

# FEMICIDE

A CASE STUDY ON MEMBERS OF  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE



PROACTIVE RESEARCH UNIT  
INDEPENDENT COMPLAINTS DIRECTORATE



**independent  
complaints directorate**

Department:  
Independent Complaints Directorate  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) is a government department that was established in April 1997 to investigate complaints of brutality, criminality and misconduct against members of the South African Police Service (SAPS), and the Municipal Police Service (MPS). It operates independently from the SAPS in the effective and efficient investigation of alleged misconduct and criminality by SAPS members. Its mission is to promote proper police conduct.

The ICD investigates the following:

- Deaths of persons in police custody or as a result of police action (such as shooting, assault).
- The involvement of SAPS members in criminal activities such as assault, theft, corruption, robbery, rape and any other criminal offences.
- Police conduct or behaviour which is prohibited in terms of the SAPS Standing Orders or Police regulations, such as neglect of duties or failure to comply with the police Code of Conduct.
- Dissatisfaction/complaints about poor service given by the police.
- Failure to assist or protect victims of domestic violence as required by the Domestic Violence Act (DVA).
- Misconduct or offences committed by members of the Municipal Police Services (MPS).

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# FOREWORD

The Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) was established in terms of the South African Police Service Act (SAPS) (Act 68 of 1995) to promote proper police conduct. Its mandate includes acting upon incidents of police misconduct. The study on femicide was conducted due to the increase in cases of femicide involving police officers, an increase that was significant especially in the 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7 financial years. Over this period, a total number of 49 cases were reported. For example, in 2004/5, 11 cases were reported, 14 cases reported in 2005/6 and 24 cases were reported in 2006/7. While this substantial increase is a cause for concern, little research has been done on the issue of police officers as perpetrators of femicide. The issue that raised a concern was that the number of femicide cases kept on increasing. Since this had become a national problem, the ICD therefore decided to embark on this project.

This is a national study that covered all the nine provinces of South Africa. According to the ICD database, the cases of femicide are on the increase nationally. For the purpose of this study, 43 police stations in all the provinces were visited by the research team of the ICD. The quantitative approach involved an analysis of the 30 dockets which are situated at the respective provincial offices, and a questionnaire was utilised for this purpose. For the qualitative approach, a semi-structured interview schedule was used to gather information from the Provincial Heads, Deputy Provincial Heads and Station Commissioners from SAPS. A total number of 34 Station Commissioners and Investigators of the SAPS were interviewed. In-depth interviews focused on factors that contributed to femicide. The ICD investigators who investigated these cases of femicide were also interviewed and their responses were analysed and interpreted. For this data gathering process, the study used an approach known as triangulation, an approach that combines qualitative with quantitative methods.

Quantitative data was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) while the qualitative data was analysed using the five-phase data analytical procedure recommended by Marshall and Rossman (1999). Quantitative results were related to case file information, victim information, involved police officers information as well as the outcome of the case, among other things. The variables representing the offending police officer's information are: the rank of the police officer, gender of the police officer, race of the police officer, whether the officer was under the influence of alcohol, which weapon the officer used and whether the weapon used was official or not. After the discussion of the findings, recommendations are made. The findings relate to issues of access to firearms, the relationship between finance-related problems, stress and alcohol use, the effectiveness of the Employee Assistance Programme, domestic violence, poor working conditions and the accessibility of SAPS management to junior members.



Mr E.G Valoyi  
Acting Executive Director

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The ICD Provincial Heads or Deputy Provincial Heads and Investigators for making the case files available for the team to peruse.

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Established ten years ago in terms of section 53 (2) of the South African Police Service Act, the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) has a mandate to promote proper police conduct. Based on the SAPS Act, the ICD can act or recommend action where and when there are incidents of police misconduct or criminality. As an oversight body, the ICD was concerned by an increase in the number of Femicide cases involving members of the South African Police Service (SAPS). For example, a total number of 49 cases of femicide were reported during the 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7 financial years. In 2004/5 11 cases were reported, 2005/6 14 cases were reported and in 2006/7 at least 24 cases were reported, and this shows a significant increase in each financial year. Yet, little research has been done on the issue of police officers as perpetrators of femicide. Therefore, this study focuses on femicide cases that were reported during the 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7 financial years.

The study was conducted in all nine provinces of South Africa and only focused on femicide cases that were reported during the 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7 financial years. The ICD database showed a significant increase in the number of femicide cases reported to the ICD over that period. This increase is not peculiar to South Africa. It has become evident through the media and both national and international literature that femicide is on the increase throughout the world. Yet, in South Africa a trend has been observed, in which there has been a significant increase in the number of femicide cases involving SAPS perpetrators using service pistols. Some of these cases have resulted in legal action taken against the Minister of Safety and Security. Intervention from the SAPS in dealing with the problem has not been adequate, even with the assistance of the Employee Assistance Programme (EAP). Lack of previous studies conducted to investigate the phenomenon of femicide committed by SAPS members prompted this study.

This study was aimed at exploring and describing factors that play a role in members of the SAPS killing their spouses by asking questions about factors that contribute to SAPS members killing their spouses. It also endeavoured to identify risk factors within the families of the police, whose purpose was to provide some insights into the phenomenon, as well as identify potential areas for further study.

While the aim was to encourage spouses of the police officers to report any behaviour that may cause any deadly risks, the study also attempted to propose measures that can be employed to deter members of the SAPS from killing their spouses.

Using an approach known as triangulation, data collection involved perusing 43 case dockets opened to register cases of femicide at ICD provincial offices in nine provinces of South Africa during the period 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7. A questionnaire was used for this purpose, to peruse 30 available case dockets. Collected data was analysed quantitatively through Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), while qualitatively data collection also entailed interviewing members of SAPS in identified police stations and themes were generated from the data. KwaZulu-Natal accounts for the majority (30%) of the cases followed by the Western Cape (13.3%) and Free State (13.3%). The provinces which accounted for the third most cases are Gauteng (10.0%) and Limpopo (10.0%). The Eastern Cape (3.3%) had the least number of cases relating to domestic femicide. The majority of femicide cases occurred inside the victims' homes and all the victims are females. Perhaps due to the demographics of the country, Blacks account for the majority (80%) of cases. In addition, the majority of victims were married before the incidents. The results show that the more junior one is in the police service, the more the chances of committing femicide.

While lack of support at work and financial problems are mentioned as causes for the escalation of this phenomenon, the study makes a recommendation that the commanders treat members as valuable to the SAPS and should be shown that they cannot function effectively without them. It is also recommended that commanders meet with their members on a personal level to assist them should they have any difficulties at work or home. In order to offer assistance, it is vital to bridge the gap between the commanders and their members. Since some of the family problems that emanate into femicide are due to spouses not trusting each other due to distant habitation, it is recommended that the SAPS amend their transfer policy to take the above-mentioned factors into consideration when a member requests a transfer to be closer to his family. In addition, when sending SAPS members to EAP for counseling, it could be beneficial to involve family members as this could help in opening up communication.

# INTRODUCTION

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This study was conducted by the Proactive Research Unit (PRU) of the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD). The study focused on femicide by South African Police Service (SAPS) members, that is, members killing their spouses or partners. The study was conducted in all nine provinces of the country and only focused on femicide cases that were reported during the 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7 financial years. According to the ICD database, the said period saw a significant increase in the number of femicide cases that were reported to the ICD, hence the decision to focus on this period.

The ICD's role as a police oversight body warrants its concern with the increasing number of police killing their spouses or partners and therefore resulted in research on the topic. It is not the objective of this research to apportion blame, but rather to gather and examine information on femicide by police officers in order to identify factors that may inform policy changes, which in turn could minimize the incidence of femicide.

This report provides a brief background, which includes the rationale of the study, which is based on statistics from the ICD annual reports for 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7 financial years. This is followed by literature review, which includes definitions of femicide. The research objectives are then outlined, whereafter a detailed explanation of the methodology employed in the study is provided. The next section deals with the results of the study, followed by a summary of findings. Subsequently, the strengths, weaknesses and challenges encountered are reflected upon. The next section of the report concentrates on recommendations emanating from the results of the study. The study ends with a conclusion.



# BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

## 2. BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

It has become evident through the media and both national and international literature that femicide is on the increase throughout the world. This phenomenon is typically preceded by continuous abuse ranging from physical abuse, sexual abuse, as well as economic and emotional abuse. These forms of violence are receiving little attention from the South African Police Service (SAPS), despite the fact that crimes against women and children are prioritized in the SAPS strategic plan for 2002/05 (Waterhouse & Mazwayi). Its prevalence has however attracted the attention of the scientific community. For example, a study on femicide conducted in Gauteng found that a woman is killed every six days in Gauteng by an intimate partner (Vetten, 1996). A further nationwide study conducted by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) found that every six hours a woman is killed by her intimate partner in South Africa (Vetten, 2004). According to Hiller (2003), men's access to firearms increased the risk of femicide by a factor of five. This view is supported by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2005: 1), which states that the availability of a firearm during a fight makes it so easy to pull out the gun. Similarly, the ISS argues that the availability and misuse of weapons plays an alarming role in this problem.

According to Hiller (2003), the possession of and access to a gun is one of the explanations for the higher incidence of battering by male police officers. However, little research has been done on the issue of police officers as perpetrators of femicide, despite the significant number of incidents of police-perpetrated femicide reported in the media. For this reason, this study examined factors that impact on the prevalence of police-perpetrated femicide in South Africa. The ultimate aim would be to identify preventative measures that could lead to a reduction of femicide in South Africa.

The following are the reasons for conducting this study:

- The significant number of femicide cases involving SAPS perpetrators using service pistols;
- Legal action against the Minister of Safety and Security

relating to police perpetrated femicide;

- The non-existence of appropriate interventions from the SAPS to deal with the problem, despite the existence of the SAPS Employee Assistance Programme (EAP);
- Lack of previous studies conducted to investigate the phenomenon of femicide committed by SAPS members.

The Domestic Violence Act (DVA) 116 (1998) places an obligation on magistrates to order the seizure of weapons under certain circumstances. The DVA allows magistrates to order, as a specific condition of a domestic violence protection order, that an SAPS member should seize any firearm or dangerous weapon in the possession or under the control of the respondent, when "reasonably necessary to protect and provide for the safety, health or wellbeing of the complainant".

According to Holtzhausen (2004: 2), before femicide is committed, women are usually too afraid to call for help, because it might be a co-worker of their partner who comes to the door. In addition, what sets abusive relationships apart is the function or purpose of the abuse within the relationship and its impact on the abused person. Holtzhausen (2004: 3) further states that anger, conflict, argument and unhappiness probably feature in all relationships at one time or another, but their presence does not automatically imply that the relationship is an abusive one.

It was observed that most of the deaths occur following lengthy reporting of the husband to the police and most of the station commissioners doing nothing to protect and disarm the officers involved. According to Mzimba (2007: 6), the Mthatha high court heard how a trigger-happy, suicidal policeman with a drinking problem was allowed to keep his service pistol, despite his wife's repeated pleas that he be disarmed. Mzimba (2007: 6) further states that the widow is now suing the Safety and Security Minister, Charles Nqakula, for R4.5 million for failing to disarm her late husband and confiscate his service pistol.

## BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

This then begs the question of what the SAPS are doing with regard to those relationships that are reported to have a history of domestic violence.

The issue of femicide committed by SAPS members has become an issue of concern to the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) and therefore requires research to be conducted in this regard. This will therefore be the first study of its kind to focus on the killing of the wives of the members of the SAPS using a service pistol or legally-owned private firearm. The table below indicates cases of police perpetrated femicide in all the provinces for the financial years 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7. The table depicts that the incidents of femicides are on the increase in total for all the financial years indicated above and, as a result, form the basis of this research. In 2005/6, there was an increase of three cases, while in 2006/7 there was an increase of ten cases. This annual increase therefore motivates the need for this study, which focused on those factors that lead to the increasing occurrence of this crime.

## BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

**Table 1: ICD Statistics on Femicide by Members of the SAPS for the Period 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7**

COUNT OF PROVINCE	FINANCIAL YEAR			
PROVINCE	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	TOTAL
Eastern Cape		1	1	2
Free State	3		2	5
Gauteng	3	1	5	9
KwaZulu-Natal	2	2	7	11
Limpopo		1	1	2
Mpumalanga	1	1	2	4
North West		4		4
Northern Cape		1	1	2
Western Cape	2	3	5	10
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>49</b>

### 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

By compiling a review of research findings which have been published on a particular topic, researchers may become aware of inconsistencies and gaps that may justify further research (Welman & Kruger, 2001: 33). The literature review took the form of summarizing any article, books, dissertations or any other related work that had a bearing on the topic and that ultimately were incorporated in the study.

Caputi and Russell, the two women credited with coining the term, provide an extended definition of femicide:

*Femicide is on the extreme end of a continuum of antifemale terror that includes a wide variety of verbal and physical abuse, such as rape, torture, sexual slavery (particularly in prostitution), incestuous and extrafamilial child sexual abuse, physical and emotional battery, sexual harassment (on the phone, in the streets, at the office, and in the classroom), genital mutilation (clitoridectomies, excision, infibulations), unnecessary gynecological operations (gratuitous hysterectomies), forced heterosexuality, forced sterilization, forced motherhood (by criminalizing contraception and abortion), psychosurgery, denial of food to women in some cultures, cosmetic surgery, and other mutilations in the name of beautification. Whenever these forms of terrorism result in death, they become femicides (Bull, 2003: 3).*

According to Stout (1992: 133), femicide is the killing of women by intimate male partners. In addition to this definition, male can include husbands, common law partners and boyfriends. It does not matter whether at the time of death they were separated or divorced, it still falls within the description of the study as partner. But for the purpose of this study, the victim has to be a wife or girlfriend while the husband or boyfriend perpetrator should be a member of the SAPS, irrespective of rank. According to Radford and Russell (1992: xi), femicide is the misogyny of women by men.

According to Wolfgang (1958: 43), in femicide, perhaps more than any other crime, the victim-offender relationship plays a significant role in determining the reasons for the crime. Approximately 90 percent of adult women victims of lethal violence who were killed within an intimate context were killed as a result of altercations of a domestic nature, referring to general domestic arguments, desertion or termination of an intimate relationship and jealousy and or rivalry (Mouzos, 1993: 11).

Rennison and Welchans (2000: 3) state that women are more likely to be victimized by a nonstranger, which includes a friend, family member, or intimate partner, while men are more likely to be victimized by a stranger. They further mention that, according to their study, in overall, blacks were victimized by intimate partners at significantly higher rates than persons of any race between 1993 and 1998, whereby black females experienced intimate partner violence at a rate 35% higher than that of white females and about 2% times the rate of women of other races.

According to Rennison and Welchans (2000: 4), women living in households with lower annual incomes experience intimate partner violence at significantly higher rates than women in households with higher annual incomes. They further state that women in urban areas were victims of intimate partner violence at significantly higher rates than suburban women at somewhat higher rates than rural women.

Block (2003: 5) states that almost half of the abused women in his study had experienced at least one severe or life threatening incident in the past year (permanent injury, being severely beaten up, being choked or burned, internal injury, head injury, broken bones, or a threat or attack with a weapon). There also appears to be a significant relationship between men's alcohol or drug use and violence by them against their intimate female partner (Sharps et al, 2003: 11).

# LITERATURE REVIEW

Sharps et al (2003: 10) further found that increased substance use results in more severe violence, and male perpetrators were more often problem drinkers while female victims were less likely to use alcohol. Sharps et al (2003: 9) argue that in the year before the murder, attempted murder, or the most severe violent incident, female victims used alcohol and drugs less frequently than their partners did, and they consumed less of either substance when they did drink or use drugs. Furthermore, police officers may be more prone to mistreating their families than those in other occupations. This is partly because someone attracted to such work are more authoritarian and likely to misuse their training (Hotton, 2000: 12).

Consistent with homicides in general, men who killed their spouses, especially estranged partners, were more likely to use firearms (Hotton, 2000: 8). On the other hand, the weapon of choice in cases where men are killed by a current or ex-spouse most often tends to be household knives - 66%, followed by firearms - 59% (Hotton, 2000: 8). According to Gillis (1986: 32), the weapon used to kill the victim will vary with the relational distance between the victim and offender.

Rennison and Welchans (2000: 17) claim that women who are threatened or assaulted with a gun are 20 times more likely than other women to be murdered. Furthermore, Hiller (2003: 2) argues that male police officers are two- to four- times more likely to batter their domestic partners than are other men. In South Africa, the presence of 3.7 million legally registered guns and an unknown, but by some estimates even larger pool of illegal firearms, has added a lethal dimension to many cases of domestic abuse (Sharps et al, 2003: 12).

According to the 1999 General Social Survey on Victimization, 28% of women and 22% of men who had been in contact with a previous spouse in the five years prior to the survey had experienced some type of violence by that partner, either while living together or after separation (Hotton, 2000: 1).

Studies examining this aspect of homicide have shown that women are most at risk of homicide within the first several months after separation (Hotton, 2000: 7). In most cases, more than one motive is given for the intimate femicide, with possessiveness being mentioned in the majority of cases, usually in conjunction with other motives, such as argument or conflict between the parties, mental, drinking or drug problems of the offender (Landou & Hattis, 1998:1). For men, marriage is a form of social control that keeps them from engaging in the risky behaviour that attends homicide victimization, frequenting the bar scene, heavy drinking, staying out late, fighting, e.t.c. (Breault & McCarthy, 1991: 12).

Mouzos (1999: 34) provides the following as the main differences between the killing of a woman and the killing of a man:

- A woman is more likely than a man to be killed at home
- A woman is more likely to be killed as a result of an alcohol-related argument
- A female victim is more likely to be younger than the offender, whereas a male victim is more likely to be older than the offender.

Morris (1987: 21) has identified some of the following characteristics as being quite specific to crimes against women: most women are victimised by men and also more likely than men to be known to their attacker; women are more likely than men to be attacked in their own homes and more likely than men to be blamed in some way for their victimisation. One factor that causes femicide is divorce or the ending of the relationship (Vetten, 1995: 3).

# LITERATURE REVIEW

Vetten (1995: 3) suggests that it is essential that further research attempt to identify specific factors causing femicide and that preventing intimate femicide may sometimes be as simple as responding to a woman's screams. She further states that as more research into intimate femicide is initiated and strategies implemented to combat intimate femicide, it is hoped that men's proprietorial attitudes towards women may one day be remembered as an example of archaic folly (Vetten, 1995: 6).

On average, 125 females of all ages are murdered each year in Australia, with the greatest risk of homicide victimisation for females being between the ages of 21 and 23 years (Mouzos, 1999: 1). Vetten (2004: 2) argues that internationally, the murder of women by their intimate partners accounts for between 40 and 70 per cent of all female homicide. In South Africa, approximately 50 per cent of female homicides in 1999 were perpetrated by an intimate partner. On the other hand, violence is learned as a social model, which lacks a social conscience to eradicate it (Fisas, 1998: 16). Femicide is understood as a progression of violent acts that range from emotional and psychological abuse, battery, verbal abuse, torture, rape, prostitution, sexual assault, child abuse, female infanticide, genital mutilation, domestic violence and all policies tolerated by the state that cause the death of women (Fragoso, 2002: 3).

According to Anderson (1982: 4), the police officer is continuously exposed to cruelty and aggression and is often called upon to make critical life and death decision within seconds. Police work is highly stressful and is one of the few occupations where an employee continually faces the inherent danger of physical violence and the potential of sudden death (Anderson, 1982: 4). In this regard, Murphy (2006: 1) states that law enforcement marriages have a domestic violence rate twice that of other couples.

According to a study conducted by Vetten (2004: 2), a number of factors associated with gun killings were identified. These included being a white man (three times increased risk), being younger (risk decreased by 4 percent each year), being employed and working in the security industry, including police and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) (nine times increased risk). According to Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2005: 1), women whose partners worked in the security industry were particularly at risk. Ludsin and Vetten (2005: 3) emphasise that it is necessary to finalise and publicise regulations regarding SAPS, SANDF officials and prison warders' off-duty access to guns. In this regard, Hiller (2003: 4) claims that male police officers are two to four times likely to batter their domestic partners than are other men, according to a 1992 report published in the FOP Journal, a quarterly publication from the Fraternal Order of Police based in Nashville.

A study conducted by Jennifer Nix of the Centre for Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) revealed the following stories:

- A victim, who was married to a police officer, was turned away by her husband's supervisor when she requested that his gun be removed. She was told that a crime had not been committed yet. The woman was later shot six times in the back by her husband (Nix, 2007);
- A police woman in East London removed all the firearms from her home for fear that her husband, who was a station commissioner at the police station where she worked, would kill her. She was killed by her husband with an axe a few weeks later (Nix, 2007);
- One police officer in Cape Town would let his colleagues sit outside his house while he beat up his wife and his colleagues never did anything but sit there and wait for him to finish (Nix, 2007).

## 3.1 Scenarios from ICD media statements

### Case Scenario 1

According to the ICD media statement of 04 November 2001, Constable Danie Makhehla Sithole (31) charged with the murder of his girlfriend, Rejoice Msomi (28), in February 1999, was found guilty and convicted in the Durban High Court on Monday, 03 December 2001. The incident occurred in Stanger in the KwaZulu-Natal Province on 18 February 1999, where Constable Sithole killed his girlfriend by shooting her 14 times. She died at the scene of crime. The shooting happened after an argument between them ensued at their rented room. Constable Sithole belonged to the Public Order Policing Unit, Durban. There was a history of domestic violence perpetrated by him prior to this femicide. Constable Sithole was convicted of murder on 30 November 2001 and sentenced on Monday, 03 December 2001, to 18 years imprisonment. Justice Niles Duner mentioned that since there was a history of domestic violence, the accused must not be considered for parole until he has served 12 years of his sentences. The murder weapon was Sithole's service firearm. Executive Director of the ICD, Adv Karen McKenzie, in her comments said: "The message should be clear to all police officers that femicide and domestic violence will not be tolerated, not by our courts and not by the ICD. I wish to commend the judge for his judgment in this matter. I am particularly concerned about the increase in femicides and domestic violence cases perpetrated by police officers. The SAPS are the custodian for the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act and other gender-focused legislation, but if they themselves are not protecting and respecting their own partners/spouses, what of the women in the communities they serve."

### Case Scenario 2

The incident occurred in Nylstroom in the Northern Province on 16 September 2000 where Sergeant Ringane killed his girlfriend by shooting her once. She died on arrival at the Pietersburg Hospital. Sergeant Ringane went to the Nylstroom Bottle store where the deceased was employed and shot her, without a word.

Sergeant Ringane who was stationed in Tuinplaas Police Station alleged that his girlfriend was involved in a relationship with a police officer at the Nylstroom Police Station. Sergeant Ringane was convicted of murder on 10 October 2001 and sentenced on Wednesday, 17 October 2001, to 9 years imprisonment. The deceased was killed with the service firearm of Sergeant Ringane. According to the comments of the Executive Director of the ICD, Adv. Karen McKenzie "More and more we are faced with the investigation of these femicide cases, where policemen kill their wives or partners and more often than not a history of domestic violence and spousal abuse precedes these killings. If police management does not intervene with a turnaround strategy for gender attitudes, then police implementation of the Domestic Violence Act will remain a cause for concern."

### Case Scenario 3

The incident occurred in Groutville in KwaZulu Natal on 20 January 2000 where Constable Manzi killed his wife by shooting her four times. At the time of the shooting Constable Manzi and his deceased wife visited his brother, Inspector Manzi, with the intention of seeking intervention in their marital problems. Constable Manzi alleged that his wife was involved in an extra-marital relationship before killing her. Constable Manzi was convicted of murder, unlawful possession of a firearm and unlawful possession of ammunition and sentenced on 12 October 2001 to 20 year's imprisonment. The deceased wife was killed with the service firearm of Constable Manzi's brother, Inspector Manzi, who is also a police officer.

## Case Scenario 4

The incident occurred in the Northern Province on Sunday, 14 September 2000 where it is alleged that Sergeant Mokgoro killed his wife and put her in the sewerage after spending the night with her in their bedroom after she was dead. Sergeant Mokgoro was convicted of murder on 18 September and sentenced on 19 September 2001 to 15 years imprisonment. The deceased wife was killed with the service firearm of Sergeant Mokgoro. It has been alleged that the deceased wife of Sergeant Mokgoro had reported domestic violence abuses to the Station Commissioner of the Olifantsfontein Police Station, where Sergeant Mokgoro was stationed before joining the Midrand Police Station. Evidence was led during the trial that there was a history of physical abuse during the marriage of the Mokgoro's.



# RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

## 4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

For the purpose of executing this study, the following served as a set of questions that were asked to gather information for the study:

- What factors motivate members of the SAPS to kill their wives?
- What is the nature and extent of police officers killing their wives?
- Which instruments are normally used to effect deaths?
- What are the SAPS doing about those cases involving police officers that are reported to have a history of domestic violence?
- What measures can be put in place to deter members of the SAPS from killing their wives?

The main aim of this study was to evaluate and investigate the factors that contribute to SAPS members killing their spouse or partner.

The following are the secondary objectives to achieve the main aim of the study. Therefore, the secondary objectives of this study are as follows:

- To explore and describe the factors that play a role in members of the SAPS killing their wives;
- To identify risk factors within the families of the police;
- To encourage wives of the police officers to report any behaviour that may cause any deadly risks;
- To provide some insights into the phenomenon, as well as identify potential areas for further study; and;
- To propose measures that can be employed to deter members of the SAPS from killing their wives.

## 5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study was a combination of both qualitative and quantitative techniques, which is called *triangulation*. This study was documentary, descriptive and explorative in nature.

### Population of the study

Case dockets opened to register cases of femicide at ICD provincial offices during the period 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7 constituted the unit of analysis for the quantitative component of this study. The dockets had information from both the police and ICD investigation processes and contained witness statements, correspondence to SAPS or Directorate of Public Prosecutions (DPP), post-mortem reports as well as all information relevant to the case. These case dockets were studied as they contained information that could be subjected to quantitative analysis.

The sampling of case dockets involved the identification of all Class I cases, that is cases relating to death as a result of police action, registered by the ICD provincial offices for the period 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7 from the ICD database and identifying those that involved the killing of a spouse/partner by a SAPS member. In total, 43 case dockets were sampled for the nine provinces and they were as follows: 7 case dockets in Gauteng; 2 case dockets in the Eastern Cape; 5 case dockets in the Free State; 8 case dockets in KwaZulu-Natal; 3 case dockets in Limpopo; 3 case dockets in Mpumalanga; 4 case dockets in North West; 8 case dockets in the Western Cape and 3 case dockets in Northern Cape.

The relevant and available SAPS investigators from the following 42 identified police stations were included in the study for the qualitative data analysis: Boithuso, Maphumulo, Tembisa, Germiston, Botshabelo, Bethlehem, Osizweni, Nyanga, Katlehong, Kanyamazane, Milnerton, Pinetown, Leslie, Kagiso, Madikwe, Namakgale, Mfuleni, Aliwal North, Steenberg, Kanoneiland, Ganyesa, Hartbeesfontein, Letlhabile, Newlands East, Norwood, Barkly West, Ladysmith, Protea Glen, Kleinvele, Viljoenskroon, Bolobedu, Villeria, Worcester, Lingeletu-Wes, Umlazi, Springs, Mpumalanga, Ladybrand, Bisho-Cris, Paarl, Secunda, and Wentworth. These stations were identified by using the statistics in the ICD database to determine at which stations femicide cases were reported.

### Data collection techniques

Data was collected in two phases. The first phase of the study was the examination of the 43 ICD case dockets in the nine provinces with the use of a questionnaire to extract relevant information. The second phase of the research involved the use of dictaphones to conduct semi-structured interviews with the ICD investigators involved in the cases, as well as the SAPS investigators at the relevant police stations with the use of interview schedules. In order to illicit more information from the respondents, the researchers employed probing and additional follow-up questions where clarification was required. This data collection process commenced on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October 2007 and concluded on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December 2007. A pilot study was conducted in the Eastern Cape to ensure the validity and reliability of the questionnaires. This pilot highlighted any aspects of the questionnaires that may have needed refinement before application to the remaining provinces.

## Data Analysis

Data collected through the questionnaire was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). This software package allows for both basic and complex statistical analysis with quantitative data. The package also allows for the graphic display of data by means of pie charts, histograms and bar charts. The data gained from the questionnaires was first coded, cleaned and then entered into the software package. Once data was entered into SPSS, a number of statistical tests were run in order to generate statistics. The data collected by means of the interview schedules was analysed qualitatively and themes and trends were then identified.

# RESULTS

## 6. RESULTS

The results of the research are presented hereunder. Docket analysis results or quantitative data results will be discussed first and they will then be followed by the qualitative data results.

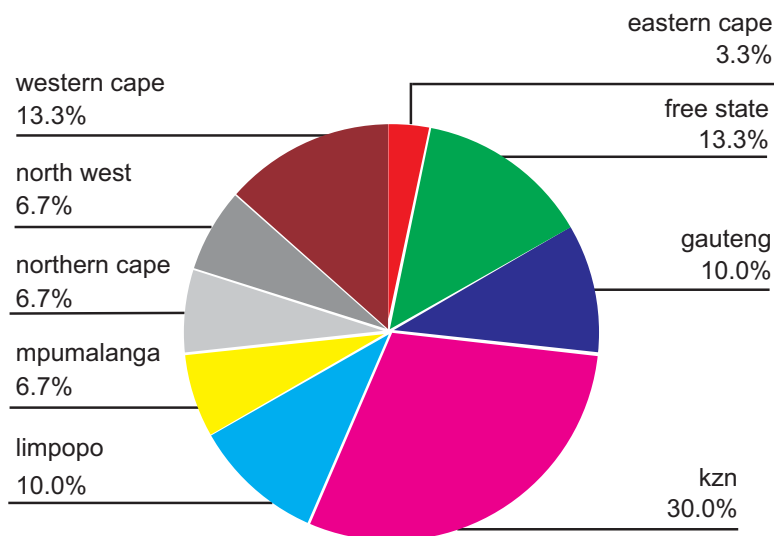
### QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The analysis of quantitative data yielded distinguishable, yet inter-related, sets of results. The results related to docket information, victim information, involved police officers' information and outcome of the case. The docket information is represented by the following variables: province where incident took place, incident description code and place where incident took place. Victim information is represented by the following variables: victim gender, victim race, victim age, relationship status between victim and offender, whether the victim reported any case of domestic violence against the offender prior to the incident. Variables representing the offending police officer's information are: rank of police officer, gender of police officer, race of police officer, whether the officer was under the influence of alcohol, which weapon did the officer use and whether the weapon used was official or not.

### Case Information

Due to availability a total of thirty (30) dockets relating to femicide were analyzed in all nine provinces. KwaZulu-Natal accounts for most (30%) of the cases, followed by the Western Cape (13.3%) and Free State (13.3%). The provinces which accounted for the third most cases are Gauteng (10.0%) and Limpopo (10.0%). Eastern Cape (at 3.3%) had the least number of cases relating to femicide. The pie chart below is a schematic representation of these results.

**PIE CHART 1: NUMBER OF CASES PER PROVINCE**



# RESULTS

Another variable which was analyzed in the study is the place where the incident took place, and the aim of examining this variable was to establish the place where most of these domestic femicides occurred. In the majority of the cases, that is 23 of the 30 observed dockets, the victims were killed in their own homes. That accounted for 76.6% of all the 30 perused dockets. Only a few incidents took place at a friend's home or commercial place, that is two (2) cases respectively. The incidents that were reported to have occurred at either a neighbour's house or a commercial place each accounted for 6.7% of all cases. 10% of the incidents recorded were reported to have taken place at other places which were not specified in the case dockets, thus researchers could not ascertain the exact location of the incident. The frequency table below is a representation of the results of the analysis of this variable.

**TABLE 2: LOCATION WHERE INCIDENT OCCURRED**

PLACE OF INCIDENT					
VALID		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
	VICTIM'S HOME	23	76.6	76.6	76.6
	FRIEND/NEIGHBOUR'S HOME	2	6.7	6.7	83.3
	COMMERCIAL PLACE	2	6.7	6.7	90.0
	OTHER (SPECIFY)	3	10.0	10.0	100.0
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

When the place of incident is cross-tabulated with relationship status between victim and offender, the results reveal that being in a relationship, in particular being married, accounts for most incidents taking place at victim's home. In 13 of 30 cases where the victim was shot at their home, the results show that the victim was married to the perpetrator. In 8 of 30 cases where the incident took place at the victim's home, results show that the victim and the offender were cohabiting or just boyfriend and girlfriend.

**CROSS-TABULATION 1: PLACE OF INCIDENT RELATIVE TO MARITAL STATUS**

	PLACE OF INCIDENT				Total
	Victim's home	Friend/neighbour's home	Commercial place	Other	
Married	13	2		1	16
Separated	2				2
Divorced				1	1
Never married	8		2	1	11
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>30</b>

# RESULTS

## Victim Information

Various demographic variables relating to the victims were also analyzed. These included, among others, victim age, victim gender, victim race, whether the victim had reported a case of domestic violence prior to the shooting incident, and relationship status between victim and offender.

In all of the perused dockets, all of the victims were female. This shows that spouses or partners of male police officer are more likely to be killed by their husbands or partners as compared to spouses or partners of female police officers. Below is a frequency distribution depicting the result of the analysis for the variable of victim gender.

**TABLE 3: GENDER OF VICTIMS**

GENDER OF VICTIM				
VALID	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
FEMALE	30	100.0	100.0	100.0

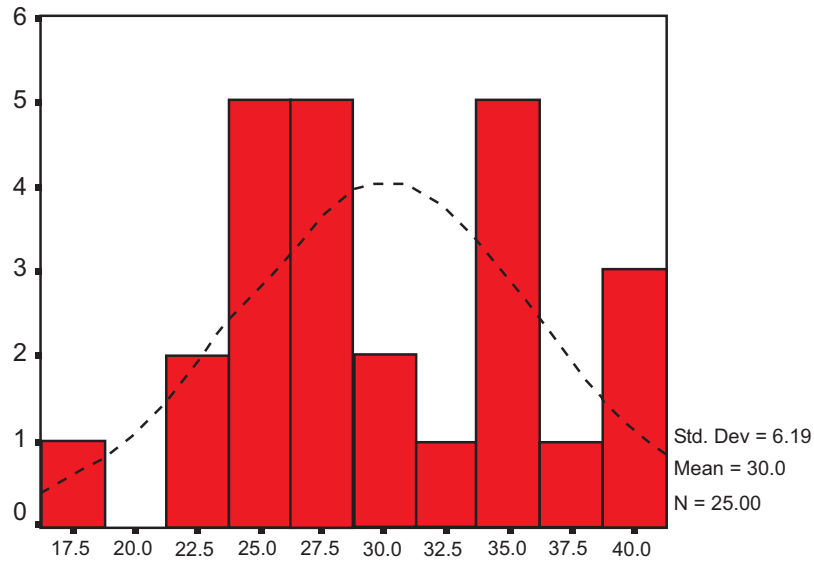
In terms of victims' age, in 5 cases, no age was recorded. The frequency distribution indicates that most victims were between the ages of 25 and 35 years. The histogram graph also gives an indication of how age was distributed amongst victims. In terms of the histogram below, age is also normally distributed. The minimum age recorded for the victims was 18 years and the maximum age 41. This means that the youngest victim of femicide in this study was 18 years old and the oldest 41 years old. Descriptive statistics indicate a mean (average) of 30.0 years. Hereunder is the result of the analysis.

**TABLE 4: AGE OF VICTIMS**

VICTIM'S AGE		
N	VALID	25
	MISSING	5
MINIMUM		18.0
MAXIMUM		41.0
MEAN		30.0
STD. DEVIATION		6.19
VARIANCE		35.33

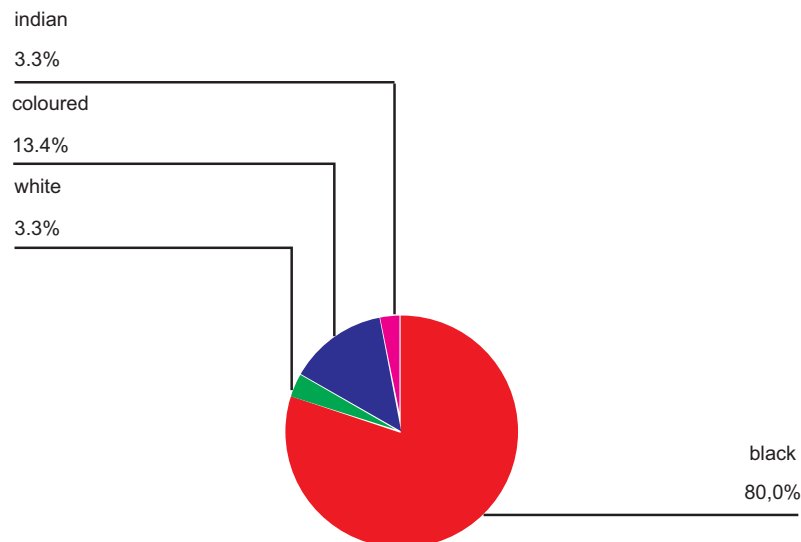
# RESULTS

HISTOGRAM 1: VICTIMS' AGE



The variable victim race was also examined. The analysis of this variable reveals that the majority of the victims were Black, that is, 80.0% of the total victims. This is followed by Coloureds, which made up 13.4% of the total number of victims. Indian and White victims constituted only 3.3% of the total number of victims respectively. Across all the nine provinces, the majority of the victims were Black. Hereunder is the chart depiction of the results of analysis.

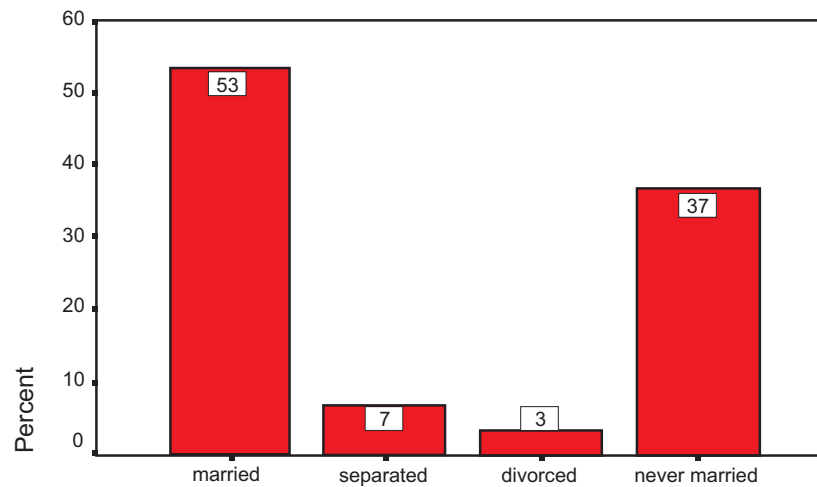
PIE CHART 2: RACE OF VICTIMS



# RESULTS

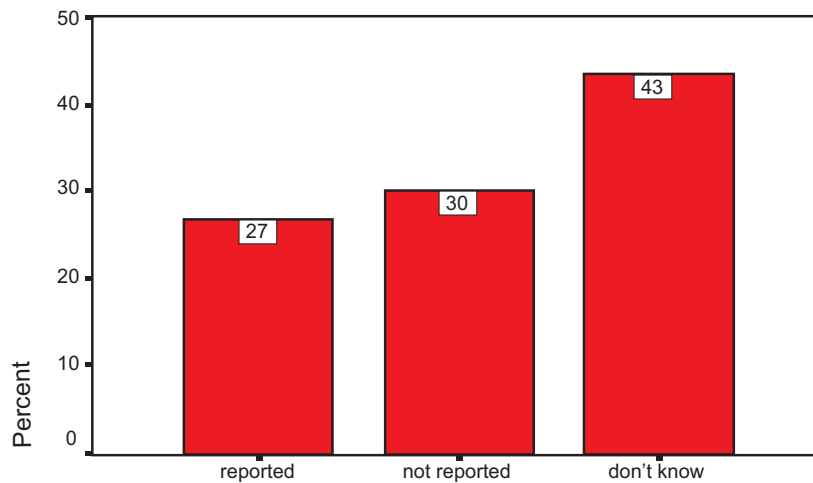
The relationship between the victim and the offender was also examined. The analysis revealed that in 53.3% of cases, the victims were married to the perpetrators. In 37% of the cases the victims were not married to the offenders but they were staying in the same house with them as boyfriend and girlfriend, that is, cohabiting. Only in 7% of cases were the victims separated from the perpetrator. These findings concur with previous research that has shown that for women, marriage is more of a homicide risk than non-marriage. The bar chart below is a diagrammatic depiction of the analysis.

**BAR CHART 1: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND OFFENDER**



Another variable examined related to whether the victim laid a domestic violence report prior to the incident. The analyzed data shows that for all the perused dockets, in an overwhelming majority, that is, 43% it was not known if the victim had previously reported any domestic violence that was going on at home. In 30% of cases domestic violence was not reported even though it was happening. Incident of prior domestic violence were only reported in 27% of cases. Hereunder is the result of the analysis.

**BAR CHART 2: PRIOR REPORT OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE**





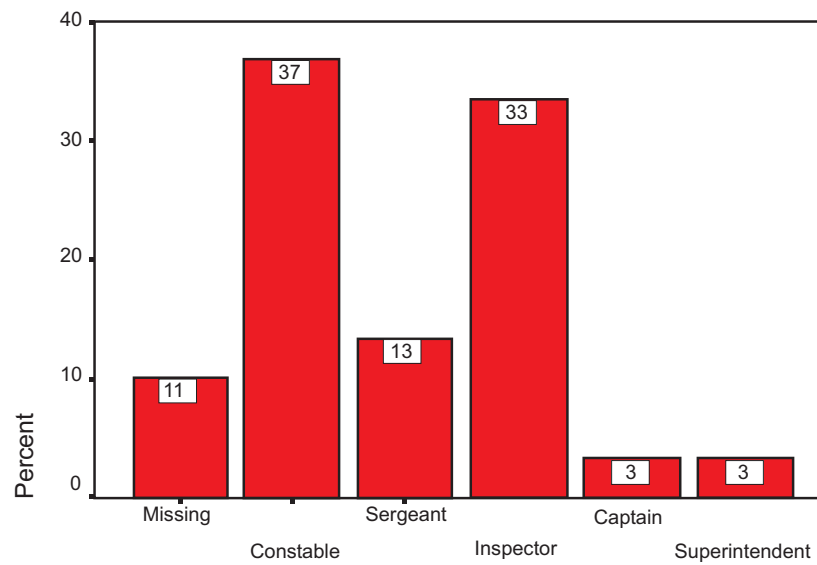
# RESULTS

## Police Information

The following police details were examined: the rank of police officers; their race; which weapon they used in the incident; whether the weapon used was official in cases where a gun was used; and whether the officer was under the influence of alcohol when the incident occurred.

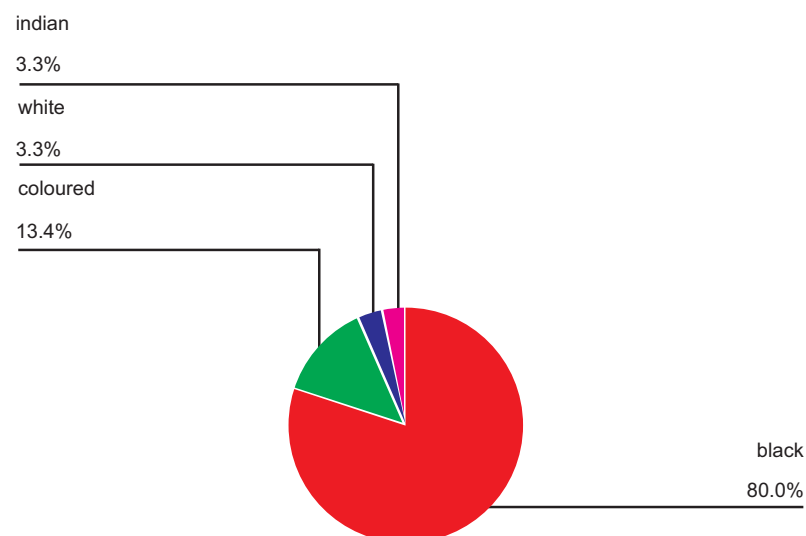
In 11 (37%) of the 30 perused cases, the offenders were Constables, while 10 (33%) were Inspectors and 13% were Sergeants. Captains and Superintendents only constituted 3% of the offenders respectively. In 3 (11%) cases the rank of the offender could not be ascertained by the researchers.

**BAR CHART 3: RANK OF POLICE OFFICERS**



In terms of the race of police officers, the pie chart below indicates that 24 (80%) were Black, 4 (13.4%) were Coloured and only 1 (3.3%) were White and Indian respectively. Like with the race of the victims, the analysis of the race of the offender reveals that across all the provinces, the majority of the perpetrators were Blacks followed by Coloureds in close contention. The pie chart below is a representation of the race of the police officers involved in these incidents.

**PIE CHART 3: RACE OF POLICE OFFICERS**



# RESULTS

In terms of the type of weapon used, in an overwhelming majority of cases, that is 27 (90%) of 30, the weapon used was a firearm (see Table 5 below). A knife was only used in 3 (10%) out of the 30 cases. Where a firearm was used to kill a spouse or partner, in 24 (80%) of the recorded 26 cases, the firearm used was the police officers' service firearm issued by the SAPS.

Only in 2 (6.7%) of the 26 cases, was the firearm used the police officers' own legal firearm. In 4 cases (13.3%) it could not be ascertained whether a personal or service firearm was used by the police officers.

**TABLE 5: WEAPON USED IN THE INCIDENT**

WEAPON USED IN THE INCIDENT					
VALID		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
	KNIFE	3	10.0	10.0	10.0
	FIREARM	27	90.0	90.0	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**TABLE 6: FIREARM USED IN THE INCIDENT**

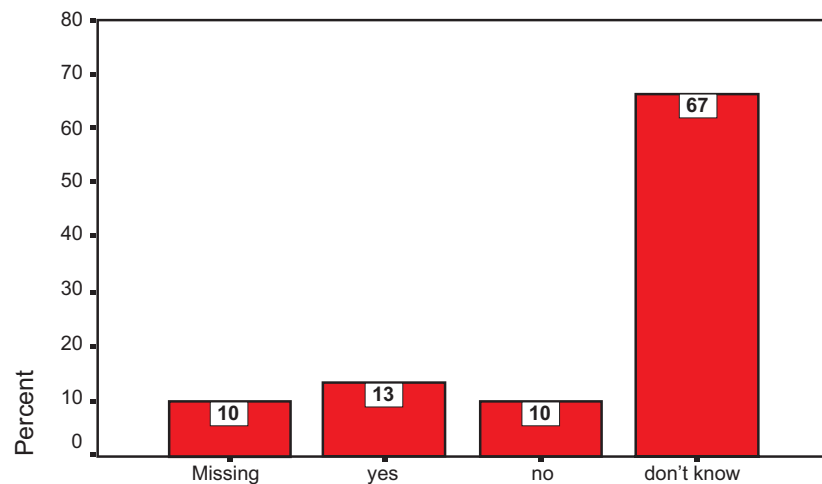
WHICH FIREARM WAS USED IN THE INCIDENT					
VALID		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
	WORK FIREARM	24	80.0	92.3	92.3
	OFFENDER'S OWN LEGAL FIREARM	2	6.7	7.7	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>86.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
MISSING	99.00	4	13.3		
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

As to whether the members were under the influence of any substances at the time of the incident, most of the dockets examined showed that it was not known whether the officers were under the influence, that is, 20 (66.7%) of 30 cases. However, in 4 (13.3%) of 30 cases it was discovered that the members were indeed under the influence of some form of substance.

In 3 (10.0%) out of the 30 cases it was uncertain whether the officers were under the influence of any substance at the time of the incident.

# RESULTS

**BAR CHART 4: OFFENDER UNDER INFLUENCE OF ANY SUBSTANCE**



## QUALITATIVE RESULTS

As previously mentioned, the sample of this research was drawn from a population of police members in the identified police stations where 43 cases occurred in all nine provinces.

According to the statistics, as per the ICD database, for financial year 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7, there were 49 police stations that experienced femicides, out of which 43 stations were visited. The remaining six were not visited for the following reasons: the cases were incorrectly recorded in the ICD database; the members were not stationed at the recorded station; and/or the case was referred to another station.

**TABLE 7: SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF VISITED POLICE STATIONS PER PROVINCE**

PROVINCES	NO. OF POLICE STATIONS
Gauteng	7
Eastern Cape	2
Free State	5
Kwazulu-Natal	8
Limpopo	3
Mpumalanga	3
Northern Cape	3
North West	4
Western Cape	8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>43</b>

As is evident from the table above, KwaZulu-Natal and Western Cape had the most (8) police stations visited, while the Eastern Cape had the least with only 2 stations.

## Themes revealed by the analysis of data

The following identified themes form the basis for discussion of themes revealed by data analysis:

### Factors Contributing to Femicide

#### • Contributory factors at home

Members of the police are of the opinion that most of the incidents of femicide that are occurring are due to misunderstandings which result in members killing their wives or girlfriends. This theme is supported by the following quotes:

*'...there were quite some differences within the family...'*

*'...was having a problem with his wife and decided to shoot and kill her...'*

*'...you come home there's a slight misunderstanding, that man acts like a time bomb, I am telling he acts like a time bomb..'*

*'...like as I said misunderstanding between man and wife, argument started...'*

*'...these guys were fighting and he even took out the firearm and then chases the lady around with the firearm...'*

Misunderstandings between partners is as a result of the following sub-themes:

#### • Lack of support from the SAPS

Few statements made by the police members indicated the lack of support in the SAPS as the contributing factor in encouraging members to kill their intimate partners.

*'...there's no support base...'*

#### • Financial problems

Almost all the police members interviewed strongly indicated that financial problems pose a serious threat to the family that is experiencing it. Therefore, the members end up feeling unimportant and think that since he cannot afford to support his family, he is useless and then does not see the purpose of being alive. So the last resort is to kill either the family and himself or just kill himself alone without killing the family members.

*'...when I checked it was more on the money-related issues...'*

*'...a lot of debts, you at the end of the day you cannot provide for your family and then other alternative is to take everybody out...'*

*'...because he won't have enough money to go around...'*

*'...because a lot of people do not know how to manage their money...'*

*'... they get the money today, they are getting paid by the end of the month, on the tenth the money is finish...'*

The respondents regard being underpaid in the police as a contributing factor in the killing of the intimate partners. They were of the opinion that they are in a lot of debt which they find themselves unable to pay. They further stated that the money that they earn cannot afford a decent living even to just fulfill the basic needs of the family. They therefore felt that the failure to be able to provide for the family as a result of insufficient money can motivate members to kill their loved ones.

*'...sufficient money you can pay debt, we can live a life which is, which is comfortable but not above standard, which I can live happily...'*

*'... my children will go to school, my wife can perhaps not go back to work and look for the children, perhaps give her better that is all we strive for and so forth...'*

*'... so money yes by having sufficient money it will work, its something that I can't do anything about...'*

# RESULTS

*'...is the money that he has to pay every month, that is compulsory...'*  
*'... he has to have so much to pay otherwise he picks up the problems...'*

The police members were of the opinion that femicides are occurring as a result of the police members living beyond their means and spending too much money for the girlfriends or wives. The female partners decide to end the relationship, so when the men realize how much they have spent and were not appreciated, they resort to killing, out of frustration.

*'...he renovated the entire place...'*  
*'...so there was quite a lot of money that was utilized obviously...'*  
*'... he could see that there were quite a lot of money that is lost and he could not take it any longer...'*  
*'... obviously again when you check the losses he realized that he cannot deal with it...'*  
*'...because if you can overspend...'*  
*'...a lot of killings in the police is because you spent too much on a lady...'*  
*'...the guy bought a BMW, the lady was beautiful, she was beautiful, on the day of the incident, what he did, on the lady's birthday, he wanted to give her a better present, he gave her the BMW, she said but its bigger for me, can't we sell it and buy a small car, and they sold the BM, he bought her a Golf GTI, and the man was now a pedestrian, but after quite some time the lady decided to leave him, she decided to leave him just imagine those things, its expenditures again and again with that...'*

## • Relationship between stress, financial problems and the use of alcohol and other substances

This theme shows that there is a strong relationship between stress, financial problems and the use of alcohol. From the interviewee's perspective, in some of the cases, the use of substances is used as a way to get the courage to go ahead with the killing. Often as a result of financial problems, members start using alcohol to cope or forget about their problems.

*'...the liquor, I think the liquor related issues come from stress as well as financial problems and at the end of the day you drink yourself in a state where you had to take a decision to kill your family to get rid of the problem...'*  
*'...and then liquor came out very strong as well, the abuse of liquor, and that you can once again put in line with stress, with not dealing with issues properly...'*  
*'...yes because somebody will just say I will drink I will do such and such, some of the people use the alcohol...'*  
*'... we found out that the gentleman's problem is drunkenness...'*

It was also mentioned that there are some of the members of the police service that are dealing in drugs. They further indicated that the members who are using drugs are problematic to such an extent that they arrive late for their shifts at work. This behaviour has a negative impact on the organization's effectiveness.

*'...he created problems here, he was involved in substances and wasn't coming to work, he started selling those drugs...'*  
*'...he just thought that the best avenue is to stay away from work...'*

# RESULTS

- **Intention to divorce or threatening to terminate the relationship**

The members felt that a serious and dangerous problem is when the girlfriends or the wives want to leave them. This is characterized by the fact that some of the cases where the police officer killed the wife or girlfriend occurred when she tried to terminate the relationship either in the form of divorce if married or termination if not married. This theme is supported by the quotes below:

*'...I think she wanted to terminate the whole relationship...'*

*'... the other factor that I could have seen is the fact that she wanted to terminate the relationship...'*

*'... there was a divorce, and he decided to kill the wife, she wanted to divorce him...'*

- **Lack of support from the families of the members**

Many of the members stated that the absence of support from their partners is the cause of the members killing themselves and their spouses as well.

*'...then I,...but I get problem at home or at work, I go home I get the same s\*\*t, then I start to say why am I living, then I start deciding on the other way round so say I wanna kill myself...'*

It was mentioned by respondents that there is one reason why members kill their partners, children and themselves. There were few statements made by the respondents that the reason why members kill their partners, children and themselves is because they feel that if they die, their family will suffer without them, so they see the best way is to end it for all of them.

*'...then you just see that it's better if I am gone, going thinking about the children, thinking that they will suffer, you start with the wife, children wipe them all and kill himself, this is serious...'*

- **Keeping things to themselves**

The respondents felt that the members that are too quiet, private or keep things to themselves are the ones that are more likely to kill their partners.

*'...we bottle this thing, we keep it to ourselves and then once they are up to the neck they explode...'*

- **Lack of communication and trust**

Lack of communication was often mentioned by the respondents as the cause of misunderstandings which resulted in these deaths. The following quote confirms the lack of communication between partners.

*'...lack of communication between two lovers, they don't talk, they wait for that time, one slight mistake they go for it...'*

Lack of trust among partners was regarded as an issue of concern and a problem which may lead to one partner killing another. Couples are suspicious of one another and yet do not discuss their insecurities with one another, but instead choose killing as the solution to the problem.

*'...this marriage is a reason, he says he found the car parked in front of his gate, he didn't look whether there's anyone in the car, he just walk pass, when he get into the house the wife was not in the house, later after sometime, the wife came in the house and when he look outside there was no car...'*

- **Killings are justified by love and jealousy**

A number of respondents were of the opinion that when a person kills his wife, girlfriend, or other family members, it is an indication that he loves them too much. The question is why one can kill people that they love so much. But it is some respondents' view that those killings were as a result of love, and without love they would not have been killed.

*'...loved the woman so much, there was love within the two, they loved each other so much and he could not allow himself to be lonely while she is enjoying the world at another level, that's why he has decided that I would rather take the life...'*

*'... there was really love between them, he loved the entire family...'*

*'...he showed so much love and with regard to the other ladies as well, the girlfriend's daughter...'*

*'... and these are the people are the ones he loved most, all the people that he killed he loved...'*

It was also indicated that the men loved their partners so much and they became jealous when other men spoke to their partners because they didn't want to lose them and could not imagine their lives without them.

*'...this guy he was jealous, he loved, he loved...'*

*'...It was just a matter of jealousy you see where the other suspects the other one for having affair... It's a matter of jealousy, people who cannot control their emotions... a person does not want you and you think she is gonna go for another man and that is because of jealousy, the person is possessed by jealousy...'*

*'... Most of them is jealousy...'*

*'...so he presumed that the wife was in that car, jealousy...'*

In many cases, one of the partners was also said to be having an affair with someone else which resulted in the femicide.

*'...the lady went out with another guy...'*

*'...he was having a problem of having a lot of girlfriends...'*

*'... something like maybe the lady getting involved with someone else...'*

It is a tendency of the partners that when they are not in love with their partners anymore, they engage in extra-marital affairs, instead of telling them that they no longer love them.

*'...if they don't love you they resort to extra-marital and when you confront the person he start saying ja, I don't want you any more, what he is supposed to tell before he have another nyatsi...'*

- **Domestic violence**

The respondents indicated that there are various reasons why women do not want to report domestic violence committed by SAPS members. One of the common reasons highlighted by the respondents was that the girlfriends or wives want to protect their husbands or boyfriends from the law.

*'...the lady wanted to hide the truth said no I didn't say he was pointing me with the firearm, I didn't say he was assaulting me, we just have a small misunderstanding, the wife denied to have been in domestic violence but eventually she cried when we talked to the man...'*

# RESULTS

The issue was also raised on whether the courts have no better way of dealing with Counter-Protection Orders. Non-compliance is experienced because it is a case of he-said, she-said since the domestic violence occurs in the bedroom or home behind closed doors and the police are confused in taking a decision with regard to whom to arrest.

*'...there was one incident of this lady ..., you remember the husband is working at court, but she never come and report and the husband made a Protection Order against her, she also made one, she was out, the man left the wife, because is counter... you know when is counter-protection orders, also is a big problem because if I arrest you, you said it's ok arrest that one also, he contravene she contravene, they like to do that... I have seen it mostly with the lawyers, I was dealing with... the other one is having a lawyer and the other one is having a lawyer, you know they have got money, this one also contravened and the court, they don't worry they don't keep the record to say ok, I applied a protection order before and only when she comes they must say no yourself you are a respondent and this man is the one who reported you, go to court they give her also, come and give me the protection order you see now, that time is when you will see that the policemen are in big trouble, what must the police do now, who must you arrest....'*

There were also claims made by the respondents that the SAPS are not doing what they should with regard to members who have a history of domestic violence.

*'...I still maintained that we are not doing enough at stages... but generally I don't think we are doing enough, I don't think so...'*

*'...because if a person is unhappy and you still allow him to perform very traumatic duties like the one that we are doing, surely one way or another we are not helpful instead we are also contributing...'*

*'...no, they are not doing enough, we are not doing enough, because after getting information on my ... case, I immediately...I phoned the station commissioner, to say I have got this problem...and then we agreed that he will seize the firearm...hardly within two weeks, within ten days this happened... this man would still be alive.*

*I don't think they are doing anything because if there's a problem of domestic violence it will still be there...'*

Most of the members view the issuing of a Protection Order as a factor fueling the problem, since once it is served the member becomes angry and thus will immediately contravene the contents of the Protection Order. The assault will result in the killing since the Protection Order is just a paper and cannot prevent a bullet.

One should bear in mind that a Protection Order is just served and then the police will leave the house after serving it and later it will be reported that the same person who was served with the Protection Order has either killed the wife or girlfriend and sometimes himself as well.

*'...it caused people to be killed, nearly all of them where you deliver that they contravene those thing, when you leave they contravene it, it says you must not assault her, the minute he is served with protection order he just tear it and assault you, when we leave is then more problems are occurring...'*

*'...and it causes a very serious hatred ... it ends up somebody must go down, then is two elephant, definitely the one with 9mm is the one who is going to win the war...'*



# RESULTS

In this regard, members also stated that domestic violence and certain elements thereof were very difficult to police since they generally occur behind closed doors. It is therefore difficult for the responding member to prove or disprove the allegations made by an alleged victim. As a result, it seems that many domestic violence complaints against members are not treated as serious and valid complaints because there is insufficient proof.

*'...as the police what must we do with the economical one, if she is saying she come and say my husband is abusing me economically...'*

*'...its Friday he doesn't give me money, if she comes here and say I want action now, you see for the police there's nothing we can do in that case..., you see we cannot open a case and arrest, we can go because domestic violence otherwise we will be failing to comply we will be defaulted, we can go there and tell that person, you must pay this person and advise this one and inform her of her rights and come and complete their book. If we leave after we left, if he can do something harm her...'*

- **Uncertainty about the future**

Within a policing context, members do not have hope for the future. They are having problems and do not have anyone to talk to about the problem, even if there are people available to assist. The member chooses not to consult with anyone and ends up feeling isolated.

*'...I can't support my family, I can't do this, I can't do that. Is this worth for living? It is not worth for living; I serve no purpose on this earth; now I must go; I haven't give support base to my family and they must...'*

*'...the member doesn't know what to do any more, he doesn't know how to solve the problem, he doesn't know who to tell, who to trust, and he doesn't see any future of him, he just sees the firearm as the solution to the problem...'*

- **Members not aware that they require counseling**

There were few statements made by the respondents indicating that it is not easy for the member to be aware that he is in need of counseling.

*'...you don't feel it on your body as it is, you don't feel it like a headache or like a stomach running, you say I have got a stomach running, I must go to a doctor, I don't know if there's anyone...'*

Most of the female respondents were of the opinion that one of the reasons why men do not want to be debriefed is because they feel inferior if they come forward and be counseled. It is a shame to them to be counseled.

*'...men think that they are strong, and they don't have to cry even if they saw something terrible or something...'*

The respondents were of the opinion that some of the members are able to deal with pressure while others cannot. This is dependent on the psychological well-being of an individual.

*'...there are people that cannot take pressure and there are people that can take it...'*

# RESULTS

It was stated that attending grisly crime scenes where murders have taken place creates a problem for the members. Some members are unable to cope and process what they have been exposed to.

*'...we always go to the places where people have been killed...'*  
*'...we look at these dead people all the time so you look at them, you see look at them you see the firearm, you got your firearm as well, so at the end of the day if you face these problems you're stressed...'*

*'... then it grows bit by bit, he started seeing that thing, soaking him getting debriefing or whatever you name it, but it grows a little bit and sometimes it takes a small portion in his mind that lets say for instance you have seen hundred killed people in your working environment, one day you will do the same, you understand, I don't know there must be something psychologically, a mind is something that also get tired and then you just...'*

*'... it becomes something that you are used to...'*

*'...you end up meeting at a norm I don't know from this point you see it...'*

*'... I don't know when one day you must jump this river into doing it now yourself...'*

The members that were interviewed indicated that in order to assist the member with his problem, he must first accept that he has got a problem, otherwise no one will be able to assist him.

*'...the problem is that the person must first agree that he has got the problem then...'*

According to some respondents, the members who resort to this type of violence have mental problems. They further indicated that often, some members also just do not seem to have respect for other people and just do not deserve to be in the SAPS.

*'...he was known to be unstable...'*

*'...he would just shoot the dog because it's barking...'*

*'...no respect for other people*

*'...I don't know how that guy came to be a policeman...'*

## • Taking work problems home

The officers were of the opinion that most of the problems that sometimes lead to misunderstanding between partners are due to work-related problems and they are therefore exposed at home. They further contend that home is not the cause of the problem but the end-product of the problem from work.

*'...many a times the problems are coming from work not from home, at home it's only the results but the cause is here. That's why I say at home it's only the results of the cause, is not the cause at home, most of the time if you hear why these people are fighting many a times are minor minor things but if you go back, more back you find the causes at work...'*

*'...I just wait for the wife or the child to do a slight mistake, then I start taking my anger on them and then if you are always say hence this is happening because we keep them, we keep the work problems you go home you keep them at home you get this problem...'*

*'...you go home you find that the wife is screaming at you, why are you so late...'*

*'...if members are not happy at work they take frustration home...'*

Respondents felt that there is a strong relationship between work stress and family-related stress. They have indicated that the home is the end product of the stress from work.

*'...I would say most of the time you find that there are lots of problems related to work and if someone is having some problems at work, he may turn to bring those problems home to the family...'*

*'...when coming home you are angry and you take it out to the family...'*

*'...they are taking the stress off their families and then these things started...'*

*'... It's the work problems; there are many problems in the police...'*

## Contributory Factors at Work

### • Unfavourable working conditions

The members indicated that unfavourable working conditions are the cause of stress that may result in members killing their intimate partners. Members work long hours, as well as at night and on weekends without being sufficiently compensated. They are also under pressure and expected to perform their duties without sufficient resources and training.

*'...unhealthy working environment and you get the stress...'*

*'...the working condition is a problem...'*

### • Workload

The respondents linked the workload with the stress that the members experience which may contribute to femicide. The following quotations support this statement:

*'...at the work load, because stress starts with the work load because the works load...'*

*'...let's say police officer is having a lot of work...'*

The respondents indicated an issue of concern about the kind of pressure under which they are working. They further highlighted that the work pressure is the problem and can thus be linked to the cause of members killing others and taking their own lives as well.

*'...we are working under pressure...'*

*'...ok I work under a very huge pressure...'*

*'...I for one I am working under a huge pressure...'*

*'There there's a problem, the pressure from work...'*

*'...the pressure from work, these men got the problem from work, some killings because of pressure from work...'*

Police members felt that when one is working under an excessive pressure, there will be consequences, namely the killing of a partner or spouse. This may be the end result of the frustration experienced by these members in their stressful environment.

*'...the frustration is just left and right...'*

### • SAPS management

Most of the respondents felt that a lack of, or poor communication between management and their members is a causal factor to the problem of femicide. It was indicated that there are no effective lines of communication.

*'...communication, you find the line of communication is so poor...'*

The respondents were also of the opinion that management tended to listen to rumours and draw conclusions without having facts or listening to the other side of the story. The members therefore feel that they are not part of the organization and this negatively influences the level of trust among members and management

*'...some of the management they hear things along the passages whereas things could be heard by all the management in one place or you see things happening and you are part of management and when junior members are asking you what's happening you don't know...'*

*'...if the management then listen to that person and draw conclusion, that you the member you are wrong it became a problem, then he wonder why I am not trusted here and somebody who is not even working here is trusted, the management is taking a side, that one is very painful...'*

# RESULTS

It was also maintained by many respondents that the commanders do not have an open-door policy for their members to come to them when they have problems. They further indicated that commanders are not approachable.

*'...the other thing before I come to the work-related one might say are the members coming openly to us, sometimes its no...'*

*'...does not feel free to approach the commander or whoever is in charge...'*

*'...the seniors are unapproachable, and that is the most problem...'*

*'...you know if you are free to someone, then at any time your are building that trust, any time if he's got problem, he will be in a position to approach you...'*

*'... tell the members to say, feel free even if you have got home problem, because that problem will affect your work, then tell me of any situation and I am here to help you, or on duty you are welcome...'*

The police members were of the opinion that when commanders do not have a good relationship with their members, unnecessary absenteeism will occur. The following quotations support this statement.

*'...this unnecessary absenteeism, but if you treat your guys bad, they will book off sick...'*

*'...with absenteeism you can know that this is a problem...'*

*'...member cannot just book off sick or you look at the pattern, it's either the member is having the problem...'*

*'... now we have got lot of people booking off sick, they book off sick ...'*

From the respondents' point of view, one of the serious concerns that they are facing on a daily basis is their commanders who do not listen to them when they have problems.

*'...it seems that they are talking and no one is listening, it's just to give command and then order...'*

Dissatisfaction was expressed in the lack of consistency in promoting members within the SAPS and it was stated that the promotion policy needs to be revisited. Many members have been in the same rank for more than 10 years and this affects the morale of the members.

*'...you find the typist being promoted to Captain...'*

*'...incentives are not distributed evenly...'*

*'...they need to differentiate between a manager, leader and a bossy...'*

## • Firearms

The respondents were of the opinion that a firearm is the most convenient tool to kill since they are always available to members as part of their everyday duties. As previously stated in the quantitative analysis, almost all the respondents indicated service pistols were used to commit these femicides with the exception of three cases.

*'...when there's misunderstanding they run for the fire every time...'*

*'... because now you have got the gun you cannot go for fear fight and all those things he rush to the guns...'*

*'...is a service pistol...'*

*'...he used this service pistol...'*

*'... the state firearm...'*

*'...it's a police pistol...'*

*'...if the policeman is involved it's a service pistol...'*

# RESULTS

Various statements emerged from the police members that the firearms that are not used, but kept in the residences of the members pose a serious threat to the lives of those families. The fact that those firearms are always available implies that the lives of the family members are always in danger.

*'...But another thing that we didn't mention the firearms also in possession of the members at their residential places which also contribute a lot, for as long as the firearm is there, then anything can happen...'*

*'...but also I think it also contribute as long as it is there anything can happen...'*

The above-mentioned statement is supported by Gun Free South Africa (2004) which stated that when a gun was in the house an abused woman was six times more likely than other abused women to be killed.

The respondents were of the opinion that most of the cases which occurred were due to the fact that the SAPS did not disarm the member who had domestic violence complaints against him prior to the incident.

*'...we failed to take that firearm.... so we failed...'*

However, in the cases where the members were disarmed, the respondents blame the negligent safe-keeping of the firearms in the Client Service Centre which then results in the member being able to steal the firearm and commit these murders.

*'...on the day of the incident the husband stole the firearm from the CSC and of which is negligence from our side as well, then he went home and take his life...'*

## • Employee Assistance Programme

A number of issues were raised with regard to the Employee Assistance Programme (EAP) of the SAPS. According to the police members interviewed, the police are not doing what they should to assist their members who are having personal problems that affect their work.

*'...and the other issue is that you will find that from the police side we do not take care of their members, if someone has got problem...'*

The interviewed members asserted that they do not trust the members of the EAP and believe that once you have spoken to one EAP member, they will share your problems with other members.

*'...can we trust the person that is interviewing us from the social services...?'*

*'... I have not picked it up that is there because these social worker, you speak to the other social worker and that social worker speak to the policeman friend and that guy will speak to somebody else...'*

*'... the whole world is gonna know your problem...'*

*'...that there's no secrecy... they did not have a sort of trust...'*

*'...if I don't have confidence in you I cannot come and talk to you...'*

*'...is lack of trust whether that person will be able to help me...'*

*'...it's about trust, they don't trust that they will keep the information, I think that is the reason...'*

The respondents indicated a serious concern with regard to the EAP, where they felt that it is just there but they are not getting any help from it at all. The following quotations support this statement:

*'...truly speaking according to me this EAP is not helping us'*

*'...he tells you that I attended that and that it didn't help me, I could have helped myself better than that....'*

*'...they don't make any different or impact...'*

*'...you see, people talk if you went to that person, services and then you come back being the same person...'*

# RESULTS

Respondents revealed their concerns that some of the members of the EAP are incompetent. They then further indicated a lack of faith in the capability of the EAP personnel.

*'...but there's some who are incapable of doing anything...'*

*'...there are some psychologists which are useless...'*

*'...can't help you with anything...'*

*'...that's why I say some of the social workers are just useless...'*

*'... and incapability, they are not capable of doing that...'*

Furthermore, most respondents confirmed the concern that most of the members in the service prefer not to use the EAP, but to rather seek private help if forced to.

*'...is just that members doesn't recommend it...'*

*'...you know immediately you just inform the member, or you prefer to send that member to EAP, they will tell you that I don't want that...'*

*'...the members don't care, they don't see the need for the use of service...'*

*'... I would rather go and look for the professionals....'*

*'... they use their own professionals...'*

Apart from the fact that the members do not want to use the services of the EAP, it was said that the EAP personnel are reactive in their work. Respondents stated that the only time the EAP staff members are seen at the stations is when there is a problem. They never seem to conduct proactive visits to ensure that the members are coping with their work or personal lives.

*'...they can't just come if there's no problems...'*

*'...the only time when members see those people is when we make a referral whereby we identify people...'*

*'... but to come to the station on a regular basis, no, you won't see them...'*

*'...they are working after the problem...'*

*'...its only that once the incident happened then someone request, like myself because I know them,*

*I need to go and approach them to say such a member is having a problem, can you assist me , is then that they will come...'*

One of the worrying factors that was mentioned by the respondents was that once the EAP personnel come to the station after being called, they will never come back to the station to see whether their member patient is coping or not, or if there is any progress and to be able to determine whether there is a need for further referral.

*'... there's no follow-up by social workers...'*

There were, however, also positive statements from the respondents, who said that the EAP are helpful and also important. They feel that they can only be found helpful once you have used their services.

*'...I find it very helpful, yes, but personally from my, if I had to give you my opinion it is helpful...'*

*'...the services of the EAP are important...'*

*'... but those who have used it, I think they have benefited...they are very helpful, very very helpful...'*

All the members agreed that to use the service of the EAP is personal and therefore is up to the individual to choose either to use it or not.

*'...it all depends from each and every individual...'*

## • New recruits

According to the respondents, there is a shift of blame for the presence of stress within the organization, and in this regard they refer to the Student Constables and the Constables. This can again be linked to a lack of resources and training available to members.

*'...these with this new people, they cannot take pressure, they are the people who come with this stress, depression, traumatized, eh eh, femicide, domestic violence...'*

## ICD Provincial Heads/ Investigators

The qualitative analysis of the interviews conducted with the ICD Provincial Heads and ICD Investigators in the nine provinces yielded the following themes as major causes for femicide by SAPS members:

- **Easy access to firearms**

Almost all the Provincial Heads indicated that easy access to the firearm is the most worrying factor in all if not the most cases of femicide. The members happened to find themselves armed all the time. Therefore, when there is a problem they run to the gun and they see it as the quickest way to solve the problems.

*‘...access to firearms by police makes it easy for them to kill when they have problems...’*

*‘...the other thing that makes it easier for the police to shoot their wives is that they have easy access to guns...’*

*‘...yes because they have easy access to firearm...’*

*‘...the convenience of the firearm makes it easy for police officer to commit such crimes...’*

*‘...members resort to guns to solve their problems...’*

- **Domestic violence in the family**

The respondents were of the opinion that domestic violence is really not an easy issue to deal with. What is happening between two people in their own bedroom cannot be witnessed by any person outside that bedroom. The other issue that came up was that victims of domestic violence are reluctant to report domestic violence to the police because they feel that the perpetrator will be shielded by his colleagues.

*‘...most of the time these killings happen in the privacy of the member’s homes...’*

*‘...they are not easy to resolve...’*

*‘...domestic violence by its nature is not easy to police...’*

*‘...it happened in the privacy of their home, so it’s very difficult...’*

*‘...we have few cases that we have few success with them because most of the time the perpetrator commits suicide and thus we close them...’*

- **History of domestic violence**

The Provincial Heads and the Investigators indicated their concern over the fact that most of these killings are occurring as a result of history of domestic violence within the families.

*‘...there was a Protection Order and Maintenance Order against the police officer...’*

*‘...the wife and daughter also opened three cases of domestic violence...’*

*‘...in those two cases there was a history of domestic violence...’*

- **Victims open and then withdraw cases of domestic violence**

The respondents were of the opinion that most of the victims of domestic violence do withdraw their cases themselves or request that they be withdrawn.

*‘...but the victims will request that the matters be withdrawn because they’ve made peace with their abusive spouses...’*

*‘...the wife came back to withdraw the case...’*

*‘...withdraw this because they have made peace with their husband and three months later they’re back again...’*

*‘...she was discharged from hospital and she withdrew that case in court...’*

*‘...women also they are reluctant to get out of relationship...’*

*‘...because they are married, they feel that marriage is more important than the abuse itself...’*

*‘...I will leave this house when I am dead...’*

*‘...it’s basically the continued abuse...’*

*‘...husband police officer was abusing the wife...’*

*‘...the guy who stabbed his wife was so abusive towards the wife...’*

*‘...abused spouses also don’t normally report you know, until it’s too late...’*



*'...we only find out from witnesses that domestic violence was not formally reported...'*

*'...even though it was not reported because the wives are reluctant to report their husbands when they are abusing them...'*

*'...because the wife never report it...'*

*'...it appeared she was not reporting it to the police...'*

## • Marital problems

ICD Investigators often find that problems within the marriage or relationship, in the case of unmarried couples, could lead to SAPS members killing their spouses or partners. Some of the identified marital or relationship problems were love affairs and jealousy within the relationship.

*'...the couple was experiencing some form of family problems...'*

*'...they started having a fight...'*

*'...they were having problems...'*

*'...family problems...'*

*'...it is simply a relationship that has gone wrong...'*

*'...and love affairs...'*

*'...the guy had an official wife...'*

*'...you find that the husband suspect that the wife is having affairs and all those kind of things...'*

*'...you find that the husband or the wife is having an affair...'*

*'...he suspected that the wife is having affairs...'*

*'...there's this thing of jealousy...'*

*'...jealous husband or boyfriend...'*

*'...infidelity is also involved...'*

*'...the motivation factor was infidelity...'*

## • Financial problems and lack of financial management

Financial problems came very strongly from all the respondents, that it is indeed a contributory factor to femicide.

*'...they were having financial problems...'*

*'...the other thing is lack of financial management...'*

*'...I think the whole thing revolve around money issues...'*

*'...when I checked it was more on the money related issues...'*

*'...a lot of debts, you at the end of the day you cannot provide for your family and then other alternative is to take everybody out...'*

*'...because he won't have enough money to go around...'*

*'...because a lot of people do not know how to manage their money...'*

*'... they get the money today, they are getting paid by the end of the month, on the tenth the money its finish...'*

## • Substance use and abuse

It was revealed by this research that some members use and abuse drugs and will at the end kill their intimate partners. This was supported by one statement from the respondent who raised a problem of using and abusing drugs as the problem that leads members to commit femicide.

*'...in one case that I handled I think the issue was substance abuse...'*

*'...the night before the murder the man was drinking...'*

*'...there was also alcohol involved...'*

*'...he was under the influence of alcohol...'*

*'...what is interesting is that in all the cases alcohol was involved...'*

*'...the police who kill their partners happen to consume a lot of alcohol...'*

*'...and this happened while he was drunk...'*

*'...but on that day alcohol was involved...'*

*'...I would say they abuse alcohol...'*

*'...people are using alcohol as an excuse...but is not the cause...'*



- **Station Commissioners' inability to take action against undisciplined members**

The Provincial Heads and the Investigators felt that the Station Commissioners do not disarm their members even when a complaint of domestic violence is reported. Then later the same firearm that the SAPS failed to disarm from their members will be used to kill the partners, themselves and/or the other members of the family.

*'...the Station Commissioners are reluctant to take action against their members when they are reported for domestic violence...'*

*'...he was never disarmed...'*

*'...the most deciding factor in that was that was never disarmed...'*

*'...the Station Commissioner did nothing until is too late...'*

*'...the Station Commissioner was aware of the situation but he never did anything...'*

*'...he was arrested for rape and culpable homicide...'*

*'...he had previously pointed a firearm at his wife...'*

# SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The main purpose of this section is to discuss the findings of both the qualitative and quantitative research. Since it was alluded earlier on that this study used two approaches, the purpose of combining the two was to ensure that the strengths of the one is supplemented by the other. Some of the findings do concur with each other, while others do not. A total of thirty (30) case files on femicide were analyzed in all nine provinces. Kwazulu-Natal accounts for the most (30%) of the cases, followed by Western Cape and Free State. The provinces that accounted for the third highest cases are Gauteng and Limpopo. The Eastern Cape has the least number of cases relating to femicide. Quantitative and qualitative approaches revealed as the causes of femicide, among others, easy access to firearms by members of the SAPS. Both phases of the study indicated that the partners of police members have very high chances of being killed as a result. The respondents felt that the fact that the SAPS members are as required by the law always expected to carry their weapons to protect the safety of the members of the public, makes it very easy for them to use them to kill. According to the quantitative findings, 80% of these cases are committed by the service pistols that are issued to the members to fulfill their daily tasks. It is only in a few cases where the partners were killed with knives. One of the critical areas of concern is the fact that the partners are killed while their husband police members are off-duty and it is only in a few whereby the members do go home to kill their loved ones and themselves while on duty. The respondents raised a concern that the police members at lower levels, namely Constables are the ones that commit femicide, and they consist of 37%, whereas Inspectors were 33%, Sergeants were 13% while members from the ranks of Captain to Superintendent were the lowest with 3%. According to these results, it means that the lower the level the more likely they are to commit femicide.

The relationship between the victim and the perpetrator shows that 53% of them were married to the perpetrator, 37% were not married, while 7% of them were killed while separated and lastly 3% were divorced. These findings of the quantitative approach concur with the qualitative ones, where it was discovered that in all the relationships, the perpetrators were shot after making an attempt to terminate the relationship. The study also revealed that 80% of the victims were Black Africans, followed by Coloureds at 13.4%, Indians and Whites at 3.3% respectively. One of the most important things that were discovered during this study was that all the victims were females (as revealed by the case files) and the perpetrators were males. The age category of the victims ranges from 18 to 41 years whereas in some of the cases it was not possible to determine the age of the respondents.

Alcohol was considered a contributory factor in killings. The study further discovered that there is a direct link between finance related problems, stress, alcohol use or abuse and femicide. In most of the cases it was not determined whether the perpetrator consumed alcohol prior killing or not but the statistical analyses revealed that in 4 of 30 cases the responsible members were under the influence of some form of substance. In 3 out of 30 cases it was determined that the officers were not under the influence of any substance at the time of the incident.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Stress was divided into two categories, namely; stress relating to work, whereby commanders are ill-treating the members and stress at home. Another point alluded by the respondents was the fact that the EAP of the SAPS was rendered ineffective due to a number of factors; amongst them being reactive, understaffed, and incompetent personnel. A general feeling about the members of the SAPS about EAP is that they do not have trust in it.

The members complained that their commanders are not always there to assist them when they have personal problems. So they say their commanders are not open to them. Lack of communication between management and members, the “we” and “them” syndrome causes members to have more stress whereby members feel that they are not making any valuable contribution to the organization. Qualitative approach discovered various themes, sub-themes and categories that the respondents felt contributed to the stress. Both the police and the ICD investigators concurred that the police cannot always be blamed as it is up to the individual to decide to kill. The same applies when he wants to use the services of the EAP.

Apart from this, the victims of domestic violence do not report the matter to the police. If they do, they report it when it is already late. In addition, when they open those cases they withdraw them in court and say that they have made peace with their partners, which makes the job of the police even more difficult. Another reason is that domestic violence is difficult to police.

Qualitative results went further and ascertained that members kill their partners without showing any warning signs because they are very private and keep things to themselves. It becomes a shock to hear that those people killed their partners.

## 7. RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of recommendations emanate from the findings of this study. The following recommendations may assist in decreasing the incidents of femicide committed by SAPS members:

- **Management and senior members should be accessible**

One of the findings of the research is that the respondents complained that their commanders are not open to them. Members spend much of their time at work and there is a need for interaction with their commanders on a daily basis, but it will be difficult if commanders do not have an open door policy towards their members. It is recommended that the commanders treat members as valuable to the SAPS and should be shown that they cannot function effectively without them. In order for the SAPS to deal with this problem it is essential to sensitize the commanders and, when necessary, for them to be sent on People Management courses. It is also recommended that commanders meet with their members on a personal level to assist them should they have any difficulties at work or home. In order to offer assistance, it is vital to bridge the gap between the commanders and their members.

Almost all the respondents agreed that there is a need for peer assistance by either fellow members or commanders, after which they can refer them to EAS should they not be equipped to assist the member. In this regard, the ICD recommends that the SAPS should consider providing peer assistance training to senior members in order to equip them to be able to identify when there is a problem with a colleague.

- **Financial management**

In order for the SAPS to effectively deal with this issue, the commanders should be encouraged to be available for their members when they need them so that they will be able to assist with their financial problems at an early stage. They could then be referred to the EAP when the problem requires EAP's intervention. It is recommended that members be given a course on financial management and budgeting to assist them to live within their budget.

- **Transfer members when the need arises**

The respondents stated that one of the problems that lead to stress and possibly to a member killing his partner is the fact that the SAPS do not approve the member's request to be transferred to their preferred station. As a result, families are often broken up when a member is not granted a transfer to where his family lives. Often, these divided households result in financial strains and may also lead to extra-marital affairs. It is recommended that the SAPS amend their transfer policy to take the above-mentioned factors into consideration when a member requests a transfer to be closer to his family.

- **Involve family members when counseling**

Many respondents indicated that involving the members alone during counseling would not help them. It is suggested that it would be wise to include the member's family or partner at some stage in order to communicate honestly about all the issues that are causing the problem and to try to find a solution together.

- **Improvements in Employee Assistance Programme**

It is recommended that in order to understand the problems of the members, the EAP should make use of a self-administered questionnaire where members will state their problems. The EAP will then develop a database as to how many members are using the EAP on a monthly basis. It is further suggested that the EAP members pay frequent visits at station level in order to improve the use of their services since they will be encouraging the SAPS members and telling them about their services.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

A possible solution to the member's concern for their privacy is to have a private number or hotline where the members will be able to access EAP anytime without anyone else's knowledge. It is also recommended that all the EAP members who are not sufficiently competent should attend courses in order to broaden their knowledge and skills with regard to the services which they are meant to be delivering. In addition, after counseling, it is vital that there are follow-up sessions to determine whether the SAPS member is coping or recovering following counseling. As it is now, there is not enough human resources within the EAP to make this possible and this matter should be addressed by SAPS management.

It is recommended that the EAP members not be given any ranks since they are professionals. The SAPS could also consider outsourcing the EAP to a private service provider. For as long as the EAP are part of the police, they will still experience reluctance to use the service. The EAP are also not marketing their service sufficiently since they only provide a reactive service. The EAP should be more visible and accessible to the members of the SAPS and should encourage members to make use of this service.

- **Organize station lectures and motivational speaking**

The use of station lectures and motivational speaking can be of assistance to members who are having personal problems. The station lectures will be used to encourage members to participate in the brainstorming sessions where the problems are identified and discussed.

- **Encouraging wives of members to report domestic violence at an early stage**

The wives and girlfriends of SAPS members should be encouraged to come into the CSC and report domestic violence by their husbands or partners. An awareness campaign at station level may enlighten member's wives or girlfriends on the various issues related to domestic violence. If reported at the first sign of trouble, there may be alternative means with which to deal with the problem before the situation deteriorates to such an extent that these femicides take place.

- **Improved working conditions**

It is recommended that SAPS management should improve the working conditions of the members to make it more conducive for effective performance. This would entail revising the promotion and incentive policies, working hours and overtime, transfer administration, increased human resources, development of skills and training, improved communication from the top structure to the junior members, and the provision of sufficient resources with which to perform their duties effectively. It is hoped that the above-mentioned measures will improve the morale and working conditions of the members.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Firearms**

The access to firearms is the most worrying factor in femicides committed by SAPS members. In almost all of the cases in this study, the members used their service pistols to commit the murders. In addition, apart from negligent handling of the firearm there is also negligent safe-keeping of the firearm which threatens the life of the family members. Firearms kept in the residences of the members pose a serious threat to the lives of those families as most of the femicides occurred when the members were off-duty. This statement is supported by Gun Free South Africa (2004) that said that when a gun was in the house an abused woman was six times likely than other abused women to be killed. It is suggested that in order to deal with firearm negligence, the SAPS should consider sending their members for refresher courses on the correct handling and circumstances under which their service firearms should be used. Perhaps a solution to the access of a firearm would be for the members to be issued with their firearms when they commence duty and then to hand them back in at the station when their shifts end, even though this will create a burden to the police with the need for more administrative officers to do this work.

## 8. CONCLUSION

As was indicated earlier, this is a national study that was conducted in nine provinces of South Africa. It focused on femicide cases reported during the 2004/5 and 2006/7 financial years. This study was motivated by an increase in the number of femicide cases. While the substantial number of cases involving SAPS members as perpetrators prompted the study, lack of intervention, some of which resulted in law suits against the state, also mitigated the need to understand the phenomenon of femicide better.

Literature cited in this study show that women are more likely to be victimized by a family member or partner. It also indicated that Blacks have a high rate of victimization and violence. This is confirmed by the findings of this study which indicate that the majority of victims of femicide are more likely to be victimized by partners. Up to 53% of victims of femicide in this study were married at the time of the incidents.

While literature indicates that substance use contributes to violence against spouses, this research shows that only 13% of perpetrators were under the influence of some substance at the time of the incidents. This research centred on answering questions around motivations for SAPS members to kill their spouses, the extent of these killings, instruments used and possible interventions on the side of SAPS management. It was hoped that with the possible identification of such factors putting these spouses at risk, policy recommendations could be made.

It was established that it is essential for the SAPS to encourage open and honest communication among all members. Members will greatly benefit from being exposed to alternative ways with which to deal with their problems by attending financial management courses, counselling and peer assistance. Accordingly, it may then be possible for other members to detect the first warning signs in their colleagues which may prevent the murder of their wives or girlfriends and may even save the lives of their colleagues in the process. Furthermore, at station level, more should be done amongst members to create an awareness of domestic violence. The SAPS will also benefit by promoting the use of the EAP and possibly increasing the use by outsourcing these services, thereby strengthening the privacy of the members. In addition, to save innocent lives, it would be advisable to limit the members' access to their firearms while off-duty. It is hoped that the recommendations and outcome of this study will benefit the SAPS, the public in general and in particular the wives and girlfriends of the police members. The findings and recommendations of this study are applicable only based on the research objectives of this study.

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# APPENDIX A DOCKET ANALYSIS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. CCN \_\_\_\_\_

2. Incident code: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Incident sub-code: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Date of the incident

Year

Month

Date

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5. Time of incident

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6. Province where incident took place

1. Eastern Cape	
2. Free State	
3. Gauteng	
4. KZN	
5. Limpopo	
6. Mpumalanga	
7. Northern Cape	
8. North West	
9. Western Cape	

7. Gender of victim

1. Female	
2. Male	

8. Victim's age

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# APPENDIX A DOCKET ANALYSIS QUESTIONNAIRE

**9. Victim's race**

1. Black	
2. White	
3. Coloured	
4. Indian	
5. Other (specify)	

**10. What was the relationship status between the victim and offender? (Please tick)**

1. Married	
2. Separated	
3. Divorced	
4. In a relationship	

**11. Place where incident took place?**

1. Victim's home	
2. Friend/neighbour's home	
3. Commercial place	
4. Other (specify)	

**12. What type of weapon was used by the offender?**

1. Knife	
2. Firearm	
3. Blunt instrument	
4. Hands, Feet	
5. Other(Specify)	

**13. If firearm was used, was it?**

1. State firearm	
2. Offender's own legal firearm	
3. Offender's own illegal firearm	

**14. Did the victim report any case of domestic violence prior?**

1. Reported	
2. Not reported	
3. Don't know	

## APPENDIX A DOCKET ANALYSIS QUESTIONNAIRE

15. If a case was opened prior where there any physical injuries sustained?

1. Yes	
2. No	

16. What kind of injuries was sustained by the victim?

1. Serious injuries	
2. Gunshot wound	
3. Knife wound	
4. Internal injuries	
5. Broken bones	
6. Knocked unconscious	
7. Minor injuries	
8. Injuries unknown	

17. Rank of the offender

1. Constable	
2. Sergeant	
3. Inspector	
4. Captain	
5. Superintendent	
6. Snr. Superintendent	
7. Director	
8. Other	

18. Gender of the police officer

1. Female	
2. Male	

19. Age of the police officer


## APPENDIX A: DOCKET ANALYSIS QUESTIONNAIRE

**20. Race of police officer**

1. Black	
2. White	
3. Coloured	
4. Indian	
5. Other (specify)	

**21. Was the offender under the influence of any substance?**

1. Yes	
2. No	
3. Don't know	

**22. Was ICD informed about the incident?**

1. Yes	
2. No	
3. Don't know	

**23. ICD notification date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**24. Was the case investigated by ICD?**

1. Yes	
2. No	
3. Don't know	

**25. What were the recommendations made by ICD?**

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**26. Was there compliance with ICD recommendations?**

1. Yes	
2. No	
3. Don't know	

APPENDIX A: DOCKET ANALYSIS QUESTIONNAIRE

27. Did DPP prosecute?

1. Yes	
2. No	
3. Don't know	

28. If yes, what was the outcome/sentence?

## APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR ICD PROVINCIAL HEAD AND SAPS MEMBERS

1. What is the extent of police officers killing their wives?

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2. In your opinion, what factors may motivate members of the SAPS to kill their partners?

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3. Which weapons are normally used in these femicide killings?

Guns	
Knives	
Blunt instruments	
Other, please specify	

4. Are the SAPS doing anything when SAPS members are reported to have a history of domestic violence?

1. Yes	
2. No	
3. Don't know	

5. If yes, what do the SAPS do when a member is reported to have a history of domestic violence?

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6. Are the SAPS EAP/Psychological services readily available to the members at this station?

1. Yes	
2. No	
3. Don't know	

7. To what extent do members actually make use of these services?

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## APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR ICD PROVINCIAL HEAD AND SAPS MEMBERS

8. Do you think these services meet the needs of these members?

1. Yes	
2. No	
3. Don't know	

9. What impedes members' access to these services?

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10. What can be done to improve access to SAPS EAP/Psychological services?

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11. In your opinion, what measures can be put in place to deter members of the SAPS from killing their wives?

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