various gatekeepers such as the DOE and headmaster to enter the site, as well as each of the educators involved (Creswell, 2008:12). The DOE stipulated that the study was not to interrupt the educators' programmes and was to be run during Life Orientation class periods in the third term. The researcher was cognizant of this, disturbing the respondents and other people on site as little as possible and only if it was suitable to the educator. Respondents were returned to class on time.

### **4.3.3 Informed Consent**

The researcher's responsibility towards protecting respondents against harm goes further than making efforts to repair any damage afterwards. The researcher also must ensure that respondents are fully informed about the potential impact before they take part in the study, so that they can withdraw if they want to (Strydom, 2005:58). According to Ivanhoff, Blythe & Walters (2008:52) when research is conducted on children, the parent or guardian must grant consent and the child him/herself should be asked to give their assent or agreement to participate. In this study, parents or guardians of the respondents were informed in simple written language of what the study entailed and the risk of possible psychological discomfort that their child might experience (Appendix ten). They were asked to give written consent. Respondents were only permitted to take part in the study if they had a signed letter of consent from a parent or guardian.

Parents and guardians were assured that provision had been made to protect the respondents from psychological harm (cf. Mouton, 2001:244). Ensuring the well-being of the respondents forms part of the ethical principle of beneficence (Ivanhoff *et al.*, 2008: 36). This was ensured by the anonymity (Mouton, 2001:15) of the study and the provision of counselors in case of emotional discomfort.

Respondents with signed consent forms from parents or guardians were given information about the questionnaire to be completed in understandable terms. This was given to them in a written format and was also discussed with them by the researcher. The voluntary nature of the participation was made clear and coercive tactics were avoided so that the quality of responses was not jeopardized (Bless *et al.*, 2006:142; Ivanhoff *et al.*, 2008:51). According to Strydom (2005:60) informed consent ensures cooperation and the dispersion of tension, resistance or

insecurity of the respondents. Respondents were told of the risks, that they may feel discomfort in attempting to answer some of the questions (cf. Bless, *et al.*, 2006:142; Ivanhoff *et al.*, 2008:57). They were informed that they were permitted to stop or withdraw from the study at any time (cf. Reamer, 2005:39; Bless *et al.*, 2006:142), that the questions could be upsetting and that there was provision for counselors available to them should they need further support. Provision was made to ensure that counselors were at hand to deal with respondents who felt they needed support on the day of the study. Respondents were informed who they could turn to if they felt any discomfort. The two counselors at the school were available if needed, as well as the researcher. Respondents were informed that a box had been posted at the school office in which they could place requests for further support at a later time should the need arise. The researcher checked this box regularly. Whilst some respondents indicated that it had been a hard questionnaire to answer, none wanted to talk things through with a counselor. One respondent came forward for matters that had nothing to do with the questionnaire. The researcher referred her to an organization that deals with vulnerable children and followed through with the process.

Once all the relevant information regarding the respondents' participation in the study and the possible risks had been conveyed, an opportunity to ask any further questions was presented. Respondents were also told they could ask questions at any stage of the process (Strydom, 2005:59). Thereafter each respondent could willingly and voluntarily agree to participate in the study or not (Reamer, 2005:37). A few respondents withdrew from the study when given the opportunity, but the majority were happy to continue. Respondents were asked for a written indication of their assent (Ivanhoff *et al.*, 2008:52). This signed assent followed all the information about the study which was worked through verbally with the respondents according to page one of the questionnaire (Appendix ten). Once assent had been given the researcher proceeded with the questionnaire.

The researcher was positioned at the school for about eight weeks after the survey was conducted. This was possible since she had volunteered to facilitate a particular programme for two classes that ran during Life Orientation sessions. Respondents were made aware of her availability for support after the study during the service of facilitation of classes at the school.

#### **4.3.4 Anonymity and Confidentiality**

Anonymity was particularly important in this study since according to the law in South Africa, disclosure of details regarding child abuse by the respondent would have to be reported. Reporting of child abuse would violate the pledge of confidentiality given to respondents and may in their minds have made their suffering and situation worse; maintaining anonymity was therefore crucial (cf. Ivanhof *et al.*, 2008:54). Since the survey explored sensitive issues, anonymity was also important as it may have allowed respondents to be more honest and record victimization events more accurately (cf. Ivanhof *et al.*, 2008:53-54).

The first page of the questionnaire covered the respondents' signed assent. Since this page revealed their identity it was immediately torn off and stored separately from the completed questionnaires. Secure storage was found in a locked cupboard in the library at the school. The library was also locked and used only under supervision. The only identification on the completed questionnaires was the unique number. Data was kept anonymous at all times.

According to Ivanhof *et al.* (2008:54), the researcher can associate responses with the names of the respondents when the confidentiality of their responses is guaranteed. In this study it was necessary to associate responses with the names of respondents since the questionnaire took more than one class period to complete in many cases. Further complications arose with school strikes and high rates of truancy, the researcher had to revisit classes a number of times in order to complete the questionnaire.

A list of unique questionnaire numbers and names was stored securely at the school and kept separate from the respondent's questionnaires, as suggested by Ivanhof *et al.* (2008:54). This list was accessed only in order to redistribute the questionnaires for completion. Once the survey was completed the list of names and unique questionnaire numbers was still securely stored separate from the completed questionnaires. A social worker known to the researcher stored the list in a secure place, as there was the possibility of a future follow-up study on certain groups of respondents. Respondents were informed of this process before they assented to participating in the study. The way in which the unique numbers and names were to be stored and kept separate from the questionnaires was explained to them (cf. Ivanhof *et al.*, 2008:54). The completed

questionnaires and data records (except the list of identification) were/are kept securely (Reamer, 2005:40) in the researcher's office in a locked room.

Confidentiality of responses was also protected by ensuring adequate spacing in the room where the survey was conducted. This was possible since the library was made available for the study and this room had sufficient tables and chairs to allow for privacy whilst completing the questionnaire. Respondents were encouraged to move if they felt they needed further privacy.

#### **4.4 THE SURVEY DESIGN**

Survey data describes phenomena and explicates their status (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001 and Crowther *et al.*, 1994 in Maree & Pietersen, 2007:155). The survey provides a quantitative or numeric description of the trends of a population, which is obtained by generalizing from the sample studied to the population (Creswell, 2003:153). The survey conducted in this study was a cross-sectional one. The data was collected at one point in time although that time was spread over two separate classes on some occasions due to the length of the questionnaire (Creswell, 2003:155; Creswell, 2008:389). For some classes the time period to complete the questionnaire varied from one to four weeks due to the strikes. An altered version of the JVQ was self-administered (cf. Creswell, 2003:155) in this study. The survey was seen as appropriate design for this study. The advantages and disadvantages of the survey design are discussed below.

##### **4.4.1 Advantages of Survey Designs**

- Questionnaires are useful methods of data collection and well-suited for answering questions related to “what?”, “where?” and “how many” (Unrau, 2008:338). These were the pertinent questions of this study.
- Questionnaires are a more convenient (Unrau, 2008:338) and are a relatively easy format to use for a learner to complete. The response rate is optimal (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:157).
- The questionnaire format also allows large amounts of information to be gathered in a short time period in a relatively inexpensive way (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:157; Unrau, 2008:338).

#### **4.4.2 Disadvantages**

- This method relies on the respondent's ability to recall events or behaviour (Unrau, 2008:338). In order to counter this, questions were asked about the last 12 months only.
- Low literacy levels of respondents (Unrau, 2008:338) may also make the questionnaire too complicated to complete accurately. To ensure simplicity of the questionnaire for this study part of the pilot study was conducted with grade eights, the youngest of the sample. The assumption was made that if they would understand the questions, so would the older children.
- The researcher has a limited ability to know whether what has been measured was what one intended to measure (Unrau, 2008:38). To overcome this, the researcher used the JVQ, which is a questionnaire with adequate construct validity. The JVQ was also selected because it was a survey that represented the broadest forms of victimization which were pertinent in this study. Other victimization surveys perused tended to focus on specific forms of victimization neglecting the broad spectrum. The JVQ therefore had the best content validity of available victimization surveys that the researcher found in literature on victimization.

#### **4.5 THE ADAPTED JUVENILE VICTIMIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE**

The researcher used an adapted version of the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (JVQ) which was developed (Creswell, 2003:155) by Finkelhor, Hamby, Ormrod & Turner (2005c:404-407). The original version of the JVQ was designed as a random digit dial telephone survey. This was not a feasible format to use in this study due to expense and the likelihood of limited telephone services amongst the population. The JVQ consists of 34 simple screener questions (see Appendix One) about offenses against youth, covering five general areas of victimization. This instrument is more comprehensive than others used in past research on victimization, covering all the major forms of offenses that may be committed against youth (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner & Hamby, 2005a).

#### 4.5.1 Structure of the Adapted JVQ

The questionnaire began with several biographical questions (see Appendix Three). These were non-threatening and easy helping to put the respondent at ease (cf. Maree & Pietersen, 2007:160). The researcher asked about gender, age, who the respondent resided with, what neighbourhood they lived in, which religion and racial group they belonged to and how they felt about safety at school. According to Maree and Pietersen (2007:163) these questions were structured as either dichotomous questions, category questions or ranking questions. Biographical questions were important in order to explore relationships between certain biographical variables and other variables to do with victimization in the study (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:164).

The population group of this study included adolescents who lived in Heideveld. Biographical information was important in this respect as many learners in the school came from areas surrounding Heideveld and were therefore not representative of the population (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:164). Respondents who did not live in Heideveld but were schooled there, still have the same experiences of school as other respondents who resided in Heideveld. Non-resident respondents still spend time in the Heideveld community in the process of commuting to and from school and socializing with friends. Some non-resident respondents lived in similar coloured communities in the area; their data was therefore still recorded. The 34 screener questions followed thereafter and were grouped under certain content areas (Creswell, 2003:156; Maree & Pietersen, 2007:160). These included: (1) Conventional Crime, (2) Child Maltreatment, (3) Peer and Sibling Victimization, (4) Sexual Victimization and (5) Witnessing and Indirect Victimization (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005c:384). These five areas of victimization form different modules of the JVQ (Hamby *et al.*, 2005:3) and give the broad range of victimization experiences that are often lacking in other studies (e.g. studies that focus on particular kinds of victimization such as physical or sexual abuse). These modules cover important conceptual categories in current work on victimization of children (Hamby *et al.*, 2005:3). The broad range of victimization experiences helps to integrate a field of diverse specializations in victimization such as that focused on in criminology, child maltreatment and neglect and trauma. Since this

study is focused on the extent and nature of poly-victimization, a questionnaire that covered the broad range of victimization experiences was essential.

The different content areas of the questionnaire were clearly marked and announced to the respondents in advance so that they were made aware that the nature of the questions was about to change. For instance, following the questions on conventional crime, the next upcoming questions on child maltreatment were firstly announced:

***“Next we ask about grown-ups who take care of you. This means parents, babysitters, adults who live with you, or others who watch over you”.***

The researcher included further close-ended questions where relevant and one open-ended question after each of the 34 screener questions of the original JVQ. These questions covered some of the follow-up questions used by Finkelhor *et al.* (2005c:385) after any endorsement of a single screener question in the JVQ. The 34 screener questions gathered information on what type of victimization the respondent had been subjected to. The few contingency questions that followed after each screener question (as shown in the example below) were structured questions that were only answered where appropriate by the sub-group of respondents who confirmed they had been victimized in a particular way (cf. Bless *et al.*, 2006:131). These questions explored whether a particular form of victimization had occurred, the frequency with which it had occurred in the last year, who had perpetrated it (an adult or another teenager or child) as well as the context of the victimization episode. Respondents were asked if the event/s had occurred in the home, at school or in the community context. Finally, one open-ended question was added to explore their response pattern. At the end of each content area an additional open-ended question was asked that explored the respondents' response to the knowledge of, or witnessing of a particular type of victimization inflicted on their peer. These two open-ended questions were asked in order to see what the current patterns of response are in the face of victimization, whether directed at the respondent or peer. The researcher considered asking these two questions important. The answers may have shown some gap in information or knowledge about how adolescents respond to victimization. Data may have shown that adolescents need more information on what to do in the face of victimization and how to help a peer who is being victimized. On the other hand, data responses could show how resilient the respondents are in terms of the creative adjustments they make in order to deal with victimization.

For example, the last question of the conventional crime area C8 was followed by C9 as below:

**C8) *In the last year, were you hit or attacked because of your skin colour, religion, or where your family comes from? Because of a physical problem you have? Or because someone said you are gay?***

a)  Yes.....or..... No

If yes, answer questions b) to g).

If no, go to question **C9**

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year

1 time only

2 times

3-5 times

6 times or more

c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?  Yes or  No

d) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home

e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?  Yes or  No

f) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**C9) *Did any of the above things (C1-8) happen to a friend of yours? If so, what did you do?***

.....

.....

#### **4.5.2 Sequencing of Questions**

The sequencing of questions on a questionnaire needs consideration (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:159). The order of modules covered in the JVQ was followed in this study due to the motivation given by Hamby *et al.* (2005:3). Conventional crime comes first as it is a more general and a less sensitive area than other modules, helping the respondent to relax (cf. Maree &



Pietersen, 2007:159). Child maltreatment is the second module as it is distinctively different yet very important in the field of child victimization. This contrast in the nature of questions helps the respondent to recognize that the types of questions will change with each module. Peer and sibling victimization follows, giving continuity to the theme of known perpetrators. Sexual victimization, which may be the most sensitive module, is placed later in the order of modules. Witnessing and indirect victimization comes last as it moves away from direct experiencing (Hamby *et al.*, 2005:3) and may therefore help to contain the respondent.

Finally, the questionnaire ended with a couple of open- and close-ended questions. The open-ended questions were posed to find out if there were victimization incidents that had occurred, that were not asked about in the questionnaire. Respondents were then asked for their suggestions for preventing violence against children. Three close-ended questions followed to gauge what percentage of respondents found the task of completing the questionnaire hard and what percentage had difficulty understanding the questionnaire. Since the questionnaire covered many sensitive topics, the respondents was asked whether it was difficult to be open about what happened to them. Lastly, the respondents were given the opportunity to say something more about what had happened, or about the process of filling in the questionnaire, so that things left unfinished for them could be said. These questions moved away from direct victimization, again helping to ground the respondent. A short paragraph in closing reminded the respondent that help was available and how to ask for it.

### **4.5.3 Construct Validity**

Construct validity needs to be demonstrated for the standardization of a questionnaire. Construct validity measures how well the different groups of related items in a questionnaire reflect a particular construct (Pietersen & Maree, 2007:217). Construct validity of the 34 screener questions on the JVQ was tested by Finkelhor *et al.* (2005: 396). This was done through associating a positive endorsement of the screener questions with trauma responses. Victimization literature has found that trauma responses are associated with victimization (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995 in Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2005, 396). Construct validity could therefore be tested by assessing the degree to which each of the screener questions endorsed was associated with trauma symptomatology (Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2005:217). In order to do this, the Trauma Symptoms Checklist for Children (TSCC) was utilized (Briere, 1996 in Finkelhor, *et al.*,

2005:396) for children between the ages of 10-17. The TSCC was a self-report instrument of trauma symptoms. This common measure of the impact of victimization and other traumas showed that moderate, but significant correlations were found between trauma symptoms for modules of the JVQ and for most of the 34 individual screener items as well. Those screener items that were seldom endorsed (such as kidnapping, witness to murder and exposure to war or ethnic conflict) did not have significant correlations with trauma symptomatology. Construct validity on a measure is demonstrated if it “behaves” as it should in relation to other constructs in the theory (Engel & Schutt, 2008:128). Finkelhor *et al.* (2005:399) demonstrated that the JVQ (in terms of the screener questions and modules) “behaved” similarly to other instruments that are interested in measuring victimization in the field of criminology and mental health (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005:399).

Compared to other victimization questionnaires, the JVQ has been subjected to one of the most extensive conceptual and language screening evaluations. This has enabled clinical and legal concepts like “psychological abuse” or “aggravated assault” to be translated into terms that are easily understood by children (Hamby *et al.*, 2005:2). This process required the collaboration of victimization specialists, focus groups of parents and teens, as well as the testing of language and content of the instrument on young children.

#### **4.5.4 Content Validity**

Content validity may be demonstrated by establishing that the five modules of victimization and 34 screener questions of the JVQ adequately represent the broad range of victimization experiences (Pietersen & Maree, 2007:217; Engel & Schutt, 2008:127). According to Walsh *et al.* (2008:1038), research using survey instruments to assess victimization and maltreatment seldom assess multiple forms of the construct. One type of victimization is often focused on, such as criminal victimization (e.g. the National Crime Victimization Survey), or maltreatment (e.g. The Childhood Trauma Questionnaire), and at times only one item may be used to represent a concept damaging the content validity of the instrument (Walsh *et al.*, 2008:1038). Brevity required in self-report questionnaires often underlies this neglect of the full spectrum of victimization experiences. The JVQ differs in that it offers the most comprehensive self-report questionnaire covering the broadest range of victimization experiences (Finkelhor *et al.*,

2005:384). The literature review (Engel & Schutt, 2008:151) in Chapter Two gave the researcher an insight into the possible aspects of victimization that needed to be considered if the broad range of victimization experiences is to be assessed. The researcher was satisfied that the JVQ covered all the necessary areas of victimization in order to be considered an instrument that assesses the broad range of victimization experiences. Many surveys on victimization give scant attention to conventional crime and indirect victimization. For instance: The Childhood Experiences of Violence Questionnaire (Walsh *et al.*, 2008) neglects the domain of conventional crime and the ICAST- C tools from the International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect focus more on child maltreatment within the home and school context. In this study victimization within the community frequently occurred. Respondents were indirectly victimized outside of the home and the majority of respondents were also victims of conventional crime. The researcher therefore considered the JVQ screener questions to offer the best content validity of available tools surveying broad forms of victimization.

#### **4.5.5 Reliability**

##### *4.5.5.1 Internal Consistency/Reliability*

Literature shows difficulty in establishing internal reliability on constructs that attempt to measure actual life events such as is the case in victimization (Turner & Wheaton, 1997 in Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005:401). The different domains of victimization belong to the same conceptual category, yet they may not be closely correlated to each other (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005:401). For this reason Finkelhor *et al.* (2005:401) concluded that measures of internal consistency reliability performed on the JVQ would result in an estimation of reliability that has limited applicability.

##### *4.5.5.2 Test-retest Reliability*

When an instrument is reliable it should result in similar findings when administered to the same respondents at different times, or when administered to subjects from the same population (Pietersen & Maree, 2005:215). The researcher approached two grade nine classes that had life orientation classes on the same day and included the most respondents. She explained the need to do a test-retest of the questionnaire and asked if any of the respondents would be prepared to complete the questionnaire again. Sixteen respondents agreed to complete the questionnaire

again. A period of three to four weeks had lapsed since the first completion of the questionnaire. Since this study focused on the total victimization count as being an indicator of poly-victimization, this total victimization count was compared across the two different occasions. Literature suggests that a correlation of 0.70 to 0.90 indicates a high correlation or marked relationship between variables (Pretorius, 2007:78). The Pearson Correlation Coefficient in this test-retest reliability test was 0.775, indicating a high correlation.

#### **4.5.6 Cultural Relevance of the Adapted JVQ**

Before the pilot study was undertaken, the questionnaire was checked for simplicity and cultural understandability of the language used (Mouton, 2001:102; Creswell, 2008:399; Williams, Unrau & Grinnell, 2008:92). This was done by an adult who grew up in the area and worked in the school as a counselor. He confirmed that the language was simple and in his view the respondents would not have trouble understanding it. This was again checked in the pilot study with two separate groups, one of six grade eight participants and the other of four grade nine participants. Some further changes were made to the questionnaire from their input.

### **4.6 THE PILOT STUDY**

Researchers should aim to have optimal control of the survey environment and the process of completing the survey (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:155). This includes running a pilot study to test if respondents can understand and successfully complete the survey (Creswell, 2008:402). Questionnaire design requires consideration by the researcher in terms of how the questionnaire is going to look, what the question wording and sequence is, as well as how these questions are going to be answered through the response categories designated (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:159). Two pilot studies were done, which revealed that the adapted response categories needed to be revised and simplified. To ensure brevity and simplicity, a few questions added to the 34 screener questions of the JVQ needed to be removed (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:159).

The pilot study involved six grade eight learners, the youngest in the sample. After the first trial run, changes were made to the questionnaire, as discussed above. The researcher set out to re-test the questionnaire on the same group. Problems arose with strikes in the school and delays before the next possible trial run. A second group was selected from grade nine in order to complete the

pilot study timeously. These four respondents had no problem understanding or completing the simplified questionnaire in less than 40 minutes. The researcher then went back to the first pilot group of grade eights and checked again for any last minute changes. The grade eight pilot study group informed the researcher of some further changes needed for verbal comprehension. They found the word “adolescent” too difficult and agreed that the term “teenager” would be easier to understand. They also were unclear about the flow of the questions and suggested the researcher included clearer directions for how to proceed if they gave a yes or no answer, for example:

**C5) In the last year, did anyone hit or attack you *WITHOUT* using an object or weapon?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No

If yes, answer questions b) to g).

If no, go to question **C6**

The researcher was only permitted to use Life Orientation periods in order that the learner would not be disadvantaged in any way in terms of missing out on essential classes. It was clear from the two pilot test runs that more than one class would be needed to complete the questionnaire in some instances. Classes at the school varied in duration between 30- 40 minutes. Some classes were even shorter than 30 minutes in duration, depending on when in the school day they occurred; e.g. immediately after any break respondents took much longer to arrive.

#### **4.7 ADMINISTRATION OF THE ALTERED JVQ**

Small group administration of the questionnaire was undertaken with the respondents who had signed consent forms and assented to the process themselves in each class. The survey was administered in small groups varying from 3 to 15 respondents. Advantages of conducting the survey at the school included the constant presence of the researcher who was therefore able to immediately assist with any questions the respondents had (cf. Maree & Pietersen, 2007:157).

Plans had to be made in order to protect confidentiality of answers over the time the survey was completed. A separate sheet of matching respondent names and unique questionnaire numbers was kept, so that the questionnaire could be re-issued to the same respondent to complete. The list compiled was filed and kept at the school in a secure location, separate from the

questionnaires which were stored by the researcher. Questionnaires were kept locked in the researcher's office and only taken to school on the appropriate day for completion by each class.

When the survey is conducted is also part of attempting to achieve control. In this study the survey was conducted over a period of five weeks in the school using the Life Orientation period. For different classes this occurred at different times over the school day. Problems arose with the school strikes; as a result this was a disrupted time with high rates of truancy. The library was made available, which was a very suitable venue offering a quiet space with sufficient tables and chairs, so that respondents could ensure adequate spacing for confidentiality.

#### **4.7.1 Time-framing**

In order to help the respondent form a time-frame, the concept of the last year was discussed in terms of when the year began and ended according to the school terms (e.g. different sports and class teachers), school holidays (e.g. holiday activities, world cup soccer holiday time) and special community, school (e.g. a quiz competition or talent show) or religious events (e.g. Easter, Ramadaan) that may have happened. This was done in order to help the respondent remember victimization incidents that occurred over the last year. This was necessary to facilitate the accuracy in memory recall of victimization experiences (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:160). Time pressure made it difficult for the researcher to go into detail in this process. When asked, respondents indicated that they understood the time-frame which was being investigated.

#### **4.8 SUMMARY**

The extent and nature of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld were assessed using the altered JVQ. This questionnaire covered the broad range of victimization experiences, showing adequate content and construct validity. The relevant gatekeepers were approached to gain access to the school. Ethical practice was followed obtaining informed consent and ensuring non-maleficence. The pilot study informed the researcher of changes that needed to be made for the successful administration of the altered JVQ to the population studied. Findings are reported in the following chapter.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## EMPIRICAL RESEARCH RESULTS

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter biographic details are given describing characteristics of the sample researched. Perceptions about safety at school are then given, as well as the respondents' perceptions on how they found the experience of completing the questionnaire. Next, victimization findings are outlined in the five broad categories or modules of conventional crime, child maltreatment, peer and sibling victimization, sexual victimization and witnessing or indirect victimization. Within these modules each item of the altered JVQ is expanded on. The researcher reports the frequency with which items were endorsed, how many times the item occurred for individual respondents. Next, the question of how often victimization events were perpetrated by adults or youth is discussed. The context in which the victimization event occurred is given (at school, in the community or at home). Details are given as to what the respondents did when victimized in a certain way, as well as what they did when a peer of theirs was victimized. The different victimization modules are then compared and finally the total victimization count is given. From this a discussion about poly-victimization follows.

### 5.2 BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Ninety-one respondents completed the questionnaire. The demographics of the sample were as follows:

#### Age in Years

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	13	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	14	23	25.3	25.3	33.0
	15	38	41.8	41.8	74.7
	16	19	20.9	20.9	95.6
	17	2	2.2	2.2	97.8
	18	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.1: Age of Respondents

**Gender:** 67% of the sample were female, 33% were male.

**Family Constellation:** 87.9% of the sample lived with their mothers and 50.5% of respondents had their fathers living in the home. Grandmothers resided in 40.7% of the respondents' homes and 12.1% of respondents had grandfathers who lived in the home. Data shows that the presence of a paternal authority figure in the home in the way of either a father or grandfather was much lower than maternal figures. 54.9% of respondents had siblings, 19.8% had other relatives living in their home and 2.2% had people who were not their relatives living in their home.

**Racial Group:** 75.8% of the respondents' families were coloured, 18.7% were black and 1.1% were Indian. One respondent (1.1%) came from a mixed family and 3.3% of the respondents did not classify their family as belonging to any racial group.

**Neighbourhood:** 62.6% of the respondents lived in Heideveld. 37.4% of the respondents lived outside of Heideveld; some lived in similar predominately coloured communities such as Manenberg, whilst others came from largely black communities such as Gugulethu.

**Religion:** 68.1% of the respondents were Christians, 20.9% were Muslim, 2.2% belonged to other religions and 8.8% did not belong to any religious group.

### **5.3 PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY AT SCHOOL**

Children have the right to education and should feel safe and protected at school; yet 2.2% never felt safe at school, whilst 34.1% of respondents only sometimes felt safe at school. 28.6% of respondents usually felt safe at school and only 35.2% always felt safe at school. Some respondents (4%), when giving suggestions for the prevention of violence, specifically suggested that a police presence is needed in the school. One said "police must patrol the school because children bring knives to school". Jefthas and Artz (2007:46-47) and Burton (2007:113) support this, stating that youth experience a broad range of victimizations at school in the South African context. This particular school had problems with gangsterism (Charles, 2010), this is likely to have further added to the learners perceptions of not being safe on the school grounds.



#### **5.4 PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE**

**G3) Was this a hard questionnaire to answer?** The majority of respondents (92.3%) said that it was not a hard questionnaire to answer. This could have been interpreted as being either psychologically hard or cognitively difficult. Only 7.7% said that they had found the questionnaire hard to complete.

**G4) Is there anything that you didn't understand?** Respondents mostly felt that they understood the questionnaire (96.7%). Only two respondents (2.2%) reported that they had had difficulty understanding the questionnaire and one respondent (1.1%) did not answer the question.

Responses shown, especially on the open questions concerning “what did you do?”, showed that on quite a few occasions the respondents chose to report the event rather than say what they had done in response to the event. A possible reason for this may be that the event was so much on the foreground for them that they felt the need to say what had happened rather than report how they responded. Others possibly did not understand the question. The researcher explained that this question was not about the details of what had happened but rather what they did about it. She gave examples such as going to tell an adult, or the police, or doing something else about it like talking to friends.

**G5) Was it difficult to be completely open about what happened to you?** Most respondents said that it was not difficult to be completely honest about what had happened to them (79.1%). Others had difficulty being open about victimization events and may have chosen to negatively endorse items that had actually occurred in the past year (18.7%). 2.2% of respondents did not answer the question.

**G6) Is there anything else you would like to say about what happened to you or about filling in the questionnaire?** The majority of respondents had nothing further to say (90.1%), which was hardly surprising as it had been a sensitive and long questionnaire. However, 5.5% of respondents had something positive to say. Some enjoyed answering the questions and found the process “nice”, or helpful. One respondent went so far as to say “thank you for this questionnaire when something happens to you, you don't always want to talk about it, but writing about it makes it easier. Thank you”. Others (4.4%) used the opportunity to complete unfinished

business, talking further about events that were on their foreground, which they had not been able to express in a way that satisfied them.

## **5.5 VICTIMIZATION PROFILES**

The 34 screener items of the JVQ allowed the researcher to gather information on victimization profiles for the respondents. This focus on the broad range of victimization experiences facilitated a more complete documentation of victimization profiles and was useful in exposing the extent of polyvictimization of learners in the school (cf. Finkelhor, 2007b:7-8). Victimization could be broken down into the singular types within the five different modules of the JVQ as discussed below. Detail given on each item includes the possible exposure to the specific item, how often the item was endorsed and how many times it happened to the individual respondents. Next, the perpetrators are discussed in terms of whether they were adults or other teenagers or children. The context of the victimization is discussed, such as whether the event occurred in the community, at home or at school. Finally, the victims' responses are discussed. Open-ended questions were used to explore response patterns on the questionnaire and content analysis was performed to arrange the data into general patterns of response.

At the end of each module respondents were asked what they did when a peer of theirs was victimized in ways similar to the items within each particular module. Content analysis was performed on this too and general patterns of response are discussed. Each module closes with a summary about victimization types in that module.

Appendices One to Nine contain the 34 screener questions of the JVQ, the questionnaire and the frequency tables for the data collected.

### **5.5.1 Module A: Conventional Crime**

#### *5.5.1.1 Robbery (C1)*

33% of the respondents had been robbed by force in the past year and 67% did not experience forced robbery. 20.9% of the respondents experienced robbery by force only once and 8.8%

experienced it twice. 1.1% of the respondents experienced robbery by force three to five times, with 2.2% experiencing it six times or more.

Respondents reported that robbery by force occurred in all contexts at the hands of teenagers or other children (18.7%). This occurred as often in the community (6.6%) as at home (6.6%) and a little less often at school (5.5%). When adults (22%) had taken something by force, it occurred more in the community (9.9%), followed by home (8.8%) and occasionally at school (3.3%). The overall context of victimization was most frequently the community, followed by the home and then the school.

Respondents most commonly told parents/teachers (12%) about the robbery and some did nothing about it (8.7%). Other respondents reported the incident to the police, either alone or with their parents (4.3%) and 3.3% of the respondents took action directly by demanding the item back or fighting for it.

#### *5.5.1.2 Personal Theft (C2)*

61.5% of the respondents experienced personal theft in the past year, 36.5% had no exposure to this type of victimization and 2.2% of the respondents did not answer this item. 23.1% of the respondents experienced personal theft only once and 24.2% experienced it twice, while 11% of the respondents experienced personal theft three to five times, with 2.2% experiencing it six times or more.

Respondents thought that personal theft occurred in all contexts, mostly at the hands of teenagers or other children (45.1%). This occurred most often at school (22%), less often at home (13.2%) and least often in the community (11%). When adults perpetrated personal theft (18.7%) it occurred most often at home (13.2%), less often in the community (4.4%) and least often (3.3%) at school. The overall context of victimization was most frequently the home, followed by the school and then the community.

Respondents who experienced personal theft often did nothing about it (17.6%), or told a parent (11%), educator (7.7%) or friend (2.2%). Some respondents reported the theft to the police,

either by themselves or with family (2.2%). Other respondents took action directly themselves, asking for the item back, or making the perpetrator pay for it (6.6%), while 2.2% fought with the perpetrator in an attempt to reclaim the item taken.

#### *5.5.1.3 Vandalism (C3)*

16.5% of the respondents experienced vandalism only once and 6.6 % experienced it twice, while 4.4% of the respondents experienced vandalism three to five times and 2.2% experienced it six times or more.

Vandalism (of a more personal nature against the respondent) was carried out mostly by teenagers or other children (25.3%). This occurred most frequently in the school context (12.1%), then the home (9.9%) and least within the community (3.3%). Adults were less frequent perpetrators of vandalism (6.6%). Perpetration by adults occurred more often in the community (3.3%), sometimes at home (2.2%) and vandalism by an adult seldom occurred at school (1.1%). Overall vandalism occurred most often at school, then in the community and least often at home.

Respondents who experienced vandalism of their property mostly did nothing and kept quiet (11%) or ignored/avoided the perpetrator (1.1%), while 3.3% told an educator or parent and 4.4% took action directly themselves such as asking that the item be paid for. Some fought back or argued (3.3%) when their property was vandalized and 1.1% reported it to the police.

#### *5.5.1.4 Assault with a Weapon (C4)*

36.3% of respondents experienced assault with a weapon whilst 63.7% did not. 15.4% of the respondents experienced assault with a weapon only once and 8.8% experienced it twice. 7.7 % of the respondents experienced assault with a weapon three to five times with 4.4 % experiencing it six times or more.

Assault with a weapon was carried out mostly by other teenagers or children (24.2%) and occurred largely in the community (16.5%). 6.6% of the respondents experienced assault with a weapon at school and 5.5% experienced the same at home. When adults perpetrated assault with

a weapon (19.8%) it occurred against the respondents largely in the community (13.2%), then at home (6.6%) and least often at school (2.2%).

13.2% of the respondents who experienced assault with a weapon did nothing about it, kept quiet or cried. Other respondents reported the incident to the police (7.7%), or a parent (4.4%) or a teacher (1.1%). 4.4% took some action directly such as fighting back or defending themselves.

#### *5.5.1.5 Assault without Weapon (C5)*

41.8% of the respondents were assaulted without a weapon and 58.2% were not. 14.3% of the respondents experienced assault without a weapon only once and 14.3% experienced it twice. 5.5% of the respondents experienced assault without a weapon three to five times with 7.7% experiencing it six times or more.

Assault without a weapon was perpetrated mostly by other adolescents or children (30.8%) and more frequently at school (12.1%). 11% of assault without a weapon by adolescents or children occurred at home and 9.9% happened in the community. When adults perpetrated assault without a weapon (15.4%) it happened mostly at home (13.2%), sometimes in the community (3.3%) and least often at school (1.1%). Overall assault without a weapon occurred most frequently at home and less often at school and in the community.

11% of the respondents fought back when they were assaulted without a weapon, while 9.9% did nothing or kept quiet when assaulted without a weapon, 1.1% avoided the perpetrator and 1.1% asked directly for the victimization to stop. Other respondents either told a parent (5.5%), the police (3.3%), a teacher (2.2%) or a friend (1.1%).

#### *5.5.1.6 Attempted Assault (C6)*

Assault was attempted on 19.8% of respondents whilst 80.2% did not have this experience. 13.2% of the respondents experienced attempted assault only once, 5.5% experienced it twice and 1.1% experienced it six times or more.

Attempted assault occurred again more often at the hands of other teenagers or children (13.2%) than adults (9.9%). When perpetrated by a teenager or child, attempted assault occurred most often in the community (7.7%), followed by the school (5.5%) and least often at home (2.2%). When perpetrated by an adult, attempted assault occurred twice as often in the community (6.6%) than at home (3.3%) and it did not occur at school. Overall respondents experienced attempted assault most frequently within the community and less often within the home or at school. 5.5% of respondents ran away when somebody attempted to assault them whilst 1.1% fought back. 5.5% of the respondents told their parents about the incident whilst 2.2% did nothing about it.

#### *5.5.1.7 Kidnapping (C7)*

5.5% of respondents experienced kidnapping/attempted kidnapping whilst 93.4% did not. 1.1% of respondents did not answer this item. 4.4% of the respondents experienced kidnapping/attempted kidnapping once and 1.1% experienced it twice. Kidnapping or attempted kidnapping occurred only in the context of the community and was largely carried out by adults (5.5%), while once it occurred by other teenagers or children (1.1%).

Respondents who experienced attempted kidnapping/kidnapping were resourceful. 2.2% ran to a safe place such as the first open house on the street and 2.2% shouted for bystanders to help. A peer helped one respondent by alerting the respondent's parent.

#### *5.5.1.8 Bias Attack (C8)*

3.3% of respondents experienced bias attack and 96.7% did not. 1.1% of the respondents experienced bias attack once, 1.1% experienced it twice whilst another 1.1% experienced it six times or more.

Bias attack was perpetrated mostly by other teenagers or children (3.3%), and this occurred as often at school (2.2%) as in the community (2.2%) but not at home. Bias attack was only carried out by an adult (1.1%) once within the community. Overall bias attack occurred little more often in the community than at school and it did not occur at home.

Bias attack seldom occurred. Respondents who did experience it either did nothing about it (1.1%) or told a parent (1.1%).

#### *5.5.1.9 Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Conventional Crime Module*

9.9% of respondents gave advice and support to a peer who suffered some kind of victimization in the conventional crime module. 6.6% of respondents offered some non-specific help when their friend was victimized. Another 6.6% actively took a stand on their friend's behalf against the victimization. Some respondents shouted out for help whilst others stood up for their peers trying to defend them or intervene for them. 2.2% of respondents said that they did nothing about the peer's victimization in the conventional crime module.

### **5.5.2 Summary of Conventional Crime**

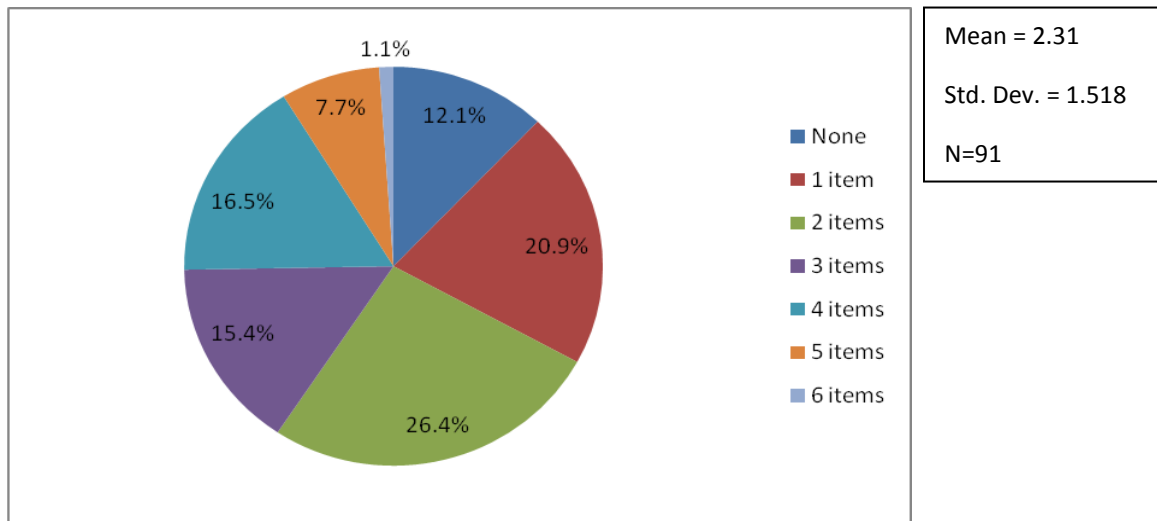
The above profile of conventional crime shows that many of the different types of victimization in this module were perpetrated more often by teenagers and other children than at the hands of adults. Conventional crime occurred mostly in the context of the community, followed by the home and least often at school. 67.1% of respondents endorsed two items or more out of possible eight in the module, only 12.5% of respondents were not victims of conventional crime. This shows that conventional crime was commonly experienced and needs to be attended to in surveys wanting to explore complete victimization profiles. Conventional crime victimization types featured five times, in the top twelve most frequently experienced types of victimization of the 34 screener items. The need for adding the conventional crime category is repeatedly stated across literature (chapter two) by Finkelhor and fellow researchers. Contrary to literature which suggests that peer and sibling assault is the most frequent type of victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:33), the results of this study showed, that personal theft (C2) was the most frequently experienced type of victimization of the 34 screen items. Assault without a weapon (C5), assault with a weapon (C4), Robbery (C1) and vandalism (C3) also fell within the twelve most commonly experienced types of victimization.

Victimization patterns concerning Conventional Crime were compared to Finkelhor (2007b:12) who administered the telephonic JVQ to children between the ages of 2 and 17 as either a self-report or parent reported interview. Finkelhor (2007b:12) reported much higher rates of bias

attack, kidnapping, attempted assault, vandalism and robbery for poly-victims who experienced four or more victimization types in a year. Perhaps this is due to the age range and the population who were drawn from the Contiguous United States.

The pie graph below shows the distribution of victimization scores for the different items in the conventional crime module for respondents of this study.

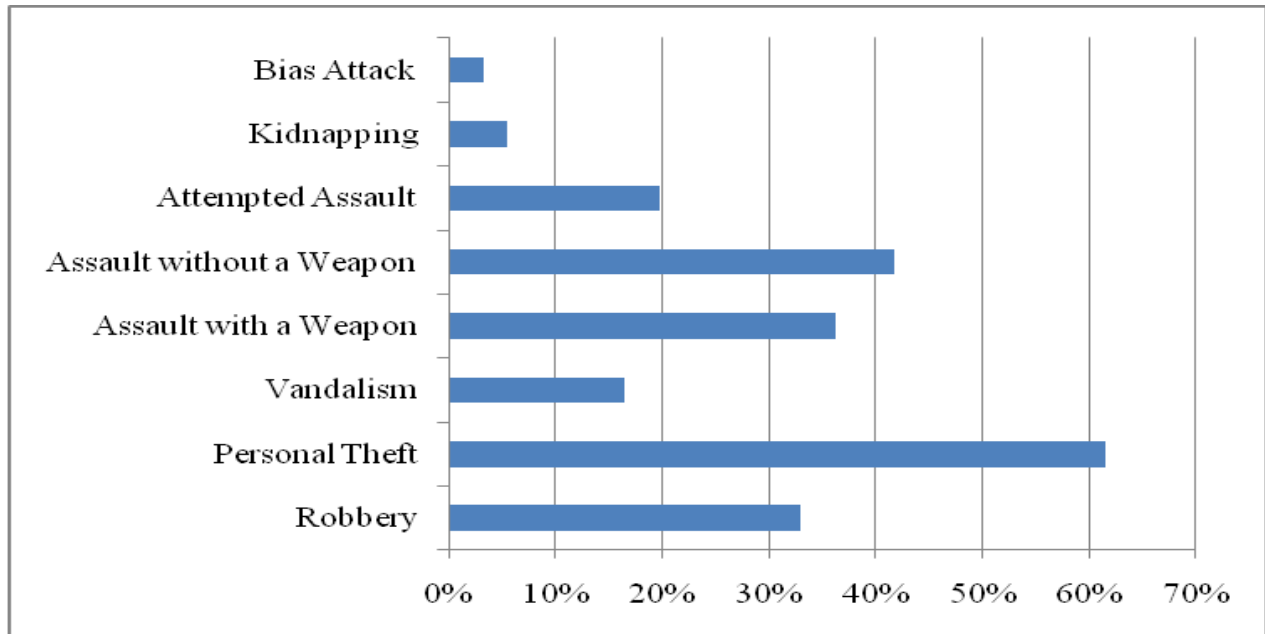
Graph 5.1: Number of Types of Conventional Crime Endorsed



The bar graph below shows percentages of endorsement of each item in the module on conventional crime. Personal theft was the most frequently endorsed item in this module (61.5%), followed by assault, both with/without a weapon. Respondents who were assaulted without a weapon (41.8%) most often fought back risking escalation, or would quite often do nothing about it. When assaulted with a weapon (36.5%) still some respondents did nothing about it and some (4.4%) took the risk of fighting back. In both cases of assault perhaps respondents should be encouraged to speak out more and to take measures to ensure the situation is not escalated by retaliating.



Graph 5.2: Victimization Types Endorsed in the Conventional Crime Module



### 5.5.3 Module B: Child Maltreatment

#### 5.5.3.1 Physical Abuse (M1)

28.5% of respondents experienced physical abuse from grown-ups whilst 69.2% did not. 2.2% of respondents chose not to answer this item. Physical abuse occurred once for 6.6% and twice for 11% of the respondents. 3.3% of respondents experienced physical abuse three to five times and 6.6% of respondents experienced it six times or more. Physical abuse of respondents occurred mostly at home (20.9%), then in the community (5.5%) and sometimes at school (2.2%).

6.6% of respondents did nothing about physical abuse, another 2.2% cried, 2.2% tried to ignore the abuser, 2.2% kept quiet and 2.2% were too scared to tell. In effect these scores combined showed that 15.4% did not take any action, 2.2% of respondents took action against the physical abuse by running away and 2.2% retaliated. 3.3% of respondents told another relative or parent and 1.1% of respondents went to the police. In total 8.8% of respondents took action about the physical abuse.

#### 5.5.3.2 Psychological/Emotional Abuse (M2)

46.2% of respondents experienced emotional abuse (EA) and 52.7% did not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. EA occurred once for 2.2% and twice for 11% of respondents in the past year. 12.1% experienced EA three to five times in the past year and 20.9% experienced it six times or more. EA occurred mostly at home (26.4%), 9.9% occurred in the community and 2.2% happened at school.

11% of respondents ignored or distanced themselves from the person emotionally abusing them. 9.9% of respondents told a relative/parent about the EA and 1.1% told a friend. In total only 11% reported that they told someone else about it. 4.4% did nothing about the EA, 7.7% of respondents just said that they cried and 2.2% ran away.

#### *5.5.3.3 Neglect (M3)*

8.8% of respondents said that they had experienced neglect whilst 90.1% had not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 3.3% of respondents were neglected once and 1.1% experienced the same twice in the past year. Neglect was experienced three to five times by 3.3% of respondents whilst 1.1% said it occurred six times or more in the past year. Neglect occurred mostly at home (5.5) and occasionally in the community (1.1%).

2.2% of respondents experiencing neglect told their mothers or grandmothers whilst 1.1% just said that they cried and another 1.1% said they did nothing about it.

Van Niekerk (2007) stated that neglect may result in more serious psycho-social consequences for children, and that neglect was particularly prevalent where families engaged in substance abuse. The result of this study showed that neglect was one of the least often experienced types of victimization. This was surprising to the researcher in light of the fact that substance abuse is widespread across the Cape Flats as discussed in chapter three.

#### *5.5.3.4 Custodial Interference/Family Abduction (M4)*

5.5% of respondents experienced custodial interference (CI)/family abduction (FA) whilst 93.4% did not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 3.3% experienced CI/FA once, 1.1% twice and 1.1% experienced it six times or more in the past year at home (5.5%). 2.2% of the time respondents expressed who they wanted to live with and the other respondents did not say what they did about CI/FA.

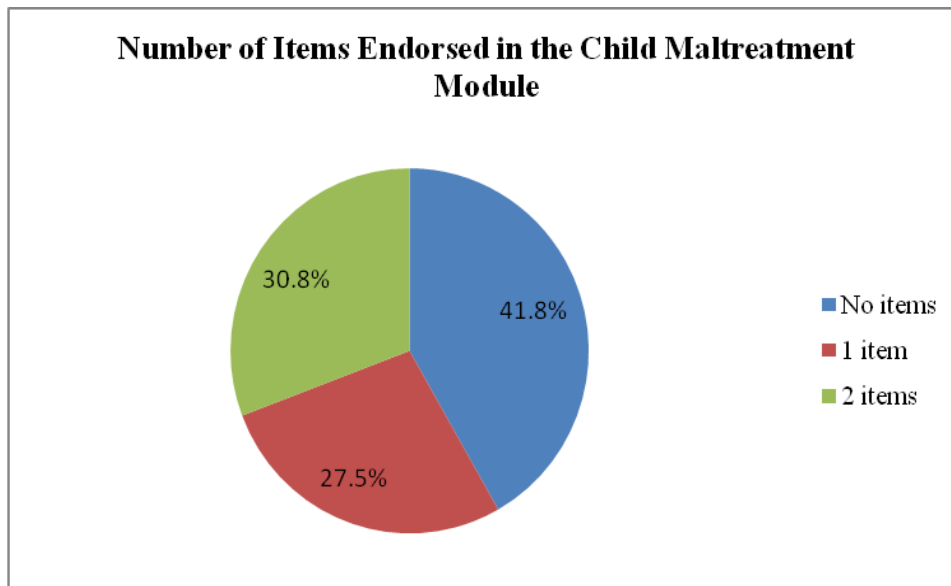
### 5.5.3.5 Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Child Maltreatment Module

When a peer of theirs was maltreated in some way respondents most commonly advised (5.5%) or supported/comforted/encouraged their peer (5.5%). 4.4% of respondents sought advice from their own parent/grandparent on behalf of the peer. 5.5% of respondents encouraged the friend to talk about the maltreatment to one of their parents. 1.1% of respondents went to inform one of the peer's parents. 2.2% of the respondents' families took action against the victimization such as taking the friend for counseling or getting a lawyer to represent the child.

### 5.5.4 Summary of Child Maltreatment

As expected, child maltreatment was mostly carried out at home, sometimes in the community and least often at school. 58.2% of the respondents experienced some form of child maltreatment; most commonly this was EA or PA. Emotional abuse was the most common form of child maltreatment. The number of items endorsed of the possible four items in this module are shown in the pie graph below. Respondents more usually did not take action against the abuse.

Graph 5.3: Number of Items Endorsed in the Child Maltreatment Module

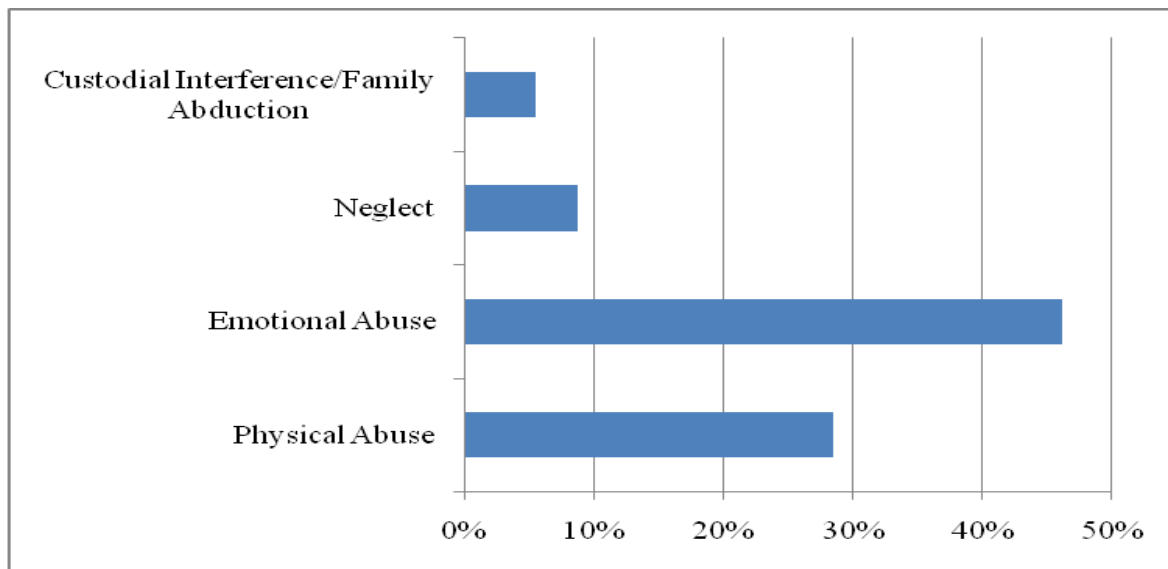


Respondents most commonly experienced EA (46.2%), 20.9% experienced PA, 8.8% were neglected and 5.5% experienced CI/FA. These results are shown in the graph below.

Respondents were more likely to do nothing about EA and PA and less likely to report the incidents. Respondents on the other hand offered much help to their peers, advising them and taking action on their behalf. Since emotional abuse was experienced by a large number of respondents perhaps parents, adults and youth in the community need to be educated about the damaging consequences of their words on a child's emotional well being. Families caught in perpetual negative patterns of interaction may need support to learn new patterns. Low socioeconomic status and child maltreatment are related in complex bi-directional ways (Macmillan, 2009:661). Given this, low SES communities such as Heidveld are at a higher risk of child maltreatment. Such communities would benefit from parent education on the effects of the different types of child maltreatment that empower the parent or other caretakers with alternative methods of dealing with their children.

The graph below shows the percentage of respondents who endorsed victimization types in the child maltreatment module.

Graph 5.4: Victimization Types Endorsed in the Child Maltreatment Module



### 5.5.5 Module C: Peer and Sibling Victimization

#### 5.5.5.1 Gang or Group Assault (P1)

17.6% of respondents experienced gang/group assault and 81.3% did not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 7.7% of respondents experienced gang or group assault once and 4.4% experienced it twice. 3.3% of respondents experienced gang or group assault three to five times whilst 2.2% said it had occurred six or more times. Gang or group assault occurred mostly in the community (13.2%), then at school (4.4%) and occasionally at home (1.1%).

Most respondents (6.6%) fought back when assaulted by a group/gang whilst 2.2% did nothing and 2.2% ran away. 2.2% of respondents went to the police when a group or gang assaulted them, either on their own or with their parents. 2.2% of respondents told or fetched their parent to help with the gang/group assault.

#### *5.5.5.2 Peer or Sibling Assault (P2)*

36.3% of respondents experienced peer or sibling assault and 61.5% did not. 2.2% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 14.3% of respondents experienced peer or sibling assault once, 3.3% twice and 12.1% between three and five times in the past year. 5.5% were assaulted by a peer/sibling six times or more in the past year. Peer or sibling assault occurred mostly at home (16.5%), then in the community (7.7%) and least often at school (5.5%).

Respondents who experienced peer or sibling abuse mostly retaliated (11%) or told a parent or older person (11%). Other respondents who experienced peer or sibling abuse kept quiet (1.1%), ignored the perpetrator (1.1%) or avoided the perpetrator by staying inside (1.1%).

#### *5.5.5.3 Non-sexual Genital Assault (P3)*

17.6% of respondents experienced non-sexual genital assault and 81.3% said they had not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 8.8% of respondents said that non-sexual genital assault had occurred once and 4.4% twice. 3.3% of the respondents experienced non-sexual genital assault three to five times and 1.1% did so six times or more. Non-sexual genital assault occurred mostly at school (6.6%) and with equal frequency in the home (4.4%) and community (4.4%).

4.4% of respondents who experienced non-sexual genital assault retaliated and 3.3% kept quiet or did nothing about it. 2.2% of respondents who experienced non-sexual genital assault told a parent about the incident.

#### *5.5.5.4 Physical Bullying (P4)*

15.4% of respondents were bullied physically whilst 83.5% of respondents reported no incidence of this. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 3.3% of respondents were bullied once in the past year and 5.5% were bullied twice. 2.2% of respondents were bullied three to five times and 4.4% had this experience six times or more in the past year. Bullying occurred mostly at home (7.7%), then in the community (3.3%) and least often at school (1.1%).

3.3% of respondents retaliated when bullied and 1.1% ran away. 2.2% of respondents kept quiet or did nothing about the physical bullying. 2.2% of respondents reported that they had told a parent or relative.

#### *5.5.5.5 Emotional Bullying (P5)*

33% of respondents experienced emotional bullying from other youth and 67% did not. 2.2% of respondents were emotionally bullied once in the past year and 8.8% were bullied twice. Emotional bullying was far more chronic than physical bullying for some respondents. 7.7% experienced emotional bullying three to five times and 13.2% experienced it six times or more in the past year. Emotional bullying occurred most often at school (17.6%), then at home (9.9%) and least often in the community (4.4%).

Respondents that were bullied either did nothing about it (4.4%) or ignored (5.5%) or distanced themselves (5.5%) from the perpetrator. 3.3% of respondents retaliated physically whilst another 3.3% retaliated verbally or through some kind of pay back behaviour. 1.1% of respondents requested the emotionally bullying to stop and 2.2% informed an educator about it.

#### *5.5.5.6 Dating Violence (P6)*

17.6% of respondents experienced dating violence and 81.3% did not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. Dating violence occurred once for 6.6% and twice for 8.8% of respondents, while 1.1% experienced it six times or more. 11% of respondents experienced dating violence in the community, 7.7% at home and 1.1% experienced dating violence at school.

Respondents who experienced dating violence most frequently retaliated by striking back (5.5%) and 3.3% of respondents left their partners (3.3%). 1.1% expressed what they felt about the violent treatment directly to the perpetrator and 1.1% sought advice from a friend. 2.2% of respondents did nothing about dating violence since it went against their principles to hit girls.

#### *5.5.5.7 Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Peer and Sibling Victimization Module*

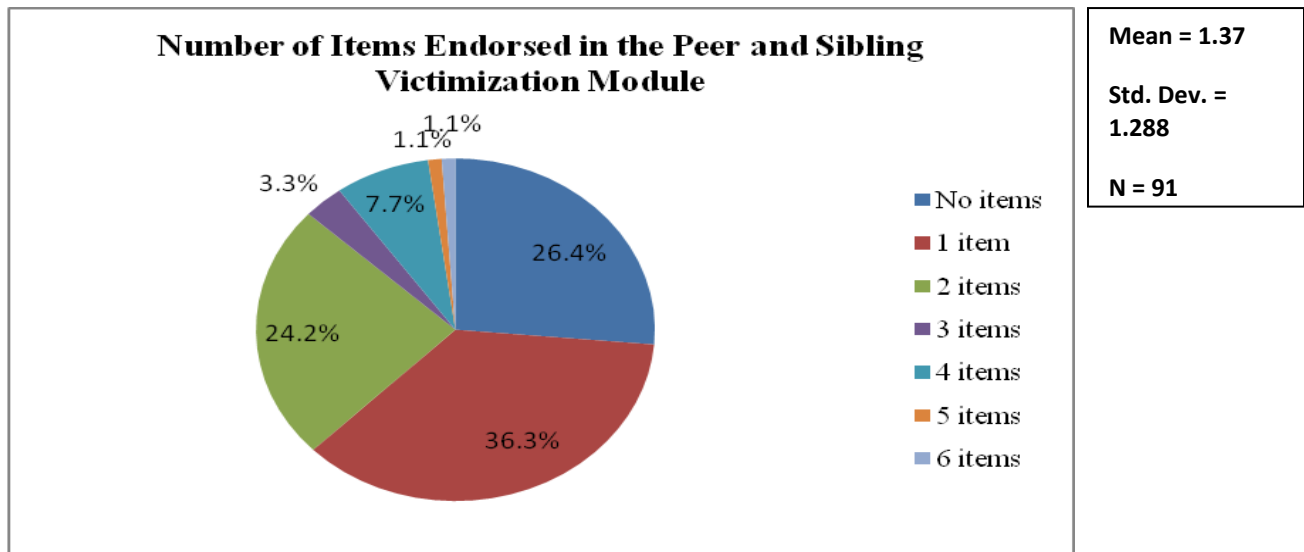
Overall when a friend faced peer or sibling victimization respondents most commonly advised their friends to leave the perpetrator (8.8%). 4.4% of respondents supported or comforted their friend/s and 4.4% offered other non-specific advice. 3.3% of the respondents advised the friend to speak out and take action such as going to the police. 2% of respondents reported the incident to the friend's parents whilst 2.2% tried to intervene to prevent it from happening/happening again. 1% physically retaliated on behalf of the friend when he/she was victimized.

### **5.5.6 Summary of Peer and Sibling Victimization**

Peer or sibling assault occurred most frequently in this module (36.3%) whilst emotional bullying (33%) followed similar patterns. Many respondents retaliated when they experienced peer and sibling victimization, which could escalate the abuse further. When a peer was victimized by other friends or siblings, the respondents often gave good advice to the peer (leave the perpetrator) and provided helpful support. Peer and sibling victimization more usually occurred in the community, or at home and least often at school. Emotional victimization followed a different pattern and was the only type of peer or sibling victimization that was prevalent at school. Emotional bullying was also experienced more chronically than other forms of peer and sibling victimization. Whilst peer and sibling assault was the most frequently experienced type of victimization in this module it was only the ninth most common type of victimization. This differed from literature in chapter two which indicated that peer and sibling assault was the most common type of victimization (Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2009a:406).

The pie graph below shows the number of items endorsed of the possible six in the peer and sibling victimization module.

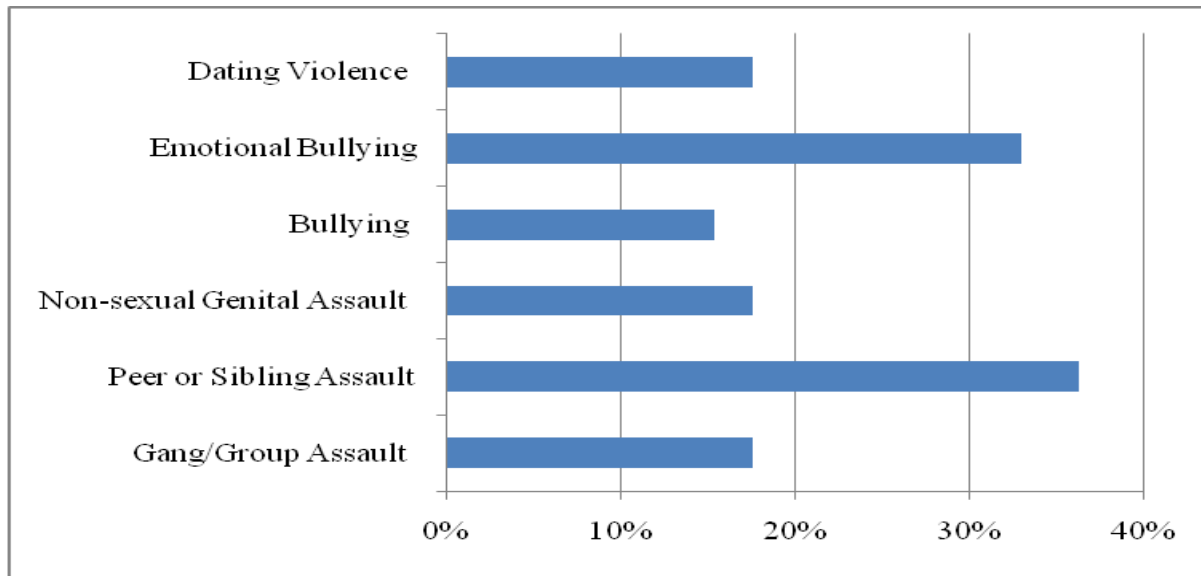
Graph 5.5: Number of Items Endorsed in the Peer and Sibling Victimization Module



The graph below shows the percentage endorsement of each of the six items on the module for peer and sibling victimization. Peer or sibling assault and emotional bullying were by far the most commonly endorsed items in this module. Dating violence, non-sexual genital assault and group assault occurred with similar frequency and bullying occurred slightly less often.

Graph 5.6: Victimization Types Endorsed in the Peer and Sibling Victimization Module





### 5.5.7 Module D: Sexual Victimization

#### 5.5.7.1 Sexual Assault by a Known Adult (S1)

7.7% of respondents had been sexually assaulted by a known adult and 92.3% had not. 3.3% of respondents had been sexually assaulted once and 1.1% twice. 3.3% of respondents were sexually assaulted by an adult six times or more in the past year. The context of sexual assault by a known adult was similar between the community (3.3%) and home (2.2%). Sexual assault by a known adult did not happen at school.

When sexual assault by a known adult occurred, respondents either did nothing or kept quiet about it (3.3%) whilst others told a trusted adult or social worker (1.1%). 2.2% asked for the sexual victimization to stop, expressing what they felt about it.

#### 5.5.7.2 Non-specific Sexual Assault by an Unknown Adult (S2)

3.3% of respondents were sexually assaulted by an unknown adult and 95.6% were not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 2.2% of respondents experienced sexual assault by an unknown adult once and 1.1% experienced it twice. The community was indicated as the context of victimization for 1.1% of respondents, the others did not say where it had happened.

Respondents who experienced non-specific sexual assault by an unknown adult either said nothing (1.1%) or pushed the perpetrator away (1.1%).

#### *5.5.7.3 Sexual Assault by a Peer (S3)*

8.8% of respondents were sexually assaulted by a peer and 91.2% were not. 3.3% of respondents experienced sexual assault by a peer once, 2.2% twice and a further 2.2% experienced sexual assault by a peer three to five times. Sexual assault by a peer occurred most often at home (4.4%) and equally often at school (2.2%) and in the community (2.2%).

When sexually assaulted by a peer respondents were too scared to do anything, some kept quiet and others said that they complied with the perpetrator's demands (5.5%).

#### *5.5.7.4 Rape/Attempted Rape (S4)*

16.5% of respondents had experienced rape/attempted rape whilst 83.5% had not. 7.7% of respondents experienced rape/attempted rape once and 2.2% experienced it twice. 4.4% of respondents experienced rape/attempted rape three to five times whilst for 2.2% it happened six times or more. 4.4% of respondents said the perpetrator was an adult and that the rape/attempted rape happened in the community (2.2%) or at home (1.1%). 12.1% of respondents said the perpetrator had been another teenager or child and that the rape/attempted rape occurred most often at home (5.5%), then in the community (4.4%) and least often at school (1.1%).

Some respondents who experienced rape/attempted rape said no and left the perpetrator (3.3%), whilst others escaped when they could (1.1%). Some respondents took action personally or with a parent going to a social worker, or making use of counseling services (2.2%) when they experienced rape/attempted rape. 2.2% of respondents simply said they reported the event to their parent.

#### *5.5.7.5 Sexual Exposure/Flashing (S5)*

15.4% of respondents had been flashed and 82.4% reported no occurrence of this behaviour. 2.2% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 4.4% of respondents said that they had been flashed once and 5.5% said that it had occurred twice. 4.4% of respondents said that they had been flashed three to five times and 1.1% said that it had occurred six times or more. 3.3% of flashing was perpetrated by an adult in the community (2.2%) or at home (1.1%). 13.2% of respondents said they were flashed by another teenager or child. This occurred mostly in the community (5.5%), then at home (4.4%) and once at school (1.1%).

Respondents who witnessed flashing informed a social worker or relative (3.3%) or stood up to the perpetrator physically (1.1%) or verbally (2.2%). 1.1% of respondents turned away and another 1.1% did nothing when somebody flashed them.

#### *5.5.7.6 Verbal Sexual Harassment (S6)*

16.5% of respondents reported that they had been sexually harassed while 82.4% were not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 6.6% of respondents were sexually harassed once and 5.5% twice. 3.3% of respondents were sexually harassed three to five times and 1.1% experienced it six times or more. Verbal sexual harassment was perpetrated mostly by other teenagers or children (16.5%). 12.1% of respondents were sexually harassed at school, 7.7% in the community and 1.1% were sexually harassed at home. 1.1% of respondents said that an adult had sexually harassed them in the community (1.1%).

Verbal sexual harassment was reported by 3.3% of respondents whilst 2.2% did nothing about it or tried to ignore it (2.2%). 1.1% of respondents directly asked for the sexual harassment to stop, another 1.1% confronted the perpetrator indirectly by writing back, whilst 1.1% got rid of the offensive material.

#### *5.5.7.7 Statutory Rape and Sexual Misconduct (with anyone 18 years or older) (S7)*

13.2% of respondents had experienced statutory rape or sexual misconduct, which included consensual and non-consensual acts. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 2.2% of respondents said that statutory rape and sexual misconduct had occurred once and 4.4% said it had happened twice. 4.4% of respondents said that statutory rape or sexual misconduct had occurred three to five times and 2.2% said it had occurred six times or more. Statutory rape or sexual misconduct occurred most often at home (7.7%) and a little less often in the community (6.6%). 2.2% of respondents did nothing about statutory rape/sexual misconduct and 2.2% complied with the perpetrator.

#### *5.5.7.8 Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Sexual Victimization Module*

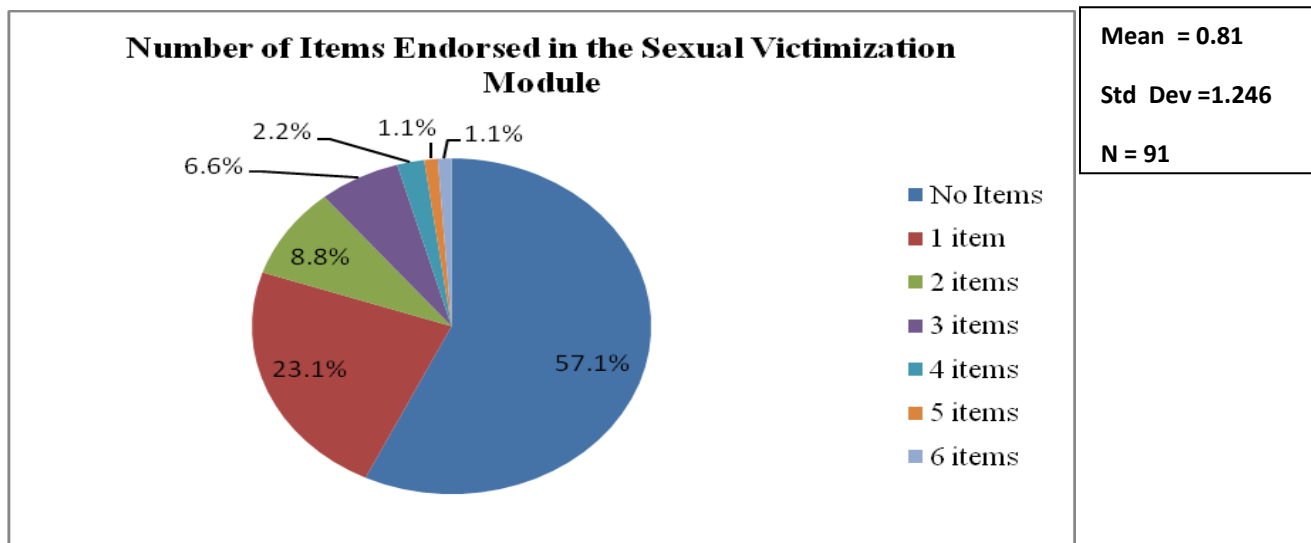
When respondents were asked what they did when a friend of theirs was sexually victimized in some way, 3.3% of respondents said they had advised their friend to tell a parent, trusted older person or the police. 1.1% of respondents told somebody in the friend's family about the sexual

victimization. 2.2% of respondents took action against sexual victimization either for or with the friend by going to a social worker or the police. 2.2% of respondents did nothing and 1.1% of respondents tried to help in some other unspecified way. Sometimes the sexual activity may have been consensual, in which case 4.4% of respondents advised their friends to stop what they were doing and took a stand about sexual purity.

### 5.5.8 Summary on Sexual Victimization

Statistics for sexual victimization in South Africa are very high. In this study 42.9% of respondents were sexually victimized in some way. 11% of these respondents were victimized across three or six of the possible seven types. In this study the mean number of sexual victimization items experienced for females was 0.92 and the mean for males was 0.6. This was not statistically significant. Below is a pie chart illustrating how many items were endorsed for the different respondents.

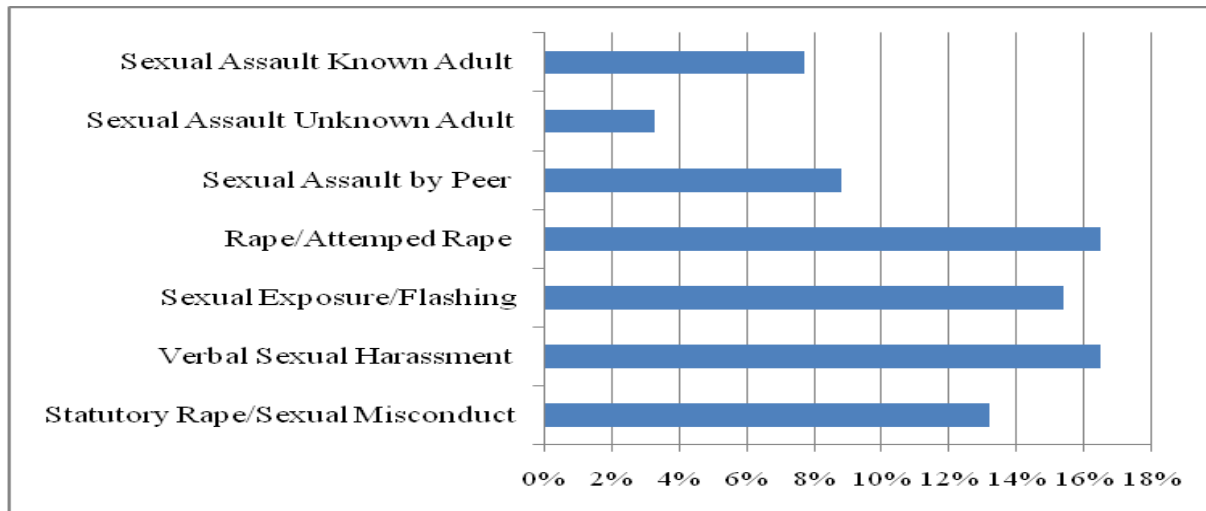
Graph 5.7: Victimization Items Endorsed by Respondents in the Sexual Victimization Module



Verbal sexual harassment, rape or attempted rape and sexual exposure or flashing were the most frequently experienced of the sexual victimization types. Sexual assault by an unknown adult occurred the least often in this module. Respondents were more likely to know the adult who sexually assaulted them and were a little less likely to speak out than respondents who were sexually victimized in some of the other ways. Respondents took action or spoke out quite often

against sexual victimization and encouraged their peers to do the same. The graph below shows the percentage endorsement of each item in the module on sexual victimization.

Graph 5.8: Victimization Types Endorsed by Respondents in the Sexual Victimization Module



In South Africa the statistics for sexual victimization are very high, amongst the highest in the world as discussed in chapter three. Since this is a sensitive subject it is possible that sexual victimization could have been under reported in this study.

## 5.5.9 Module E: Indirect Victimization/Witnessing

### 5.5.9.1 Witness to Domestic Violence (W1)

26.4% of respondents had witnessed domestic violence and 71.4% had not. 4.4% of respondents witnessed domestic violence once in the last year and 9.9% witnessed it twice. 4.4% of respondents witnessed domestic violence three to five times and 6.6% witnessed it six times or more. 14.3% of respondents said the domestic violence occurred in the home and 7.7% said it occurred in the community.

3.3% of respondents talked to another parent or relative about the domestic violence and 1.1% called the police. 2.2% of respondents tried to intervene when domestic violence occurred. 5.5%

of respondents did nothing and 1.1% watched it. 3.3% of respondents physically removed themselves from the volatile situation, whilst 1.1% psychologically pretended that the violence was not real.

#### *5.5.9.2 Witness to a Parent Assault of a Sibling (W2)*

13.2% of respondents had witnessed a parent physically abusing a sibling and 85.7% said they had not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 2.2% of respondents said that parental assault of a sibling occurred once and 3.3% witnessed it twice. Another 3.3% of respondents witnessed a sibling being assaulted by a parent three to five times and 4.4% witnessed it six times or more. Parental assault of a sibling occurred at home.

2.2% of respondents tried to intervene when a sibling was assaulted by a parent and 2.2% did nothing. Some felt hopeless and mad. 1.1% of respondents went to the police and 1.1% walked out when a sibling was assaulted.

#### *5.5.9.3 Witness to Assault with a Weapon (W3)*

48.4% of respondents had witnessed assault with a weapon and 49.5% had not. 2.2% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 12.1% of respondents witnessed assault with a weapon once and 15.4% had witnessed it twice. 9.9% of respondents had witnessed assault with a weapon three to five times and 11% witnessed it six times or more. Assault with a weapon was more often committed by adults (33%) and this happened most often in the community (27.5%), then at home (3.3%) and once at school (1.1%).

24.2% of respondents reported that they had witnessed assault with a weapon committed by another teenager or child. When adolescents/children committed assault it was witnessed more frequently in the community (16.5%), then at school (6.6%) and least often in the home (3.3%).

7.7% of respondents said that they did nothing, kept quiet or cried and another 7.7% said they watched, too afraid to do anything. Some felt powerless. 4.4% said that they reported the incident to the police and 4.4% told a parent/teacher. 2.2% of respondents said that they tried to intervene and 1.1% of respondents ran away.

#### *5.5.9.4 Witness to Assault without a Weapon (W4)*

38.5% of respondents had witnessed assault without a weapon and 61.5% had not. 5.5% of respondents witnessed assault without a weapon once and 11% witnessed it twice. 7.7% of respondents witnessed assault three to five times and 14.3% witnessed it six times or more. Assault without a weapon was committed by adults (27.5%) most often in the community (24.2%), occasionally at home (2.2%) and least often at school (1.1%). Teenagers or other children who committed assault without a weapon (22%) did so most often in the community (15.4%), then at school (7.7%) and least often at home (2.2%).

8.8% of respondents did nothing, kept quiet, or watched the assault feeling afraid. 2.2% told an adult or teacher about the assault and 2.2% tried to intervene by going to get help from adults. 3.3% of respondents took action alone, with a peer or with a parent to stop the assault. 1.1% of respondents went to the police and 2.2% walked away from the assault or tried not to interfere.

#### *5.5.9.5 Burglary of a Family Household (W5)*

44% of respondents had experienced burglary of the family household and 56% had not. 24.2% of respondents experienced burglary of a family household once and 8.8% twice. 5.5% of respondents' homes had been burgled three to five times and 5.5% had been burgled six times or more in the past year.

15.4% of respondents could not do anything about household burglary, some were too frightened and others could not identify the perpetrator. 5.5% called the police when their house was burgled and 3.3% told a parent or family member who took action. 2.2% of respondents took some retributive action against household burglary such as beating up the perpetrators, or stealing back from them. 2.2% took action about the burglary directly asking for the items back.

#### *5.5.9.6 Murder of Family Member or Friend (W6)*

25.3% of respondents had had a family member or friend murdered and 73.6% had not. 1.1% of respondents chose not to answer this item. 14.3% of respondents had a family member or friend murdered and 5.5% had it happen twice. 1.1% of respondents lost a family member or friend through murder three to five times and 3.3% of respondents had it occur six times or more in the past year. Respondents thought that perpetrators were more often adults (19.8%) than other adolescents or teenagers (9.9%). Respondents lost people through murder perpetrated by an adult

mostly in the community (17.5%) and sometimes at home (2.2%). When murder was committed by another teenager or child it occurred in the community (8.8%) and once at a school (1.1%).

9.9% of respondents who lost a family member or friend through murder did nothing about it or cried. 1.1% found someone to talk to about the murder and 1.1% ran away.

#### *5.5.9.7 Witness to Murder (W7)*

16.5% of respondents had witnessed a murder and 83.5% had not. 11% of respondents had seen somebody murdered once and 3.3% had seen it twice. One respondent reported that he/she had witnessed murder six times or more. 11% of the time murder was committed by an adult and 7.7% of the time it was committed by other teenagers or children. When perpetrated by adults murder was witnessed mostly in the community (8.8%) and 2.2% of respondents witnessed murder at home. Respondents who witnessed other adolescents or other children commit murder did so mostly in the community (5.5%) and once at home (1.1%).

Respondents who witnessed murder did nothing or kept quiet about it (4.4%) whilst 2.2% told the police. 2.2% of respondents ran away when murder was witnessed and 1.1% learnt not to get involved in bad things.

#### *5.5.9.8 Exposure to Random Shootings, Terrorism or Riots (W8)*

58.2% of respondents had visually or audibly witnessed shootings, bombs or street riots (referred to as shootings etc.) and 41.8% had not. 14.3% of respondents were exposed to shootings etc. once and 8.8% were exposed to it twice. 14.3% of respondents were exposed to shootings etc. three to five times and 14.3% were exposed to it six times or more in the past year. Respondents thought that adults had largely committed the shootings etc (49.5%) most often in the community and sometimes at home (4.4%). Respondents thought that teenagers or other children were responsible for 19.8% of the shootings mostly in the community (17.6%) and once at home (1.1%).

14.3% of respondents who were exposed to shootings etc. did nothing, some were scared and others said that they cried. 14.3% stayed inside in a safe place when shootings etc. erupted and 5.5% of respondents either hid, lay on the floor or tried to shut out the sounds. One respondent



checked to see whether people were unharmed after the shootings (1.1%), one went home (1.1%) and one told his/her parents about the shootings (1.1%).

#### *5.5.9.9 Exposure to War or Ethnic Conflict (W9)*

The emphasis of this question was more about whether the respondent had been “in the middle of a war”. 11% said yes and 89% said that they had not experienced this. 2.2% of respondents said that this occurred once and 3.3% of respondents said that it had occurred twice. 2.2% were exposed to war or ethnic conflict three to five times and 3.3% of respondents said they were exposed to it six times or more. Exposure to war or ethnic violence occurred in the community.

4.4% of respondents emphasized how scared they were when exposed to what they perceived as war or ethnic conflict. 1.1% of respondents stayed inside and 1.1% did nothing when they were exposed to war or ethnic conflict.

#### *5.5.9.10 Responses to Victimization of a Peer in the Indirect Victimization/Witnessing Module*

Most respondents chose not to complete the open question which explored what they did when a friend of theirs had witnessed or suffered from some other form of indirect victimization. Respondents that did answer said that they offered advice (5.5%). 1.1% of respondents took the peer to the parents and told them how unsafe they felt and 1.1% of respondents ran away.

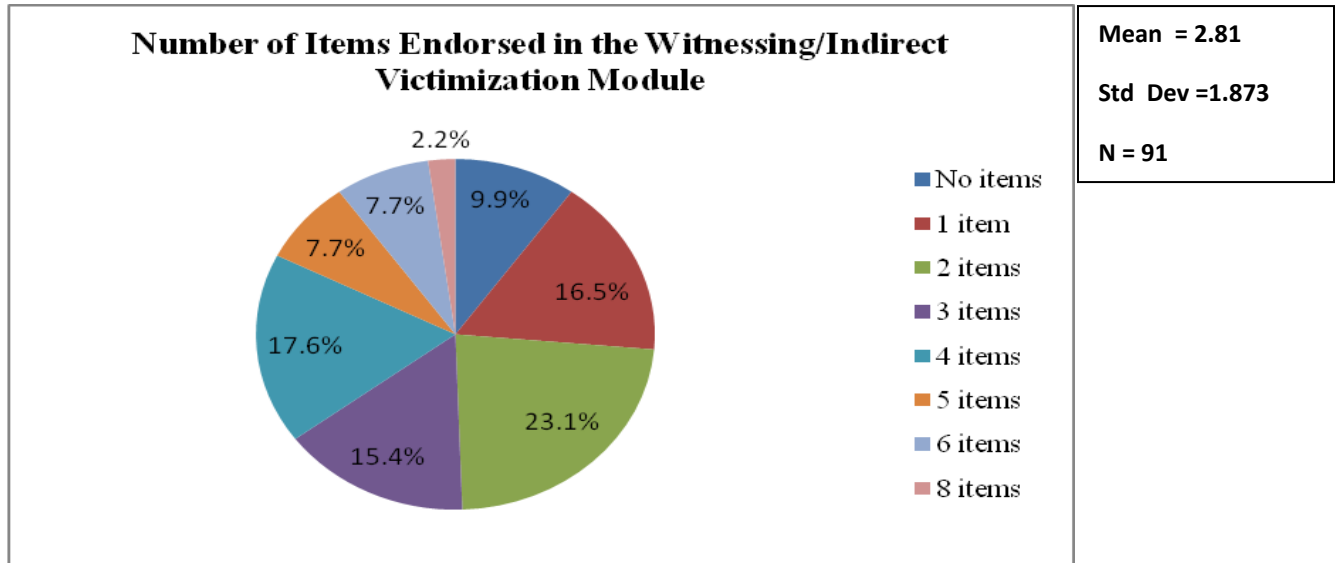
### **5.5.10 Summary on Indirect Victimization/Witnessing**

A large proportion of the respondents had been exposed to shootings/terrorism or riots. Other victimization items more frequently endorsed were the witnessing of assault and household burglary. Indirect victimization or witnessing occurred largely in the community, less often at home and least often at school. Respondents quite often felt afraid, powerless and kept quiet about witnessing victimization.

Witnessing or indirect victimization occupied three of the five most common types of victimization (34 items were tested) listed in table 5.2 below. Exposure to random shootings or riots and assault with a weapon are two in particular that model violence as being normal. Burglary was excluded as it may not involve violence. In the top ten most common forms of

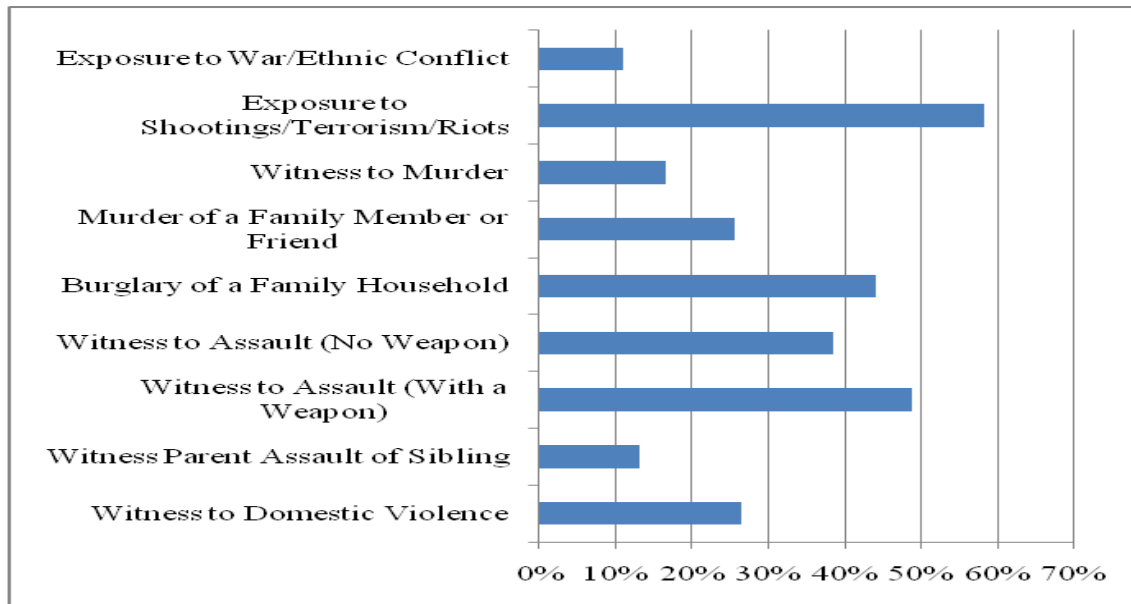
victimization in this study, violence featured six times. Violence therefore could be said to be widespread and modeled as part of normal every-day living for many adolescents in Heideveld.

Graph 5.9: Number of Items Endorsed in the Witnessing/Indirect Victimization Module



The graph below shows the percentage endorsement of each item on the module for witnessing/indirect victimization. Exposure to shootings etc. was the most commonly endorsed item and respondents were often exposed to assault of another person with a weapon. Burglary of the family household was the third most frequent form of indirect victimization. Exposure to war or ethnic conflict, as well as the witnessing of the assault of a sibling by a parent were the least endorsed items in the module on indirect victimization/witnessing.

Graph 5.10: Victimization Types Endorsed in the Indirect Victimization/Witnessing Module



### 5.5.11 Most Common and Least Common Items Endorsed on the Altered JVQ

Below are the ten most frequently endorsed items of the altered JVQ. Witnessing or indirect victimization occupies three of the first five most endorsed items.

Number	Item Description	No. respondents
C2	Experiencing personal theft	56
W8	Exposure to random shootings/terrorism/riots	53
W3	Witnessing assault with a weapon	44
M2	Experiencing psychological/Emotional abuse	42
W5	Burglary of a family household	40
C5	Being assaulted without a weapon	38
P2	Experiencing peer or sibling assault	33
P5	Experiencing emotional bullying	30
M1	Experiencing physical abuse by a caregiver	26
S4/6	Rape (attempted/completed) / Experiencing verbal sexual harassment	15

Table 5.2: Most Common Items Endorsed on the altered JVQ.

The four least endorsed items by respondents on the altered JVQ included bias attack (3), sexual victimization by an unknown adult (3), kidnapping (5) and custodial interference/family abduction (5).

The above results show the victimization profile of adolescents in Heideveld. Full victimization profiles are often missing in surveys that focus on singular or limited forms of victimization. Outcomes of victimization depend on multiple factors. An important factor is the cumulative victimization across broad types. Poly-victimization comes about through cumulative victimization. Many adolescents in Heideveld have a heightened victimization risk because of the cumulative victimization experienced. Cumulative victimization is shown in the next section on poly-victims as the total victimization count for each respondent.

#### **5.5.12 Poly-victimization**

The aim of this study was to describe the extent and nature of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld. The researcher used the Screener Sum Version (SSV) of victimizations (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2005a:1307) to assess poly-victimization. The SSV totals the number of victimizations experienced out of 34 possible screener items. Finkelhor *et al.* (2005a:1307) classified a poly-victim under the SSV as those respondents who experienced five or more different types of victimization in a year. Respondents who experienced between five and seven victimization types were low poly-victims and those who experienced eight or more different types were considered high poly-victims. In this study 19.8% of respondents had four or less victimization types. 29.7% of respondents were low poly-victims with between five and seven victimizations. 50.5% of respondents were high poly-victims with between eight and twenty-one victimization types. The mode was six victimization types, meaning that respondents most often endorsed six items on the altered JVQ. The median was eight victimization types, meaning that on average respondents endorsed eight of the possible 34 items on the altered JVQ. Only 19.8% of the sample were not poly-victims. Clearly as suggested in the literature poly-victimization was the norm, sadly this study reveals that half of the respondents were high poly-victims. This suggests the risk of re-victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:55) for these respondents is very high. The negative consequences of cumulative victimization (Flouri, 2008:913; Chiung-Tao Shen, 2009:157) is also likely to be devastating considering the high number of victimization types experienced in

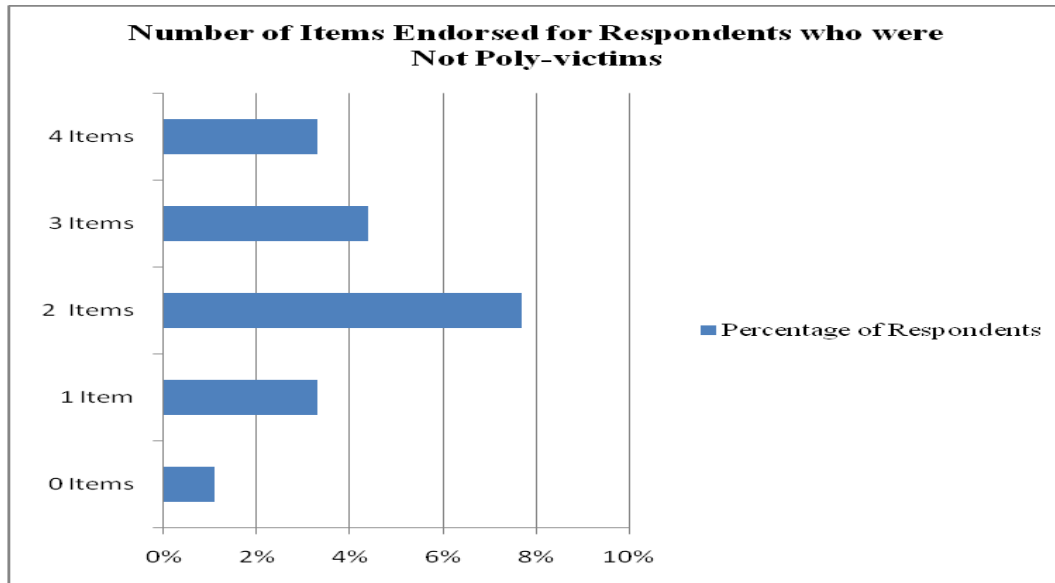
just one year. The table below indicates to total number of victimizations endorsed by each respondent.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
1	3	3.3	3.3	4.4
2	7	7.7	7.7	12.1
3	4	4.4	4.4	16.5
4	3	3.3	3.3	19.8
5	9	9.9	9.9	29.7
6	12	13.2	13.2	42.9
7	6	6.6	6.6	49.5
8	8	8.8	8.8	58.2
9	4	4.4	4.4	62.6
10	7	7.7	7.7	70.3
11	6	6.6	6.6	76.9
12	6	6.6	6.6	83.5
13	3	3.3	3.3	86.8
14	3	3.3	3.3	90.1
15	2	2.2	2.2	92.3
16	1	1.1	1.1	93.4
17	2	2.2	2.2	95.6
18	2	2.2	2.2	97.8
19	1	1.1	1.1	98.9
22	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

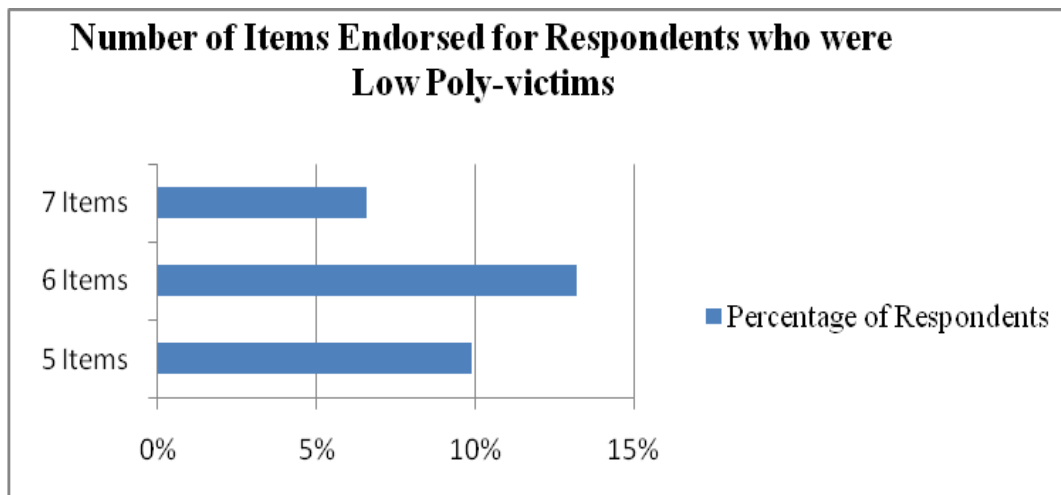
Table 5.3: Total Number of Victimization Types

The graphs below show the number of items endorsed on the altered JVQ for respondents who were not poly-victims (Graph 5.11), for respondents who were low poly-victims (Graph 5.12) and for respondents who were high poly-victims (Graph 5.13).

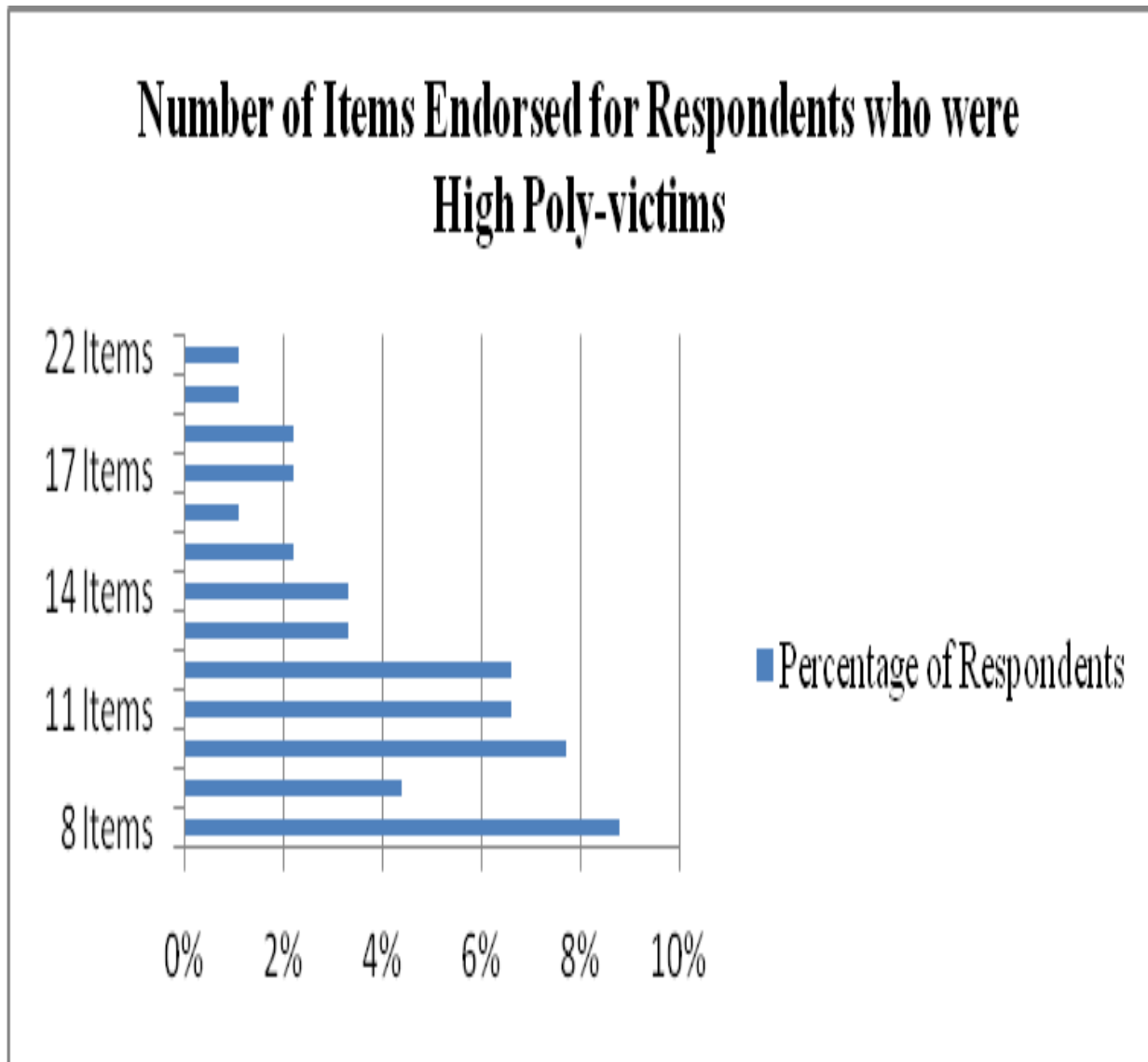
Graph 5.11: Number of Items Endorsed by Respondents who were Not Poly-victims.



Graph 5.12: Number of Items Endorsed by Respondents who were Low Poly-victims

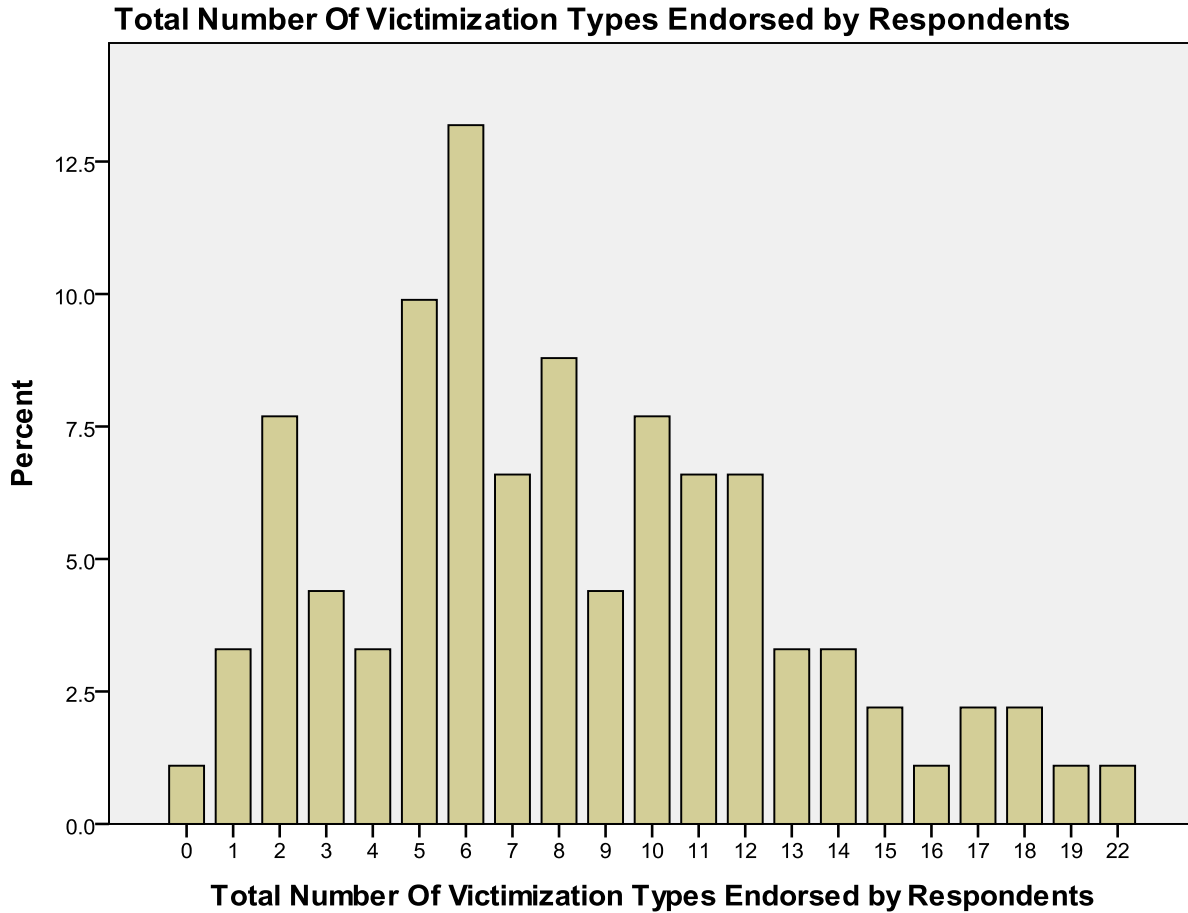


Graph 5.13: Number of Items Endorsed by Respondents who were High Poly-victims



The graph below (graph 5.14) shows the total number of victimization types endorsed by respondents.

Graph 5.14: Total Number of Items Endorsed by Respondents on the Altered JVQ



### 5.5.13 Experiences of Victimization not asked about in the Questionnaire

Respondents were asked if there were any other experiences of being victimized that had not already been covered in the questionnaire. One respondent felt that the questionnaire had not covered cyber bullying and another thought that peer pressure should have been asked about. The researcher agrees that both peer pressure and cyber bullying are very real forms of victimization that adolescents experience. One screener question on the JVQ that could possibly have covered cyber bullying asked whether sexual things had been written or said. This limited the answer to only the sexual things that were asked about. Peer pressure could be viewed as a form of victimization, if the respondents were fearful enough to feel they had to comply.



Screening questions in the module on peer or sibling victimization did not cover this aspect of peer pressure.

#### **5.5.14 Respondents' suggestions for prevention of violence against children**

Respondents were asked for their suggestions on the prevention of violence against children. Some respondents gave several suggestions that were analysed into different categories whilst 48% of respondents refrained from commenting. 8.1% of respondents said that gangsterism and drugs must be stopped or avoided. 8.1% of respondents said that stronger action needed to be taken against perpetrators, such as more/longer imprisonment or the institution of the death penalty. 7.1% of respondents suggested that adolescents should take evasive action in order to avoid victimization. Suggestions on evasive actions were to stay in safe places, to avoid bad influences and activities and to stay out of arguments. 6.1% of respondents said that there needed to be more love and respect for others, stronger values, religion or the changing of mindsets towards pro-social ends. 4% of respondents felt that police should be patrolling the school so that children are kept safe; one commented that other children "bring knives to school". 5.1% of respondents thought that an increased, general presence of the police was needed, they did not specify at school. 4.1% of respondents thought that time should be spent talking to perpetrators to find out about their problems and families since this was the root of much of the victimization perpetrated. 2% of respondents thought that communities should take more of a stand together, perhaps by creating a kind of "Neighbourhood Watch". 1% of respondents thought that the best action to prevent violence was to listen to their parents. 1% thought that children should stay in school and complete their education. 1% felt that parents should protect their children more in order for them not to be exposed to violence.

Some respondents gave suggestions about the prevention of violence that were more to do with dealing with the victim. These answers are still pertinent as some victims may themselves become perpetrators of victimization later. 3% of respondents thought that children need to be encouraged to talk out without fear and 1% thought children who were victimized should receive counseling or phone the child-line (1%) when abused.

### **5.5.15 Conclusion**

This chapter gave a victimization profile of adolescents in Heideveld. The types of victimization that adolescents were exposed to were discussed, as well as how they responded to the victimization episodes. The accumulation of victimization experiences leads to poly-victimization. This study showed that the extent of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld is high. Poly-victimization is about the total victimization count, or the accumulation of different types of victimization. Chapter Two discussed the outcomes of poly-victimization. Finkelhor (2008:35-36) described poly-victims as the most distressed of all youth and that they seemed to be “locked in a pattern” or “downward spiral”. The above data shows that many adolescents in Heideveld are poly-victims. These poly-victims are seldom recognized. Poly-victims need to be identified and supported to change the victimization patterns established as well as the long-term negative outcomes.

In the next chapter the researcher reflects on the research process and how the aims and objectives of the study were achieved. The researcher gives recommendations, outlines the limitations and discusses the impact of the study.

# CHAPTER SIX

## EVALUATION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the researcher reflects on how the aims and objectives of the study were achieved. Conclusions, recommendations and limitations of the study are then discussed. The impact of the study is discussed by the researcher and finally an overall summary is given to conclude the research process.

### 6.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES REVISITED

The aim of this study was to investigate the extent and nature of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld. This was achieved using the altered JVQ administered in small groups to adolescents in a school in Heideveld. The extent of poly-victimization could be assessed by the total victimization count. Respondents were either non-polyvictims, low poly-victims or high poly-victims. The literature review revealed the urgent need to identify and support poly-victims. Results of the survey showed that poly-victimization was more the norm (80.2% of respondents) rather than the exception, as supported in the literature review of chapter two (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:19; Finkehhor *et al.*, 2007c:150; Sabina & Straus, 2008:678). A staggering 50.5% of respondents were high poly-victims experiencing eight or more different types of victimization in a year. The nature of poly-victimization was explored through the descriptions of individual victimization screener items. The type and frequency of victimization was discussed as well as the context of victimization (whether it occurred at home, at school or in the community), perpetrator characteristics (whether the perpetrator was an adult or another adolescent or child) and the response of the victim. The respondents' responses to a peer's victimization were also explored to see if patterns established could inform intervention. In this chapter recommendations are given. The aims and objectives of this study were therefore achieved.

### **6.3 EVALUATION OF EXTENT AND NATURE OF POLY-VICTIMIZATION**

Poly-victimization was gauged through using the 34 screener questions of the JVQ in an altered form. Respondents who completed the questionnaire were categorized into those who were not poly-victims (respondents who endorsed four or less items on the questionnaire); low poly-victims (respondents who endorsed between five and seven items on the questionnaire); or high poly-victims (respondents who endorsed eight or more items on the questionnaire). Results showed that only 19.8% of respondents were not poly-victims. 29.7% of respondents were low poly-victims and 50.5% of respondents were high poly-victims with between eight and twenty-one victimization types endorsed on the questionnaire. The extent of poly-victimization of adolescents in Heideveld was therefore high.

The literature review showed that poly-victims have more negative outcomes, depressive symptoms and post traumatic stress than non-poly-victims. Poly-victims also fare the worst on psycho-social adjustment (Felix *et al.*, 2009:1673) and the psychological consequences of victimization contribute to further victimization (Cuevas, *et al.*, 2010:235-236). Poly-victims experience more life adversities, re-victimization and trauma (Spatz-Widom *et al.*, 2008:793) than other victims and their capacity to adapt diminishes (Flouri, 2008:913). Poly-victims exhibiting anger/aggression, or who experience more life adversities, are particularly at risk and are more likely to find themselves trapped in a persistent condition of victimization (Hart, 2007:474).

In this study there were many poly-victims. The 50.1% of respondents who were high poly-victims have, according to literature, the highest risk of re-victimization. This study shows that intervention is needed to protect these respondents from victimization conditions persisting. Poly-victims who exhibit anger/aggression or those who have greater life adversities are even more at risk of negative outcomes and possibly need to be identified more urgently. Indirect victimization/witnessing was experienced by 90.1% of respondents in this study. The literature review showed that indirect victimization has been found to be an important risk factor for direct victimization (Hanson *et al.*, 2006:12). Other researchers found that no particular kind of victimization better predicts future victimization; all types of victimization caused an increased risk of future victimization (Finkelhor, 2008:55).

Pathways to poly-victimization were discussed in the literature review. The pathways of the unsafe environment, disrupted family and dangerous family environment are discussed here. Heideveld is an environment with many social problems in which many forms of victimization occur on a regular basis. Heideveld could therefore possibly be seen as an unsafe environment. Gangsterism is one of the social problems in Heideveld as in many areas in Cape Town. Finkelhor *et al.* (2007a:493) hypothesized that any form of victimization may promote gang membership, thus victimization may possibly feed gangsterism, further adding to the problem. Family disruption was also found to be a pathway to poly-victimization. In this study only 48.4% of respondents said that they lived with both parents. Another pathway to poly-victimization as seen in Chapter Two was the dangerous family environment where the child was exposed to violence. In this study 26.4% of respondents witnessed domestic violence between parents or adult partners in the home and 13.2% witnessed violence directed by a parent against a sibling. There were other questions that dealt with witnessing of violence but did not refer specifically to violence in the home. The above shows that there are many factors in the everyday living of respondents in Heideveld that contribute to poly-victimization as expected and outlined by the research statement. Conditions of adolescents living in Heideveld are likely to promote victimization and poly-victimization.

Drug and alcohol abuse are factors that contribute towards an unsafe family environment and factors that forge pathways to poly-victimization as discussed in the literature review. The specific question of drug and alcohol abuse which may lead to victimization of adolescents in the home was not asked in this study. This is one question asked by the International Society for Child Abuse and Neglect (ISPCAN) in their ICAST tools (Home institution version) that the researcher, in retrospect, would like to have asked in this study.

Surveys on victimization in the literature more commonly focus on child maltreatment and abuse whilst paying less attention to conventional crime or witnessing/indirect victimization; for example the ICAST tools from ISPCAN or The Child Experiences of Violence Questionnaire (CEVQ from Walsh *et al.*, 2008). The researcher chose the 34 JVQ screener questions on victimization because they gave broader expression to many of the victimization types which adolescents from Heideveld experience. Witnessing in some questionnaires (such as the ICAST-CH) may focus more on family violence rather than violence witnessed outside of the home and

many do not pay much attention to conventional crime (such as the CEVQ). The literature review showed that the risk of re-victimization occurred with any type of victimization - to miss certain victimization types, especially where they are prevalent, would therefore give an inaccurate estimate of the risk of re-victimization and poly-victimization. The altered JVQ used in this study showed that conventional crime and witnessing/indirect victimization were more commonly experienced than other forms of victimization. 87.9% of respondents endorsed items in the module on conventional crime and 90.1% of respondents endorsed items in the witnessing/indirect victimization module. Peer and sibling victimization was experienced by 73.6% of the respondents, child maltreatment was experienced by 59.3% and sexual victimization was experienced by 38.5% of the respondents. Questionnaires that focus on child maltreatment and sexual abuse would therefore miss many of the poly-victims in Heideveld.

In this study the researcher enquired about context more specifically with each question, asking where relevant, whether it occurred in the context of home, the community or at school. Context is an important question in terms of planning some form of intervention. In terms of the need and areas for possible school intervention, the victimization patterns that occurred most frequently were those around emotional bullying, sexual harassment and non-sexual genital assault.

Response patterns of respondents were explored; this was done to see if there are any gaps that could be addressed through intervention that would help victims more. As a resident in a more privileged, relatively safe suburb of Cape Town, the researcher was shocked to see the extent of victimization for many respondents in this study. What struck the researcher was that many of the respondents experience a lot of victimization yet seem to not want to talk about it (no respondents took up the invitation to talk to a counselor). There was a noticeable absence of comments on the open questions (regarding what the respondents had done when they were victimized), about receiving help in processing trauma such as counseling. Only two respondents referred to an awareness of a specific institution that they could go to for counseling. One of those instances was to do with taking a peer to the institution and the other was a suggestion at the end of the questionnaire, that children should make use of this particular service to receive counselling. One other respondent mentioned that she had received counseling and the same respondent took a friend for counselling. Out of 91 respondents only three mentioned something

to do with counseling. The last question on the questionnaire asked the respondents if there was anything else they would like to say about what happened to them, or about completing the questionnaire. As mentioned in the empirical chapter, some respondents actually enjoyed the questionnaire saying that it had helped them. One respondent said that sometimes she did not want to talk about what had happened, but to be able to acknowledge what had happened through the questionnaire was helpful to her. Perhaps an indirect way of expressing what happened and how they felt about victimization experiences would provide at least an opportunity for adolescents to acknowledge their trauma.

## 6.4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- *The Conventional Crime Module and the Peer and Sibling Module*

In the conventional crime module respondents frequently endorsed assault without a weapon; this was a common form of victimization. Response patterns showed that respondents often fought back or reported the incident to somebody else. Retaliating by fighting back may escalate the victimization. Assault without a weapon occurred mostly at home and at the hands of other adolescents or children. This is perhaps one of those forms of victimization that is not taken seriously since it is about child on child violence. Perhaps parents need to be better informed about the dangers of victimization in the home. Research has shown that child-on-child violence is not less serious than violence between older youth or adults (Finkelhor et al., 2006:1415; Finkelhor, 2008:8). Protective action should therefore be taken to prevent conditions of victimization from developing. In the module on peer and sibling victimization, peer or sibling assault was the item most frequently endorsed occurring most commonly in the home. Since chronic peer victimization is associated with psychotic symptoms, depression and a stable victim status in early adolescence (Sweeting *et al.*, 2006:589-590; Schreier *et al.*, 2009:529), early intervention is needed to change patterns established. The cumulative effect of victimization and the transitivity of victimization risk is well documented in the literature (Finkelhor, 2008:35, 54; Hanson *et al.*, 2006:3; Spatz-Widomet *et al.*, 2008:785). Such literature suggests that children who are victimized by siblings at home, are then also become more likely to be victimized by peers at school or be

subject to a broad range of other victimization experiences. Educators and parents alike need to be aware of the above and trained in what action to take against such violence.

Emotional bullying was the second most frequently endorsed item in the peer and sibling victimization module. Emotional bullying occurred most often at school. Respondents who were emotionally bullied seldom reported the incident and were more likely to be passive about it. Perhaps this is one area of equipping needed at school for adolescents in terms of how to filter messages they hear. Educators and parents need to be trained in how to help the child counter the negative stress-reactive rumination that mediates the relationship between victimization and depression (Erin, 2005:1). Implementing programmes to strengthen the learners' sense of self would also equip them against the ill effects of emotional victimization. Encouraging learners to stand together with peers against this form of victimization may also decrease the incidence of it.

Since anger and aggression predict high/chronic and moderate/increasing peer victimization trajectories (Barker *et al.*, 2008:1185), youth who exhibit such symptoms should be earmarked for intervention. Youth who exhibit excessive nervousness, sensitivity, passivity or reactivity also need to be earmarked for intervention as they too are in danger of attracting victimization (Pronk & Zimmerman-Gembeck, 2010:195). The above symptoms are likely to forge pathways to a condition of poly-victimization as discussed in chapter two (Finkelhor, 2008:55-57).

- *The Child Maltreatment Module*

This module was less frequently endorsed; emotional and physical victimization were the two items most commonly endorsed in this module. Response patterns showed that when respondents were victimized they commonly did not do anything about it and kept quiet. On the other hand, when respondents knew about a peer who was victimized, in the child maltreatment module, they took action and offered much support to their peers. If some adolescents feel that they cannot speak out about physical and emotional abuse, then perhaps peers can be equipped better in terms of knowing what to look out for and knowing what to do in terms of taking action. Perhaps children need to be made more aware of what child



maltreatment is and what should be done about it, and parents could be better informed about what action to take on behalf of their child's peer.

- *The Sexual Victimization Module*

Verbal sexual harassment and rape/attempted rape were the most frequently endorsed items in the sexual victimization module. Verbal sexual harassment occurred most often at school. Perhaps stronger action needs to be taken by educators and learners should be encouraged to speak out about it more and stand together with peers against it. Perhaps workshops could be run for learners and educators about standing together against verbal sexual harassment. In these workshops learners could become more aware of what is acceptable and what should not be tolerated. Norms about what is acceptable and expected in terms of respecting peers could be established. Both learners and educators could be encouraged to take firmer action against sexual harassment.

- *The Indirect Victimization/Witnessing Module*

The item most frequently endorsed in the indirect victimization/witnessing module was the respondents' exposure to random shootings, terrorism or riots (shootings etc.). When shootings etc. occurred respondents more often reported feeling powerless and afraid than in most of the other items of victimization. No respondents reported that they received help in processing their trauma when exposed to shootings etc. Since 58.2% of respondents experienced shootings etc. this form of victimization is probably considered quite normal and something to just get over. If so many respondents are experiencing fear and powerlessness, their sense of invulnerability will have been compromised. Since shootings etc. are such common forms of indirect victimization, opportunities to process trauma need to be provided for the victims in need. Learners need to be informed of what the possible symptoms of trauma are and the need to complete unfinished business so that energy is freed up for everyday living and learning. Awareness of the effects of trauma may help them understand and accept help in order for the symptoms to cease. Placing counselors in schools and developing a culture that is pro-receiving help may facilitate the use of such services to process trauma. Traumatic events can be safely processed when the learner has a sufficiently stable and positive identity (Brewin, 2007:23, 29). This again reiterates the need to implement

programmes in schools or regular holiday clinics that build the self-support of learners. In order to process trauma, more verbally accessible memories (VAMs) of traumatic events need to be created (Brewin, 2007:14-15). VAMs inhibit the situationally accessible memories (SAMs) often characterized by flashbacks, nightmares and emotions such as intense fear, helplessness or horror (Brewin, 2007:10-14). The use of creative or dramatic techniques in therapy may allow adolescents to construct more VAMs and regain a sense of power and control over their lives.

Schools could be more proactive in identifying learners who have PTSD through the use of screening instruments such as the Trauma Symptoms Checklist for Children (Briere, 1996 cited in Finkelhor, *et al.*, 2005:396). Learners identified as suffering from PTSD could be coached on what needs to happen for them to recover. In chapter two recent poly-victimization was shown to be a powerful predictor of trauma symptoms (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007b:19-21). Educators and parents should be made aware that trauma symptomatology manifested, is primarily related to poly-victimization rather than singular categories of victimization. Youth exhibiting trauma symptomatology need to be recognised and supported to prevent continuing conditions of poly-victimization. Crisis support lessens negative appraisals and increases active coping which buffers symptomatology (Bal *et al.*, 2009:723).

- According to the data-analysis respondents who were victimized quite often did nothing about it or kept quiet. According to the Gestalt paradoxical theory of change respondents have to accept “what is” before they can change. Doing nothing about victimization, or hiding it, or keeping quiet about what has happened, lessens the likelihood that the child will be able to acknowledge the experience and accept “what is”. To understand “what is” the adolescent needs to develop awareness and the self-support needed to process what has happened. Perhaps a few life orientation lessons could be used each term to develop awareness and self-support by making use of a personal journal. Awareness can be developed through the use of creative metaphors which need not necessarily be shared on a class level but could be journalled about privately. Emphasis should be put on recognizing the uniqueness of learners, their positive aspects, competence and their lovability, which all form part of building self-support (Blom, 2006:103). Opportunities that encourage the sharing of positive reflections about peers in this process would also help to build self-support. Learners could also

creatively write and draw pictures about what has happened and how this has impacted on them.

Alternatively opportunities to build self-support and awareness and to process trauma could be offered after school in small groups by trained facilitators. Learners need to be made aware of the importance of this process in order for them to be motivated for their own self-growth. Awareness developed will also help learners encourage and support other peers to engage in the process to change victimization patterns that may be established. Perhaps discussion time in small groups could also be created where voluntary trained facilitators come in and create the space for learners to be heard or to find their voice in a place of safety and respect. Peers could then rally around each other more when they are aware of the difficulties of their classmates. In this study peers showed themselves to be valuable support systems. Peers could be further empowered to support one another in more effective ways, if they are trained how to.

- Victimization of adolescents in Heideveld was common and poly-victimization was quite “normal” as found in other international studies. Literature supports the need for intervention to change patterns established, lessening the likelihood of re-victimization. Perhaps one way of supporting adolescents would be to raise awareness of the risk of re-victimization and to encourage them to speak out for themselves and on behalf of their friends. Adolescents in high risk environments (and their parents) need to be advised on what action to take to support either themselves or their friends in order to counter the risk of re-victimization. Awareness of the fact that poly-victims are at a high risk of re-victimization may motivate some adolescents to take opportunities to participate in programmes that strengthen their sense of self and counteract established patterns.
- Awareness on the part of the parent of the risk of re-victimization may also encourage their involvement in supporting adolescents to engage in self-development programmes. Perhaps there is a sense of shame in being seen to need help or in being a victim, and so a culture that is pro-dialogue about victimization needs to be established. Victims need to be seen more as survivors, resourceful people able to overcome adversity thrown their way and able to use their experiences meaningfully to help others.

With increasing age school support becomes a more important protective factor than parental support (Ward *et al.*, 2007:167-168), social connectedness with peers possibly even preventing the persistence of poly-victimization (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2007a:494). Resources made available to children on an individual as well as neighbourhood level may play significant roles in resilience (Du Mont *et al.*, 2007:270). Holiday clubs or extramural programmes that help to develop the social skills of adolescents and their relationships would therefore improve the resilience of adolescents in the face of victimization.

In lower SES communities where resources are limited, perhaps leaders from the youth could be empowered to run various clubs for younger grades according to their own talents. Perhaps responsible adults could be called in from the community to be mentors for such youth and overseers to ensure proper process. This would promote the development of leadership skills of the youth and the partnering of youth with other community leaders. Incentives could be organised for youth who become leaders such as special privileges, community recognition and perhaps subsidies and access to further development courses. Communities need to recognise the value of extra-mural programmes and be willing to participate in supporting those who volunteer to facilitate such activities. Further, social workers need to be deployed to mobilise funding for extra-mural programmes to be run within communities. On the meso and macro levels, there needs to be an understanding about why such programmes are particularly important where youth are highly victimized. This awareness would encourage the partnering of companies with initiatives that promote the resilience of victimized youth.

Poly-victims have the greatest deficits in educational outcomes (Holt *et al.*, 2006b:512), which negatively impacts on socio-economic and occupational possibilities in later years and may perpetuate social inequality (Macmillan & Hagan, 2004:127; Macmillan, 2009:661). Given the above, as well as the prolonged physical and psycho-social consequences of poly-victimization (discussed in chapter two) it is vital that intervention be implemented on multiple levels. There is a desperate need for social workers as well as child psychologists, within schools, who are committed to working together with the child's whole field. Families, schools and communities need to be included in intervention strategies. As illustrated above

interventions need to be implemented on every level of the eco-system in order to effectively address and mobilise resources that will help to change patterns of victimization established.

## **6.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

This study was about victimization events that had occurred in the past year. There was a lot of time pressure on the researcher due to late commencement of the survey and short life orientation classes. Delays occurred because consent letters took many weeks to get in as they had to be sent out between three to four times. Once consent letters had been collected and the research commenced, the school strikes began. Time pressure caused the researcher to spend less time on conceptualizing the past year time-frame than was desired. This was complicated by the fact that many respondents needed two sessions to complete the questionnaire. In many instances the weeks were not consecutive with the disrupted school routine. Truancy was high in the time period of the survey and this complication increased the time it took for some respondents to complete the questionnaire.

In impoverished communities it may be more difficult for respondents to time-frame events accurately, since there is little variation between terms. In the school researched there were no extramurals offered or formal sport programmes that gave school terms distinctive differences. Holidays were also most likely to be spent in the community amongst the same people. Perhaps in communities where there are few clear distinctions between terms or holidays more time needs to be spent on time-framing. The survey was administered on a group level. The researcher communicated that the time-frame took them back to the third term in a different grade the year before. The respondents were asked about what they did in the different holidays and in different school terms. Respondents indicated they understood the time-frame of the past year but in retrospect the researcher would have liked to have taken one whole session to make a concrete representation that could be used when they did complete the survey.

Another possible inclusion to improve accuracy in time-framing was in the structuring of the screener answer categories. Instead of endorsing or disagreeing with a screener item through a simple yes or no response, the respondent may have time-framed events more accurately if another option had been given. For instance, if respondents had an option such as “not in the past year, but this has happened”, they may have positively endorsed screener items that occurred in the past year less. The researcher believes that some respondents do want to, and need to,

acknowledge what has happened to them. The need to acknowledge events may have led some respondents to positively endorse items that had happened at a time outside of the past year time-frame. The above problem could have been resolved by providing an alternative means to answer.

Since the aim of the study was to explore broad forms of victimization, the questionnaire was long. Length of the questionnaire and difficulties with concentration or reading may have led some respondents to negatively endorse items even if they did happen. Negative endorsement meant that none of the contingency questions would have to be answered, making it quick and easy for the respondent to complete the questionnaire. Since the questionnaire was about sensitive and traumatic events respondents may also have chosen to negatively answer certain items in order to avoid them. Perhaps an additional answer option to the screener item could have been to include an opportunity to state their choice not to answer the question.

The respondents who took part in the survey were only those who had returned a signed consent form from their parents. Some caregivers declined consent for their child to participate. Most learners either did not give their caregivers the letter, or their caregivers never took cognizance of it. Many learners who are highly victimized may therefore have been missed in this study.

## **6.6 IMPACT OF THE STUDY**

This study highlighted the fact that adolescents of Heideveld face many different forms of victimization. When too narrow a focus is given to more “serious” forms of victimization such as sexual or physical abuse, then the whole victimization profile is neglected. Negative outcomes are not so much tied to singular forms of victimization as they are to the cumulative impact of multiple forms of victimization. The full profile of multiple forms of victimization is what accounts for most of the negative outcomes or symptomatology. This study highlights the need to attend more to the full profile of victimization. Limited focus on narrow forms of victimization causes many of the vulnerable adolescents on the Cape Flats to be overlooked. This study shows through the literature review that neglect of poly-victims contributes towards the continued cycles of victimization because of their high risk of re-victimization.

In some communities victimization may become treated as something more of a norm, something to get over and something that often cannot be stopped or helped. Awareness of the impact of cumulative victimization and the heightened re-victimization risk would motivate victims and the caregivers of victims to take action towards self-development of the victim. Pro-social attitudes of self-development programmes would encourage more openness and participation in such programmes. This study shows there is a great need for victims to be supported and a need to change mind-sets about victimization to reduce re-victimization risk and the long-term negative consequences.

## **6.7 SUMMARY**

This study was motivated by a desire to research the plight of poly-victims in order to inform and promote intervention to change patterns of victimization established. The first step in this process was to explore the extent and nature of poly-victimization and to identify poly-victims. The first step has therefore been accomplished in this study. As expected (see Research Statement) poly-victimization, was rife in the community of Heideveld. Further research, with respondents who were the most highly poly-victimized, may give some answers about how to facilitate the development of a healthier self-process for these most needy individuals. It is the researcher's hope that awareness of the need for more support for poly-victims will have been raised in this study. The researcher also hopes that an understanding of the need to consider cumulative victimization, rather than focus on a specific singular type of victimization, has been made clear. Lastly, the researcher hopes that further research will be undertaken, that will inform interventions on how to develop the healthy and creative self-process of poly-victims. Interventions such as these will help poly-victims build stronger systems of self-support that enable re-victimization to be avoided, or at least diminish the harsh long-term negative consequences of poly-victimization.

Finally, this study has been on a gruesome subject; therefore much of the content focuses on the negative aspects of living in Heideveld or similar Cape Flats communities. There are of course countless things to celebrate about these communities and the positive polarity of this negative picture is always present!

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## **APPENDIX 1: SCREENER QUESTIONS OF THE JUVENILE VICTIMIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE**

### **A.1. Module A: Conventional Crime**

C1) Robbery. In the last year, did anyone use force to take something away from you that you were carrying or wearing?

C2) Personal Theft. In the last year, did anyone steal something from you and never give it back? Things like a backpack, money, watch, clothing, bike, stereo, or anything else?

C3) Vandalism. In the last year, did anyone break or ruin any of your things on purpose?

C4) Assault with Weapon. Sometimes people are attacked WITH sticks, rocks, guns, knives, or other things that would hurt. In the last year, did anyone hit or attack you on purpose WITH an object or weapon? Somewhere like: at home, at school, at a store, in a car, on the street, or anywhere else?

C5) Assault without Weapon. In the last year, did anyone hit or attack you WITHOUT using an object or weapon?

C6) Attempted Assault. In the last year, did someone start to attack you, but for some reason, it didn't happen? For example, someone helped you or you got away?

C7) Kidnapping. When a person is kidnapped, it means they were made to go somewhere, like into a car, by someone who they thought might hurt them. In the last year, did anyone try to kidnap you?

C8) Bias Attack. In the last year, were you hit or attacked because of your skin color, religion, or where your family comes from? Because of a physical problem you have? Or because someone said you are gay?

### **A.2. Module B: Child Maltreatment**

M1) Physical Abuse by Caregiver. Not including spanking on your bottom, in the last year, did a grown-up in your life hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt you in any way?

M2) Psychological/Emotional Abuse. In the last year, did you get scared or feel really bad because grown-ups in your life called you names, said mean things to you, or said they didn't want you?

M3) Neglect. When someone is neglected, it means that the grown-ups in their life didn't take care of them the way they should. They might not get them enough food, take them to the doctor

when they are sick, or make sure they have a safe place to stay. In the last year, did you get neglected?

M4) Custodial Interference/Family Abduction. Sometimes a family fights over where a child should live. In the last year, did a parent take, keep, or hide you to stop you from being with another parent?

### **A.3. Module C: Peer and Sibling Victimization**

P1) Gang or Group Assault. Sometimes groups of kids or gangs attack people. In the last year, did a group of kids or a gang hit, jump, or attack you?

P2) Peer or Sibling Assault. (If yes to P1, say: "Other than what you just told me about . . .") In the last year, did any kid, even a brother or sister, hit you? Somewhere like: at home, at school, out playing, in a store, or anywhere else?

P3) Nonsexual Genital Assault. In the last year, did any kids try to hurt your private parts on purpose by hitting or kicking you there?

P4) Bullying. In the last year, did any kids, even a brother or sister, pick on you by chasing you or grabbing your hair or clothes or by making you do something you didn't want to do?

P5) Emotional Bullying. In the last year, did you get scared or feel really bad because kids were calling you names, saying mean things to you, or saying they didn't want you around?

P6) Dating Violence. In the last year, did a boyfriend or girlfriend or anyone you went on a date with slap or hit you?

### **A.4. Module D: Sexual Victimizations**

S1) Sexual Assault by Known Adult. In the last year, did a grown-up YOU KNOW touch your private parts when you didn't want it or make you touch their private parts? Or did a grown-up YOU KNOW force you to have sex?

S2) Non-specific Sexual Assault. In the last year, did a grown-up you did NOT KNOW touch your private parts when you didn't want it, make you touch their private parts or force you to have sex?

S3) Sexual Assault by Peer. Now think about kids your age, like from school, a boy friend or girl friend, or even a brother or sister. In the last year, did another child or teen make you do sexual things?

S4) Rape: Attempted or Completed. In the last year, did anyone TRY to force you to have sex; that is, sexual intercourse of any kind, even if it didn't happen?

S5) Flashing/Sexual Exposure. In the last year, did anyone make you look at their private parts by using force or surprise, or by “flashing” you?

S6) Verbal Sexual Harassment. In the last year, did anyone hurt your feelings by saying or writing something sexual about you or your body?

S7) Statutory Rape and Sexual Misconduct. In the last year, did you do sexual things with anyone 18 or older, even things you both wanted?

#### **A.5. Module E: Witnessing and Indirect Victimization**

W1) Witness to Domestic Violence. In the last year, did you SEE one of your parents get hit by another parent, or their boyfriend or girlfriend? How about slapped, punched, or beat up?

W2) Witness to Parent Assault of Sibling. In the last year, did you SEE your parent hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt your brothers or sisters, not including a spanking on the bottom?

W3) Witness to Assault with Weapon. In the last year, in real life, did you SEE anyone get attacked on purpose WITH a stick, rock, gun, knife, or other thing that would hurt? Somewhere like: at home, at school, at a store, in a car, on the street, or anywhere else?

W4) Witness to Assault without Weapon. In the last year, in real life, did you SEE anyone get attacked or hit on purpose WITHOUT using a stick, rock, gun, knife, or something that would hurt?

W5) Burglary of Family Household. In the last year, did anyone steal some thing from your house that belongs to your family or someone you live with? Things like a TV, stereo, car, or anything else?

W6) Murder of Family Member or Friend. When a person is murdered, it means someone killed them on purpose. In the last year, was anyone close to you murdered, like a friend, neighbor or someone in your family?

W7) Witness to Murder. In the last year, did you SEE someone murdered in real life? This means not on TV, video games, or in the movies?

W8) Exposure to Random Shootings, Terrorism, or Riots. In the last year, were you in any place in real life where you could see or hear people being shot, bombs going off, or street riots?

W9) Exposure to War or Ethnic Conflict. In the last year, were you in the middle of a war where you could hear real fighting with guns or bombs?

**APPENDIX 2: THE ALTERED JVQ QUESTIONNAIRE****Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence and Victimization**

Children in many parts of the world have been exposed to violence or bad treatment by family members, at school, in their communities, or at work. This is an important problem for children and teenagers in all parts of the world. We would like to ask you about your experiences.

*Please tell us about yourself.*

- B1) Please tell us if you are a girl or a boy.      Girl       Boy
- B2) How many years old are you       years old
- B3) Do you live with your parents? Mother: Yes  No       Father: Yes  No
- B4) Who else do you live with? (tick all that makes the right answer for you):  
 Grandfather       Grandmother       Sister(s)       Brother(s)   
 Other relative(s)       People who are not relatives
- B5) What area or neighbourhood do you live in
- B6) Do you belong to any religion or religious group?      Yes  No
- B7) What religion or religious group do you belong to?  
 (Christian, Muslim or other...name the religion)
- B8) What racial group is your family a part of?  
 (Black, Coloured, White, Indian, Asian)
- B9) Do you feel safe at school?  
 Always       Usually       Sometimes       Never

***Now we are going to ask you about some things that may have happened in the last year. Please only tick the boxes that give your answers to the question.***

***C1) In the last year, did anyone use force to take something away from you that you were carrying or wearing?***

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
**If yes**, answer questions b) to g). **If no**, go to question C2
- b) **If yes**, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) **If yes**, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) **If yes**, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

***C2) In the last year, did anyone steal something from you and never give it back? Things like a backpack, money, watch, clothing, bike, stereo, or anything else?***

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
**If yes**, answer questions b) to g). **If no**, go to question C3
- b) **If yes**, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) **If yes**, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) **If yes**, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**C3) In the last year, did anyone break or ruin any of your things on purpose?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question C4
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**C4) Sometimes people are attacked WITH sticks, rocks, guns, knives, or other things that would hurt. In the last year, did anyone hit or attack you on purpose WITH an object or weapon? Somewhere like: at home, at school, at a store, in a car, on the street, or anywhere else?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question C5
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**C5) In the last year, did anyone hit or attack you WITHOUT using an object or weapon?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question C6
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**C6) In the last year, did someone start to attack you, but for some reason, it didn't happen? For example, someone helped you or you got away?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question C7
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....



**C7) When a person is kidnapped, it means they were made to go somewhere, like into a car, by someone who they thought might hurt them. In the last year, did anyone try to kidnap you?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question C8
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**C8) In the last year, were you hit or attacked because of your skin colour, religion, or where your family comes from? Because of a physical problem you have? Or because someone said you are gay?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question C9
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**C9) Did any of the above things (C1-8) happen to a friend of yours, if so what did you do?**

.....  
.....

---

**Next, we ask about grown-ups who take care of you. This means parents, babysitters, adults who live with you, or others who watch you.**

**M1) Not including spanking on your bottom, in the last year, did a grown-up in your life hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt you in any way?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **M2**
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community     at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**M2) In the last year, did you get scared or feel really bad because grown-ups in your life called you names, said mean things to you, or said they didn't want you?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **M3**
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community     at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**M3) When someone is neglected, it means that the grown-ups in their life didn't take care of them the way they should. They might not get them enough food, take them to the doctor when they are sick, or make sure they have a safe place to stay. In the last year, did you get neglected?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **M4**

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community     at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**M4) Sometimes a family fights over where a child should live. In the last year, did a parent take, keep, or hide you to stop you from being with another parent?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **M5**

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community     at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**M5) Did any of the above things (M1-4) happen to a friend of yours, if so what did you do?**

.....

.....

*Next we are going to ask you about times when peers (your friends or classmates) and siblings (your brothers or sisters) do things that may hurt you.*

**P1) Sometimes groups of kids or gangs attack people. In the last year, did a group of kids or a gang hit, jump, or attack you?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **P2**

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**P2) Apart from the time you have just told me about in the answer above (P1) .....in the last year, did any kid, even a brother or sister, hit you? Somewhere like: at home, at school, out playing, in a store, or anywhere else?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **P3**

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**P3) In the last year, did any kids try to hurt your private parts on purpose by hitting or kicking you there?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **P4**

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year

- 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**P4) In the last year, did any kids, even a brother or sister, pick on you by chasing you or grabbing your hair or clothes or by making you do something you didn't want to do?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g).      If no, go to question **P5**

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year

- 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**P5) In the last year, did you get scared or feel really bad because kids were calling you names, saying mean things to you, or saying they didn't want you around?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g).      If no, go to question **P6**

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year

- 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**P6) In the last year, did a boyfriend or girlfriend or anyone you went on a date with slap or hit you?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **P7**
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**P7) Did any of the above things (P1-6) happen to a friend of yours, if so what did you do?**

.....

.....

---

**Now we are going to ask you about times when sexual things happen.....**

**S1) In the last year, did a grown-up YOU KNOW touch your private parts when you didn't want it or make you touch their private parts? Or did a grown-up YOU KNOW force you to have sex?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **S2**
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**S2) In the last year, did a grown-up you did NOT KNOW touch your private parts when you didn't want it, make you touch their private parts or force you to have sex?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question S3
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**S3) Now think about kids your age, like from school, a boy friend or girl friend, or even a brother or sister. In the last year, did another child or teen make you do sexual things?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question S4
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- f) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**S4) In the last year, did anyone TRY to force you to have sex; that is, sexual intercourse of any kind, even if it didn't happen?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question S5
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?     Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community       at home

- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?  Yes or  No  
f) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**S5) In the last year, did anyone make you look at their private parts by using force or surprise, or by “flashing” you?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question S6
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only  2 times  3-5 times  6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?  Yes or  No  
d) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?  Yes or  No  
f) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**S6) In the last year, did anyone hurt your feelings by saying or writing something sexual about you or your body?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question S7
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only  2 times  3-5 times  6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?  Yes or  No  
d) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?  Yes or  No  
f) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home



g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

**S7) In the last year, did you do sexual things with anyone 18 or older, even things you both wanted?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question S8

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community     at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

**S8) Did any of the above things (S1-7) happen to a friend of yours, if so what did you do?**

---

**Now we are going to ask you about things that don't happen to you but you see them happen to other people. This means to other people in real life. Not people on TV, video games, movies, or that you just heard about.**

**W1) In the last year, did you SEE one of your parents get hit by another parent, or their boyfriend or girlfriend? How about slapped, punched or beaten up?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question W2

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community     at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**W2) In the last year, did you SEE your parent hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt your brothers or sisters, not including a spanking on the bottom?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question W3

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community     at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**W3) In the last year, in real life, did you SEE anyone get attacked on purpose WITH a stick, rock, gun, knife, or other thing that would hurt? Somewhere like: at home, at school, at a store, in a car, on the street, or anywhere else?**

a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question W4

b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?     Yes    or     No

d) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community     at home

e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?     Yes    or     No

f) If yes, where did it happen?     at your school     in your community     at home

g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**W4) In the last year, in real life, did you SEE anyone get attacked or hit on purpose WITHOUT using a stick, rock, gun, knife, or something that would hurt?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question W5
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**W5) In the last year, did anyone steal some thing from your house that belongs to your family or someone you live with? Things like a TV, stereo, car, or anything else?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question W6
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**W6) When a person is murdered, it means someone killed them on purpose. In the last year, was anyone close to you murdered, like a friend, neighbour or someone in your family?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question W7

- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**W7) *In the last year, did you SEE someone murdered in real life? This means not on TV, video games, or in the movies?***

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g).      If no, go to question W8
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?       Yes      or       No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?       Yes      or       No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?       at your school       in your community       at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....
- .....

**W8) *In the last year, were you in any place in real life where you could see or hear people being shot, bombs going off, or street riots?***

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g).      If no, go to question W9
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only       2 times       3-5 times       6 times or more

- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?  Yes or  No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?  Yes or  No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**W9) In the last year, were you in the middle of a war where you could hear real fighting with guns or bombs?**

- a)  Yes.....or..... No  
If yes, answer questions b) to g). If no, go to question **W10**
- b) If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year  
 1 time only  2 times  3-5 times  6 times or more
- c) If this ever happened, was it by an adult?  Yes or  No
- d) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home
- e) If this ever happened, was it by another teenager or a child?  Yes or  No
- f) If yes, where did it happen?  at your school  in your community  at home
- g) If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do? .....

.....

**W10) Did any of the above things (W1-9) happen to a friend of yours, if so what did you do?**

.....

.....



**G1** *Do you have any other experiences with being hurt in your school or community that we have not already asked about?*

.....

.....

.....

**G2** *Do you have any suggestions for preventing violence against children:*

.....

.....

.....

**G3** *Was this a hard questionnaire to answer?*  Yes  No

**G4** *Is there anything that you didn't understand?*  Yes  No

**G5** *Was it difficult to be completely open about what happened to you?*  Yes  No

**G6** *Is there anything else you would like to say about what happened to you or about filling in the questionnaire?*

.....

.....

Thank you for your help. Many of the questions we asked can be upsetting to children or make them want to talk to someone about what might have happened. If you would like to talk more about what might have happened to you, please ask the person who gave you these questions to assist you in getting help. Remember to put your name in the study box at the office even if in a few days you start to think about things that happened to you and you would like to talk to someone.

### APPENDIX 3: FREQUENCY TABLES OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA & PERCEPTION OF SAFETY

B1) Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Female	61	67.0	67.0	67.0
	Male	30	33.0	33.0	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B2) Age in Years

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	13	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	14	23	25.3	25.3	33.0
	15	38	41.8	41.8	74.7
	16	19	20.9	20.9	95.6
	17	2	2.2	2.2	97.8
	18	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B3a) Do you live with your Mother?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	80	87.9	87.9	87.9
	No	9	9.9	9.9	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B3b) Do you live with your father?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	46	50.5	50.5	50.5
	No	22	24.2	24.2	74.7
	Not Available	23	25.3	25.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B3c) Intact family/Disrupted family

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In tact living with mother and father	44	48.4	48.4	48.4
Disrupted family	47	51.6	51.6	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B4a) Do you live with your Grandfather?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	11	12.1	12.1	12.1
Not Applicable	80	87.9	87.9	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B4b) Do you live with your Grandmother?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	37	40.7	40.7	40.7
Not Applicable	54	59.3	59.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B4c) Do you live with your Sister/s?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	50	54.9	54.9	54.9
Not Applicable	41	45.1	45.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B4d) Do you live with your Brother/s?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	46	50.5	50.5	50.5



	Not Applicable	45	49.5	49.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B4e) Do you live with Other Relatives?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	18	19.8	19.8	19.8
	Not Applicable	73	80.2	80.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B4f) Do you live with People who are Not your Relatives?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B5) What Neighbourhood do you live in?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Heideveld	57	62.6	62.6	62.6
	Outside of Heideveld	34	37.4	37.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B6) Religious Group

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	75	82.4	82.4	82.4
	No	16	17.6	17.6	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B7) Religion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Christian	62	68.1	68.1	68.1
	Muslim	19	20.9	20.9	89.0
	Other	2	2.2	2.2	91.2
	Not Applicable	8	8.8	8.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B8) Racial Group

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Coloured	69	75.8	75.8	75.8
	Black	17	18.7	18.7	94.5
	Indian	1	1.1	1.1	95.6
	Black and Coloured	1	1.1	1.1	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

B9) Do you feel Safe at school?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Always	32	35.2	35.2	35.2
	Usually	26	28.6	28.6	63.7
	Sometimes	31	34.1	34.1	97.8
	Never	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

## APPENDIX 4: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR THE CONVENTIONAL CRIME MODULE

**C1a Robbery - In the last year, did anyone use force to take something away from you that you were carrying or wearing?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	30	33.0	33.0	33.0
	No	61	67.0	67.0	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	19	20.9	20.9	20.9
	2 times only	8	8.8	8.8	29.7
	3-5 times	1	1.1	1.1	30.8
	6 times or more	2	2.2	2.2	33.0
	Not Applicable	61	67.0	67.0	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	22.0	22.0	22.0
	No	10	11.0	11.0	33.0
	Not Applicable	61	67.0	67.0	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
	Not Applicable	82	90.1	90.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	8	8.8	8.8	8.8
	Not Applicable	83	91.2	91.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	17	18.7	18.7	18.7
	No	11	12.1	12.1	30.8
	Not Applicable	61	67.0	67.0	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C1g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing or kept quiet	8	8.8	8.8	8.8
	Told parent/s	10	11.0	11.0	19.8
	Told a teacher	1	1.1	1.1	20.9
	Took action directly him/herself	1	1.1	1.1	22.0
	Fight back/retribution	2	2.2	2.2	24.2
	Police - Child/parent reported	4	4.4	4.4	28.6
	Other	1	1.1	1.1	29.7
	998	64	70.3	70.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2a Theft - In the last year, did anyone steal something from you and never give it back? Things like a backpack, money, watch, clothing, bike stereo, or anything else?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	56	61.5	61.5	61.5
	No	33	36.3	36.3	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	21	23.1	23.1	23.1
	2 times only	22	24.2	24.2	47.3
	3-5 times	10	11.0	11.0	58.2
	6 time or more	2	2.2	2.2	60.4
	Not Applicable	35	38.5	38.5	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	17	18.7	18.7	18.7
	No	37	40.7	40.7	59.3
	Not Applicable	35	38.5	38.5	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Not Applicable	87	95.6	95.6	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	Not Applicable	79	86.8	86.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	41	45.1	45.1	45.1
	No	11	12.1	12.1	57.1
	Not Applicable	35	38.5	38.5	95.6
	Not Available	4	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	20	22.0	22.0	22.0
	Not Applicable	70	76.9	76.9	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
	Not Applicable	80	87.9	87.9	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	Not Applicable	78	85.7	85.7	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C2g what did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing or kept quiet	16	17.6	17.6	17.6
	Told parent/s	10	11.0	11.0	28.6
	Told a teacher	7	7.7	7.7	36.3
	Told friend	2	2.2	2.2	38.5
	Took action directly him/herself	6	6.6	6.6	45.1
	Fight back	2	2.2	2.2	47.3
	Retribution- steal back	1	1.1	1.1	48.4
	Police - Child/parent reported	2	2.2	2.2	50.5
	Other	1	1.1	1.1	51.6
	998	44	48.4	48.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3a Vandalism - In the last year, did anyone break or ruin any of your things on purpose?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	27	29.7	29.7	29.7
	No	64	70.3	70.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	15	16.5	16.5	16.5
	2 times only	6	6.6	6.6	23.1
	3-5 times	4	4.4	4.4	27.5
	6 time or more	2	2.2	2.2	29.7
	Not Applicable	63	69.2	69.2	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	No	18	19.8	19.8	26.4
	3	1	1.1	1.1	27.5
	Not Applicable	63	69.2	69.2	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	23	25.3	25.3	25.3
	No	2	2.2	2.2	27.5
	Not Applicable	63	69.2	69.2	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	11	12.1	12.1	12.1
	Not Applicable	79	86.8	86.8	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	87	95.6	95.6	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
	Not Applicable	81	89.0	89.0	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C3g What did you do**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing or kept quiet	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
	Told parent/s	1	1.1	1.1	12.1
	Told a teacher	2	2.2	2.2	14.3
	Took action directly him/herself	4	4.4	4.4	18.7
	Fight back/retribution/argued	3	3.3	3.3	22.0
	Avoid/ignore perpetrator	1	1.1	1.1	23.1
	Police - Child/parent reported	1	1.1	1.1	24.2
	Cry	2	2.2	2.2	26.4
	Other	1	1.1	1.1	27.5
	998	66	72.5	72.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4 Assault with a weapon - In the last year, did anyone hit or attack you on purpose WITH an object or weapon?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	33	36.3	36.3	36.3
	No	58	63.7	63.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	



**C4b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	14	15.4	15.4	15.4
	2 times only	8	8.8	8.8	24.2
	3-5 times	7	7.7	7.7	31.9
	6 time or more	4	4.4	4.4	36.3
	Not Applicable	58	63.7	63.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	18	19.8	19.8	19.8
	No	15	16.5	16.5	36.3
	Not Applicable	58	63.7	63.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	Not Applicable	79	86.8	86.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	22	24.2	24.2	24.2
	No	8	8.8	8.8	33.0
	Not Applicable	58	63.7	63.7	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	15	16.5	16.5	16.5
	Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C4g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing or kept quiet	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
	Told parent/s	4	4.4	4.4	15.4
	Told a teacher	1	1.1	1.1	16.5
	Fight back/defended	4	4.4	4.4	20.9
	Police - Child/parent reported	7	7.7	7.7	28.6
	Cry	2	2.2	2.2	30.8
	Other	1	1.1	1.1	31.9
	998	62	68.1	68.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5 Assault without a weapon - In the last year, did anyone hit or attack you WITHOUT using an object or weapon?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	38	41.8	41.8	41.8
	No	53	58.2	58.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	13	14.3	14.3	14.3
	2 times only	13	14.3	14.3	28.6
	3-5 times	5	5.5	5.5	34.1
	6 times or more	7	7.7	7.7	41.8
	Not Applicable	53	58.2	58.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	14	15.4	15.4	15.4
	No	20	22.0	22.0	37.4
	Not Applicable	54	59.3	59.3	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	Not Applicable	79	86.8	86.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	28	30.8	30.8	30.8
	No	6	6.6	6.6	37.4
	Not Applicable	53	58.2	58.2	95.6
	Not Available	4	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	11	12.1	12.1	12.1
	Not Applicable	79	86.8	86.8	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
	Not Applicable	81	89.0	89.0	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
	Not Applicable	80	87.9	87.9	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C5g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing or kept quiet	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
	Told parent/s	5	5.5	5.5	15.4
	Told a teacher	2	2.2	2.2	17.6
	Told friend	1	1.1	1.1	18.7
	Fought back	10	11.0	11.0	29.7
	Avoid/ignore perpetrator	1	1.1	1.1	30.8
	Police - Child/parent reported	3	3.3	3.3	34.1
	Ask for it to stop	1	1.1	1.1	35.2
	Other or defended self	3	3.3	3.3	38.5
	98	1	1.1	1.1	39.6
	998	55	60.4	60.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6 Attempted Assault - In the last year, did someone start to attack you, but for some reason, it didn't happen? For example someone helped you or you got away?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	18	19.8	19.8	19.8
	No	73	80.2	80.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	2 times only	5	5.5	5.5	18.7
	6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	19.8
	Not Applicable	73	80.2	80.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
	No	7	7.7	7.7	17.6
	Not Applicable	73	80.2	80.2	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**C6d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	No	6	6.6	6.6	19.8
	Not Applicable	73	80.2	80.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C6g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
Told parent/s	5	5.5	5.5	7.7
Fought back	1	1.1	1.1	8.8
Get away/ move away/ran away	7	7.7	7.7	16.5
Other	1	1.1	1.1	17.6
998	75	82.4	82.4	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C7 Kidnapping - When a person is kidnapped, it means they were made to go somewhere, like into a car, by someone who they thought might hurt them. In the last year, did anyone try to kidnap you?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
No	85	93.4	93.4	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C7b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
2 times only	1	1.1	1.1	5.5
Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C7c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C7d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**C7d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C7d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**C7e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	No	2	2.2	2.2	3.3
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C7f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**C7f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C7f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**C7g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Ran, or went to a safe place	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Shouted for bystanders to rescue	2	2.2	2.2	4.4
	Helped by a friend	1	1.1	1.1	5.5
	998	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C8 Bias Attack - In the last year, did anyone steal something from you and never give it back? Things like a backpack, money, watch, clothing, bike stereo, or anything else?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	No	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C8b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	2 times only	1	1.1	1.1	2.2
	6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	3.3
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C8c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	No	1	1.1	1.1	2.2
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C8d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**C8d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C8d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**C8e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C8f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	



**C8f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C8f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**C8g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Told parent	1	1.1	1.1	2.2
	998	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C9 What did you do? (if C1-8 happened to a friend).**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Keep it secret	2	2.2	2.2	4.4
	Tell his/her parents	3	3.3	3.3	7.7
	Give advice and support	9	9.9	9.9	17.6
	Helped my friend	6	6.6	6.6	24.2
	Tried to intervene - shout out/take action/stand up for	6	6.6	6.6	30.8
	Went to the police	4	4.4	4.4	35.2
	998	59	64.8	64.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**C10 Number of types of Conventional Crime**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	11	12.1	12.1	12.1
	1 item	19	20.9	20.9	33.0
	2 items	23	25.3	25.3	58.2
	3 items	16	17.6	17.6	75.8
	4 items	14	15.4	15.4	91.2
	5 items	7	7.7	7.7	98.9
	6 items	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

## APPENDIX 5: FREQUENCY TABLES ON CHILD MALTREATMENT

**M1a Physical Abuse - Not including spanking on the bottom, in the last year, did a grown-up in your life hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt you in any way?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	26	28.6	28.6	28.6
	No	63	69.2	69.2	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M1b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	2 times only	10	11.0	11.0	17.6
	3-5 times	3	3.3	3.3	20.9
	6 time or more	6	6.6	6.6	27.5
	Not Applicable	65	71.4	71.4	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M1d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	87	95.6	95.6	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M1d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
	Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M1d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	19	20.9	20.9	20.9
	Not Applicable	70	76.9	76.9	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M1g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
Cry	2	2.2	2.2	8.8
Run away	2	2.2	2.2	11.0
Ignore	2	2.2	2.2	13.2
Retaliate	2	2.2	2.2	15.4
Tell parent/relative	3	3.3	3.3	18.7
Police	1	1.1	1.1	19.8
Kept quiet	2	2.2	2.2	22.0
Too scared to tell	2	2.2	2.2	24.2
998	69	75.8	75.8	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M2a Psychological/Emotional Abuse - In the last year, did you get scared or feel really bad because grown-ups in your life called you names, said mean things to you, or said they didn't want you?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	42	46.2	46.2	46.2
No	48	52.7	52.7	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M2b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
2 times only	10	11.0	11.0	13.2
3-5 times	11	12.1	12.1	25.3
6 time or more	19	20.9	20.9	46.2
Not Applicable	49	53.8	53.8	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M2d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your School	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
Not Applicable	82	90.1	90.1	92.3
Not Available	7	7.7	7.7	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M2d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
Not Applicable	75	82.4	82.4	92.3
Not Available	7	7.7	7.7	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M2d3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	24	26.4	26.4	26.4
Not Applicable	60	65.9	65.9	92.3
Not Available	7	7.7	7.7	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M2g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Cry	7	7.7	7.7	12.1
Ignore/move away/leave	10	11.0	11.0	23.1
Retaliate	2	2.2	2.2	25.3
Tell parent/relative	9	9.9	9.9	35.2
Tell a friend	1	1.1	1.1	36.3
Kept quiet	2	2.2	2.2	38.5
Other	2	2.2	2.2	40.7
998	54	59.3	59.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M3a Neglect - When someone is neglected, it means that the grown-ups in their life didn't take care of them the way they should. They might not get them enough food, take them to the doctor when they are sick, or make sure they have a safe place to stay.**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	8	8.8	8.8	8.8
No	82	90.1	90.1	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M3b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
2 times only	1	1.1	1.1	4.4
3-5 times	3	3.3	3.3	7.7
6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	8.8
Not Applicable	83	91.2	91.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M3d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**M3d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M3d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M3g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Told my mother/grandmother	2	2.2	2.2	3.3
	Cried	1	1.1	1.1	4.4
	998	87	95.6	95.6	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M4a Custodial Interference - Sometimes a family fights over where a child should live. In the last year, did a parent take, keep, or hide you to stop you from being with another parent?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
	No	85	93.4	93.4	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M4b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	2 times only	1	1.1	1.1	4.4
	6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	5.5
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M4d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**M4d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**M4d3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M4g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Expressed who he/she wanted to live with	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
998	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M5 What did you do? (if M1-4 happened to a friend)**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Advised friend	5	5.5	5.5	6.6
Comforted/ supported/encouraged friend	5	5.5	5.5	12.1
Child sort advise/informed their own parent/grandparent on behalf of friend.	4	4.4	4.4	16.5
Child's family took action on behalf of friend	2	2.2	2.2	18.7
Advised friend to speak out/talk about it to their parent	5	5.5	5.5	24.2
Child informed friend's parents	1	1.1	1.1	25.3
998	68	74.7	74.7	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**M6 Number of types of Child Maltreatment Endorsed**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid None	38	41.8	41.8	41.8
1 item	25	27.5	27.5	69.2
2 items	28	30.8	30.8	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

## APPENDIX 6: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR PEER AND SIBLING VICTIMIZATION

**P1a Gang/Group Assault - Sometimes groups of kids or gangs attack people. In the last year, did a group of kids or a gang hit, jump, or attack you?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	16	17.6	17.6	17.6
	No	74	81.3	81.3	98.9
998		1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total		91	100.0	100.0	

**P1b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	2 times only	4	4.4	4.4	12.1
	3-5 times	3	3.3	3.3	15.4
	6 time or more	2	2.2	2.2	17.6
	Not Applicable	75	82.4	82.4	100.0
Total		91	100.0	100.0	

**P1f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Not Applicable	87	95.6	95.6	100.0
Total		91	100.0	100.0	

**P1f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	Not Applicable	79	86.8	86.8	100.0
Total		91	100.0	100.0	

**P1f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
Total		91	100.0	100.0	

**P1g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Fought back	6	6.6	6.6	8.8
	Told/fetched my parent	2	2.2	2.2	11.0
	Child/parent went to the police	2	2.2	2.2	13.2
	Child ran away	2	2.2	2.2	15.4
	Other	1	1.1	1.1	16.5
	998	76	83.5	83.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P2a Peer/Sibling Assault - Apart from the time you have just told me about in P1, in the last year, did any kid, even a brother or sister, hit you? Somewhere like: at home, at school, out playing, in a store, or anywhere else?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	33	36.3	36.3	36.3
No	56	61.5	61.5	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P2b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	13	14.3	14.3	14.3
2 times only	3	3.3	3.3	17.6
3-5 times	11	12.1	12.1	29.7
6 time or more	5	5.5	5.5	35.2
Not Applicable	58	63.7	63.7	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P2f1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your School	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P2f2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
Not Applicable	82	90.1	90.1	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P2f3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	15	16.5	16.5	16.5
Not Applicable	74	81.3	81.3	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	



**P2g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Kept quiet	1	1.1	1.1	3.3
	Ignored/avoided the perpetrator	1	1.1	1.1	4.4
	Retaliated	10	11.0	11.0	15.4
	Told parent, or older person	10	11.0	11.0	26.4
	Changed lifestyle, stayed inside	1	1.1	1.1	27.5
	Other	2	2.2	2.2	29.7
	998	64	70.3	70.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P3a Non-sexual Genital Assault - In the last year, did any kids try to hurt your private parts on purpose by hitting or kicking you there?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	16	17.6	17.6	17.6
	No	74	81.3	81.3	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P3b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	8	8.8	8.8	8.8
	2 times only	4	4.4	4.4	13.2
	3-5 times	3	3.3	3.3	16.5
	6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	17.6
	Not Applicable	75	82.4	82.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P3f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P3f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P3f3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P3g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Did nothing or kept quiet	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
Retaliated	4	4.4	4.4	7.7
Told a parent	2	2.2	2.2	9.9
Other	1	1.1	1.1	11.0
998	81	89.0	89.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P4a Bullying - In the last year, did any kids, even a brother or sister, pick on you by chasing you or grabbing your hair or clothes or by making you do something you didn't want to do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	14	15.4	15.4	15.4
No	76	83.5	83.5	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P4b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
2 times only	5	5.5	5.5	8.8
3-5 times	2	2.2	2.2	11.0
6 time or more	4	4.4	4.4	15.4
Not Applicable	77	84.6	84.6	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P4f1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
99	1	1.1	1.1	2.2
Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	96.7
Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P4f2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	96.7
Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P4f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	Not Applicable	81	89.0	89.0	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P4g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Did nothing or kept quiet	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Retaliated	3	3.3	3.4	4.5
	Told a parent/relative	2	2.2	2.2	6.7
	Ran away	1	1.1	1.1	7.9
	998	82	90.1	92.1	100.0
	Total	89	97.8	100.0	
Missing	System	2	2.2		
Total		91	100.0		

**P4g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Did nothing or kept quiet	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Retaliated	3	3.3	3.3	5.5
	Told a parent/relative	2	2.2	2.2	7.7
	Ran away	1	1.1	1.1	8.8
	998	83	91.2	91.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P5a Emotional Bullying - In the last year, did you get scared or feel really bad because kids were calling you names, saying mean things to you, or saying they didn't want you around?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	30	33.0	33.0	33.0
	No	61	67.0	67.0	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P5b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	2 times only	8	8.8	8.8	11.0
	3-5 times	7	7.7	7.7	18.7
	6 time or more	12	13.2	13.2	31.9
	Not Applicable	61	67.0	67.0	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P5f1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your School	16	17.6	17.6	17.6
Not Applicable	73	80.2	80.2	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P5f2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P5f3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
Not Applicable	80	87.9	87.9	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P5g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Did nothing	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Retaliate physically	3	3.3	3.3	7.7
Retaliate verbally/ through something/behaviour to get back	3	3.3	3.3	11.0
Verbally requested it to stop	1	1.1	1.1	12.1
Ignored them	6	6.6	6.6	18.7
Distanced self/stayed away	5	5.5	5.5	24.2
Told teacher/principle	2	2.2	2.2	26.4
998	67	73.6	73.6	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P6a Dating Violence - In the last year, did a boyfriend or girlfriend or anyone you went on a date with slap or hit you?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	16	17.6	17.6	17.6
No	74	81.3	81.3	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P6b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
2 times only	8	8.8	8.8	15.4
6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	16.5
Not Applicable	74	81.3	81.3	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P6c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
Not Applicable	74	81.3	81.3	94.5
Not Available	5	5.5	5.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P6d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**P6d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**P6d3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**P6e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	16	17.6	17.6	17.6
Not Applicable	74	81.3	81.3	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P6f1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P6f2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
Not Applicable	81	89.0	89.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P6f3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P6g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Retaliated by striking back	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Left the partner	3	3.3	3.3	8.8
Sort advice from a friend	1	1.1	1.1	9.9
Nothing - I don't hit girls	2	2.2	2.2	12.1
Told him/her I did not like it	1	1.1	1.1	13.2
998	79	86.8	86.8	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P7 What did you do? (if P1-6) happened to a friend**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Advised friend	4	4.4	4.4	8.8
Comforted/ supported/encouraged friend	4	4.4	4.4	13.2
Child took action on behalf of the friend	1	1.1	1.1	14.3
Advised friend to speak out/talk about it to their parent/take action report to police	3	3.3	3.3	17.6
Child informed friend's parents	2	2.2	2.2	19.8
Retaliate physically on friend's behalf	1	1.1	1.1	20.9
Attempt to intervene to stop it happening/happening again	2	2.2	2.2	23.1
Advised to strike back	2	2.2	2.2	25.3
Advised to leave person victimizing them	8	8.8	8.8	34.1
998	60	65.9	65.9	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**P8 Number of types of Peer and Sibling Victimization**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid None	24	26.4	26.4	26.4
1 item	34	37.4	37.4	63.7
2 items	21	23.1	23.1	86.8
3 items	3	3.3	3.3	90.1
4 items	7	7.7	7.7	97.8
5 items	1	1.1	1.1	98.9
6 items	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

## APPENDIX 7: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION

**S1a Sexual Assault by Known Adult - In the last year, did a grown-up YOU KNOW touch your private parts when you didn't want it or make you touch their private parts? Or did a grown-up YOU KNOW force you to have sex?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
No	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S1b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
2 times only	1	1.1	1.1	4.4
3-5 times	3	3.3	3.3	7.7
Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S1d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S1d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S1d3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
Not Applicable	87	95.6	95.6	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S1g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing/kept quiet about it	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
Told trusted adult/social worker	1	1.1	1.1	4.4
Asked for it to stop/expressed how felt/thought about it	2	2.2	2.2	6.6
Other	1	1.1	1.1	7.7
998	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S2a Sexual Assault, Non-Specific - In the last year, did a grown-up you did NOT KNOW touch your private parts when you didn't want it, make you touch their private parts or force you to have sex?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
No	87	95.6	95.6	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S2b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	3.3
Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S2d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**S2d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S2d3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**S2g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Said no, pushed him away	1	1.1	1.1	2.2
998	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S3a Sexual Assault by a Peer - Now think about kids your age, like from school, a boy friend or girl friend, or even a brother or sister. In the last year, did another child or teen make you do sexual things?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	8	8.8	8.8	8.8
No	83	91.2	91.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	



**S3b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
2 times only	2	2.2	2.2	5.5
3-5 times	2	2.2	2.2	7.7
Not Applicable	83	91.2	91.2	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S3f1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your School	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S3f2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S3f3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S3g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing/Kept quiet about it	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
Felt scared and did what was demanded	3	3.3	3.3	5.5
Told parent	1	1.1	1.1	6.6
Other	1	1.1	1.1	7.7
998	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4a Rape/Attempted Rape - In the last year, did anyone TRY to force you to have sex; that is, sexual intercourse of any kind, even if it didn't happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	15	16.5	16.5	16.5
No	76	83.5	83.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	2 times only	2	2.2	2.2	9.9
	3-5 times	4	4.4	4.4	14.3
	6 time or more	2	2.2	2.2	16.5
	Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
	No	8	8.8	8.8	13.2
	Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	12.1	12.1	12.1
	Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	95.6
	Not Available	4	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4f1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4f2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4f3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S4g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing/Kept quiet about it	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Said no and left him/her	3	3.3	3.3	4.4
Told parent	2	2.2	2.2	6.6
Took action personally/parent took action/got counselling/told social worker	2	2.2	2.2	8.8
Escaped when I could	1	1.1	1.1	9.9
Other	1	1.1	1.1	11.0
998	81	89.0	89.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5a Sexual Exposure/Flashed - In the last year, did anyone make you look at their private parts by force or surprise, or by "flashing" you?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	14	15.4	15.4	15.4
No	75	82.4	82.4	97.6
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
	2 times only	5	5.5	5.5	9.9
	3-5 times	4	4.4	4.4	14.3
	6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	15.4
	Not Applicable	77	84.6	84.6	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
	2 times only	6	6.6	6.6	11.0
	3-5 times	4	4.4	4.4	15.4
	6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	16.5
	Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	No	8	8.8	8.8	12.1
	Not Applicable	77	84.6	84.6	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**S5d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	Not Applicable	77	84.6	84.6	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5f1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5f2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5f3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S5g What did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Told social worker/relative	3	3.3	3.3	4.4
Took a stand physically	1	1.1	1.1	5.5
Took a stand verbally	2	2.2	2.2	7.7
Turned away	1	1.1	1.1	8.8
Other	1	1.1	1.1	9.9
998	82	90.1	90.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S6a Sexual Harassment - In the last year, did anyone hurt your feelings by saying or writing something sexual about you or your body?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	15	16.5	16.5	16.5
No	75	82.4	82.4	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S6b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
2 times only	5	5.5	5.5	12.1
3-5 times	3	3.3	3.3	15.4
6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	16.5
Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S6c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
No	10	11.0	11.0	12.1
Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	95.6
Not Available	4	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S6d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**S6d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S6d3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**S6e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	15	16.5	16.5	16.5
Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S6f1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your School	11	12.1	12.1	12.1
Not Applicable	80	87.9	87.9	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S6f2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S6f3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S6g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Took action - reported it	3	3.3	3.3	5.5
	Confronted person indirectly	1	1.1	1.1	6.6
	Asked them to stop	1	1.1	1.1	7.7
	Got rid of it	1	1.1	1.1	8.8
	Ignored it	2	2.2	2.2	11.0
	Other	1	1.1	1.1	12.1
	998	80	87.9	87.9	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S7a In the last year, did you do sexual things with anyone 18 or older, even things you both wanted?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	No	78	85.7	85.7	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S7b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	2 times only	4	4.4	4.4	6.6
	3-5 times	4	4.4	4.4	11.0
	6 time or more	2	2.2	2.2	13.2
	Not Applicable	79	86.8	86.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S7f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**S7f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S7f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S7g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Complied	2	2.2	2.2	4.4
	Other	1	1.1	1.1	5.5
	998	86	94.5	94.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S8g Did any of the things in S1-7 happen to a friend of yours, if so what did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Help friend	1	1.1	1.1	3.3
	Advice to tell parent/trusted older person/police	3	3.3	3.3	6.6
	Advised friend to stop/told friend not right took a stand about it	4	4.4	4.4	11.0
	Took action for/with friend going to social worker/police	2	2.2	2.2	13.2
	Told someone in friend's family	1	1.1	1.1	14.3
	998	78	85.7	85.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**S9 Number of types of Sexual Victimization**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	56	61.5	61.5	61.5
	1 item	18	19.8	19.8	81.3
	2 items	8	8.8	8.8	90.1
	3 items	7	7.7	7.7	97.8
	4 items	1	1.1	1.1	98.9
	6 items	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	



**APPENDIX 8: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR INDIRECTION VICTIMIZATION OR WITNESSING**

**W1a Witnessing Domestic Violence - In the last year, did you SEE one of your parents get hit by another parent, or their boyfriend or girlfriend? How about slapped, punched or beaten up?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	24	26.4	26.4	26.4
No	65	71.4	71.4	97.8
998	1	1.1	1.1	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W1b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
2 times only	9	9.9	9.9	14.3
3-5 times	4	4.4	4.4	18.7
6 time or more	6	6.6	6.6	25.3
Not Applicable	67	73.6	73.6	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W1d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W1d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
Not Applicable	82	90.1	90.1	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W1d3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	13	14.3	14.3	14.3
Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	97.8
Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W1g If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing/cried	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Pretend it was not real	1	1.1	1.1	6.6
Run away/walk out	3	3.3	3.3	9.9
Tried to intervene/intervened	2	2.2	2.2	12.1
Called police	1	1.1	1.1	13.2
Talked to a parent/relative	3	3.3	3.3	16.5
Watched it	1	1.1	1.1	17.6
998	75	82.4	82.4	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W2a Witnessing Physical Abuse - In the last year, did you SEE your parent hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt your brothers, sisters, not including spanking on the bottom?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
No	78	85.7	85.7	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W2b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
2 times only	3	3.3	3.3	5.5
3-5 times	3	3.3	3.3	8.8
6 time or more	4	4.4	4.4	13.2
Not Applicable	79	86.8	86.8	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W2d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	96.7
Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W2d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	96.7
Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W2d3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid At your Home	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
Not Applicable	79	86.8	86.8	96.7
Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W2g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing/felt hopeless/mad	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Tried to intervene to get it to stop	2	2.2	2.2	4.4
	Went to the police	1	1.1	1.1	5.5
	Walked out	1	1.1	1.1	6.6
	998	84	92.3	92.3	98.9
	999	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3a Witnessing Assault With A Weapon - In the last year, in real life, did you SEE anyone get attacked on purpose WITH a stick, rock, gun, knife, or other thing that would hurt? Somewhere like: at home, at school, at a store, in a car, on the street, or anywhere else?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	44	48.4	48.4	48.4
	No	45	49.5	49.5	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	11	12.1	12.1	12.1
	2 times only	14	15.4	15.4	27.5
	3-5 times	9	9.9	9.9	37.4
	6 time or more	10	11.0	11.0	48.4
	Not Applicable	47	51.6	51.6	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	30	33.0	33.0	33.0
	No	10	11.0	11.0	44.0
	Not Applicable	47	51.6	51.6	95.6
	Not Available	4	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	25	27.5	27.5	27.5
	Not Applicable	64	70.3	70.3	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	22	24.2	24.2	24.2
	No	9	9.9	9.9	34.1
	Not Applicable	47	51.6	51.6	85.7
	Not Available	13	14.3	14.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Not Applicable	83	91.2	91.2	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	15	16.5	16.5	16.5
	Not Applicable	74	81.3	81.3	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W3g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing/Kept quiet/cried	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	Watched/too afraid to do anything/felt powerless	7	7.7	7.7	15.4
	Told parent/teacher	4	4.4	4.4	19.8
	Reported it to police	4	4.4	4.4	24.2
	Tried to intervene	2	2.2	2.2	26.4
	Ran away	1	1.1	1.1	27.5
	998	65	71.4	71.4	98.9
	999	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4a Witnessing Assault Without A Weapon - In the last year, in real life, did you SEE anyone get attacked or hit on purpose WITHOUT using a stick, rock, gun, knife, or something that would hurt?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	35	38.5	38.5	38.5
	No	56	61.5	61.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
	2 times only	10	11.0	11.0	16.5
	3-5 times	7	7.7	7.7	24.2
	6 time or more	13	14.3	14.3	38.5
	Not Applicable	56	61.5	61.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	25	27.5	27.5	27.5
	No	5	5.5	5.5	33.0
	Not Applicable	56	61.5	61.5	94.5
	Not Available	5	5.5	5.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	22	24.2	24.2	24.2
	Not Applicable	69	75.8	75.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	22.0	22.0	22.0
	No	10	11.0	11.0	33.0
	Not Applicable	56	61.5	61.5	94.5
	Not Available	5	5.5	5.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	Not Applicable	83	91.2	91.2	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	14	15.4	15.4	15.4
	Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W4g If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nothing/kept quiet/watched/afraid	8	8.8	8.8	8.8
Told parent/teacher/adults	2	2.2	2.2	11.0
Intervened/went to get help	2	2.2	2.2	13.2
Walked away/don't interfere	2	2.2	2.2	15.4
Took action alone/with peer/parent	3	3.3	3.3	18.7
Police	1	1.1	1.1	19.8
998	72	79.1	79.1	98.9
999	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5a Household Burglary - In the last year, did anyone steal some thing from your house that belongs to your family or someone you live with? Things like a TV, stereo, car, or anything else?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	40	44.0	44.0	44.0
No	51	56.0	56.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	22	24.2	24.2	24.2
2 times only	8	8.8	8.8	33.0
3-5 times	5	5.5	5.5	38.5
6 time or more	5	5.5	5.5	44.0
Not Applicable	51	56.0	56.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	32	35.2	35.2	35.2
No	8	8.8	8.8	44.0
Not Applicable	51	56.0	56.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	98.9
Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	6	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Not Applicable	84	92.3	92.3	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	27	29.7	29.7	29.7
	Not Applicable	63	69.2	69.2	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	13.2	13.2	13.2
	No	17	18.7	18.7	31.9
	Not Applicable	51	56.0	56.0	87.9
	Not Available	11	12.1	12.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W5f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
	Not Applicable	81	89.0	89.0	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	



**W5g What did you do**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing/too frightened/couldn't identify perpetrator/angry	14	15.4	15.4	15.4
	Told parent and/family took action	3	3.3	3.3	18.7
	Took action to hide/remove goods	1	1.1	1.1	19.8
	Tried to get it back/took action directly	2	2.2	2.2	22.0
	Called the police	5	5.5	5.5	27.5
	Retribution - beating up/stealing back	2	2.2	2.2	29.7
	998	63	69.2	69.2	98.9
	999	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6a Person Close Murdered - When a person is murdered, it means someone killed them on purpose. In the last year, was anyone close to you murdered, like a friend, neighbour or someone in your family?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	23	25.3	25.3	25.3
	No	67	73.6	73.6	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	13	14.3	14.3	14.3
	2 times only	5	5.5	5.5	19.8
	3-5 times	1	1.1	1.1	20.9
	6 time or more	3	3.3	3.3	24.2
	Not Applicable	68	74.7	74.7	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	18	19.8	19.8	19.8
	No	2	2.2	2.2	22.0
	Not Applicable	68	74.7	74.7	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	16	17.6	17.6	17.6
	Not Applicable	74	81.3	81.3	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
	No	6	6.6	6.6	16.5
	Not Applicable	68	74.7	74.7	91.2
	Not Available	8	8.8	8.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your School	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	8	8.8	8.8	8.8
	Not Applicable	83	91.2	91.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W6f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**W6g If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing/cried	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
	Spoke to someone about it	1	1.1	1.1	11.0
	Ran away	1	1.1	1.1	12.1
	998	79	86.8	86.8	98.9
	999	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7a Witnessing Murder - In the last year, did you SEE someone murdered in real life? This means not on TV, Video games, or in the movies.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	15	16.5	16.5	16.5
	No	76	83.5	83.5	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
	2 times only	3	3.3	3.3	14.3
	6 time or more	1	1.1	1.1	15.4
	Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
	No	3	3.3	3.3	14.3
	Not Applicable	76	83.5	83.5	97.8
	Not Available	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**W7d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	8	8.8	8.8	8.8
	Not Applicable	83	91.2	91.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Not Applicable	88	96.7	96.7	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
	No	4	4.4	4.4	12.1
	Not Applicable	77	84.6	84.6	96.7
	Not Available	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
	99	1	1.1	1.1	6.6
	Not Applicable	85	93.4	93.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W7g What did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing/kept quiet	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Told the police	2	2.2	2.2	6.6
	Ran away	2	2.2	2.2	8.8
	Learnt not to get involved in bad things	1	1.1	1.1	9.9
	998	81	89.0	89.0	98.9
	999	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8a Exposure To Shootings And Violence - In the last year, were you in any place in real life where you could see or hear people being shot, bombs going off, or street riots?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	53	58.2	58.2	58.2
	No	38	41.8	41.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 time only	13	14.3	14.3	14.3
	2 times only	8	8.8	8.8	23.1
	3-5 times	13	14.3	14.3	37.4
	6 time or more	19	20.9	20.9	58.2
	Not Applicable	38	41.8	41.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8c If this ever happened was it by an adult?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	45	49.5	49.5	49.5
	No	6	6.6	6.6	56.0
	Not Applicable	39	42.9	42.9	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8d1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8d2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	41	45.1	45.1	45.1
	Not Applicable	49	53.8	53.8	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8d3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Not Applicable	86	94.5	94.5	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8e If this ever happened, was it by another Teenager or Child?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	18	19.8	19.8	19.8
	No	17	18.7	18.7	38.5
	Not Applicable	38	41.8	41.8	80.2
	Not Available	18	19.8	19.8	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8f1 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	90	98.9	98.9	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8f2 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In your Community	16	17.6	17.6	17.6
	Not Applicable	74	81.3	81.3	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8f3 Where did it happen?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At your Home	1	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Not Applicable	89	97.8	97.8	98.9
	Not Available	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W8g If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing/cried/scared	13	14.3	14.3	14.3
	Stayed inside/safe place	13	14.3	14.3	28.6
	Hid/closed ears/lay on floor	5	5.5	5.5	34.1
	Checked to see people were okay	1	1.1	1.1	35.2
	Went home	1	1.1	1.1	36.3
	Told parents	1	1.1	1.1	37.4
	998	56	61.5	61.5	98.9
	999	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W9 Exposure To War - In the last year, were you in the middle of a war where you could hear real fighting with guns or bombs?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
No	81	89.0	89.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W9b If yes, how many times did it happen in the past year?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 time only	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
2 times only	3	3.3	3.3	5.5
3-5 times	2	2.2	2.2	7.7
6 time or more	3	3.3	3.3	11.0
Not Applicable	81	89.0	89.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W9d1 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**W9d2 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid In your Community	10	11.0	11.0	11.0
Not Applicable	81	89.0	89.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W9d3 Where did it happen?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not Applicable	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

**W9g If this happened to you in the last year, what did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Very scared/stood and watched very scared	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Stayed inside	1	1.1	1.1	5.5
Nothing	1	1.1	1.1	6.6
998	84	92.3	92.3	98.9
999	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W10 Did any of the things in W1-9 happen to a friend of yours, if so what did you do?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Offered advice	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Told a parent that they felt unsafe	1	1.1	1.1	6.6
Other- ran away	1	1.1	1.1	7.7
998	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**W11 Number of types of Witnessing and Indirect Victimization**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid None	9	9.9	9.9	9.9
1 item	15	16.5	16.5	26.4
2 items	21	23.1	23.1	49.5
3 items	14	15.4	15.4	64.8
4 items	16	17.6	17.6	82.4
5 items	7	7.7	7.7	90.1
6 items	7	7.7	7.7	97.8
7 items	1	1.1	1.1	98.9
8 items	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	



## APPENDIX 9: FREQUENCY TABLES FOR THE GENERAL QUESTION SECTION

### G1) Do you have any other experiences with being hurt in your school or community that we have not already asked about?

In this table there are a higher number of respondents than in the sample since a few respondents gave multiple answers about victimization experiences they had had.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	4	4.0	4.4	4.4
	No	65	65.7	71.4	75.8
	Forcing victim in a car and having an accident	1	1.0	1.1	76.9
	Cyber Bullying	1	1.0	1.1	78.0
	Peer pressure	1	1.0	1.1	79.1
	Not applicable	3	3.0	3.3	82.4
	Not available	16	16.2	17.6	100.0
	Total	91	91.9	100.0	
Missing	System	8	8.1		
Total		99	100.0		

### G2) Do you have any suggestions for preventing violence against children?

In this table there are a higher number of respondents than in the sample since some respondents gave multiple suggestions for the prevention of violence.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Stay away/stop drugs and gangsterism	8	8.1	8.1	8.1
	Talk to perpetrators about their problems/family life	4	4.0	4.0	12.1
	Get stronger police presence	5	5.1	5.1	17.2
	Police patrolling at school	4	4.0	4.0	21.2
	Stronger action against perpetrators - jail/death penalty	8	8.1	8.1	29.3
	Communities should take a stand together/Neighbourhood watch	2	2.0	2.0	31.3

Stay in safe places/avoid violence/arguments/bad friends/bad things	7	7.1	7.1	38.4
Listen to your parents	1	1.0	1.0	39.5
Call Child-line when abused	1	1.0	1.0	40.4
Encourage children (not to be scared) to talk out	3	3.0	3.0	43.4
Counselling	1	1.0	1.0	44.4
Youth should take action, talk to communities to end violence	1	1.0	1.0	45.5
Increase awareness of children	2	2.0	2.0	47.5
Love and respect others/religion to learn values/change mindset	6	6.1	6.1	53.5
Education/Stay in school/Complete school	1	1.0	1.0	54.5
Parents should protect	1	1.0	1.0	55.6
998	44	44.4	44.4	100.0
Total	99	100.0	100.0	

**G3) Was this a hard questionnaire to answer?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	7	7.7	7.7	7.7
No	84	92.3	92.3	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**G4) Is there anything you did not understand?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	2	2.2	2.2	2.2
No	88	96.7	96.7	98.9
999	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**G5) Was it difficult to be completely open about what happened to you?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	17	18.7	18.7	18.7
	No	72	79.1	79.1	97.8
	999	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**G6) Is there anything else you would like to say about what happened to you or about filling in the questionnaire?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing further to say	82	90.1	90.1	90.1
	Something positive to say	5	5.5	5.5	95.6
	Unfinished business	4	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	100.0	

**APPENDIX 10: LETTER OF CONSENT SENT TO THE PARENT/GUARDIAN AND LETTER OF ASSENT SIGNED BY THE RESPONDENT.**

12 August 2010

Dear Parent/Guardian

I wish to conduct some research on victimization at your child's school. This will require your child to complete a questionnaire about victimization. International studies using this questionnaire have reported that children are willing to answer questions about victimization especially when they are anonymous. There would be no indication on the form filled in by the child as to his or her identity. This is to protect the child's privacy and yours. Care will also be taken in the handling of the survey to ensure privacy is maintained. This study will be conducted at times that do not interfere with the curriculum at school during the third term. Arrangements have been authorized by the Department of Education and also by the Headmaster. No money can be given to children who participate in research.

Please could you indicate whether you consent or refuse permission for your child to take part in this study, on the reverse side of this letter. Please could you then return the letter to school the following day. Thank you.

Your child will know that:

- 1) He or she can freely choose to participate or not.
- 2) He or she can stop at any time and does not have to complete the questionnaire.
- 3) The researcher and other counselors will be available afterwards to children who wish to talk further and the researcher will also inform them of where they can get support if they need to later.

Thank you for your time in reading and considering this. Research on the extent and nature of victimization of children may help to motivate further intervention and support into schools and communities where needed. If you would like more information I am available on [REDACTED] (personal contact details blocked out).

Regards

Alice McCormack

[REDACTED] (personal contact details blocked out)

**Parent or Guardian's Response Regarding their Child's  
Participation in the Study on Victimization**

**(Please could you return this form to the school ASAP thank you!)**

**I (parent/guardian name)**

.....

**(Please tick one box, the box which indicates your preferred response)**

**Give Permission**

**or**

**Do not give permission for my child**

**(Child's**

**name).....**

**At Heideveld High School in (class) ..... to participate in this study.**

**Signed:.....**

**Date:.....**

## SIGNED ASSENT ASKED FOR FROM THE CHILD

Children in many parts of the world have been exposed to violence or bad treatment at school, in their communities (that is their neighbourhood), or at home. This is an important problem for children in all parts of the world. We would like to ask you about your experiences. We want to find out about the things that adults and others sometimes do to children and adolescents that may hurt or make them feel uncomfortable, upset or scared.

You do not have to do this questionnaire. If you choose to take part, you can also stop at anytime if you feel too uncomfortable to continue. These questions may seem strange or hard to answer, but try and answer them as best you can, thinking back over the last year. This is not a test. There is no right or wrong answer, just say what you remember happened to you. If you feel that you need to talk to someone about what happened to you, please ask the person giving you this questionnaire. If at a later time over the next week you feel that you need to speak to someone, please go to the office and put your name and class in the Study Group Box. The lady giving you this questionnaire will come to you at school.

If you agree to help us find out about your experiences please write your name and sign below so that we have a record of that.

My name is:.....

Signature: .....

Date: .....Class.....