

Chapter One

Introduction to the study

1.0. Background of the study

The chapter provides background information to the study. It outlines the study's research questions and objectives, and then goes on to present a theoretical framework from which judgement on male violence can be made. Lastly, it discusses the research methodology employed during the study and the ethical considerations.

This study provides insight into men's experiences of domestic violence against their female partners. The study's departure point is that, information that has been gathered on domestic violence so far has concentrated on understanding its dynamics largely from the experiences of women as the victims of domestic violence and not from the perpetrators. As such, initiatives to fight gender violence such as policies, treatment programs and researches have to a large extent leaned towards empowering the victims of violence who in most cases are women. Whilst this has spawned remarkable success because of the space created for women to speak about their abuse, the prevalence of male violence against women is highly undeniable.

The South African Domestic Violence Act of 1998, defines domestic violence as physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional, verbal and psychological abuse, economic abuse, intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to property, entry into complainant's residence without her consent where the party does not share the same residence and any other controlling or abusive behavior toward a complainant, where such conduct harms or may cause imminent harm to the safety, well-being and health of the complainant. However, for the purposes of this study the following definition is constructed, male violence against female partners is any act of violence, whether it be physical or psychological that is perpetrated by a male towards his female partner, which has detrimental effects to the female's physical or psychological well being and has the intention of reaffirming male dominance over women. This study will use the following terms: domestic violence, battering, intimate partner violence, and male violence against female partners inter-changeably.

Male violence against women has been placed on the national political agenda as a priority in South Africa, as statistics are overwhelmingly high (Jacobs & Jewkes, 2002). Studies have also established that South Africa has one of the highest levels of gender violence in the world; as such the South African court system is often overwhelmed in dealing with domestic violence and rape cases quickly and sensitively (Njoki, 2006). Statistics provided by “People Opposing Women Abuse” (POWA) point out that, one in every six women who die in Gauteng is killed by a male intimate partner (Macdougall, 2000). Another research conducted, indicate that black South African men are the frequent perpetrators of intimate femicide with a percentage of 76.4% (Matthews, Abrahams, Martin, Vetten, Van de Merwe & Jewkes, 2004). Moreover, studies indicate that these statistics are but the tip of an iceberg as most cases go undetected (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2001).

In light of such factors, it can be concluded that male violence against adult women is a public health problem of enormous proportion in South Africa. A troubling aspect of male violence is its benign social and cultural acceptance in several parts of country. Plant (2006) is of the view that, this acceptance has led to violence being viewed as normal male behaviour that is taken for granted and not problematised.

According to Morrell (2001), male pattern violence against women lays on a continuum which includes diverse acts such as: sexual harassment, violent rape, hitting with sticks and other objects, assaulting with fists, stabbing with a knife and murder. Research has confirmed the link between male violence and the rise in HIV and AIDS statistics among women. This is due to the fact that, male violence robs women of power to have a say over their sexuality (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, McIntyre, Gray & Harlow, 2003).

In South Africa, there is a scarcity of information on male violence as minimal studies have been undertaken (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2001). This is because violence has largely been seen as a women’s problem and not an issue that is central to men despite them being the perpetrators in most instances. Resultantly, policies and strategies formulated to fight gender violence like the Domestic Violence Act of 1998 have not begun to address the question of involving men in ending violence against women

(Zain, 2002). This study thus puts the spotlight on men who perpetrate violence against women in-order to get their perspectives on their acts of violence and their empowerment needs. It is hoped that such information can orchestrate proactive strategies that focus on domestic violence perpetrators and a revision of the existing domestic violence policies and legislation.

1.1. Statement of Purpose

The sharp rise in domestic violence crimes committed by men against women in South Africa is a depiction of male violence that has gone out of control. Ferguson, (2004), states that, “men’s violence demands urgent action from perspectives of women, children and men themselves”. Data provided so far on gender based violence has largely echoed women and children’s perspectives, as they are the victims of male violence. As such, data on the epidemiology of male violence has been scanty, as minimal studies have been undertaken (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2001). This study intends to usher in a space for men to unveil their experiences of domestic violence against their female partners specifically relating to why they perpetrate violence against women, how they define domestic violence and their empowerment needs.

1.2. Research Questions

The fundamental question that guides this study is “Why do men perpetrate violence against women?” It also seeks to answer the following questions:

- What do men think of the concept domestic violence?
- What do men perceive as the major contributing factors that propel them to perpetrate violence against women?
- What are the experiences of men after perpetrating violence on men?
- What are the empowerment needs of violent men?
- Which preventative and treatment strategies can service providers utilize on intimately abusive and violent men?

- What has research in South Africa managed to uncover on male violence so far?
- How can the research findings contribute to the formulation of comprehensive policies to prevent gender violence in South Africa?

1.3. Goal and Objectives

1.3.1. Goal

To gain an in-depth understanding of why men perpetrate violence against women.

1.3.2. Objectives

To achieve the goal of the study, the following objectives have been formulated:

- To examine what men perceive as the major contributing factors that propel them to perpetrate violence against women.
- To explore how men define gender violence.
- To explore the aftermath experiences of battery on the male perpetrators.
- To investigate on the empowerment needs of men who perpetrate violence.
- Critique current research on gender violence in South Africa.
- To examine current policies and legislation in South Africa that address male violence against women.

1.4. Anticipated value of the study

The study intends to gain understanding of men's accounts of gender violence against women to achieve the following results:

- To help policy makers and practitioners to come up with policies and strategies to curb male violence.
- To provide a platform for men to contribute positively in the fight against gender violence.
- To raise critical awareness on the seriousness of male violence amongst men as a means of effecting behavior change.

- To add to the existing body of literature because minimal research has been conducted which focus on men's views on gender violence.
- To motivate further research on men's experiences of violence in South Africa.

1.5. Limitations of the study

- Due to the sensitivity of the topic, possible participants might not be willing to participate in the research. The researcher, thus, intends to inform the potential participants that anonymity and privacy will be exercised.
- Participants may not open up during interviews in fear of findings being used against them. To avoid this, participants will be informed that pseudonyms will be utilized for identification purposes.

1.6. Conceptual Framework

1.6.1. Prevalence of male violence in South Africa

Gender violence statistics have reached catastrophic levels and yet society is failing to justifiably question this phenomenon of male violence against women (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2001). The World Bank estimates that at a global level, the damage and costs to health from male violence against women aged 15-44 years is comparable to other risk factors that are already high on world agenda including AIDS (Soul City, 2000). In South Africa, statistics indicate that, at least 90% of women have been physically abused, 71% have been sexually abused and one in every six women who die in Gauteng is killed by an intimate partner (Masimanyane in Macdougall, 2000).

A study carried in Cape Town to investigate the prevalence of male violence reported by men themselves show that, 40% of men interviewed during this study reported to have physically abused their female partners, 30% of them contended to have sexually abused their intimate partners and emotional abuse was reported four times as much more than both physical and sexual abuse (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2001). Studies

indicate these statistics are but the tip of the iceberg as most cases go undetected (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2001).

The researcher is of the opinion that although there are less studies and reports of male violence reported by men themselves, statistics given by women clearly depict the reality of male violence. Furthermore, the researcher contends that male violence is a crisis endemic in the South African community as the bruised and battered bodies of women speak of the brutality of their male partners

The gendered nature of violence is self-evident: Men are disproportionately represented as perpetrators of all forms of violent acts. Ferguson (2004), states that, “men’s violence demands urgent action from the perspective of women, children and men themselves”. Furthermore, violence is usually a male behavior that is taken for granted and not problematised (Plant, 2006). It is through this realization that the urgent need to understand its gravity is imperative. Internationally, violence against women is regarded as a violation of human rights (U.N, 2005). Furthermore, it has severe physical and mental consequences for the women involved and impedes economic and developmental growth of the society, as many productive hours of work are lost as women recover from injuries (Soul City, 2000).

1.6.2. Causes of male violence

As male violence is on the forefront of researchers’ consciousness, a growing body of research is critically examining its causes. One of the prominent reasons that social scientists have forwarded to explain male violence is that of the need to construct masculinity. Morrell (2001) contends that men use violence to construct their masculine identities; this is based on a research in Umtata where young men contended that they used violence to control their partners. In this frame of reference, it becomes apparent that violence is a form of “doing gender”, in which men engage in ongoing interactional processes which they invoke, construct and enact polarized images of the two genders (Gilgun & McLeod, 1999).

Blacklock (2001), states that men use violence and other abusive actions to support their sense of entitlement by, punishing a woman for something she has done wrong

(teaching her a lesson), forcing her to do something she does not want to do (e.g. to shut up) or stopping her from doing something she wishes to do (e.g. leaving the relationship). He further contends that these acts of violence are enacted to control the partner, which in his analysis is a manifestation of patriarchal ideologies of gender and identity. This sense of entitlement allows him to see his behavior as reasonable given his partner's unreasonable resistance to his expectations (Blacklock, 2001).

The notion of men having authority to discipline their female partners is a manifestation of patriarchal values and norms inherent in our society. Violence is used as a tool for gaining power and control over women. A study undertaken in Umtata articulated men's frame of reference about the use of violence as a tool for discipline in their relationships as follows:

“In most cases, violence appeared to be a means of enforcing discipline and control over the female partner when they were perceived to have broken rules” (Abrahams, Jewkes and Laubsher, in Morrell, 2001)

These findings corroborate similar studies by Anderson & Umberson (2001) that contend that violent practises are deployed by men against women in attempts to maintain a particular self image and self evaluations in the face of real or imagined threats to prove that they are “real” men and their women are under their control. Violence in this instance is a resource for demonstrating and showing a person is a man (Barnett, Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2005). It is interesting to note that these findings tally with feminist ideologies, which concur that, male violence against women is a product of the patriarchal nature of our society and that violence is used as an instrument to demonstrate dominance over women (Loseke, 2005).

For some researchers as Kim (2002) contend that, the uneven distribution of power embedded in the traditional African marriages is portrayed through the acknowledgement of polygamy, the acceptance of male promiscuity, the power of the extended family over the married couple and the universal institution of bride-price as underlying the widespread abuse of wives. Not only is polygamy accepted in the African culture, it is also heavily recognised in the African Customary Law. Bride price for most abused women makes it difficult for women to leave abusive husbands

unless their families of origin are willing to return the amount paid (Pan African News Agency, 2001).

The researcher contends that culture is people's lifestyle and the way people live. Thus, if the norms and values of today's African society do not condemn violence, then culture plays a part in its perpetuation, as the increase of violence statistics expose a society that has accepted this social ill as a way of life.

Besides domination and the need to assert masculinity, other variables that have been known to contribute to male violence, among them is the abuse of alcohol. Alcohol abuse is defined as the repetitive use of alcohol that causes harm to the drinker or other persons (Barnett & Perrin-Perrin, 2005). Research has established that there is a relationship state that drinking could contribute directly to an increased risk of violence against female partners due to disinhibiting effects on cognition and perception (Johnson, 2001, Barnett; Perrin & Perrin, 2005). In South Africa, a recent study concluded that heavy drinking was reported to often lead to social problems such as domestic violence, particularly by men against their female partners (Morojele; Kachieng'a; Mokoko; Matsobana; Nkoko; Parry; Nkowane; Mosia & Saxena, 2006).

Although a connection has already been observed, some researchers question the cause and effect relationship between the abuse of alcohol and male violence (New York times Company, 2006). Arguments similar to these postulate that in perpetrators of domestic violence, alcohol and drugs are not themselves causal factors in their aggression. Rather, perpetrators with substance abuse problems have two problems and both which should be treated in tandem (Blacklock, 2001). The researcher enunciates that, although alcohol can contribute to wife abuse, not all violence perpetrators drink alcohol, in addition it is one variable amongst a constellation of many other variables.

1.6.3. A critique of male violence research in South Africa

This study assumes that, researches on gender violence in South Africa have concentrated on revealing the extent of gender violence against women as reported by

women. However, what these researches have failed to address are the experiences of men who perpetrate violence that is getting an in-depth understanding of how arguments progress to violence, the meanings attached to the acts of violence, the aftermath experience of violence and the empowerment needs of men who batter their spouses. This research thus, aims to fill in this gap in the South African literature and hopefully effect policy and legislation change.

1.6.4. Domestic Violence policies and legislation

Various policies and laws have been put in place to end gender violence internationally, regionally and nationally. The Beijing Platform for Action of 1995 gave a mandate to governments to condemn violence against women and to refrain from invoking any custom, tradition or religious consideration to avoid their obligations with respect to its elimination as set out in the Declaration of the elimination of violence against women (Objective D1). This initiative has influenced a number of policies and laws, which have a direct bearing on gender violence. The researcher, is of the opinion that whereas, initiatives like the Beijing Platform for Action are noble attempts to fight gender violence, the inability to address male violence remains this initiative's shortfall. The researcher is of the opinion that findings on men's experiences can lead to the revision of such policies.

Among other initiatives that have been initiated in South Africa, is the Domestic Violence Bill of 1998. The bill recognises domestic violence as a serious social evil and that it approves that there is a high rate of domestic violence within the South African society. Despite this, critics state that, the act does not emphasise on counselling programmes for offending men, instead it focuses on victim programmes only (Zain, 2002). Furthermore, other studies state that, because men have not been included in the process of reducing violence, women are reporting that protection orders against their spouses are fuelling violence in the home rather than reducing it (Pareezee, Artz & Moul, 2001). The researcher contends that the domestic violence bill is a noble initiative as it places power upon the criminal justice system to protect the victim and deal accordingly with the perpetrator. However, the fact that it has failed to address the inclusion of men in the eradication of gender violence has made domestic violence a women's problem rather than an issue that is also central to men.

Furthermore, the profound question that requires clarity is, to what extent is the bill effectively curtailing men from perpetrating violence against women?

1.6.5. Domestic violence theories

There has been an ongoing debate on which theory has explanatory power to indicate the causation of male violence against their female partners. Psychopathologists, social learning theorists, family system theorists, sociological theorists, cultural evolutionary theorists and feminists have had their share in this debate. Whilst this is the case, this study draws its theoretical framework largely from the feminist theory because its ideologies catch essence of the study's research questions and problem. However, it will borrow from other theories, which assist in explaining male violence such as the social learning theory, the systems theory and the subculture of violence theory.

Social learning theory

Social learning theorists state that children observe the consequences of the behavior of the significant others and learn which behaviours, even socially inappropriate ones, achieve results without drawing a negative sanction (Tshesane, 2000). Moreover, they postulate that, violence is learned through role models in the family, either directly or indirectly and reinforced in childhood, and continued in adulthood as a coping response to stress or method of conflict resolution (Tshesane, 2000). Thus, male violence is learned, reinforced through rewards during childhood. Correlational studies of intergeneration transmission of family have lent substantial empirical support to the theory.

Despite these findings, critiques state that the theory in isolation from other theories does not explain why intergenerational transmission of violence is not universal and why some other batterers do not report histories of exposure to violence in their families of origin (Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005). Moreover, there is a scarcity of literature to prove the relationship between the two variables: childhood exposure to violence and spousal abuse. This study places the spotlight on perpetrators experiences of violence and not on the inter-relationship of men's childhood experiences of violence and their present violent behavior. Despite these shortfalls,

the theory is partially applicable to this study, as it highlights factors that also contribute to men's use of violence against their partners.

Systems Theory

Another school of thought, similar to the social learning theory is the systems approach. Proponents of the systems theory explain violence against intimates as a product of the family system. Violence is maintained through roles, relations and feedback mechanisms that regulate and stabilize the system. If violence is rewarded by the system, it is more likely to recur (Ambrosino, Heffernan, Shuttleworth, Ambrosino, 2005). Thus, behavior is affected by the responses and feedback of other members of the family. This causal explanation assumes that the unit of analysis for the assessment is the family or a subsystem within the family. The researcher is of the view that this theory offers an explanation of male violence, however, it fails to address the gender issues that contribute to domestic violence and the differential effects of violence. Similar notions purport that systematic interventions do not address gender issues by failing to challenge patriarchal belief systems that are often used to justify violence against women (Ambrosino et al, 2005). Be that as it may, this study will also utilise this theory to a lesser extent as it has elements of truth in it in explaining male violence.

The Feminist theory

The feminist theory will direct the study to a larger extent as its ideologies catch the essence of the research questions and the problem. It is crucial to note that, feminism is a social movement that has been subjected to many qualifications. Consequently, various other types of feminisms have emanated from the mainstream feminism. This study will employ the black feminist theory and the African feminist theory mainly because these two theories include factors such as race, ethnicity, sexuality and culture in understanding the plight of black and African women (Collins, 1991). This study further contends that although they are different branches of feminism, their central mandate is to emancipate women from oppression.

Feminists' understanding is that the society is structured in a patriarchal order in which men maintain a privileged position through the domination of women

(Littlewood, 2004). Therefore, the power imbalances inherent in the patriarchal society create and perpetuate male violence against women (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). They further contend that, domestic violence is rooted in gender and power, and represents men's attempts to maintain dominance and control over women (Salo, 2005).

These feminist ideologies have spawned notions that male violence is a result of pervasive sexism in our norms, values and institutions (Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005). Blacklock (2001) argues that sexual violence is used by men as a way of securing and maintaining relations of male dominance and female subordination, a notion central to the patriarchal social order. Thus male violence within families is part of a wider system of male power (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

The widely adopted explanatory and treatment model of domestic violence, the Power and Control wheel, developed in Minnesota was engineered by feminism. It is used extensively in Counseling and advocacy work with male batterers. The model places male domination at the center of any consideration of abusive relationship. Its objective is to deconstruct fertile grounds that support the further breeding of male violence against women (Loseke, 2005). This model is consistent with Social Work principles, which focus on the improvement of the social functioning of individuals. Furthermore, the function of social work is to regulate conflicts in relationships by ensuring that every person's rights are upheld (Ambrosino et al, 2005).

This study has chosen to utilize the feminist theory to a large extent over the other two theories mainly because the other theories failed to adequately meet the requirements of the research questions and problem. The social learning theory places emphasis on violence as learned behavior during childhood and thus concentrating on respondents' histories and yet the study is focusing on present experiences of violence. The Systems theory focuses on the family and yet the research intends to acquire information from the perpetrators experiences of violence. In addition both theories ignore the patriarchal context in which domestic violence occurs.

Researchers like Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh (2005), concede that theories that fail to acknowledge the presence of patriarchy in domestic violence issues are flawed and

meaningless. Studies have shown that in the past three decades, largely through feminist activities the issue of domestic violence has been raised to the public consciousness as a serious societal problem. Furthermore, research findings internationally have been consistent with feminist propositions. In India findings show that violence occurs within the traditional family system and within the context of institutional patriarchy (Fernandez, 1999). In addition, studies in China documented that the patriarchal family system and gender inequality within the family are largely responsible for the prevalence of wife abuse. Lastly, the impetus to develop treatment models like the Duluth Model- Power and Control Wheel operating in Western countries like America, Canada and United Kingdom has been spawned by feminists who work with battered women (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

There are weaknesses that have been forwarded in critique to the theory. Family violence researchers suggest that, other substantive disciplines argue that patriarchy is just one variable in a complex constellation of causes (Anderson, 2002). They contend that socio-demographic indicators like educational and employment status among others, influence propensities for domestic assaults. The researcher contends that whilst these postulations have substance, ignoring the part played by patriarchy is simplistic and mechanistically misleading. Domestic violence practitioners in the United Kingdom contend that, the important thing is to ask what it is about men's constructions and their relationships with their partners that permit them to use abusive behaviors towards them because of their lack of employment and low educational status (Blacklock, 2001). Lastly, mainstream feminism has been considered inadequate in addressing the needs of all women as it has fallen short in concerns of racial/ethnic and class diversity among women (Loseke, 2005). In the light of this factor, this study will also utilize the black feminist theory and the African feminist theory in-order to address the above concerns.

1.7. Research Design and Methodology

Feminist academics and activists contend that gender violence campaigns and services that exist began with researches on women's experiences that had been previously neglected (Littlewood, 2004). As such, they hold that starting with people's

experiences is a powerful tool and provides the rational for feminist research. Interesting to note is that, originally feminist research was meant for women, recently however, notions to focus on men's lives and experiences have been lucrative (Glucksmann, 2004). This has seen men being incorporated into feminist research agendas. In the light of these facts, it is safe to conclude that a qualitative research strategy was appropriate for this research as it sought to gather first hand information on men's experiences of violence.

Qualitative methods were utilized mainly because there was need for in-depth understanding of a social aspect. A qualitative research seeks to gain a first hand, and holistic understanding of phenomena, (Strydom, 2004) that is carried out using flexible methods such as interviews and discussions. This is consistent with the qualitative approach as it aimed at gaining the subject's experience of a certain phenomenon. A qualitative approach unlike the quantitative approach, which is bound by rules, has the advantage of being flexible, as it allows the interviewer to respond to new theories and concepts raised by the respondents (Leyden, 2005).

This research approach was appropriate for this study because the research intended to gain information on male perpetrators experience of domestic violence in their accounts. Gaining such information demanded the researcher to employ **naturalistic methods** like conversations and interaction with the subjects in order acquire a full picture of the men's experiences as entailed in the qualitative approach (De Vos, 2002).

1.7.1. Data Collection

The qualitative approach utilizes interviews with each participant so as to create a naturalistic atmosphere, which elicits more information (Alston & Bowles, 2003). Thus, semi structured in-depth interviews with perpetrators of male violence were employed in this study. One to one interviews were used in-order to give the participants privacy. Furthermore, the method enabled the researcher to follow up particular interesting avenues that emerge during the interview, and the participant is able to give a fuller picture (De Vos, 2002). The interviews were conducted by mutual

arrangement, informed consent, privacy, confidentiality and a non-condemning atmosphere.

As the study was carried out in two phases, two interview schedules: one for the male violence perpetrators and the other for the focus group with the five professionals were designed by the researcher to guide the interviews during data collection. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic, the researcher was not be able to undertake a pilot study; this is in line with qualitative data methods.

Since the research was conducted in Xhosa, the researcher made use of a Xhosa-speaking research assistant for interpretation during interview sessions. A tape recorder was utilized, with the permission of the participants (De Vos, 2002) in order to obtain a much fuller record of what transpired during the interviews. Furthermore, the tape recorder was used during data analysis.

1.7.2. Sampling Procedure

A purposive sampling method was utilized so as to identify men who are known to have perpetrated violence against their spouses. Feminists concur that the essence of their researches is to locate the “knower” in the production of knowledge (Littlewood, 2004). Purposive sampling is based entirely on the judgement of the researcher (De Vos, 2002). Participants were found through the Social Development Department in Alice Town, in the Eastern Cape. The use of the department helped to facilitate a trusting relationship between the researcher and the clients. Trust is a profound element that determines the success of any interview as it creates an appropriate atmosphere for better information gathering (Zastrow, 2004). The focus group comprised of a social worker who dealt with domestic violence cases, a pastor from one of the churches in Alice, a domestic violence officer from the Alice Magistrate court, a nurse, and a policemen who was knowledgeable about domestic violence cases.

The aim of the sample was to get an approximate representation of the possible target population (Mouton, 1996). A sample of ten male participants who have abused

women before and five professionals with special knowledge on domestic violence were identified; information gained enabled the researcher to come up with useful conclusions. De Vos (2002), contends that, because individual interviews are carried out in qualitative researches a few participants are usually recommended.

1.7.3. Analysis of Data

Data analysis is a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data (De Vos, 2002). Qualitative data analysis is a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data (Alston & Bowles, 2003). Data gathered from both individual and focus group interviews was be transcribed and translated in a way that did not violate the confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents through the use of pseudonyms names.

There after, data was broken into segments for the researcher to look for meaning units and themes in the descriptions given by the respondents. A discussion of the findings of the study followed and interpretations were executed with the aim to obtain substantial conclusions. Feminists operate on the premise that, there is no one reality and thus the researcher's understandings and meanings of data gathered must be an integral component of the final product (Glucksmann, 2004).

1.7.4. Ethical considerations

Informed consent

Ethical considerations serve as standards and as such, a basis on which each researcher ought to evaluate his/her own conduct (De Vos, 2002). The researcher ensured that participants did not engage in interviews without their informed consent. That is, emphasis "...was put on accurate and complete information so that the subjects fully comprehended the investigation for them to make judicious decisions to participate in the research. The researcher therefore, informed the respondents about the research aims before the research commenced. Participants who agreed with the

terms of the research and were willing to participate were requested to sign consent forms.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity was exercised in the handling of information provided by the participants. Babbie (2001), states that, confidentiality implies that only the researcher and possibly a few members of his staff should be aware of the identity of the participant. Only, a registered social work student who was aware of the research ethics and principles was selected, as a research assistant to avoid jeopardizing participants' confidentiality. In addition, actual names of research participants were not sought after; instead, pseudonyms were used to ensure participants' anonymity. A social worker from the Department of Social Development in Alice acted as an intermediary to assist the researcher in securing a trusting relationship with the respondents.

1.8. Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: General introduction to the study.

Chapter 2: An understanding of the dynamics of male violence.

Chapter 3: Male violence in South Africa and globally.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

Chapter 4: The analysis of data.

Chapter: Conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Two

An understanding of the dynamics of male violence

2.0. Introduction

The previous chapter outlined a general introduction to the study by presenting background information on male violence in South Africa and the mandate of this study. A brief summary of the research methodology is also included, which is elaborated in greater detail in a later chapter. This study holds the notion that men's views about domestic violence have been neglected and this is evidenced in policies and programs that exist in South Africa. The study's overarching concern is that most of the initiatives formulated to manage gender violence have largely focused on empowering the victims whom in most cases are women and have sidelined the perpetrators (mostly men).

This chapter examines the theoretical framework from which judgement on male violence against women can be made. Encompassed in the chapter are schools of thought that seek to explain male violence which include the social learning theory, systems theory, subculture of violence theory and feminism.

2.1. The Social learning theory

The social learning theory provides a broad analysis to examine the individual within the larger social context in which he/she is situated (Barnett, Perrin & Perrin, 2005). The social learning school of thought is of the view that experiencing violence in the family of origin contributes to one's risk of committing wife abuse during adulthood (Cunningham, Jaffe, Baker, Malla, Mazaheri & Poisson, 1998). Thus, the theory argues that people model behaviour that they were exposed to as children. By the same token, they state that violence is learned through role models provided by the family either directly or indirectly and reinforced in childhood and continued in adulthood as a coping response to stress or a method of conflict resolution (Mihalic & Elliot). Barnett, Perrin & Perrin (2005), state that:

“Abusive parents provide children with a classroom for learning specific forms of abusive behaviours, particular attitudes, and distinct cognitions that justify violence”(p327).

In similar fashion, people attend to the modelled behaviour of the significant others, encode this behaviour and integrate it through motor reproduction. Moreover, the amount of observational learning that take place is dependent on a number of factors including, observed and experienced rewarding or deterring consequences of the behaviour and the characteristics of the observer and the individual modelling the behaviour (Cunningham et al, 1998).

A critical analysis of this information shows that the social learning school of thought holds that, male violence is a result of men's socialisation. The socialisation process of men takes place from birth and perpetuated through childhood stages and practised throughout life. For example, men's aggressiveness towards women to prove their strength is something that young boys learn from childhood (Tshesane, 2001). Moreover, notions of male dominance are taught within institutions like the family, school and therefore reinforced through the mass media representations of masculinity (Tshesane, 2001).

Be that as it may, the connection between these two variables is over elaborated as the major cause for violent action. Witnessing spousal abuse in one's family of origin does not by itself explain a substantial proportion of batterers (Cunningham et al, 1999). Arguments forwarded in support of this postulation perceive that, the interaction of these two variables only happen to a few men (Blacklock, 2001). Not all men who had abusive experiences in childhood will go on to be batterers and conversely, not all batterers have had abusive childhoods (Barnett et al, 2005). This notion comes after substantial occasions of working with men and the realisation that most violent men use this as an excuse and making them look as victims of violence too (Blacklock, 2001). Moreover, there is a scarcity of literature to prove the relationship between the two variables: childhood exposure to violence and spousal abuse (Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005).

This researcher's take on this matter is that, there has not been adequate studies to prove this relationship however, people's learning experiences can have an impact on their future behaviours. As such, the researcher purports that there is a possibility that men's violent behaviours can be a result of their childhood experiences. However, this cannot be overemphasised as the main cause of violence mainly because there are several issues such as power, inadequate problem solving skills and alcohol, only to mention a few that come into play. The study contends that, there is need for more research to ascertain the relationship. However, this study places its emphasis on men's actual experiences of violence and not on their childhood histories. The researcher concurs that utilising this theory on its own would be erroneous, as the research questions and the problem statement do not tally with it.

2.2. Systems theory

Male violence can also be linked to the systems theory as it holds that an initial maladaptive behaviour most often results from the interaction of learning the different response patterns. Serovich & Craft (2005) are of the notion that individuals learn behaviour by watching and imitating actions experienced in the home environment. This can be as a result of attempts to maintain equilibrium, the family members may engage in violent means to attain this goal. Cunningham et al (1998), also contend that, violence against intimates is a product of the family system.

Within this model, the family is viewed as a dynamic organisation of interdependent components that continually interact with one another. An aggressive action by a man towards his wife, from this theoretical perspective, results in a reaction by another family member. Thus Cunningham et al (1998) believe that, violence is maintained through the roles, relations and feedback mechanisms that regulate and stabilise the system. If violence is rewarded by the system its most likely to recur.

Serovich (2005) writes that:

“In violence prone families, love is equated with possession and disagreement is equated with hostility, disrespect or rejection”(p77)

One paradox of intimate partner violence is that, in an attempt to gain control, family members are actually increasing the dysfunction of the family (Serovich, 2005). Hence, for men who are abusive, witnessing violence in their families of origin provides a model of how to deal with relationship problems. In an attempt to maintain control over the relationship, these men may resort to violence because it is their most accessible coping strategy (Serovich, 2005).

The theory thus, contends that the unit of analysis for assessment and intervention is the family or a subsystem within the family for example, an adult couple rather than one or more individuals in isolation. The emphasis is on interaction, which enables the identification of behaviour patterns associated with relationship violence (Cunningham et al (1998). Cunningham et al (1998) further state that, in most cases, romance and violence co-exist at some points in relationships, combined with the complexity of interactions between partners. This suggests that relationship characteristics may mediate the significance and interpretation given to violence both by the aggressor and the victim.

It has been noted that analysis of the co-existence of marital dissatisfaction and physical aggression in couples is associated with high levels of aversiveness, reciprocity of negative behaviour and anger responses, overt hostility, defensiveness, poor problem solving skills, patterns of demand-withdraw on the parts of both individual (Ronan, Dreer, Dollard, & Ronan, 2004). Thus, the holistic approach resulting from the systems perspective is appealing in its potential to increase an understanding of the links between violence against women and particular styles of family processes that involve the child.

Those that do not support this school of thought voice that systematic explanation assigns co-responsibility for violence, which contributes to perpetrator justifications for aggression and victim blaming (Barnett et al, 2005). This study shares the same ideology with this proposition in that, it places the spotlight on male violence perpetrators, mainly because men's individual standpoints in relation to their violent actions have been submerged in the victims (women) accounts. Despite this fact, the systems theory informs us of the impact of initial family lifestyles on the respondents' present violent behaviour. The study will thus incorporate this theory into the study to

a lesser extent in-order to obtain a holistic understanding of male violence. It also important to note that there is a relationship between the systems theory and the social learning theory in that there are both socialisation theories as they both look at violence as learned behaviour.

2.3. The subculture of violence theory

The sub-culture of violence theory is one of the most popular and controversial explanations for violence among blacks. According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti in (Oliver, 1994), the disproportionate rates of criminal violence among blacks are a product of their commitment to sub-cultural values and norms that condone violence as an acceptable means of resolving interpersonal conflicts (Oliver, 1994). This theory also contends that members of the sub-culture of violence develop favorable attitudes towards the use of violence through the processes of differential learning, association and identification. A subculture, according to him is a normative system of some groups or groups smaller than the society.

The theory purports that; there is a potent theme of violence current in the cluster of values that make up life style, the socialisation process, the interpersonal relationships of individuals living in similar conditions. Like all human behavior, Wolfgang wrote that homicide and other violent assaultive crimes must be viewed in terms of the cultural context from which they spring" (Wolfgang & Ferracuti in Baron, 1998). Deviant behavior is not evenly distributed throughout the social structure. There is much empirical evidence that class position, ethnicity, occupational status, and other social variables are effective indicators for predicting rates of different kinds of deviance" (Wolfgang & Ferracuti in Oliver, 1994). This information tallies with findings established in some parts of South Africa in which violence was predominantly discovered among people whose occupational statuses are low. Violence was used as a means to reassert their masculinities (Morrell, 2002).

In essence, the subculture of violence theory holds that the overt use of violence is generally a reflection of basic values that stand apart from the dominant, the central, or the parent culture. This overt (and often illicit) use of violence constitutes part of a subcultural normative system that is reflected in the psychological traits of the

members of the subculture (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, in Baron, 1998). They argue that the black subculture actually *values* violence and that it is "an integral component of the subculture which experiences high rates of homicide".

Jewkes et al, 1999) state that just as the dominant society punishes those who deviate from its norms, deviance by the comparatively non-violent individual from the norms of the violent subculture is likewise punished, either by being ostracized, or treated with disdain or indifference. The African culture in relation to gender relations has generally been perceived as embracing violence, which in most cases is viewed as a way of disciplining the female spouse in instances where they would have disrespected the husband (Macdougall, 1999, Abrahams & Laubsher, 2004).

According to Wolfgang, " it is not far-fetched to suggest that a whole culture may accept a value set dependent upon violence, demand or encourage adherence to violence, and penalize deviation". Also, the more a person is integrated into this subculture, "the more intensely he embraces its prescriptions of behavior, its conduct norms, and integrates them into his personality" (Wolfgang & Ferracuti in Baron, 1998).

Baron (1998) supports the above proposition by contending that no subculture can be totally different from or totally in conflict with the society of which it is a part. Furthermore, to establish the existence of a subculture of violence does not require that the actors sharing in these basic value elements should express violence in all situations (Oliver, 1994). Members of groups having a subculture of violence might need to carry weapons for protection against others. But they say that the very act of carrying these weapons becomes a common symbol of willingness to participate in violence, to expect violence, and to be ready for its retaliation. This study argues that labelling the whole South African society as violent because of the violent subcultures inherent in it is misleading and erroneous in that not everyone subscribes to the violent culture.

In the light of these facts, it is plausible to conclude that male violence in some parts of the society is not viewed as illicit conduct, but as normal, in specific relation to situations where violence is embraced as an instrument for discipline. This is evident in studies with abusive men that have exposed unremorseful feelings about their

actions of violence against their spouses (Macdougall, 1999; Kim, 2000). It is also assumed that the subculture of violence theory can be incorporated into our understanding of violence however; the reasons it forwards are but a part of a constellation of many others.

2.4. Radical feminism and male violence against women

The Radical feminist thought as purported by Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh (2005), acknowledges that patriarchy enables men to dominate and control women (Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005). By the same token, within a patriarchal social order, men maintain a privileged position through their domination of women and their monopoly of social institutions (Cunningham et al, 1998). The study argues that this permits men to benefit from their power over women in everyway, from ego-satisfaction to economic and domestic exploitation, sexual domination and political power.

Patriarchy is regarded as a violence that is practiced by men and male dominated organizations over women and is linked to all forms of abuse against women (Firestone, 1970). Feminist analysis of male violence connects it to the pervasive sexism in our norms, values and institutions (Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005). By the same token, Yllo, (2005), proposes that,

“ When a man rapes his wife because he feels it is her wifely duty to submit, this is not just a conflict of individual interests, but that which is deeply gendered and the husband’s perceived entitlement has strong institutional support”(p115).

Radford & Stanko (1997) argue that, sexual violence is used by men as a way of securing and maintaining relations of male dominance and female subordination, a notion central to the patriarchal social order. Thus male violence within families is part of a wider system of male power (Yllo, 2005). This ideology converges with the hegemonic masculinity concept which projects that men’s use of violence against women embodies the currently accepted answer to the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Gilgun et al, 1999).

This realisation has acted as an impetus for feminist treatment programs that focus on addressing power relations in gender violence cases, such as the use of power control wheels that deconstruct fertile grounds that support the further breeding of male violence against women (Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005).

The researcher's frame of reference is that, the South African society like many other societies is patriarchal and that violence is largely perpetrated by men against women. As such, domestic violence cases are difficult to deal with, as society comprehends a man's use of violence against his spouse as a mechanism to discipline his partner. Conclusively, the researcher contends that feminists have exposed the breeding ground for domestic violence, which is patriarchy. The study's standpoint is that although patriarchy contributes to the abuse of women, it is not fair to insinuate that all men are consciously programmed to violate women, as the entire male population is not abusive.

Currently, feminism is an ideology, if not a social movement that is subject to many qualifications (Oyewumi, 2003). The distinction between the mainstream feminism (white feminism) and Black and African feminism reflect contestations that have become very much a part of history and worldwide development of feminist ideas. Mainstream feminism has been considered inadequate in addressing the needs of all women as it has fallen short in concerns of racial/ethnic and class diversity among women (Loseke, 2005) and this has resulted in the birth of Black and African feminism.

2.5. Black Feminism and male violence against women

The Black feminist thought was spawned as a subsequent result of understanding that although gender is important and crucial to consider in intimate partner violence cases, other inequities must be considered (King, 2006). These include key factors such as race, ethnicity, sexuality and economic status. The black feminist thought purports that, experiences of black women and their way of knowing and understanding the world around them are different from other women in relation to race, class and gender (Hill, 1990). This study contends that in as much as the black

feminism addresses specific issues faced by black women, it also has potential to give a more precise picture on the dynamics of violence perpetrated by black men.

Black feminism is comprised of an afrocentric and gender consciousness components that form the value system, which is derived from a shared history of people of African descent (Collins, 1991). The afrocentric views are core and still very much present in the Black thought process, which have survived racial, imperialism, colonialism and apartheid (Collins, 1991). It suggests that gender consciousness in the context of shared oppression cannot be separated from social relations of intersected race and class oppression. The researcher purports that, since the black feminist theory addresses the afrocentric view of gender relations, it has the ability to explain the discourse of male violence among African men as it seeks to understand the culture and its impact on people's social practises.

The theory contends that, dominant patriarchal and capitalistic structures have socially constructed the pathology and stigmatised perception of the Black women's experience of domestic violence. James (1993) informs us that, Black feminism is rooted in the black communities and nourished by them even as it challenges these very communities to address issues of internal oppression. Owing to this view, the researcher is of the opinion that, black feminism nourishes our understanding about the experiences of black people in the context of their culture and the challenges that are race/ethnic related. Moreover, the study will weave this approach in an attempt to understand men's experiences of violence.

According to Potter, (2006), black feminism addresses the concerns in the lives of black women that are categorised into four themes: the social structural oppression, the black community and culture, intimate and familial relations and the black woman as an individual. The standpoint of these foci areas is that, under social structural oppression, black feminists routinely address matters of institutional racism, sexism and classism. Included in this is black women's limited access to adequate education and employment as consequences of racism, sexism and classism (Collins, 1991). In relation to male violence, this limited access to resources can be said to be the driving force, which has contributed to domestic violence, as women remain dependent on men, and thereby perpetuating the domination of men as the sole breadwinners.

The theory addresses relationships among blacks as a topic being meticulously discussed by the critical race and black feminists. These include issues of black women and men's occurrence of violence within the black community and the role of the black church as staple institution in the black community (Potter, 2006). Research in black communities indicates that there is a profound difference when it comes to power and control issues among the black community as compared to white communities (Oyewumi, 2003). This is due to the complexities of the black culture concerning relationship issues. By scrutinizing the characteristics of batterers abusive behaviours and the motivation for battered black women to remain in abusive relationships. A sufficient explanation can be formed to demonstrate the method in which these men are still able to assert some level of power and control over the women (Potter, 2006).

Black feminism shares the view that, intimate familial relations of black women, separate them from the other women as the strong familial ties inherent in black families contribute to their chronic subordination (Potter, 2006). As such, these strong familial ties also contribute to men's chronic domination over women. Thus, if violence is seen as an instrument for maintaining discipline and maintaining order in the family, it is very likely that men's violence against women is mostly not challenged in such communities. This causes the cycle of violence to remain a thorny issue amongst black families.

2.6. African feminism and male violence against women

African feminism unlike black feminism stresses the need for the recognition of culture and traditions in the oppression of women and the domination of men from Africa (Oyewumi, 2003). This approach is important to this study since it combines, racial, sexual, class and cultural dimensions of oppression to produce a more inclusive brand of feminism. It is an approach, which speaks of cultural experiences of African women and how this impacts on their lives.

African feminism addresses issues that African women face, that have not been a priority for mainstream feminism. For example mainstream feminism demands individual woman's liberation, but African Feminism is more concerned with the liberation of all African Women with particular emphasis on culturally linked forms of oppression (Togo, 1999).

Critics of the feminist analysis argue that patriarchy and a strictly gendered view of power and control do not provide a framework within which to understand other forms of violence (Featherstone, 1997). For example, child abuse appears to present changes to feminist perspectives on the use of violence within families. This study however, directs its energies towards men only and thus in this current research this limitation does not hold water. Further critics have questions on how feminism can explain the high rate of wife to husband assault. Feminist contenders however, believe that this phenomenon has been spawned as a result of women's critical consciousness of the need for them to defend themselves (Barnett & LaViolette, 1997).

In addition, family violence researchers suggest that other substantive disciplines argue that patriarchy is just one variable in a complex constellation of causes (Anderson, 2002). They contend that socio-demographic indicators like educational and employment status among others, influence propensities for domestic assaults. The researcher contends that whilst these postulations have substance, ignoring the part played by patriarchy is simplistic and mechanistically misleading in that the power and control dimension remains the core issue in most relationships.

The researcher is of the opinion that violence in the African context is seen as normal behaviour among men because of the values embodied in the culture. The fight against male violence in the African culture has to focus on all men and not individuals as the cultural values bind almost every African man. The study also perceives that, although there are different branches of feminism, which hold contradictory viewpoints, their central conviction is that society is patriarchal and that patriarchy is the culprit that is perpetuating violence in the home. The categorisation of feminism becomes essential in explaining the experience of violence in white, black and more specifically in the African context.

2.7. Feminism and male violence against women

This study has chosen to use the feminist theory to a larger extent over the other three theories mainly because the other theories failed to adequately meet the requirements of the research questions and the problem statement of the study. The social learning theory places emphasis on violence as learned behavior during childhood and thus concentrating on respondents' histories and yet the study is focusing on present experiences of violence. The systems theory focuses on the family and yet the research intends to acquire information from the perpetrators experiences of violence.

The subculture of violence puts emphasis on criminal violence among blacks as a product of their commitment to sub-cultural values and norms that condone violence as an acceptable means of resolving interpersonal conflicts (Oliver, 1994). Although this is true, the researcher believes that this theory on its own does not give a concrete explanation to domestic violence. In addition, the theories ignore the patriarchal context in which domestic violence occurs. Researchers like Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh (2005), concede that theories that fail to acknowledge the presence of patriarchy in domestic violence issues are flawed and meaningless.

Studies have shown that in the past three decades, largely through feminist activities the issue of domestic violence has been raised to the public consciousness as a serious societal problem. Furthermore, research findings internationally have been consistent with feminist propositions, in India findings showed that violence occurs within the traditional family system and within the context of institutional patriarchy (Fernandez, 1999). In America, 29 studies have concluded that assaultive husbands perceived the use of marital violence as acceptable. Studies in China documented that, the patriarchal family system and gender inequality within the family are largely responsible for the prevalence of wife abuse. Lastly, the impetus to develop treatment models like the Duluth Model- Power and Control Wheel operating in Western countries like America, Canada and United Kingdom has been spawned by feminist work with battered women (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

2.8. Conclusion

This chapter discussed a number of theoretical perspectives from which various explanations of male violence can be derived. The need to understand each of these theories as having a substantial contribution was realised as various treatment models have been developed from these perspectives. It is hoped that, a better understanding of male violence amongst the South African men can also contribute to the initiation of other treatment models that appropriately address male violence in the black South African context. It has been noted that analyzing the theories, from which judgement on male violence can be derived, nourishes one's awareness about this area of study. The next chapter primarily focuses on discussing the history and nature of male violence in South Africa and globally.

Chapter 3

Male violence in South Africa and globally

3.0. Introduction

The previous chapter provides a broad framework on the perception about male violence. The framework demonstrates that male violence can be understood in four different dimensions, as learned behaviour, as maintained through roles, relations and feedback mechanisms in familial discourses, as a reflection of subcultural values that condone violence and as a result of patriarchy. This chapter provides insight into literature around male perpetrated violence in heterosexual relationships in South Africa and globally. It discusses the causes of male violence as observed by researchers. In addition, it highlights the intervention strategies that have been formulated so far to alleviate this social evil. A critical analysis of the literature is incorporated with the aim of establishing the value of this current study within the existing body of research. Literature is organised under different thematic areas that are pertinent to this area of study.

3.1. Prevalence of male violence in South Africa

Male violence against women is skyrocketing by the day, yet society is failing to justifiably question this phenomenon. Gilgun & McLeod (1999) contend that, male violence is regarded as normal behaviour in some societies and is not problematised. Furthermore, the continual rise of domestic violence statistics is a depiction of society's tolerance of male violence. Plant (2006) comments, "When something is "common sensical", in our society, it is at its strongest". Needless to say, male violence has become part of the fabric of the South African Society as statistics depict a pandemic that is not only normal, but also that which has gone out of control (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2001).

Gender violence reports that exist in South Africa and the world at large are mostly forwarded by women as the majority of victims (People opposing Women Abuse, 2007). As such, there has been a projection of gender violence as a problem for women and exonerating the perpetrating party, men. Statistics show that, at least 90% of women have been physically abused, 71% have been sexually abused and one in every six women who die in Gauteng is killed by an intimate partner (Masimanyane in Macdougall, 2000).

A study carried in Cape Town to investigate the prevalence of male violence reported by men themselves shows that, 40% of men interviewed during this study reported to have physically abused their female partners, 30% of them contended to have sexually abused their intimate partners and emotional abuse was reported four times as much more than both physical and sexual abuse (Abrahams, Jewkes & Laubsher, 1999). In this frame of reference, it is only reasonable to conclude that, women are living in fear of being physically, psychologically and worst of all being killed by their intimate partners.

The researcher is of the opinion that male violence is an intrinsic and pervasive facet of gender relations in the South African society. Although, there are less studies and reports of male violence reported by men themselves, statistics given by women clearly depict the reality of male violence. It is in the light of these facts; the need to inquire on men's perspectives on domestic violence becomes a matter of urgency.

3.2. Reasons for perpetration of violence

There are various reasons and factors that contribute to male violence against women and the following can be discussed:

3.2.1. Male violence and the construction of masculinity

As male violence is on the forefront of researchers consciousness, a growing body of research is critically examining its causes (Barnett et al, 2005, Abrahams et al, 1999, Campbell, 1992). One of the prominent reasons that social scientists have forwarded

to explain male violence is that of the need to construct masculinity (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Radical feminists define masculinity, as an enactment of patriarchal hegemonic values central to men's very beings and intentionally excluding women from practical and neotic power (Imms, 2000). Gilgun and McLeod (1999), support this notion by arguing that violence is a way in which men fulfill their "hegemonic masculinity". They derive the concept "hegemony", from Donaldson, (1993), who states that:

"Hegemony is about winning and holding power and how the ruling class establishes and maintains its dominance often through destroying other groups." (p.645)

In hegemonic masculinity, violence is used by men to maintain dominance and to those who use it, not only do they feel justified, but believe it is within their right. Connell, (1995: 83) described this concept as, "an ideology of supremacy that gives them authorisation". Thus, violence enacts and particularises the idea of hegemony and hegemonic masculinity. In a study carried out in Eastern Cape Province of South Africa by Macdougall (2000), participants, who at the time of the interview were incarcerated for killing their spouses, gave no hint of remorse for their actions; instead, they blamed their spouses for their acts of violence. To them, acts of violence would not have occurred if it were not for their partners. Moreover, another study in Cape Town confirmed that 73,3% of men interviewed believed it was acceptable to hit a woman (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana Ratsaka, & Laubsher, 1999). Such discourses expose the notion that men justify their acts of abuse as normal, which is a clear depiction of hegemonic values inherent in parts of the South African communities.

Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh (2005), further this proposition by stating that men use violence to construct their masculine identities. Their argument is that, violence is a form of "doing gender", in which men engage in ongoing interactional processes which they invoke, construct and enact polarized images of the two genders (Gilgun & McLeod, 1999). These polarizations place men in dominant positions and in turn devalue women. In similar fashion, feminists contend that these polarizations are a result of patriarchy, which is a system that enables men to dominate and control women (Loseke et al, 2005).

The rise in domestic violence statistics, which ranges as far as intimate femicide, indicate men's beliefs that authorize them to perpetrate violence on women (Matthews, Abrahams, Martin, Vetten, Van de Merwe & Jewkes, 2004). It is evident that men's adamant belief that they have control over women compels them to reach as far as murdering their female partners, which Bean (1992) describes as the, "ultimate expression of men's control over women".

Studies are constantly revealing that violence is used as reassertion of masculinity in communities where opportunities for assertion of masculine power are limited. The myth of the desirability of male dominance still holds a very strong currency for many working class men, but unemployment and low wages is a feature of the lives of many men (Campbell, 1992). Thus, the erosion of material dimension from the definition of "what a man is" prompts disenfranchised men to use violence against their female partners as a way of commanding control and respect from their spouses. A study executed in Kwazulu Natal revealed that:

"... Mostly a father who could not provide (for his family), because of humiliation, often turned to drinking, women for consolation, squandering a portion of his meagre salary on the indulgences and further embittering his family ..."(Campbell, 1992:14).

Campbell's observation shows that for men who cannot provide, compensatory mechanisms like drinking and promiscuity are resorted to. Consequences of such actions are emotional and economic abuse committed against the female partner and the family, and the burden ends up resting on the wife to provide for the family and, to nurse wounds of infidelity caused by the husband.

A similar study undertaken in Nigeria and Uganda postulated that the chief mandate of manhood in Africa is the achievement of financial independence, employment, and income (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). In the Yoruba speaking regions of Nigeria, there are documented accounts of women belittling husbands when they are not able to provide financially for the family. Men themselves reported feeling emasculated when they could not contribute towards the family income (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Black feminists hold the notion that; mainstream feminism has failed to satisfactorily capture the experiences of black women and men (Oyewumi, 2003). They concur that

mainstream feminism turns a blind eye on racial and economic dimensions, in which black people have limited access to economic resources because of racial segregation (Collins, 1991). These distinctions reflect contestations that have become part of history and the development of feminist ideas.

In the light of these facts, violence amongst black men is utilised as a compensation mechanism by disenfranchised men to boost their bruised self esteems. This study assumes that, violence is still part and parcel of masculine constructions in the present day society, as violence has become “normal” behaviour associated with men. However, the question that this study seeks to pursue is, to what extent do men perceive violence as contributing adequately towards their masculine constructions? In addition the research seeks to inquire what violent men themselves have to say about this postulation? The research also intends to uncover alternative ways of masculine construction, which do not include violence from men themselves.

3.2.2. Men’s violence as an instrument for discipline

Another reason for men’s perpetration of violence is to discipline their partners (Jewkes et al, 1999). The notion of men having authority to discipline their female partners is a manifestation of patriarchal values and norms inherent in our society. Violence is used as a tool for gaining power and control over women (Barnett et al, 2005). Blacklock (2001) states that men use violence and other abusive actions to support their sense of entitlement by punishing a woman for something she has done wrong (teaching her a lesson), forcing her to do something she does not want to do (e.g. to shut up), and stopping her from doing something she wishes to do (e.g. leaving the relationship

Feminists further this proposition by stating that, these acts of violence are enacted to control the partner, which in their analysis is a manifestation of patriarchal ideologies of gender and identity (Cunningham et al, 1998). This sense of entitlement allows him to see his behaviour as reasonable given his partner’s unreasonable resistance to his expectations (Blacklock, 2001).

A study undertaken in Umtata articulated men's frame of reference about the use of violence as a tool for enforcing discipline and control over the female partners, where they were perceived to have broken rules (Jewkes et al, 1998). A similar research in Cape Town revealed that men use violence in instances where they perceive their position as 'heads' being threatened (Abrahams & Laubsher, 1999). Participants unanimously agreed that women's tendencies to override their authority in the home propelled them to use violence as a way of putting women in their places (Abrahams, Jewkes & Laubsher, 1999). In addition, violent practises are deployed by men against women in attempts to maintain a particular self-image and self-evaluations in the face of real or imagined threats to prove that they are "real" men and their women are under their control (Wood & Jewkes, 1998). It is reasonable to conclude that violence in most instances is a resource for demonstrating and showing a person is a man (Hearn 1998). The current study aims to add on to the current information by inquiring on the meaning attached to violence as a mechanism utilised to discipline women.

3.2.3. Male violence and exposure to violence during childhood

Male violence has also been linked to exposure to violence during childhood (Cunning et al, 1998). Studies have shown that male violence is learned behaviour (Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005). A study conducted in the United Kingdom established that violence in one's family of origin was associated with acceptance of interpersonal violence (Cunning et al, 1998). As such, scholars who support this ideology, state that during childhood, observations of how parents and the significant others behave in intimate relationships providing an initial learning of alternative behaviours which are "appropriate" in these relationships (Mihalic and Elliot, 1997). If the family of origin handled stress and frustrations with anger and aggression, the child who has grown up in such an environment is at greater risk of exhibiting those same behaviours, witnessed and experienced as an adult (Mihalic et al. 1997).

Barnett, Miller-Perrin & Perrin (2005), also postulate that exposure to inter-parental violence or direct physical or sexual abuse during childhood is associated with later aggression. The above notions have been derived from the social learning school of thought that holds the sentiment that people model behaviour that they have been

exposed to as children (Bandura, 1977). In essence, male violence is a result of men's socialisation from childhood, which is perpetuated and practised throughout life (Tshesane, 2001).

Blacklock (2001) does not share the same sentiment by arguing that whereas violence can be learned behaviour and can be consequently a cause of why some men can be violent, only few men fall in this category. Moreover, there is a scarcity of literature to prove the relationship between the two variables, childhood exposure to violence and spousal abuse (Loseke et al, 2005). This is in the light of the fact that most violent men use this as an excuse and making them look as victims of violence too and can be a deterring factor for men to see their abusive behaviour for what it is and to neglect responsibility for their behaviour.

This research acknowledges the heated debate on the relationship of the above variables. It concludes that the issue is very subjective in that there are cases in which the relationship between childhood exposure to violence and spousal abuse can be proven. However, not all cases can further this postulation as not all children from violent homes are aggressive. Be that as it may, this research will divert its attention only to men's current experiences of violence and not the correlation between the latter stated variables.

3.2.4. Male violence and alcohol abuse

Among other variables that have been known to contribute to male violence is alcohol abuse, a repetitive use of alcohol that causes harm to the drinker or other persons (Barnett & Perrin-Perrin, 2005). Gelles & Cornell (1990) state that virtually every study of aggression in families shows that alcohol consumption is a strong correlate of violence. The "drunken bum theory" of wife beating (1985) proved that there is a strong connection between the two as this belief has been bolstered by medical, biological and psychoanalytic opinion. Embedded in this theory, is the opinion that:

"Alcohol effects on the central nervous system release inhibitions by depressing brain function or suppressing the super-ego function and thereby allowing the expression of rage" (Kaufman, 2001:1).

In similar fashion, a study carried out in Cape Town saw men admitting that alcohol did play a part in their violent behaviours. They stated that rape was mostly likely to occur when women did not want to have sex with them when they were drunk (Abrahams, Jewkes & Laubsher, 1999). Moreover, in the United States, an overview of studies carried out on intimate partner violence estimated that men were drunk when violence occurred in about 45% of the cases (Caetano, Schafer, Cunrad, 2001).

Although a connection has already been observed, some researchers question the cause and effect relationship between the abuse of alcohol and male violence (New York times Company, 2006, Kaufman, 2000, Blacklock, 2001). Supportive arguments forwarded state that,

“Many who abuse substances also abuse partners and that one problem does not cause another. For them stopping substance abuse does not mean stopping battering as all too many women can testify. Battering ends when men do not benefit from this behaviour, cannot get away with it, and learn to act differently” (Kaufman, 2001: 1).

Arguments similar to these postulate that, in perpetrators of domestic violence, alcohol and drugs are not themselves causal factors in their aggression. Rather, perpetrators with substance abuse problems have two problems and both which should be treated in tandem (Blacklock: 2001, Kaufman: 2001).

In this frame of reference, it is evident that the relationship between alcohol and male violence is another thorny issue in the explanation of spousal violence, as a flurry of debate has emanated from this discussion. This study realises the probable connection between violence and the use of alcohol, it attempts to inquire from men whether they had the intention to abuse their spouses before and during the violent episode. Moreover, the research aims to gain information on whether men were aware of their violent actions at the time of perpetration or not.

3.2.5. Male violence and women’s employment

Men’s use of violence has also been found as a reaction towards women’s employment. Family violence sociologists argue that, whereas feminism and its ideologies contend that gender violence is as a result of the patriarchy system, they

state that it is one variable in a complex constellation of causes which among others are poverty, unemployment, socio-economic status, and cohabiting status (Anderson, 1997, Gelles, 1993).

The advent of modernization has seen the proliferation of more and more women into the labour force system. For some researchers like Anderson (1997), this has been one common cause of male violence against women. Anderson (1997) proposed that a woman's employment status has critical symbolic importance as it signifies a challenge to the culturally prescribed norm of male dominance and female dependence. Where a man lacks this sign of dominance, violence may be a means of reinstating his authority over his wife.

On the contrary, Barnett & LaViolette (1993) articulate that, women's dependence on men is the significant reason why men abuse women. They further postulate that abusive behaviour, including economic abuse help men maintain power and control over women, worst of all they has been a confirmed connection between women's failure to leave their abusive relationships and economic dependency. The study contends that the sociological proposition of women's employment as contributing to men's use of violence contradicts with feminist ideologies. Feminists claim that women abuse is a result of their economic dependence on men and thus it advocates for women's employment to ensure their financial dependence.

This study contends that, both socio-economic statuses have an impact on male violence in that women's economic independence threatens men's cultural role as providers and thus are forced to use violence as a way of reasserting their masculinity. On the other hand women's dependence also gives men power to control them, as they will be the breadwinners. This study aims to find out if there is a correlation between these two variables in respondents' accounts of their experiences of violence.

3.2.6. Male violence and capitalism

Campbell (1999) states that capitalism has also played a profound role in the increase of male violence in South Africa. This is because it oppressed working-class men and the wider community. For men oppressed in race and class terms, their socially

sanctioned power over women and young men in the family is often the only arena in which they were able to exercise any dominance (Campbell, 1999). Morrell (2002), states that:

“Where black men resisted class and race oppression, they were also, simultaneously, defending their masculinity. This involved efforts to re-establish or perpetuate power over women” (p.45).

Thus, because capitalism disenfranchises a lot of working class men through exploiting and dehumanising them, consequences of such a mechanism on the black South African men are, loss of power and control over what they produce and frustrations caused by the brutality and belittling that occurs in the working arena. Suffice to say; the only place that men can exercise their power and control is in the homestead. These notions corroborate black feminist ideologies that enunciate that the economically disempowered men utilize violence as an instrument to attain power and control over women in instances where they feel emasculated (Loseke et al, 2005).

3.2.7. Male violence and the African Culture

Bowman (1997) is of the opinion that almost every traditional African society is patriarchal and a woman's place within this scheme was decidedly subordinate. The institutionalisation of this inequality remains common in the African customary law; women have no right to inherit from their husbands, are not regarded as sharing ownership of marital property/land and are almost without remedy upon divorce (Bowman, 1997). Clearly, it is evident male violence in this case, economic abuse is supported strongly by the African culture and thus, making the abuse of women complex to deal with as the abuse goes beyond the husband but to the broader extended family.

Wife battering is regarded normal in the traditional culture. In support of this proposition, one author describes interviews at the social welfare office in the Ibadan region of which police officers remind female complainants that the Yoruba culture allows men to beat women (Bowman, 1997). In addition, a study carried out in South Africa saw male nurses stating that in the African culture,

“Physical abuse is frequently described using terms such as punishment or discipline and that men who were able to discipline their wives were regarded with approval as maintaining order in the home” (Kim, 2002).

Armstrong (Bowman 1997) argues that the uneven distribution of power embedded in the traditional African marriages is portrayed through the acknowledgement of polygamy, the acceptance of male promiscuity, the power of the extended family over the married couple and the universal institution of bride-price as underlying the widespread abuse of wives. Black feminism contends that the strong familial ties inherent in black families contribute to women’s chronic subordination (Potter, 2006). Not only is polygamy accepted in the African culture, it is also heavily recognised in the African Customary Law. Bride price for most abused women makes it difficult for women to leave abusive husbands unless their families of origin are willing to return the amount paid (Bowman, 1997). African feminism puts the cultural perspective into consideration in explaining the complex gender disparities in the African cultures (Oyewumi, 2003). It concurs that men and women are bound by traditional values, thus men’s use of violence is culturally seen as a mechanism for maintaining order in the family. Addressing the issue of violence in the African context cannot only target classism and sexism but race and cultural traditions (Collins, 1991).

Armstrong (in Bowman, 1997) carried out a study of domestic violence in Zimbabwe, which involved twenty-five male abusers, and seventy-five female victims of spousal abuse in the Shona speaking region. The study established that women’s acts of challenging their husbands authority and prerogatives by inquiring about their extramarital involvements were according to the participants instances that called for the use of violence. To them, traditionally, women are expected to be submissive and not to question and argue with their husbands. Another study revealed that, infidelity is socially accepted and even encouraged. In fact, because it is widely regarded as a man’s right to have extramarital affairs, a woman’s lack of co-operation would be an occasion for her physical abuse (Kim, 2002). Owing to this view, African feminism takes into account the cultural dimension that makes the oppression of women complex in African societies (Oyewumi, 2003). Hence, it advocates for the liberation

of all African women with particular emphasis on culturally linked forms of oppression (Togo, 1999).

For some men “jealousy” is the main cause of domestic violence. The double standard that men are traditionally justified to have extramarital affairs and yet women are not allowed to be in contact with other men seems to be operational in the African culture. Abrahams et al (1999), highlighted this point in their study, as they found out that most men unanimously agreed that arguments that led to violence mostly “starts when a men sees his woman talking to another men he does not know, and this would give him thoughts” that his partner was cheating. Another study carried out in Kwazulu Natal revealed that, young men were catapulted into beating their partners when they cheated or suspected to have cheated (Wood & Jewkes, 1998). Pence and Paymar (1993) state that, men’s preoccupation with jealousy is a depiction of their low self-esteem, thus violence is used to maintain and to reaffirm their controlling position.

On the contrary, scholars such as Armstrong in Bowman (1997) have argued that, culture is often an excuse for male violence rather than a cause for it. The researcher contends that culture is people’s lifestyle and the way people live. Thus, if the norms and values of today’s African society do not condemn violence, then culture partly plays a part in its perpetuation, as the increase of violence statistics expose a society that has accepted this social ill as a way of life. This study, thus, seeks to inquire on the cultural practises that create a breeding ground for violence, the meaning the practises carry and how they contribute to the gender inequalities in the society.

3.42.8. Male violence and the media

The media is playing a part in the perpetuation of male dominance and the subordination of women as it promotes violence and accentuations the objectification of women (Salo, 2005). This is because the media has a profound effect in shaping our identities and our frame of reference on certain issues. The public’s awareness of pertinent and sensitive issues such as domestic violence and intimate femicide stems from what they have heard in the media or what they have watched on television (Macdougall, 2000). Salo, 2005, points out that,

“The portrayal of gratuitous violence on television plays a role in promoting violence and view of women as objects of desire subjected to graphic violence”(p.1).

Furthermore, study analysing the Cape times coverage of women abuse, found out that, journalists are often uninformed of the dynamics of violence against women or write articles purely for the sales value irrespective of whether they distort the true story of what actually happened (Ormarjee, 2001).

The study also confirmed that, more often than not, the media upholds flawed perceptions of women and gender based violence. It upholds the status quo and even goes as far as to create an enabling climate for gender based violence by normalising and legitimising gender based violence in its reporting or omission of reporting (Ormarjee, 2001).

Another worst form of male violence that is being trivialised in newspapers is intimate femicide. Radford and Russel (1992), criticize the media for its failure to report intimate femicide cases. They noted that the killing of a woman by a stranger in a public place often gets front-page coverage, exploited for its ability to sell newspapers. Instances of domestic violence are subsumed under the category of “family tragedy” and are given less attention. Rude (1999), states that the language used and details revealed were said to often hide the brutality involved, blamed the victim for assault and perpetuating that intimate femicide cases were domestic affairs.

Radical feminists contend that patriarchy has permeated almost every social institution in the society because the oppression of women is maintained by these institutions (Barnett et al, 2005). It is feasible for one to conclude that, the media is a classical example of an institution that is preserving patriarchal values as it is biased towards domestic violence issues and partly reinforcing male violence against women. Added to that information conveyed is more dramatic, sensational and entertaining and not exposing the seriousness of this social evil and the implications it has to the moral fabric of the society.

3.2.9. Male violence and HIV and AIDS

In the evolution of the AIDS pandemic, Sub-Saharan Africa has come to be known as the global epicentre. The social, cultural, economic and even political aspects comprise of the HIV and AIDS pandemic making it one of humanity's greatest challenge at the beginning of the 21st century. Tarherzadeh (2000) contends that the AIDS pandemic has yet again exposed the persistent inequality, which dominates gender relations. This is witnessed by women's inability to access resources and participate in issues that affect them and the rest of the society.

A recent review of some of the existing studies suggests that, gender-based violence makes women vulnerable to HIV and AIDS through three main mechanisms (Campbell & Maman, 2000, Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, McIntyre, Gray, Harlow, 2003). First, there is a position of possibility of direct transmission through forced or coerced sexual acts. Secondly, the trauma associated with violent experiences can impact later behaviour. Third, violence or the threat of violence may limit women's ability to adopt safer sex practices within on going relationships (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, McIntyre, Gray, Harlow, 2003).

The issue of infidelity is a common practise among African men, with the rise of HIV and AIDS statistics; most women in violent relationships are at risk of being infected (Campbell & Maman, 2000). This is because having multiple partners has been a well-known reason for susceptibility to the HIV and AIDS pandemic (Wingood & Diclemente, 1998). It has been known that women with a history of violence, fear violent retaliation for requesting condom use (Weiss & Rao Gupta, 1998) and attempts by disadvantaged women to use condoms or access sexually transmitted disease services are likely to lead to abuse (Worth, 1998). Furthermore, women in Zimbabwe report physical violence and forced sex as retaliation for attempts to refuse sex with their partners (Watts & Ndlovu, 1997). Thus, it is evident that male violence against women robs women of their power to make decisions about their sexuality and thus making them susceptible to the HIV virus.

Intercessions between violence and economic vulnerability may also increase women's HIV risk. Economically vulnerable women often depend on men's financial

contributions and are less likely to successfully negotiate safer sex and less likely to leave relationships perceived as risky (Mane, Rao Gupta, 1994).

In this frame of reference, male violence contributes to women's susceptibility to the AIDS pandemic. Radical feminists point out that, patriarchy is a violence that is practised by men and male dominated organisations over women (McKay, 1994). Drawing from this ideology, one can contend that HIV/AIDS has been spawned by the patriarchal system in the South African society as women's subordination has stripped them of power over their sexuality. The essence of this project is to find out if men are conscious of the contribution of violence to the rise of HIV infections among women.

3.3. Men's interpretation of violence

In America it has established that most men batterers usually offered self serving replies as they tended to blame others especially their female partners (Barnett et al, 2005). One salient factor is that, men who blame their female partners are likely to be even more violent than those who do not (Byrne & Arias, 1997). Barnett et al (2005), states that the most common explanation given by male batterers is,

"I told her not to do it (e.g., stay late after work). She knew what would happen if she did, but she did it anyway. She got what she asked for" (p.315)

Literature is also showing that male batterers tend to deny and minimize their assaultive and abusive actions (Blacklock, 2000). Eisikovits & Enosh (1997), quote a male batterer's explanation for his violent behaviour,

" You won't believe it, I could move the wall when I am in rage. The hands get going by themselves. You can't control it. And she does this childish stuff...so she deserves it. I know that legally it is forbidden, but I also know that she deserves it" (p. 317)

Blacklock (2000), states that, men minimize violence by denying the abuse because the particular acts are not included in their definition of violence and abuse, most frequently, this will mean omitting actions such as pushing, holding, blocking and

throwing things at her. Perpetrators perceive sexual abuse as a different form of domestic violence and that they are unwilling to address non-physical abusive behaviour as violence. Feminists believe that such discourses are evidence of how men have been accustomed to patriarchal values to the extent of failing to appreciate actions such as sexual, verbal and emotional abuse as violence (Loseke, et al, 2005).

For some batterers, the use of stress as an excuse for violence is a common phenomenon. Statements like, “I had a really difficult day at work”, are some of the excuses men give to justify their use of violence. Men’s usage of stress as an excuse represents men as, pressure cookers that blow when the pressure reaches a certain point, which, is simplistic and mechanistically misleading (Blacklock, 2000). The Domestic Violence Intervention Project practitioners contend that, the important thing is to ask what it is about men’s constructions and their relationships with their partners that permit them to use abusive behaviour towards them when they feel they are under pressure.

It can be concluded that, information on how men interpret their actions is vital in formulating strategies that can be adapted when dealing with male violence perpetrators. However, what is lacking in most of these studies is a platform for these men to define domestic violence in their own terms and understanding. This study contends that gaining such information will not only clarify men’s actions of violence and their interpretation of it but will also highlight their empowerment needs. The researcher also concurs that, most studies have failed to tap into the feelings of the perpetrator after the battering experience and men’s evaluation of the impact of violence on the solution of the problem, which this study endeavours to glean.

3.4. The perpetrator of male violence

There is no established profile for a male abuser. However, Stout (1993) formulated a typology for batterers based on their behaviour, which suggests a continuum of sporadic, chronic, antisocial, and sociopath batterers. Saunders (in Macdougall, 2000) supports this typology in his study combining behaviour indicators with attitudinal scales. He found three similar batterer types namely, the emotionally volatile, family only and generalised aggressors. Whatule (2000), states that, characteristics of

batterers include the abusers inability to recognize felt emotions except for anger and a difficulty in expressing their thoughts and needs.

Bean (1992) lists a number of behaviours that may characterise a controlling man. The researcher is of the opinion that the characteristics also describe male abusers. The lists of behaviours comprise,

- Using any type of physical coercion
- Destroying property
- Being cruel to animals
- Showing an explosive temper
- Intimidating or bullying weaker family members with a loud voice, gestures and intimidating looks.
- Maintaining constant, critical watch on his partner
- Keeping her “off balance”, not knowing what to expect regarding his moods
- Using male privilege to treat her like a servant
- Claiming to be the authority
- Interrupting her conversations, changing topics, not responding, twisting her words, manipulating the children
- Making all the big decisions, blaming her for all unsatisfactory outcomes and telling her the children’s problem’s are her fault
- Being cold and withholding
- Interfering with her job, sabotaging her job
- Trivialising her complaints
- Using ridicule or sarcasm to “to put her down”
- Being obsessed with her, refusing to accept separation or divorce
- Being jealous of her, friends, family and children
- Accusing her of infidelity
- Being unfaithful
- Telling her she is ugly, unappealing and does not attract him sexually
- Forced sexual intercourse, including sexual acts she is uncomfortable with
- Forcing her to watch pornographic videos and demeaning her if she refuses
- Preventing her from becoming economically independent
- Insisting on selecting her clothes, especially for occasions important to him
- Isolating her from her family and friends

- Threatening to take the children and the house if she leaves
- Withholding money, spending excessively on himself, using her money as he sees fit not wanting her to have her own money
- Making her afraid to leave him

It is crucial to reiterate that; though the characteristics stated above are for a controlling man, they also define an abusive man as most of the characteristics have physical, psychological, economic and social harm on the woman and are of violent nature. Moreover, the study contends that these traits epitomize feminist contentions about men's behaviours as aimed at having control and dominion over women (Barnett et al, 2005). This study intends to find out if any of the respondents reflect some of these characteristics in their accounts of violence and how men utilize such traits to further the subordination of women.

3.5. Policies addressing gender violence

3.5.1. The Beijing Platform for Action (1995)

The Beijing Platform for Action of 1995 is one of the renowned international policies put in place to fight violence against women. It is as a result of this initiative that most educational campaigns, task forces and commission reports have been spawned at both international and national levels.

This conference gave a mandate to governments to condemn violence against women and to refrain from invoking any custom, tradition, or religious consideration in an attempt to avoid their obligations (Objective D1). This initiative has influenced a number of policies and laws, which have a direct bearing on gender violence. The South African feedback on the progress made in 2000 indicated that, a number of policies and laws were put in place in-order to fight gender violence such as, the Domestic Violence Act of 1998, Human Rights Commission Act and the Gender Policy. Such acts have to a larger extent impacted positively on the society by reflecting the seriousness of domestic violence.

On the other hand, the success of the Beijing conference's objectives in South Africa has been limited as factors like poverty, unemployment and HIV and AIDS among others, have marred the progress of most initiatives (South Africa's progress report, 2000). The researcher, is of the opinion that whereas, initiatives like the Beijing Platform for Action are noble attempts to fight gender violence, their inability to address male violence remains a shortfall of many policies. The study advocates that the shortfalls of such policies are a consequence of the short sightedness of feminism, which perceives that gender violence is only a women's problem, which should only be addressed by women themselves. It is hoped that results found in these studies will have an effect in the revision of such a policy by including provisions that place responsibility on men in the fight against gender violence.

3.5.2. The South African Domestic Violence Bill (1998)

Among other initiatives that have been initiated in South Africa, is the Domestic Violence Bill of 1998. The bill recognises the high rate of domestic violence within the South African society. The bill has taken a stance against male violence through its protection order (section 7a-f), which prohibits the respondent (abuser) from:

- Committing any act of violence.
- Enlisting the help of another person to commit any such act
- Entering a residence shared by the complainant and the respondent (if the court perceives it to be in the best interest of the complainant.
- Entering a specified part of such a shared residence
- Entering the complainant's residence.
- Entering the complainant's place of employment

The act also imposes the court to arrest and charge the person for committing the offence if the person fails to comply with the protection order.

A number of comments have been forwarded in support of the Domestic Violence Bill (1998) unlike the previous one. This is because it broadens the definition of domestic violence and it is not restricted to the married couples only. It allows more

power to the police to arrest the abuser and to sentence the abuser up to five years upon lack of compliance with the protection order (Soul City, 1999).

One of the greatest challenges that this act is facing like any other policies is the lack of adequate publicity especially in the rural areas (Soul City, 1999). Furthermore, the bill does not emphasise on counselling programmes for offending men, instead it focuses on victim programmes only (Zain, 2002). One other challenge that legislative initiatives such as the Domestic Violence Bill face is that there is no coherent national strategy dealing with implementation and the lack of resources is hampering the success of these policies.

This study contends that the bill is a noble initiative as it places power upon the criminal justice system to protect the victim and deal accordingly with the perpetrator. However, the most profound question that requires clarity is, to what extent is the act effectively curtailing men from perpetrating violence against women?

3.5.3. Male violence: A human rights issue

The sharp rise in domestic violence raises awareness at the aggravating pace with which women's rights are being violated. Male violence is a violation of women's rights as it contradicts with the South African Constitution's Bill of Rights. The following are some of the rights which male violence contravenes with:

Section 9: The right to equality. Violence against women is an obstacle against the achievement of the objectives of equality, peace and development (Beijing Platform for Action, 1995)

Section 10: The right to human dignity. Abuse of any form denies an individual of their human dignity.

Section 11: The right to life. One in every seven women who die in Gauteng is killed by their intimate partner (Macdougall, 2000). Thus, male violence in form of intimate femicide is a violation of a person's (woman) human rights.

Section 12: The right to freedom and security. Most male abusers deny their partners right to freedom as they determine where the partner goes and furthermore, fear

instilled by the repetitive acts of violence denies the partner of their security (Barnett et al, 2005)

Section 14: The right to privacy. Other forms of male violence like stalking contravenes with the partner's right to their privacy.

Section 18: The right to freedom of association. Abusers often control whom their partner sees or visits. Social researchers in this field have pointed out that one of the common factors which determine an abusive relationship is one which deters the other party from having freedom to associate with whom over they want (Bean, 1992).

Section 21: The right to freedom of movement and residence. Most of the perpetrators of male violence are known to curtail their partner's mobility.

Thus the bill of rights, presents a basis for evaluation of actions performed towards another person. Actions that contravene with any of the rights stated in the Bill of Rights are tantamount to one's arrest. However, this hypothesis is not always the case as many other factors come to play such as domestic violence happens in the privacy of the home and thus, making the situation difficult for authorities to effect the law upon perpetrators as this social ill is hardly reported (World Bank, 1999). Most people are ignorant of these rights, especially those in the rural areas who might view some behaviour as normal because of lack of awareness. Moreover, there is lack of capacitated service providers such as the police to deal effectively with domestic violence (South African, Beijing Report, 1996). These points of concern are a manifestation of feminist propositions, which suggest that the patriarchy has permeated virtually all facets in the society (Littlewood, 2004).

3.6. The South African Criminal Justice System (CJS)

Over the past decade, the talk of "access to justice" has become a common place in South Africa (Moult, 2005). While this might be the case, the criminal justice system has historically failed to protect women and children from men's violence (Zain, 2002). A small number of special police units have been set up to deal with the needs of the victims of gender violence, but for most parts, the response of the South African Police Service (SAPS) has been inadequate" (Jackson, 1996). This inadequacy has been reflected in different studies' were police officers have been

considered less helpful in domestic violence cases. Altebeker (2005:2), states that in most of the cases police asked subtle questions like “What do you think we can do about this? Or, “Why do you behave like this in front of the children?”

Social researchers, have found out that, a victim’s contact with the CJS normally ends with the reporting of the crime and this reflecting the lack of capacity of the CJS to tackle domestic violence fully (Jackson, 1996). This presents the dilemma with which, victims of domestic violence face that is the risk of reporting abuse against a partner in anticipation of getting help and the insensitivity of police to this matter. Bittner in Altebeker (2005), argues that,

“Police are the people to whom you turn for help when something is happening that ought not be happening and about something which ought to happen immediately”(p.2)

For most researchers, this is the ideal assumption, as this is not taking place on the ground as police insensitivity towards victims is constantly being uncovered. Jackson (1996), comments that, the insensitivity of the police is often experienced as secondary victimisation. This is because, police hostility and contemptuous treatment of female victims, coupled with ignorance of the legal provisions protecting women reporting a crime can result in feelings of helplessness and a reluctance to turn to the police.

A study carried out in Galeshwe outside Kimberly, indicated some of the common shortfalls of the police in matters of domestic violence (Altebeker, 2005). First, is the fact that, most police officers view domestic violence as petty (Altebeker, 2005). The research states that police hardly make arrests in cases where violence in terms of pushing, shoving and threats is encountered. Secondly, the research found out that, police officers were found more sympathetic to the perpetrator (if he is a male) than the victim (if she is female). The principal reasons for this course are sociological, cops are men brought up in a violently patriarchal society and some of the effect sticks to them irrespective of their duty (Altebeker, 2005). This evaluation cements feminist notions of how different social institutions are playing a role in the perpetuation of violence (Littlewood, 2004). Suffice to say, the police is far from an

ideal instrument to deal with domestic violence unless intensive capacity building is rendered to them.

Consequently, the Criminal Justice System has a huge challenge to improve on its performance as failure to do so has detrimental effects on the victims and fuels male violence as minimal attempts to curtail it are being implemented. This study will be extended to the Criminal Justice System professionals to inquire on the type of services they offer in relation to domestic violence cases and their evaluation of the effectiveness of the services.

3.7. Assistance for male violence perpetrators

Research undertaken by Ronan, Dreer, Dollard & Ronan (2004) indicates that male violence perpetrators has uncovered a number needs of men based on the causes of violence. Some of these needs are alternative coping and communication mechanisms. Ronan, Dreer, Dollard & Ronan (2004), indicate that violent individuals are deficient in social skills such communication and problem solving skills. As a result perpetrators resort to violence as an attempt to deal with high conflict marital interactions. Other scholars advocate that men who abuse their spouses have low self-esteems and thus violence is employed to compensate for low self-esteem and in defending a threatened sense of self by asserting superiority and dominance over the spouse (Murphy, Stosny & Morrel, 2005).

It is stated that, men's feelings of inadequacy are revealed through jealousy, which is also connected to violence (Ronan et al, 2004). Chronic self-esteem issues are also manifested through excessive jealousy towards the spouse, which also leads to violence in instances were cheating, is suspected (Dutton, Ginkel & Landolt, 1996). Although this is the case, this research assumes that most of these deductions emanated from researchers interpretations of the needs of their clients.

The study however, intends to enter into the male perpetrators' perspectives of what they regard as "needs" and would want assistance on. The departure point is that it is easy for practitioners to impose their empowerment strategies based on their

deductions and not on the deductions of the clients' themselves. This study thus, inquires from the male abusers on the kind of assistance they require. In addition the research aims to inquire on the men's perceptions of how their violent actions would have been avoided. The researcher hopes that creating a space for men to define their own needs will assist in tailoring strategies that best address their challenges.

3.7.1. Male violence rehabilitation programs

As a way to respond to male violence, a rehabilitation program has been put in place. Although working with male violence perpetrators is fairly new in the South African society, the programs have been formulated with the guidance of existing models used by western countries such as the Duluth model. The National Institute of Crime Prevention and Reintegration of offenders (NICRO), is breaking new ground with its perpetrator program that is still in its pilot stage. The program is a 20-24 week program with groups that consist of individual, couple, family and community work. The programs' intention is to diminish the power of batterers over the victims. The program embodies two aspects: the educational aspect on domestic violence and the influence of gender stereotyping and socialisation on violence.

Issues around HIV/AIDS are also covered in the content of the programme. Included are life skills training, such as creating self-awareness, anger and conflict management skills and creating healthy, safe relationships. In order to adequately address the dynamics at play in domestic violence between men and women, attention needs to be given to the issues of power and control, especially within a context of a patriarchal society. This is based on the premise that perpetrators use violence to control their partners. It is suggested that issues of power and control be consistently given sufficient emphasis in the programme, as these concepts are central to getting the perpetrator to accept responsibility for breaking the cycle of violence. Tools such as the Duluth Power and Control Wheel and the Equality Wheel are used (NICRO, 2005). Addressing power and control issues are central to feminist programs. In rehabilitating abusive men, feminists focus on the inequalities that exist in the society, by confronting men's violent actions (Cunningham et al, 1998).

The program aims to assist perpetrators (programme participants) to understand the underlying or root cause of their violent behaviour towards their partners, to encourage programme participants to take responsibility for their actions and the impact of these actions on themselves, their partners (the victims), their families, their communities and others who are affected by their actions. It endeavours to increase programme participants' willingness to change their behavioural patterns and refrain from acts of violence. In addition, it focuses on creating a supportive, non-threatening and psychologically enabling environment in which perpetrators can explore and identify ways in which they can change their abusive behaviour and develop new, healthier ways of communication and interaction. Lastly, it aims to ensure that victims of domestic violence (the abused women) are effectively supported through individual and group counselling and that they fully understand the Programme and its consequences.

NICRO's pilot programmes began in 2002 –2004 in Gauteng, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape. However, a number of challenges were encountered during implementation. Some of them involve lack of community support towards perpetrator work and that victims are no longer attending counselling and support services now that perpetrators are being held accountable. Furthermore, the courts have not all been cooperative in setting proper sanctions for defaulters attending the programmes (Padayachee, 2005).

This study acknowledges the initiative taken by NICRO as noble as the need for strategies to deal with male violence perpetrators is an urgent matter. This study however, aims to inquire from the service providers in the Nkonkobe Municipal area on whether they are utilising these strategies and are capacitated enough to utilize them? This is in the light of the fact that what the policy documents state is not usually what transpires on the ground.

3.7.2. Informal Networks

Besides the rehabilitation programs it has been noted that making use of informal networks is a useful approach to deal with male violence. Informal networks operate outside the states' Criminal Justice System. Moulton (2005) states that, in South Africa

the family remains the first source of assistance in attempting to resolve domestic violence failing which they use structures such as the church, street committees, headmen, traditional healers and Non governmental organisations.

He further states that most of these systems adopt the conflict resolution approach as it aims to achieve reconciliation and peace (Moult, 2005). Despite the fact that male violence has been recognised on formal levels, informal levels stay as fundamental safety nets for men and women when dealing with domestic violence and thus a need to encourage the development of social capital in communities. The fact that domestic violence is a private issue in most black communities explains why black people especially African people prefer handling their matters within the family. African feminism realises these complexities in African communities and therefore, lobbying for the strengthening of informal networks as a strategy of managing domestic violence.

3.8. Research on gender violence in South Africa

Research in South Africa on gender violence has largely been directed to women. This has resulted in program and policy developments with the intention of putting in place gender sensitive initiatives (Zain, 2002). An analysis of South African research profile on gender violence shows that studies conducted have looked into the prevalence of women abuse, experiences of abused women and women's empowerment needs (Jewkes et al, 1999; Mesatywa, 1999). Other researches on women have also looked into the relationship between intimate partner violence and the increase the risk of HIV infection among women (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, McIntyre, Gray & Harlow, 2003).

This study appreciates the fact that given the gender disparities in South Africa, an almost exclusive focus on women and girls has been appropriate. However, gender mainstreaming has too often ignored the gender of man and boys (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). The minimal researches that have given attention to men gleaned information on both female and male youth perceptions of violence in their relationships and on how masculinity is constructed among the young in the Sub Saharan Africa in relation

to conflict, violence and HIV/AIDS (Wood & Jewkes, 1998). Without doubt the information gathered in these researches has contributed substantially towards gender violence literature in and has nourished our understanding of youth perceptions. These studies pave way for strategies to deconstruct pro-violence attitudes appropriate at those age levels.

Finally, studies conducted by Macdougall (2000) and Abrahams & Laubsher (1999) have placed men at centre stage by looking at experiences of incarcerated men who have killed their spouses, another one has looked at the prevalence of gender violence as reported by men (Macdougall, 2000, Abrahams & Laubsher, 1999). An analysis of the studies' show that the first one, focuses of the perpetrator of murder and thus attempts to get into the shoe of the respondent to inquire into the events that led to the killing of their spouses. However, the research only concentrated on murder and how the men felt about their incarceration. The second one was a quantitative study, which was a random survey to acquire information on the prevalence of violence as reported by men themselves and the reasons for their actions. Of paramount importance is the fact that this study managed to obtain quantifiable results pertaining to the prevalence of gender violence and has brought out the gravity of this issue.

This examination positions itself in obtaining a holistic understanding of the reasons why men perpetrate violence and to get into their experiences to establish the meaning attached to the violence, the aftermath experiences of men after violence, men's perception of the impact of violence on the solution of the problem, most importantly, it also seeks to inquire from men themselves of their empowerment needs in this area. It also gives a platform to men to define violence in their own terms so as to see their comprehension of the gravity of their actions and also to find out their awareness of the Laws against violence.

This approach of entering into the shoes of the participant in attempting to understand their perceptions, tallies with the core value of social work, which places emphasis on "*empathy*" as crucial element in fully understanding a client. Lastly, it also aims to inquire from the professionals in constant interaction with domestic violence cases, to give their view on the causes, their perceptions on the effectiveness of the law, the services they offer and also ways of improving their service delivery system. It is thus

plausible to conclude that this study will add substantially to the body of literature on male violence against women and to effect policies and programs in this area.

3.9. Conclusion

The literature reviewed presented information on issues that are pertinent to this study. Embedded in the chapter are the theories that seek to explain the causes of male violence which are; the social learning theory, systems theory, subculture of violence theory and feminism. Of paramount importance is the fact that through the literature gathered the study's significance to this area emerged. The researcher assumes that the gradual proliferation of male violence programmes and literature in South Africa is a depiction of people's realisation of the aggravating effects of male violence. However, policy makers need to begin acknowledging that gender violence programmes cannot focus on victims only but also on perpetrators of domestic violence. Although statistics continue rising, the seriousness of male violence is becoming more apparent and will most likely attract more resources and interventions to be put in place to deter its perpetuation. The following chapter focuses on the studie's research methodology.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

4.0. Introduction

The previous chapter primarily focuses on providing the background information of the study. Added to that, is the broad framework from which explanations of male violence can be derived. It also presents a review of related literature, which comprise of previous studies and current debates about male violence in the context of heterosexual relations. The chapter outlines the study's point of departure, the research questions and the method employed in this study. In addition, issues relating to data collection and sampling are also discussed. It also presents the ethics that were considered during the study. Finally, it discusses the data analysis process and the limitations of the study. It is hoped that this chapter sets the stage for the next chapter, which focuses on the analysis of data.

4.1. Point of departure and research questions

Feminist work has focused on the experiences of women in their relationships, as such; their researches have been predominantly qualitative (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In addition, feminist qualitative researchers and activists contend that gender violence campaigns and services that exist began with researches on women's experiences that had been previously neglected (Littlewood, 2004). In this frame of reference, they hold that starting with experiences is obviously a powerful tool and provides the rational for feminist research. Interesting to note is that, originally feminist research was meant for women, recently however, notions to focus on men's lives and experiences have been lucrative (Glucksmann, 2004). It is in the light of these facts that this study employed naturalistic methods inquiry which focus on understanding the meaning people under a study give to their experiences (Agostinho, 2005). As such, a qualitative approach was employed as its methods suited the requirements of the study. This was based on the type of questions and the research problem, which

prescribed an in-depth understanding of men's perpetration of violence against women.

To gain the appropriate information on this topical issue, a number of pertinent questions were formulated from the problem statement. The key questions in this study were as follows:

- What do men think of the concept domestic violence?
- What do men perceive as the major contributing factors that propel them to perpetrate violence against women?
- What are the experiences of men after perpetrating violence on women?
- What are the empowerment needs of violent men?
- Which preventative and treatment strategies can service providers utilize on intimately abusive and violent men?
- What has research in South Africa managed to uncover on male violence so far?
- How can the research findings contribute to the formulation of comprehensive policies to prevent gender violence in South Africa?

4.2. The Qualitative Method

The study adopted the qualitative approach, mainly because it is tailored in such a way that the researcher has a first hand involvement with the social world (Thyer, 2001). This implies that, the researcher, is not an observer but is involved in the study, and, as such, becomes an active part of the event that he or she is investigating. Scholars who share the same sentiment concur that qualitative researches provide rich descriptions of the world than quantitative studies that divert their attention on developing generalisations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Male violence against women is fairly a new area in the South African community as; most researchers, practitioners and other service organisations have tended to focus on women when it comes to gender violence. This is evident in the researcher's literature search, where most of the information gleaned leaned towards women experiences of abuse perpetrated by their partners. For those researches that have focused on men most of them have been

quantitative in nature. The scarcity of information on male violence perpetrators experiences is what inspired the researcher to pursue the study.

Qualitative methods are used when a research requires an in-depth understanding of a social aspect (De Vos, 2000). This research required an in-depth understanding of male perpetrators views and this was accomplished by soliciting information about the violent experiences of the participants and the meanings that they attached to such events. Furthermore, a qualitative approach has the advantage of being flexible, as it allows the interviewer to respond to new theories and concepts raised by the respondents (Leyden, 2005). During the data collection process the researcher was able to alter some of the questions after either facing a difficulty with a question or depending on the respondent's participation.

The researcher chose the qualitative approach; because it has been incorporated in many gender violence studies conducted before and has produced substantial results that have spawned new gender violence strategies and programs. Examples of such studies are, a research conducted in Texas by Anderson (2001), on Masculinity and Power in men's accounts of Domestic violence. The participants revealed that violence was a normal male phenomenon and blamed their spouses for initiating arguments that led to violence.

4.3. Sampling Procedure

The aim of the sample is to get an approximate representation of the possible target population (Mouton, 1996). The research was targeting men who were known to have perpetrated violence against their female spouses. Thus, the population consisted of all men who either had or were still perpetrating violence on their partners in the Nkonkobe Municipal area. Due to the complexity of the issue of domestic violence, the researcher faced a number of challenges in finding the possible participants, as most of the men were unwilling to participate. Initially the researcher intended to find the respondents through the magistrate office in Alice, through its Domestic Violence Unit, this did not come to fruition because soliciting clients for information was against the institutions policy.

The researcher deliberated on type of men to be considered as part of the sample. Because the research required an in-depth study a sample of ten men was selected as qualitative studies focus more on the content than the quantity. Thus, this required for the researcher through the Social Development Department to locate these type of men. As a result ten men who were known to have abused their partners were chosen from communities in Alice. Eight of these men belonged to a men's group in Alice and claimed to be in the process of reforming through educational programs they were undergoing and two of them had not yet joined the group but had been approached by the department before and conveyed that they were not ready for the program.

A purposive sampling method was utilized during the sampling procedure. This type of sampling is chosen with a "purpose in mind" (De Vos, 2002). In addition, the purposive sampling is selected by the researcher based on predefined criteria. Feminists concur that the essence of their researches is to locate the "knower" in the production of knowledge (Littlewood, 2004). The researcher thus, only goes to those people who in his/her opinion are likely to have the required information and be willing to share it (Kumar, 2005). This sampling method is extremely useful when one wants to develop something about that which only little is known.

The research also included focus group consisting of five professionals who were also selected using the purposive sampling. These professionals were in constant interaction with domestic violence cases. They included a legal advisor, policemen, a social worker, a nurse and a church pastor. These were made part of the sample as they have special knowledge on domestic violence and offer services that aim to reduce domestic violence.

A purposive sampling method befitted this study, as the aim was to gain information on domestic violence on men who had perpetrated violence against their spouses before. Purposive samples have been largely incorporated in feminist researches as they target battered women in search of their experience (Littlewood, 2004).

4.4. Data collection methods

Fifteen semi-structured interviews (for ten male violence perpetrators & five key participants) were utilised as means for collecting data. The researcher chose this data collection method because of its flexibility during the actual interview; the researcher was able to follow up on interesting avenues that emerged in the interview. It allowed the researcher to get a detailed picture of a participant's beliefs about or accounts of a particular topic (AS de Vos, 2002).

The interviews were conducted using a tape recorder; to enable the researcher to have detailed information on what would have transpired during the interview (De Vos, 2002). The researcher notified the respondents before the interview about the use of the tape recorder and gained their consent so as to ensure that they could express themselves freely (De Vos, 2002). The interviews took between 30 to 40 minutes each depending on the openness of the respondent. The interviews with the ten participants were conducted in Xhosa through the help of a Xhosa speaking research assistant, as all the respondents were Xhosa speaking. Confidentiality was secured through the use of a third year social work student who had undergone the basics of social research and was aware of the importance of adhering to this value. The interviews were later translated to English and transcribed for data analysis by the Linguistics Department at the University of Fort Hare. The focus group participants used English hence the research assistant was not required.

Semi structured interviews required the researcher to have a set of predetermined questions on an interview schedule. AS de Vos (2002) states that, the interview schedule in semi-structured interviews is there to guide rather than to dictate the interview process. It is important to note that data collection was done in two phases, first for the ten perpetrators and the second for the focus group. Hence, the researcher designed two interview schedules attached as annexure one, one for the participants and the other for the focus group participants. The first interview schedule was divided into five themes. The first theme, solicited information on the respondents demographic information, this was aimed to build the researcher's understanding of the relationship between the demographic information and the respondents' accounts of domestic violence.

The second theme questioned the participants about the actual incidence of violence, including information about the worst arguments respondents had gone through that led to violence and their definition of violence. The third theme focused on the aftermath experience of violence, concentrating on their reactions after the battery towards partner and the impact of the violence on the solution of the problem. The fourth theme concentrated on the intervention strategies that were resorted to by the participants after the battery whether they were formal or informal. The last theme was dedicated to the perceived needs for male batterers as spelt out by the participants. Lastly, the key informants interview schedule inquired on the professionals' perception of the causes of violence in most of the cases they are presented with. It also solicited information on the kind of services they offered and their evaluation of Domestic Violence Laws in South Africa.

The interviews were conducted separately to provide them with the opportunity to speak freely without feeling scared or embarrassed to share their accounts. Only two participants were interviewed each day and after each session, the respondents were debriefed while taking a snack provided by the researcher. The focus group participants were interviewed in a small lecture room belonging to the Social Work Department at the University of Fort Hare.

The study acknowledges that, participants were likely to reconstruct their information because of the sensitivity of the issue. Thus, the researcher chose to look at the self-reported information for what it was, as people's altered accounts of their ideas and decisions that were culturally rooted (Gary & Barker, 2005)

4.5. Study setting

The research was undertaken in Alice Town, which falls within the Nkonkobe Municipal area. Participants were however, identified from villages surrounding Alice, where the Department of Social Development already works closely with the communities on gender equality initiatives.

The Department of Social Development realises that gender violence occurs at all times and in most cases is perpetrated by men and is a violation of human rights. This results from the fact that in most cases, gender violence leads to fatal physical and psychological harm and denies the victims of their rights to freedom, liberty and development (Barnett et al, 2005). Their programs consist of counselling and community sensitisation meetings. The researcher perceived the Nkonkobe municipal area as a suitable study setting mainly because like any other communities, there was an increase in domestic violence cases.

4.6. Ethical considerations

Gaining access

The researcher wrote a letter of request to the Department of Social Development to attain access to its clients, precisely male violence perpetrators. Permission was granted verbally on the basis that the researcher would submit a research proposal, interview schedule and would inform the organisation of the findings at the completion of the dissertation. Furthermore, the organisation facilitated the selection of the research participants based on the criteria of selection decided upon by the researcher and the organisation.

Informed consent

The data collection commenced with the signing of the consent forms by the respondents after which, the researcher readdressed the objectives of the study to the each respondent. The familiarisation with the Dictaphone followed, as it is unethical to make use of recording instruments without the consent of the participant (De Vos, 2000). The interviews followed a same pattern, albeit with a great deal of flexibility for each interview. All the interviews were conducted at the Social Work Department, as advised by the organisation in order to avoid the researchers safety being jeopardised. Furthermore, the fact that the interviews were conducted at the organisation was also done to cement the trust between the researcher and the participants as the organisation was viewed as a safe and secure place, which the respondents they are used to.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality was exercised through the use of pseudonyms in order to ensure that the participant's identities were protected. The researcher also wishes to point out that, as the participants were accessed through the Department of Social Development, which is obligated to maintain the confidentiality of the participants. Kumar (2005), states that, in trying to maintain the confidentiality of the participant, the researcher should ensure that information gathered cannot be traced back to its source by anyone else except the researcher. The use of pseudonyms was mainly implemented to ensure that information given by the participants could not be traced back to them.

Exposure to risk and harm

Exposure to harm or risk of participants was taken into consideration in this research, as the topic was a very sensitive one. It is most likely that participants to some extent were afraid that information about their abuse would be used against them in some way. The researcher made sure to reiterate the fact that, information gathered would be used for academic purposes only and would not under any circumstances be used against them.

The researcher observed certain reluctance on the part of the respondents to delve much into their acts of violence; and an alteration of facts to paint a better picture of them and to exonerate themselves from blame. This observation is supported by Kirth and Zinger, (1998), who state that, there is a tendency for respondents to reconstruct their stories into morally adequate accounts of themselves and their life choices. The researcher was critically aware of this possibility especially with the sensitivity of the topic.

4.7. Data analysis

Data analysis is a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data (AS de Vos et al, 2002). Qualitative data analysis is a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data (Marshall&Rossman, 1995). The study used the grounded theory to analyse data gathered from both the individual

interviews and the focus group. However the analysis of the data gathered from these two different groups was done separately although using the same approach. Grounded theory essentially involves searching for trends, patterns and relationships. Below is a systematic demonstration of the analysis.

In the first stage, the researcher listened to the taped interviews and then the information transcribed in English. Henning (2004) postulates that the tedious process of transcribing is good for the novice researchers as it draws them close to the data and will also help in the labelling units of meaning. After transcribing the researcher took scripts for proof reading to the Linguistics Department at the University of Fort Hare and for help with some of the Xhosa concepts, which the researcher found difficult to translate. The researcher synthesized data gathered by putting together information from all the respondents. After transcribing the researcher had to search for shared themes extracted from the textual data transcribed which is called open coding. Charmaz (2006) conceptualises open coding as a process of categorising segments of data a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data. It allows for effective analysis of primary data by providing framework for selecting and sorting information (Charmaz, 2006).

Similarly, Henning (2004) observes that, the analyst has to read through the entire text in-order to get the global impression of the content before codification. Some of the codes that emerged during transcribing were infidelity, relationship expectations, and presence of alcohol, expression of power, money issues and so forth. Siedel & Kelle in Macdougall (2000) state that, codes represent the decisive link between the original raw data that is textual material such as interview transcripts on one hand and the researcher's theoretical concepts on the other.

During transcribing the researcher was able to deduce connections between information gathered in the literature chapters. This enabled the researcher to compare the two and also help with the formation of the themes. For example, in the literature chapters, the use of alcohol is portrayed as one of the causes of gender violence; this postulation was supported during the interviews as some participants stated that they beat up their wives because they were drunk.

After the naming of the numerous codes, the researcher then grouped the codes/concepts together into categories to make the data meaningful and manageable. The next stage, which is the axial coding, required the researcher put data found in new ways by finding connections between the categories found. Finally the researcher substantiated data found with existing theories (Mouton & Marias, 1990).

4.8. Limitations of the Study

There were a number of challenges that were faced by the researcher during the data collection process. The first one was experiencing difficulties in accessing the participants. The researcher initially intended to carry out the research through the Magistrate office in Alice; however, this was against the organisation's policy to disclose their clients' identities. Secondly, because the issue of Domestic violence is a very sensitive one the researcher felt that most of the participants' information was selective as they was a tendency to project a non-blaming picture of the self. The sensitivity of the topic was evidenced by the way most of the respondents were answering questions, initially most of them stated they had not abused their partners, however, their accounts reflected their abusive actions towards their partners. Finally, the researcher was a woman and this might have contributed to the participants' selectivity of information. This is in the light of the fact that, the respondents were male violence perpetrators against women, the researcher felt, they anticipated she would take their spouses sides and neglect their side of the story.

4.9. Conclusion

This chapter presented a detailed and systematic demonstration of how the research was conducted. Presented is information on the researchers' motivation in using the qualitative method. This validated the use of semi-structured interviews. The chapter also highlighted that the purposive sampling method was utilised in identifying the respondents. Added to that information on how data was analysed was included. The study setting, the ethical considerations and the limitations encountered during the study were included. Of importance to note is that the researcher's evaluations of each stage were incorporated in this chapter. It is feasible to conclude that gaining

insight into the research methods employed lays a foundation for the analysis chapter in that, it guides the readers on how the information was gathered and also how it was analysed. The following chapter presents the analysis of data.

Chapter Five

Data analysis

5.0. Introduction

The previous chapter presented a detailed picture of the research methodology used in this study. This chapter primarily focuses on introducing the findings gathered and the researchers' analysis of the data. The essence of the study was to gain an understanding of why men perpetrate violence against their intimate partners. Information was gathered from the accounts given by ten participants about their acts of violence in their relationships and from a focus group consisting of five professionals who had special knowledge on domestic violence. Thus, two-interview schedules were utilised as instruments for data collection. Data gleaned was organised according to the themes that emerged during the analysis.

Also embedded in this chapter is the substantiation of data found with existing theories (Mouton & Marias, 1990). As the data was collected in two phases the chapter will present and discuss data found from the ten participants first, thereafter; the chapter will concentrate on information gathered from the focus group interview. The use of pseudonyms was initiated to protect the identity of the participants, as it is in line with the ethical principal of anonymity in social research (De Vos, 2002). The six themes to be discussed focus on: Demographic information, men's understanding of violence, causes of violence, aftermath experience of violence, perceived services for male violence perpetrators and perspectives on existing domestic violence laws and legislation.

Phase One

5.1. Theme one: Demographic information

- Tell me about yourself?

Table 5.1.1

Sub themes:
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Age• Marital status• Occupational status• Number of children• History of relationship

Table 5.1.2, depicts the demographic variables that characterised the sample. The research relied on the accounts given by ten men who had abused their intimate partners. This information will be analysed under five sub-themes stated above:

Table 5.1.2.

Respondents' age, marital status and number of children

Age	Pseudonyms	Years	Marital status	Number of children
Under 25	John	24	Married	1
26-29	Paul	27	Married	3
	Peter	27	Married	1
	Raymond	28	Married	1
30-35	Luke	30	Married	2
	Charlie	31	Married	1
	Rex	32	Married	2
	Raphael	35	Married	1
35-40+	Rob	38	Married	3
	Bobby	43	Married	3

5.1.3. Sub theme: Age

The sample consisted of men between the ages of 24 and 43 years. There was only one participant under the age of 25. Three of the men interviewed were between the ages of 27 and 28 whilst five were in their 30s' and one in his 40's. Berkowitz (2000) is of the opinion that, age is related to the increased incidents' of domestic violence. He further asserts that the highest incidents' of violence exist among men aged 18 to 29 mainly because most young adults have a scarcity of marital skills. Following the accounts given by these men, their age differences did not have any effect on their stories in as far as their violent acts towards their partners were concerned. Interesting to note is that, the participants' age differences did not have an effect on their stories in as far as their violent acts towards their partners were concerned.

5.1.4. Sub theme: Marital status

All the respondents were married men with no noticeable differences from other men who do not abuse their intimate partners. The majority of the marriages were of a customary nature with a few legal ones. Customarily in that, they paid part of the '*ilobola*' (*dowry*) requested by their spouses' families. Armstrong (in Bowman 2000) argues that the uneven distribution of power embedded in the traditional African marriages is portrayed in the institutionalisation of bride price and the underlying the widespread abuse of wives. Bride price for most abused women makes it difficult for women to leave abusive husbands unless their families of origin are willing to return the amount paid (Bowman, 2000). Similarly, feminist ideologies hold that, patriarchy, a set of social relations, which, enables men to dominate and control women (Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005). The study's analysis is, '*ilobola*' forms part of the social relations that that perpetuates male dominance over women as dowry in the African culture symbolises the transference of power over the women from the girl's father to the husband (Bowman, 2000). The study further contends that, the lobola payment might have predisposed the respondents into perpetrating violence against the women as this social practice gives men authority over their partners.

Table 5.1. 5

Respondents' occupational status

Pseudonyms	Occupational status
John	Self-employed (tuck shop owner)
Paul	Assistant Constructor
Peter	Self-employed (shoe repair)
Raymond	Artist (wood curving)
Luke	Musician
Charlie	Policemen
Rex	Self-employed (artesian)
Raphael	Drama artist
Rob	Self-employed (small tuck shop)
Bobby	Self-employed (bicycle repair)

5.1.6. Sub theme: Occupational status

Nine of the participants as reflected in the data matrix do not have any formal employment and have resorted to indigenisation (self-employment). Bobby worked for the civil service in the water department before being retrenched and left with no choice but to work as a small business entrepreneur as a tuck shop owner. Due to this, he did not have enough money to cater for the needs of his family and from his point of view this changed his relationship with his wife. The following is what he had to say:

“The period between 1995-1997 things were fine, however, in 1998 I was retrenched and this changed things in the home. ... She would walk away and close the door while I was speaking. I was hurt by her attitude towards me that I started contemplating divorce.” (Bobby, 2007: Interview).

Research has revealed that the ability to provide for one's family has for long been viewed as part of the roles men have been meant to play (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Moreover, the myth of the desirability of male dominance still holds a very strong currency for many working class men, but unemployment and low wages is a feature of the lives of many men (Campbell, 1992). Most of the participants portrayed their inability to provide for the families to have contributed to their use of violence. Campbell (1992) argues that the erosion of material dimension from the definition of “what a man is” prompts disenfranchised men to use violence against their female partners as a way of commanding control and respect from their spouses.

Five of the other participants are employed. Three of these five are artists working in their respective fields. Although this might be the case, their salaries depend on how their services are being received by people; hence sometimes they are not able to meet their families' needs.

5.1.7. Sub theme: Number of children

Three of the respondents had three children; five of them had one child each and two of them had two children.

5.1.8. Sub theme: History of relationship

When asked about their relationships, all the respondents started with the year they got married. Interesting to note is the fact that, 3 of the respondents (Peter, Charlie & John) got married to their spouses because they had impregnated their partners. Peter had this to say concerning his decision to marry his spouse:

“We met in 2002 and dated for six months, then she became pregnant and so I decided to marry her, as it was only the only reasonable thing to do at that time (Peter, 2007:Interview).”

Raphael stated that he got married after being coerced by his Pastor. He also mentioned that he initially intended to marry another girl before joining the church. The following are his words concerning his decision to marry,

“Well, I had a girl that I wanted to marry initially before I met my wife. However, I failed to pursue the marriage because her mother died and the relatives told me that I could not marry her until they had spiritually cleaned the place, which apparently took long. I got born again and the church doctrine encouraged for young people to marry in the church. After some time, the pastor advised me that I was getting old and so though I had no intention of marrying I did what the Pastor had advised me. So that’s when I got married to my wife” (Raphael, 2007:Interview)

It is concurred that a lot of couples get married because of external factors like pregnancy and peer pressure (Njovana & Watts, 1998). This they contended is the

major reason that is causing early divorces in marriages and most likely to be contributing to the enormous violence statistics in relationships.

Six of the ten men contended that their decision to get married was not precipitated by any external factors. Their decision to marry was rather because they admired their partners' personality and that they got along so well. For example, Paul had this to say:

"We met here in Alice when she was working as a house help, we fell in love with each other. We then agreed to get married in the year 2000 and she left her job to go and stay in our home village"(Paul, 2007:Interview)

It is interesting to note that, Paul sent his wife to his home village soon after they got married despite the fact that the wife was working. Barnett & LaViolette (1993) enunciate that, women's dependence on men is the significant reason why men abuse women. Furthermore, abusive behaviours, including economic abuse help men maintain power and control over women.

It is clear that Paul subscribed to the patriarchal values of domination and control as evidenced by the urgent need to economically disempower his new bride so that she could depend on him. This evidence according to Feminists' analysis exposes the existence of hegemonic patriarchal values and norms that are central to men's very beings and intentionally exclude women from practical and neotic power (Imms, 2000). The researcher is of the opinion that, Paul's decision for his wife to resign from her job, shows that he is a controlling man. Bean in Macdougall (2000) states that, a man interfering and sabotaging his partner's job, commonly characterises an abusive man.

Rob's description of his relationship history was very interesting in that he presented himself as a very popular man back then because of his livelihood strategy. He claims to have been a band member and this line of work, exposed him to pressures of seeing lots of women at one go:

"Okay, eeh, we met in 1985, during that time I had a lots of girlfriends since I was a guitarist in a band... During that time, I was a popular

guy because of my profession and almost every woman in my community wanted a boyfriend in a band, so I think she (his spouse) basically enjoyed being called a guitarist wife”(Rob, 2007:Interview).

The researcher contends that the fact that, men are able to speak freely about their many relationships without remorse is evidence of the existence of patriarchal values in the African society which, perpetuates male dominance and the subordination of women. Feminism contends that within a patriarchal social order, men maintain a privileged position through their domination of women and their monopoly of social institutions (Cunningham et al, 1998). Needless to say, Rob’s account fulfills this Feminist proposition.

The study saw it fit to inquire about the participants’ relationship histories in order to acquire background information on the circumstances that led to their decisions to marry. Furthermore, this was also meant to provide a platform for the respondents to compare their previous and current perceptions of their relationships. Lastly, because this was a sensitive topic, the intention was to make the respondents to start on a lighter note rather than to plunge into the sensitive issues without creating any rapport between the researcher and the respondents.

5.2. Theme two: Precipitating factors leading to male violence.

- **Tell me about the worst argument you had that became physical and its causes.**

This category sheds light on the respondent’s description of their violent encounters with their intimate partners. This part answers question two of the research questions, which seeks to inquire on the reasons and factors that propel men to perpetrate violence against women. The following sub themes emerged from the data gathered:

Table 5.2.1.

Sub-themes:

- Infidelity
- Inability to provide for the family
- Faulty communication
- Presence of alcohol

- Jealousy

5.2.2. Sub theme: Infidelity

When asked about the causes of violence participants revealed that one of the major reasons of violence in the home is infidelity or suspicion of infidelity. Rob is the only one who openly admitted to having cheated on his wife. He stated that, his line of work made him popular with women and made him succumb to this pressure, which led to his promiscuity. He also openly stated that he could stay away from home for three days. He had this to say concerning his actions:

“During the time when I was a guitarist, there were so many women who were interested in me. I did not go home, I lied to my wife that the band had a show in one of the places. Also I did not give her money to provide for the children and to take care of the bills. When I came back home, my wife had found out in the newspaper that there was no show yesterday, and so that’s where the arguing started and this led to us fighting, which even ended up taking place outside”. (Rob, 2007: Interview)

Based on his account, arguments would emanate from his lies, inability to go back home and his failure to provide for his family, as the breadwinner. He also claimed that, these arguments would end up into violence because his wife would shout at him concerning his actions and that her voice attracted neighbours. A study carried out in Southern Africa revealed that:

“Infidelity was socially accepted and even encouraged. In fact, because it was widely regarded as a man’s right to have extramarital affairs, a woman’s lack of co-operation would be an occasion for her physical abuse” (Kim, 2000).

Njovana & Watts (1996) have shown that concepts of male and female sexuality differ in that strict controls are placed on women whilst men are permitted substantial freedom both within and outside marriage. To give a clearer picture of the gravity of this issue, a review by POWA reveals that, 60% of the women who visit their centers, report infidelity as the major cause of violence. Feminist analysis of male violence connects it to the pervasive sexism in our norms, values and institutions (Loseke, Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005). This is because most men have been brought up in a culture that accepted infidelity. Moreover, women’s acts of challenging their

husbands' authority and prerogatives by inquiring about their extramarital involvements are instances that call for the use of violence.

The researcher's evaluation is that, the rampant infidelity among South African men and African men in general is evidence of a society that inherited values and norms that affirmed the domination of men and stripped women of their rights to contest against their partner's actions in as far as infidelity is concerned. This also exposes the uneven distribution of power embedded in the traditional African marriages portrayed through the acknowledgement of polygamy and the acceptance of male promiscuity (Bowman, 2000).

Raphael, Paul, Luke, Peter and Rex state that, they used violence against their wives because their partners accused them of having cheated on them. They all contend that they beat up their wives because they were annoyed by their accusations. For example, Raphael had this to say:

"When I got home I gave her the money that was left. She asked where the rest of the money had gone and I explained to her that I bought a radio; I even showed her the radio. It seems that she did not believe me at all, and thus she started accusing me on infidelity and using harsh words like you are "a male prostitute" and the like. So I got very angry of what she was saying and so I beat her up"(Raphael, 2007:Interview).

A very interesting feature in their accounts is the fact that they used violence against their partners even though their conduct is what ignited arguments in the first place. Paul and Peter did not sleep at home and Rex and Luke came home late. The researcher is of the opinion that, even if they did not cheat their wives as they claimed, their actions created fertile ground for their wives to assume they were cheating on them. The question that lingers in one's head is, "if they claimed not to have cheated, what was the essence of them beating up their wives?" They further explained that, the use of violence was to show that they were heads in their homes. It has been noted that in Cape Town, men use violence in instances where men perceived their position as 'heads' being threatened (Abrahams, Jewkes & Laubsher, 1999).

5.2.3. Sub theme: Inability to meet the needs of the family

One common source of conflict that the majority of the respondents alluded to was lack of money in the house. In the incidences they recalled, Rob, Paul, Peter, Raymond, Rex, Luke, Paul and John revealed that, their inability to meet the needs of the family sparked a lot of arguments in their relationships. In a bid to stop the arguments they abused their partners physically, verbally and emotionally. Raymond had this to say:

“Usually my business returns can be low and sometimes we won’t have enough money for everything we need. My wife does not understand this though and so the type of talk she uses irritates me like when she says, “When I was at my parent’s house I used to have everything I wanted” So I usually tell her to go back to her parents place until the business picks up”(Raymond, 2007:Interview).

The above information is substantiated by Lenton (1995) who is of the view that low-income families with one or more adults unemployed, experience high levels of stress and violence is legitimised as a means of coping with stress. Studies that support this proposition show that, a father who cannot provide uses compensatory measures like violence, drinking or seeking other women’s comfort. A similar study in Nigeria and Uganda stated that men themselves reported feeling emasculated when they could not contribute towards the family income (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

5.2.4. Sub theme: Faulty communication

Another prominent factor that was highlighted in these stories was the inability of the other party to communicate in a proper manner. In 7 out of the 10 cases, arguments were spawned from the way their partners communicated to them. Two men had this to say:

“Because I was so mad I decided to get out of the house to avoid a fight, but she followed me outside and continued shouting at me. Her noise attracted neighbours and so people came out of their houses to watch, so this made me to beat her up”(Rob, 2007:Interview).

“It seems that she did not believe me at all, and thus she started accusing me on infidelity and using harsh words like you are “a male

prostitute” and the like. So I got very angry of what she was saying and so I beat her up”(Raphael, 2007: Interview).

Raymond claimed that when he had requested for food from his wife, she told him she had not cooked because she was not hungry. Rex and Luke were shouted at by their spouses and accused of cheating on them. Bobby claims his wife refused to help his parents and suggesting he finished paying lobola to her parents instead. For these men, being talked back at by their wives provoked violence against them.

On the other hand, some of these men also showed that they lacked proper communication skills, which also contributed to the arguments. Rob contends that his inability to express himself verbally coerced him to use power. For example, when his wife was asking about his whereabouts and money, he reported not to have said anything but ended up beating up his wife because she kept shouting at him. Raphael also made a huge decision of buying a radio without telling his wife, which later caused arguments and consequently led to the use of violence. Lastly, Raymond stated he beat up his wife as soon as she got back into the house for leaving the child alone.

It can be concluded that, conflicts in most homes are being caused by lack of communication skills from both parties. Ronan, Dreer, Dollard, Donna & Ronan (2004), have forwarded that violent individuals are deficient in social skills, such as communication and problem-solving skills and that the perpetrator may resort to violence as an attempt to deal with high-conflict-marital interactions. The researcher however, wishes to point out that the study does not completely blame men for the violence as it contends that the respondents partners might have played a part in the arguments. However, the study contends that dwelling on this fact can mislead the essence of the research as it seeks to understand men and their experiences of violence.

5.2.5. Sub theme: Jealousy

The participants’ stories related that arguments came about when they suspected their spouses of cheating. This was reflected in Raphael, Bobby and Luke’s accounts. Raphael’s wife lied to her husband that she was going to a kitchen party and yet she

had gone to town. Resultantly, he chased his wife away to her parent's home. He had this to say:

"I took her for a prostitute and felt betrayed and angry because she had been the one who had been telling me that I was the prostitute and yet it was she who was doing it"(Raphael, 2007:Interview).

"My friend gradually started flirting with this woman and she was responding very well though she was married. So it is these kind of situations that makes you to wonder if your wife is not doing the same"(Bobby, 2007:Interview).

Bobby's suspicions were constantly fuelled by how he saw other women conducting themselves. He said it was because of these other women that he questioned if his wife would do the same.

Finally, Luke beat up his wife after he had told her to stop talking to her male friends because he was not comfortable with it. Apparently, he said his wife did not seem to have taken heed of what he had requested of her thus, he says was forced to use violence against the wife and her friends.

"Well I did not know if she was not cheating on me with these other guys, I felt like she was betraying me and with the rise of HIV/AIDS infection I was not willing to take a chance" (Luke, 2007:Interview).

Luke's perspectives are in line with the view that a lot of male abusers have a low self-esteem, which is associated with emotional dependency, manifested as jealous behaviour and fears that their partners will leave them (Abrahams, Jewkes & Laubsher, 1999). Consequently, violence is used as a strategy to control the spouse (Blacklock, 2002). The study's assessment is that the double standard that deprives women of the freedom to interact with whom they want and yet that freedom is available for men still exist in the African culture.

5.2.6. Sub theme: Presence of alcohol

Based on the accounts given by the participants, Luke and Rex stated that their violent encounters happened because they were drunk. Both of them beat up their wives because they refused to wake up to give them food. They had this to say:

Well, I drink beer a lot and so one day I came back home very late around 11pm and my wife asked me where I had been and I told her I was from the bar drinking, however, she did not believe this and so she started shouting at me insinuating that I have a "small house". I told her that I did not but she persisted so I got so angry with her and began to shake her body vigorously and then chased her out of bed. (Rex, 2007:Interview).

Most of the problems in our relationship have been caused by alcohol. The one moment I can remember is when I came home one day drunk around 1am, I woke her up and asked for my food and she refused saying I was late. Well because I was drunk at that moment what she said really irritated me so I beat her up and she got injured. (Luke, 2007:Interview).

Similarly, studies on the effect on alcohol state that, alcohol effects on the central nervous system release inhibitions by depressing brain function or suppressing the super-ego function and thereby allowing the expression of rage (Gelles and Connell, 1990). Moreover, in the United States, an overview of studies carried out on intimate partner violence, estimated that men were drinking when violence occurred in about 45% of the cases (Caetano, Schafer, Cunrad, 2001). Alcohol thus, has been identified in this study and the in many others as a risk and motivating factor in marital discord.

On the other hand studies have questioned the cause and effect relationships between alcohol and violence (New York Times, 2006). Arguments that support this view state that alcohol abuse and violence are two different problems, which need to be addressed separately. They further contend that many who abuse substances also abuse partners and that one problem does not cause another. Thus, others argue that stopping substance abuse does not mean stopping battering as too many women can testify. They state that battering ends when men do not benefit from this behaviour, cannot get away with it, and learn to act differently (Kaufman, 2001).

Data gathered during the research, showed that Rex admitted to having been aware of his actions against his wife even though he was drunk. However, he mentioned that, alcohol made him not to think much prior to the use of violence. The findings in this study only add to the contentious debate about the relationship between alcohol and the use of violence.

5.2.7. Sub theme: Male violence and the African culture

Njovana & Watts (1998) have proposed that the African culture institutionalises the inequality between women and men, this makes male violence against women complex to deal with). All the ten respondents accounts reflected their cultural beliefs and norms pertaining to marriage, relationships and their view of violence. Most of them alluded to the fact that they were the heads of the house and therefore expected their spouses to respect them and that the use of violence was meant to discipline their spouses. The response to men's definition of violence was,

"Most men do not see violence as a problem they feel they have to do that as men."(Raphael, 2007:Interview)

"Most men still believe that culturally, they have the freedom to do anything they see fit as heads of the house or to maintain order in their families. Most of the times violence is used to maintain or restore order in the house."(Peter, 2007:Interview)

"Men who beat up their wives, do it to discipline their wives, they beat them up so that the women can recognise their positions as heads of the house."(Charlie, 2007, Interview)

I think it's our culture, especially lobola. To most men marrying a wife is equated to purchasing property and thus you will find women are constantly reminded that the husband paid lobola for her. Because of this if a woman does things against their husbands wishes it is regarded as disrespectful and actions like that do warrant punishment, hence the use of violence comes in (Raymond, 2007, Interview).

These findings are consistent with feminist ideologies that hold that, the patriarchal nature of some societies explains the suppression of women and the domination of men. Thus male violence within families is part is of a wider system of male power (Cunningham et al, 1999). This ideology converges with the hegemonic masculinity

concept which projects that men's use of violence against women embodies the currently accepted answer to the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Gilgun & McLeod, 1999).

5.3. Theme three: Meaning of the acts of violence

- **How do you explain your acts of violence towards your partner?**

When the participants were given a platform to go beyond the reasons of violence by finding the meaning attached to their actions, interesting and varied responses cropped up. The following sub themes emerged during this insightful discussion.

Table 5.3.1

Sub themes

- **Violence, a tool in defining masculinity**
- **Discipline**
- **A sign of strength**

5.3.2. Sub theme: Defining masculinity

Participants were asked to give meaning to their acts of violence; the following is what Rob had to say:

“The beating was meant to pass a message to her that she needed to understand that I was her husband and she was supposed to listen to me” (Rob, 2007:Interview).

A key characteristic of patriarchal ideologies is the need for men to dominate over women. All the ten participants invoked hegemonic discourses in which their hunger to dominate in their relationships was exposed by their use of violence.

Similarly Raphael stated that he beat up his wife because he perceived his wife was not acknowledging his role in the house. He had this to say,

“At the point I beat her up because she was not recognising my value as her husband”(Raphael, 2007:Interview).

Feminists are of the notion that, wife abuse is a result of failure to live up to the husband's ideals and expectations about what it means to be a good wife. A study

conducted in Cape Town revealed that a lot of men stated that women's tendencies "to sit on their heads" (overriding their authorities) called for abuse (Abrahams et al: 1999). Other scholars contend that men's use of violence as a means to reassert their masculinity is also interpreted as compensation for low self-esteem (Murphy, Stonsy & Morrel (2005). Their view is that men with a threatened sense of self assert their superiority and dominance over the spouse in form of controlling and abusive behaviour (Murphy, Stonsy & Morrel (2005).

5.3.3. Sub theme: Discipline

The participants also stated that another underlying factor to their use of violence was the need to discipline their partners. Paul revealed this about his use of violence:

"I called her into the house and asked her why she did not do what I had asked her to do and she told me the same thing. I then went out of the house and took a cattle whip that is used when herding cattle and I beat her thoroughly"(Paul, 2007:Interview).

Raymond contended that his use of violence was motivated by his wife's inability to perform her duties. He stated that he expected his wife to cook for him and her failure to do so called for instant punishment. Paul also contended that his wife's failure to wash his clothes propelled him to use violence against her.

Bobby's account of his act of violence was fuelled by his wife's inability to support him in the decision he made. He states that he had agreed together with his brothers to contribute towards the purchasing of farm equipment for their parents. Unfortunately, his wife did not agree with this decision and so she hid their savings from him.

"I expected my wife to follow and agree with what I said as the man of the house. If she did not agree with what I had said I at least expected her to say it in a civil manner and not shouting like she did"(Bobby, 2007:Interview).

Raymond, Rex, Peter, contended to have used emotional abuse to punish their wives for their actions. The researcher also asked the men if they thought violence was part and parcel of being a man. They were variations on this question as people like Peter and Paul thought it was in as much as they have discipline their wives whereas the other 8 thought it was not.

Feminists purport that the prominent themes in the ideology of familial patriarchy among others are obedience and respect (Lenton, 1995). In addition, Blacklock (2001), is of the view that men use violence and other abusive actions to support their sense of entitlement by, punishing a woman for something she has done wrong and forcing her to do something she does not want to do. It is clear that, these men felt that they were entitled to discipline their wives as reflected in their hegemonic discourses. By the same token, the concept of hegemonic masculinity proposes that men use violence as a way of defining their masculinity use violence (Gilgun & McLeod: 1999).

5.3.4. Sub theme: A sign of strength

The men's perception of violence held the notion of it being used as a sign of strength. Eight out of the ten men contended that violence was a sign to show that men had power over women. Raphael contended that his use of power was to send a clear message of his position. Undoubtedly, his use of violence was his way of reinforcing his strength and power over his wife. He had this to say; *"At the point I beat her up because she was not recognising my value as her husband"*(Raphael, 2007:Interview). When Rob was asked about the meaning of violence, he equated it as a sign of power, *"it is hard for me to use words.... so my use of power was to instill fear..."*(Rob, 2007:Interview). He also contended that most of the men in his community believe in an old belief that viewed violence and risking one self as a sign of strength and thereby validating one as being men enough. He had this to say,

"Most men also still believe in the old saying that goes, "A bull that fights is identified by its bruises"(Rob, 2007:Interview).

Disturbing, as it is, a considerable amount of men still believe in this saying and thus most of them as he stated, do everything possible to be involved in acts of violence for them to be approved as real men by their peers. The subculture of violence theory holds that members of the sub-culture of violence develop favorable attitudes towards the use of violence through the processes of differential learning, association and identification (Oliver, 1994). Needless to say, the fact that violence is viewed as a

positive aspect in some African communities explains the perpetuation of this social ill.

5.4. Theme: Defence mechanisms

The respondents' stories were accompanied by different emotions and feelings and perceptions of their acts of violence and these are stated below:

Table 5.4.1

Sub themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blame • Anger • Betrayal • Minimization of actions

Table 5.4.2

Name	Blame	Anger	Betrayal	Minimising abuse
Rob	*	*		*
Raphael	*	*	*	*
Peter				
Charlie		*		
Raymond	*	*		*
Rex	*	*		*
Bobby	*	*		*
Luke	*	*	*	
Paul	*	*		*
John				

5.4.3. Sub theme: Blame

Seven out of the ten informants perceived themselves as victims instead of perpetrators, as they blamed their partners for initiating the arguments. Rob, Raphael, Rex, Peter, Bobby, Luke and Charlie's accounts' shared this sentiment. They had this to say;

“Her noise attracted neighbours and so people came out of their houses to watch, so this made me to beat her up”(Rob, 2007:Interview).

“...She started accusing me on infidelity and using harsh words like you are “a male prostitute’ and the like. So I got very angry of what she was saying and so I beat her up”(Raphael, 2007;Interview).

“...I came home one day drunk around 1am, I woke her up and asked for my food and she refused saying I was late. Well because I was drunk at that moment what she said really irritated me so I beat her up and she got injured (Luke, 2007:Interview).

“I came back in the afternoon only to find my clothes still dirty and not packed ... I then went out of the house and took a cattle whip that is used when herding cattle and I beat her thoroughly” (Charlie, 2007:Interview).

“I got home after work only to find our child alone and the door open. ...She had left the stove on, which was hazardous for the child... When she arrived home I did not have the time to talk to her so I started beating her and poking her asking why she could do such a thing”(Peter, 2007:Interview).

“She told me she took the money and intended to open the children’s accounts or I was supposed to finish paying lobola to her parents than buying equipment for my parents when they failed to buy those things. This pushed me to the limit that I beat her up with fists (Bobby, 2007:Interview).

“...She started shouting at me insinuating that I have a “small house”. I told her that I did not but she persisted so I got so angry with her and began to shake her body vigorously and then chased her out of bed (Rex, 2007:Interview)

Barnett et al (2005), states that the most common explanation given by male batterers is, *“I told her not to do it (e.g., stay late after work). She knew what would happen if she did, but she did it anyway. She got what she asked for”(p.315).* One salient factor is that, men who blame their female partners are likely to be even more violent than those who do not (Byrne & Arias, 1997). Gilgun & McLeod (1999), reveal that, their research on male batterers saw men constructing their violence as a rational response to extreme provocation. Macdougall (2000) is of the notion that, the projection of blame is evidence of the perpetrators’ lack of insight into his inadequate coping skills and aggression problem.

5.4.4. Sub theme: Anger

Eight out of the ten respondents state that they were propelled to abuse their spouses because of anger. Some of the common causes that emerged, as contributing factors to their anger were how their spouses talked to them, their partners questioning their prerogatives, their inability to do house work, especially cooking. Storduer & Still in Macdougall (2000) are of the notion that men who assault their partners are unable to acknowledge and identify the emotions they feel other than anger.

These findings corroborate previous studies that have revealed that most of the women stated that some of the banal reasons for men's loss of control included the woman taking too long to cook dinner, arriving home late or questioning a man's fidelity (Njovana & Watts, 1998). It can be contended that the propensity to use violence and aggression by men is an innate or learned characteristic of masculine persons, which is perpetuated by the patriarchal system.

5.4.5. Sub theme: Betrayal

Some of the respondents stated that their spouses betrayed them, thus propelling them into using violence. Raphael stated that he felt betrayed by his wife when she lied to him about going to a kitchen party and yet she was seen in town. He had this to say;

“I took her for a prostitute and felt betrayed and angry because she had been the one who had been telling me that I was the prostitute and yet it was she who was doing it” (Raphael, 2007: Interview).

Luke also felt that his wife's persistence encounters with her male friends despite the fact that he had forbidden her from doing so was a banal cause for his use of violence as he felt betrayed by her actions.

5.4.6. Sub theme: Minimization of violence

Blacklock (2001) states that, in most cases the perpetrator plays down or does not face up to aspects of his abusive behavior, minimizing its extent, frequency, seriousness, impact and consequences. This notion is consistent with the findings in this research,

six out of the ten participants showed tended to view their actions as insignificant or having caused no harm to their partners. Rex stated that:

“I told her that I did not (have a small house) but she persisted so I got so angry with her and began to shake her body vigorously and then chased her out of bed” (Rex, 2007:Interview).

Rob seemed not to see the harm he caused in his family because of his infidelity and him not taking care of his wife, infact he had the audacity of blaming his wife instead for initiating the argument that led to violence. Interesting to note is that, Raymond, Paul and Bobby did not perceive their infidelity or them getting back at their wives by not coming home as violence.

Blacklock (2001) indicates that perpetrators of violence minimize their acts of violence if the particular acts are not included in his internal definition of violence and abuse. Similar scholars contend that male violence perpetrators minimize their acts of violence by denying the abuse entirely because some of them would be unaware of their true intentions (Barnett et al, 2005). By the same token, the researcher contends that patriarchal notions have perpetuated in the society to an extent that men view violence as normal and consequently viewing some actions as trivial if they do not fall within what they grew up knowing as violence.

5.5. Theme: Perception of violence

When asked what they understood as violence, most of the men stated that they viewed it physically except for Rob and Raphael, Charlie & Peter who were undergoing rehabilitation. Although this might have been the case with the 4 respondents their actions stated otherwise. When Rob was asked about his acts of violence against his spouse he concentrated more on the physical violence and not on economic and emotional abuse, which he was inflicting on his wife. Raphael also contended that when he felt his wife betrayed him he closed her business and took away all the funds from her as punishment. Even at the time of the interview, he stated that he was still waiting for his wife to approach him and explain herself so that he could reconsider opening her business again.

When Peter was asked about how men in general defined violence, he had this to say:

“Most men do not really know, what violence is, for example infidelity and psychological abuse. They justify their infidelities by saying that there is no satisfaction in the house”(Peter, 2007:Interview).

These findings corroborate domestic violence statistics, which mostly reflect physical violence, reported crimes than emotional, psychological and economic (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2001). The researcher holds that, this can be attributed to the societal values that view violence in the physical concept than in any other forms.

5.6. Theme: Aftermath experiences of violence

- **What happened after your use of violence?**

This category intended to bring out men’s experiences after their acts of violence. The following are the sub themes that emerged:

Table 5.6.1

Sub theme
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Remorse• Justified• Impact of violence on the problem

5.6.2. Sub theme: Remorse

Participants were asked about their aftermath experiences of violence, five (Rob, Raphael, Rex & Luke) out of the ten men felt remorseful after perpetrating violence on their spouses.

“I felt sorry for her, as she also felt sorry for pushing me into it, like when she reported me to the police and I was arrested without asking my side of story (Rob, 2007: Interview).

“However, she did not go to their home, she just went outside our home and stayed there. So on my way to their home, I met her outside and started comforting her and took into the house (Raphael, 2007: Interview).

“Well I only got to realise later the next day that what I had done was wrong and so when I woke up I went to the neighbour’s house and I found her there (Rex, 2007: Interview).

Lastly, Luke claimed he regretted his actions especially after injuring his wife and states that the event reflected an ugly side of him. Mesatywa (1999), states that men who batter their wives are usually remorseful after the violent encounter and promise never to do it again. She further enunciates that most women agree to stay after the sincere apology, however, this is indirectly a symbol to the man to repeat the acts of violence. The researcher supports this frame of reference as some of the participants like Rob, gave more than one violent experience, which nullifies their apologies to their partners in the first place.

5.6.3. Sub theme: Justified

A substantial number of the men stated that they felt justified after abusing their wives as they blamed the partners for initiating the arguments. The men’s accounts on their feelings toward their partners after abuse were rationalised. Rob stated that

“The beating was meant to pass a message to her that she needed to understand that I was her husband and she was supposed to listen to me. Also it is hard for me to use words since I am a person who does not have so much to say, so my use of power was to instill fear in her so that she could respect me and to show that I was a man” (Rob, 2007: Interview).

“ However, that time I had started a small catering business for her and so closed the business because I no longer trusted her and made her to sit at the house (Raphael, 2007: Interview).

5.6.4. Sub theme: Impact of violence on the problem

The respondents had varied responses when they were asked about the impact of their acts of violence on the problems they were facing. Raymond and Luke unanimously contended that violence did not solve any of the problems, but accentuated them.

Raymond stated that violence did not solve the problem, however, because he was consumed with so much anger at that time, it seemed the right thing to do. Luke said that his use of violence ended up with his wife in hospital as she had sustained some injuries. Rob, on the other hand, stated that violence temporarily solved his problems, however; his wife had a way of making him angry thus, peace in the home would only prevail for a short while. Peter stated that violence had a substantial impact on solving the problem, as his wife now “*knows what to do and what not to do*”(Peter, 2007:Interview). Peter’s response is consistent with feminist notions that hold that acts of violence are enacted to control the partner, which in his analysis is a manifestation of patriarchal ideologies of gender and identity.

Macdougall (2000) argues that men’s use of violence in relationships is an indication of a scarcity of skills on how to deal with situations rationally. As such this perpetuates feelings of inadequacy, disappointment and hurt, which often culminate into violence. The researcher is of the opinion that the lack of marital skills cannot justifiably be an explanation for one’s use of violence; however, it can be viewed as an indication of a lack of these skills.

5.7. Theme: Perspectives on prevention of violence episodes

- **In your opinion, what could have prevented occasions where violence took place in your relationship?**

The participants were given a chance to reflect on the actions they could have taken to prevent their use of violence. An exploration of the participants’ perspectives of what could have prevented the violent episodes they encountered created a platform to assess the reality of other options that were within their disposal before they resorted to violence. The following are some of the accounts of the respondents concerning the matter:

“I should have ignored the attention that I received from other women besides my wife... I should have taken care of my family and listened to my wife”(Rob, 2007:Interview)

“I need to cut down on my drinking as it is causing the arguments in my home...I would also appreciate if my wife would appreciate some of the things I do and also she needs to change the tone she uses when addressing issues”(Rex, 2007:Interview)

“I think there is need for my wife and I to understand each other, to make decisions together and to appreciate each other”(Peter, 2007:Interview)

“I should have not drunk beer that day because I could have prevented hurting my wife, also I think my wife should have listened to her when he told her to quit talking to her boyfriends”(Luke, 2007:Interview)

It is clear that most of the participants were able to reflect on how they could have acted differently. Blacklock (2001), is of the view that one of the most crucial ways of helping male violence perpetrators is to come to terms not only with the gravity of their use of violence, but also on how to develop healthy problem solving skills. The researcher supports the notion that there is need to inquire about alternative choices for men who perpetrate violence in an attempt to deconstruct men's view of violence as a strategy to manage relationship problems.

5.8. Seeking Assistance

- **What sort of help did you seek after your use of violence?**

When asked of the assistance they sought after battery, five participants concurred that they consulted an assortment of support systems, however, the initiative was more from their partners than themselves. Interesting to note is the fact that participants relied on informal networks like the members of the family, than formal networks. Rob's wife reported him to the police after the abuse and Rob was arrested for 10 hours before the wife dropped the charges. Women's reluctance to press charges or withdrawing charges against their husband is very common and is mostly a result of the fact that men are the breadwinners in the family (Mesatywa, 1999). Similarly as evidenced in this study, nine of the respondents were breadwinners, which can be concrete ground to conclude that the respondents might have taken advantage of their spouses' economic disempowerment.

Raphael stated that he consulted his wife's sister after the violent encounter. He further went on to state that his wife was able to forgive him after her intervention. Interesting to note in Raphael's case is that the wife's sister highlighted to Raphael's wife that he was a good man because he gave her money and reminded her of how

lucky she was as a lot of women would envy her. The researcher's take is that, the sister's stance portrayed the patriarchal norms that still govern most African families, in which a good man is judged by his ability to provide for his family thus, issues like violence are viewed as trivial. Moulton (2005), states that in South Africa the family remains the first source of assistance in attempting to resolve domestic violence failing which they use structures such as the church, street committees, headmen, traditional healers and Non governmental organisations.

Luke's wife sought help from the hospital as she had been injured after the battering experience. Such experiences continue to elaborate on the gravity of male violence on women and explain why this social issue is on the forefront of the public's consciousness. All of the men had encounters with Social Workers together with their wives however, most contended not to have seen the importance of the meetings as they said the social workers were not objective enough as they were on their wives side.

5.8.1. Sub theme: Services for male batterers

- **What sort of help should be given to men who use violence against their partners?**

This question solicited a united answer from the respondents as the ten of them highlighted the need for intense education not only to male batterers but for all men in general. Rob recommended that

"They need information on what a real men is. This is because most men think that to be a man is to be the head of the house and making sure that their word is the law. If they are taught that real men know their limits and are there to protect their families then things will be better (Rob, 2007:Interview).

"There is need for more awareness on this issue, in churches, soccer matches and any other place where men are mostly found gathered together (Raphael, 2007:Interview)

"I think those who use violence should be given counselling for them to change their ways (Rex, 2007:Interview).

Bobby also alluded to the fact that counselling programs for male batterers are essential. Peter was of the view that the communities should initiate projects focusing on men address these common issues men are facing and also to empower men with information that would improve their conduct as heads of the family.

A close evaluation of the respondents' views on this matter does indicate some level of admission that they lacked information in this area. The most utilized models of dealing with domestic violent men is to offer information, which assists men to overcome their natural resistance to change by helping them to achieve insight into their use of defence mechanisms (Carney, 2006).

5.8.2. Theme: Domestic violence laws and legislation in South Africa

- **Are you aware of the laws against domestic violence in South Africa?**

This inquiry solicited very interesting responses. All the men stated that they heard about the laws, though they did not have adequate information on the contents of the Domestic Violence Bill. Rob stated that

“I used to read the laws in the paper but I don’t know what happened to me I just ended up going against them. In addition, most policemen just arrested men without also talking to the partners and reprimanding them about provoking their partners since two people carry out violence. Anyway, even today, most men view the Domestic Violence Act as aimed at giving women power over men and having a potential to lead to the destruction of relationships (Rob, 2007: Interview).”

Peter, Charlie, Raymond, Bobby, Luke, Paul & John indicated that the Laws suppress men's rights as a lot of men were being arrested. They also contended that the laws have a potential of destructing relationships and also an ability to motivate more violence as they offend men.

It is plausible to conclude that the majority of South African men especially those who abuse women view domestic violence laws negatively. Zain (2002) is of the view that men's retaliation against domestic violence laws has emanated from the fact that the laws have not yet begun to articulate how men can be involved in the fight against

gender violence. The researcher's stand point on this issue is that the law has also highlighted on the punitive part when dealing with the perpetrator and not on the rehabilitative part like making provisions for counselling programmes and training.

Phase Two

5.9. Focus group interview

The second phase of data collection involved a focus group interview consisting of five professionals. The impetus to conduct a focus group interview consisting of five professionals was to obtain information from people who had experience and knowledge of working in the domestic violence sphere. This was also done with the intention of getting a holistic picture of the severity of the problem in the Alice municipal area. Furthermore, it was hoped that these professionals would give information on the type of services they offered to male violence perpetrators and on the effectiveness of those services.

Based on the focus group interview, the following themes emerged from the data collected.

Table 5.9.1

- | |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Causes of violence• Services offered• Assistance for male violence perpetrators• Effectiveness of domestic violence laws and legislation• Improvement of existing laws |
|--|

5.9.2. Causes of violence

- **In your working experience with domestic violence perpetrators, what have been the major causes for conflicts in relationships?**

When asked about their opinion on the causes of male violence, a varied response was solicited from this question although there were some similarities in some responses,

for example two of the respondents i.e., the domestic violence officer and nurse expressed that alcohol and substance abuse is playing a part in the increase of violence in Alice. This coincides with scholars that forward the notion that alcohol plays a role in the abuse of women (Barnett & Perrin-Perrin, 2005). Both the police office and the nurse contended that culture was also a major influence of violence in the context that the society has nursed the view that men have the power to discipline their partners when they see fit and also women have accepted the notion that it is normal for men to abuse them. The nurse had this to say:

“Women were made to believe that being beaten is normal and men knowing beating a woman is normal and so it is a normal thing, I think that’s what makes it (domestic violence) scary” (Health Care Professional, 2007: Interview)

Kim (2002) highlights that in the African culture physical abuse was frequently described using terms such as punishment or discipline and that men who were able to discipline their wives were regarded with approval as maintaining order in the home. Thus it is safe to conclude that to a large extent culture is a culprit in the perpetuation of violence.

The Social Worker and the nurse concurred that poverty and unemployment contributed to the abuse of women, in that a lot of men feel emasculated by not being able to provide for their families and thus violence is used to reassert one’s masculinity. The Social Worker elaborated that this issue of poverty and unemployment makes a lot of men to have a very low self-esteem and thus violence is regarded as a strategy to boost their esteem. Campbell (1992) in a research he conducted in Kwazulu Natal states that, mostly a father who could not provide (for his family), because of humiliation, often turned to drinking, women for consolation, squandering a portion of his meagre salary on the indulgences and further embittering his family.

The pastor stated that violence in the home is a result of people’s lack in spirituality. He stated that the lack of godly reverence caused men to abuse their wives. Below is what he had to say on this matter,

“People are not grounded in the word of God, there are many people who have not yet been saved and so people need God’s love for them to change for the better.” (Religious leader, 2007:Interview).

Palmer (2007) contends that a strong spiritual self allows us to have a certain amount of mastery over the negative or non-helpful influences in our lives. Moreover, having and maintaining a spiritual identity helps us to resist and overcome life’s negative influences within our selves.

5.9.3. Services Offered

- **What sort of help does your institutions or organisations offer to men who abuse women**

Participants were asked about the services they were offering to male violence perpetrators. The services offered by each of the organisations represented varied based on the mandates of the organisation.

Basically we touch on the legal side of the matter, we start by opening a file for the victim and we help them to open a protection order against the perpetrator. The magistrate will give an interdict and the 3 protection orders that are given to the complainant, perpetrator and the other remains with the court (Domestic Violence Officer, 2007:Interview).

We help the victim to file a report against the perpetrator after which a case is opened after ascertaining the facts of the matter, we then dispatch a van to locate the victim and to register the case. If the victim is in danger, he/she is separated from the perpetrator to a place of safety (Police Officer, 2007:Interview).

Studies on the effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System in South Africa contend that there are flaws inherent in this system in that most of the officials have been described as “*unsympathetic*” towards issues of domestic violence (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991).

We mostly offer counselling services for the couple for us to understand where the problem is and to help our clients to come up with solutions. We also work hand in hand with the police in cases where the woman has been seriously abused (Social Worker, 2007:Interview).

The nurse pointed out that their organisation mostly offers health care services if a woman comes injured. She also stated that it is a standard rule for them to ask the

client about the cause of the injury. Section 4(3) of the Domestic violence Act (1998) permits health workers to make necessary referrals and also to help the victim to file a protection order. This procedure helps them to make necessary referrals like social workers or the police depending on the seriousness of the case. However, Zain (2002) argues that the government needs to channel more resources to the formulation of training guidelines so as to capacitate the health professionals. The religious leader said that the church offered spiritual counselling based on biblical principles. Moulton (2005) proposes that the church is an important structure that families are consulting for assistance on domestic violence issues.

5.9.4. Assistance for male violence perpetrators

- **What sort of assistance should be given to men who abuse their partners?**

The domestic violence officer advocated that male abusers need information on domestic violence and its effects and also to inform them that violence is a crime. He had this to say;

“I think that the type of help to be given to men who assault their partners is maybe information on this matter and the different steps that the law enforcement can take against anyone who perpetrates violence against their partners. It is vital for social workers to educate and sensitise people on this matter” (Domestic Violence Officer, 2007: Interview)

The police officer also shared the same sentiment on the importance of information on conduct that warrants one's arrest.

The Social Worker and the spiritual leader emphasized the importance of offering counselling programs to male batterers.

“I think men need information on how bad their actions affect their partners, thus I suggest that more counselling sessions to deal with their problems and to come up with alternative solutions will reduce their use of violence” (Social Worker, 2007: Interview).

“They should get employed first of all or be involved in income generating projects, for this entire problem to end. Second they need programs that discourage them to drink and to use violence. And also those who are going out of hand should be arrested (Nurse, 2007: Interview).

She also highlighted that social workers need to take the initiative to form programs for men to educate them on domestic violence and many other issues pertinent to men.

5.9.5. Effectiveness of Domestic violence laws

- **Do you think the existing policies and laws are effective in curbing domestic violence in the home? Yes or no and why?**

Three of the five responses depicted a positive picture of the policies. The pastor, police officer and domestic violence officer stated that the existing policies and legislation are effective. Although the pastor had little to say about this issue, indicated that he had witnessed the police arresting perpetrators, thus, to him this was a positive indication of the effectiveness of the law. The following is what the Domestic Violence Officer said;

“I would say that the laws as they are, are okay, because with the cases we handle on domestic violence, we hardly have any problems with the perpetrators after wards, so the law per se is okay, maybe people need to know more about the law for them to utilize it effectively” (Domestic violence officer, 2007: Interview).

The police officer pointed out that the law is being made more effective by their social crime prevention unit, which is educating people about crimes. He contended that because of this unit, they has been a high turn up of women reporting domestic violence. The domestic violence officer also pointed out that the law is effective, he based his conclusion on the fact that they hardly had problems with the perpetrators after they had been served protection orders.

On the other hand both the social worker and the nurse did not share the same sentiment as the other informants, they held the notion that the law was not effective.

“In as far as law is concerned I have problems with the law protection order given to the victims because in most cases they cause more violence in the house and may lead to the husband fixing the wife by not taking care of the family or making them him so angry such that they can even abuse them more. So I am not content to say that the law is effective. Furthermore the police do not have enough capacity in

dealing with these matters, I actually do not think that most of them even know what the policy says and most of them are men and usually would support men”(Social Worker, 2007:Interview).

The nurse boldly said that the rise in domestic violence cases was a clear indication of the effectiveness of the law. This is because men are retaliating by either withdrawing their breadwinner duties or abusing the women more. A research conducted by Parenzee, Artz & Moulton (2001) also revealed out that women are reporting that protection orders against their spouses are fuelling violence in the home rather than reducing it.

5.9.6. Improvement of existing laws

- **What can be done to make the existing policies effective?**

Three out of the five participants stated that the law is effective as it is and thus they did not suggest anything. The nurse recommended that;

“The law enforcement agencies should first use the law to protect women and the community at large; otherwise the law would be ineffective”(Nurse, 2007:Interview).

Similar arguments purport that there is need for capacitating law enforcement agencies for better service delivery to the community ((Altebeker, 2005). The Social Worker emphasized the need to analyse these policies for the purpose of establishing whether implementing them is realistic to avoid “*creating a disaster*”(Social Worker, 2007:Interview). The researcher is of the opinion that, there is still need to capacitate a lot of professionals on domestic violence laws for them to understand the powers they are given by these laws for better service delivery.

5.9.7. Conclusion

The chapter discussed the experiences of ten male violence perpetrators and five professionals. The men’s accounts (perpetrators) were characterised by hegemony, some of them concurred that violence was perpetrated to discipline and punish the women in instances where women failed to live up to their expectations. The

analysis also revealed that the participants have abused their partners in one-way or the other physically, emotionally, economically and psychologically. Information gathered showed that the reasons for men abusing women range from infidelity, inability to provide, faulty communication and alcohol.

The men's meaning attached to their acts of violence reflected their hegemonic frames of references and how most of them were not remorseful. Furthermore men's definition of violence is inadequate as they equated it to battering. The research also pointed out that the African culture plays a significant role in the perpetuation of violence.

The participants invoked that their services ranged from counseling sessions to legal aid. Some of them had positive comments with regards to the domestic violence policy and hailed its effectiveness. In contrast, some expressed that the laws were ineffective as provisions such as the protection orders were fuelling the problem. The next chapter will draw conclusions and make recommendations.

It is contended that the study reinforced previous results established and at the same time introduced new information. However, it is also safe to conclude that this chapter has given insight into the perspectives of male violence perpetrators. The next chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Six

Conclusions and Recommendations

6.0. Introduction

The preceding chapter provided insight into the findings gathered during the analysis of data. It highlighted the different trends and patterns that emerged in the analysis. Existing male violence theories augmented information found which enabled the researcher to create an informative analysis. This chapter presents lessons learnt and recommendations based on the analysis conducted in the previous chapter. The study aimed at finding out how men define domestic violence; what they perceive as the causes of violence; the experiences of men after perpetrating violence; men's empowerment needs; strategies that service providers can use when working with perpetrators of violence and establishing how the research findings can effect policy change.

This study is important since minimal literature and studies exist in South Africa on male violence; and therefore this research will enlighten service providers and policy makers on this pertinent issue. It is further anticipated that the study will provide them with information on how best to address the issue of male violence in policy and in practice.

The conclusions and recommendations will be made for each theme. It is important to note that conclusions and recommendations from data analysed from the ten male violence perpetrators will be addressed first. There after, attention will be directed towards the focus group findings.

6.1. Conclusion

6.1.1 Demographic information

Conclusion

The study looked at the demographic variables that characterized the sample. This paved way for the researcher to find relationships between the men's demographic information and the information they provided to the pertinent questions that guided the study.

The research established that the sample consisted of men who were between the ages of 24 and 43. It can be concluded that age could have contribute to men's use of violence, especially those in the "20's", as they could have had minimal marital skills. The study also found out that all the participants were married customarily, as most of them paid lobola for their partners. The relationship between the payment of lobola and men's use of violence was established as it enabled men to dominate their partners.

The study also found out that most of the participants were not formally employment and thus were not able to meet their family's needs. Interestingly, men's inability to provide for their families contributed to their use of violence, as this made them to assert control over their partners.

The study also sought to inquire on the men's relationship history. Interesting to note is the fact that most of most of the participants were coerced into marriage because they either had impregnated their partners or because of pressure from their religious leaders. It can be concluded that, coercion into marriage because of external factors is a major reason for early divorces and also most likely to contribute to the enormous violence statistics in relationships.

Recommendations

- There is need for outreach programs for the youth, which focus on premarital counselling. This will empower the youth with essential skills, which are crucial in the marriage institution.

- There is need for creation of more employment opportunities in South Africa for men to be able to provide for their families. This will reduce marital violence in the home, as the erosion of the material dimension in most of the men's lives is what propelled them to using violence.
- As most of the participants were coerced into marriage by external factors like pregnancy, there is need for more education on protected sex and the use of contraceptives. Furthermore, there is need to educate religious leaders and parents on the negative effects of coercing the youth into marriage based on their religion or their choice as this can lead to marital violence.

6.1.2. Men's understanding of violence

Conclusion

In an attempt to gain men's experiences of violence, the study saw it imperative to tap into men's understanding of domestic violence. The study assumes that, this would lead to the formulation of appropriate intervention strategies of dealing with male violence. The rationale provided by the men's definition of violence pointed out that they were not fully informed about domestic violence as it was communicated mostly from the physical dimension. When men were asked to recall some of the violent episodes they experienced they emphasized on occasions they used physical violence, although their accounts also revealed that they emotionally and economically abused their spouses.

Placing the respondents' definition against the currently operating definition in the Domestic violence Act of 1998, which views it from the physical, sexual, emotional, verbal, psychological, and economic dimension, shows evidence that some men do not have an adequate understanding of domestic violence.

The forms of violence that the respondents perpetrated on their partners varied. Eight out of the ten men used physical violence, which ranged from slapping (Rob, Raymond and Rex), the use of fists (Bobby, Raphael and Luke) and objects such as whips (Paul). Raphael and Rob economically abused their wives. Raphael closed down his wife's small business after he suspected her of cheating, Rob did not provide for his family; instead he used his money on other women. Raymond, Rob

and John stated that they psychologically abused their wives by not coming home on time. It is important to note that, although some of the respondents used the other forms of violence, they emphasized on physical violence.

Recommendations

- There is need for educational programs that are led by men that focus on disseminating information on domestic violence and its effects to sensitise communities on this issue. Barnett et al (2005), contend that men have a particular role to play in educating other men about the nature of abuse and how men can change. The programs should also extend to schools and other places where young people are so as to deconstruct the patriarchal breeding grounds.
- There need to educate men on the definition of domestic violence as stated in the Domestic Violence Bill as most of them defined violence from a physical dimension.
- There is need to incorporate information on domestic violence in school curriculums' for further sensitisation of this issue at a young age, or even to avoid violence in youth dating relationships as researches have already exposed the presence of violence in youth relationships.

6.1.3. Causes of violence

Conclusion

The study established that, there are a number of factors, which contribute to violence. First of all, the respondents' indulgence in other intimate relationships was singled out as a factor that led to the use of violence. Having multiple partners is evidence of the legacy left by some of the cultural practises like polygamy, which are patriarchal in nature as men are allowed to marry more than one wife. Men's hegemonic practises were exposed as they used violence to silence their partners from inquiring about their infidelity. Armstrong (in Bowman 1997) asserts that, the uneven distribution of power embedded in the traditional African marriages is portrayed through the acknowledgement of polygamy, the acceptance of male promiscuity.

In addition, the study revealed that violence is intensified by the payment of lobola. Raymond (2007:Interview) stated that, *“I think it’s our culture, especially lobola. To most men marrying a wife is equated to purchasing property and thus you will find women are constantly reminded that the husband paid lobola for her”* The practice is partly a symbol of the men’s ownership of the spouse and thus such believes explain the rampant violence in African marriages.

The respondents’ stated that external events coerced them into marry their spouses. A number of them stated that they had made their partners pregnant and thus had to get married. The other one was pressured by his pastor to marry a woman in the church, as he was getting older although he mentioned that he initially intended to marry another woman he was in love with and failed because of cultural impediments. The study asserts that this pressure from the external events could have contributed to the marital discord.

The study contends that, men’s use of violence during arguments with their spouses is evidence by a deficiency of social skills. For example one of the respondents (Rob) stated that his inability to express himself verbally coerced him to use violence. Ronan, Dreer, Dollard, Donna & Ronan (2004), have forwarded that violent individuals are deficient in social skills, such as communication and problem-solving skills and that the perpetrator may resort to violence as an attempt to deal with high-conflict-marital interactions.

In addition, violence is also used to reassert their masculinity. The respondents invoked that they battered their spouses to discipline them especially when they disregarded their authority. They also stated that when they suspected infidelity on their spouses’ side they used violence to punish them. The study concludes that men’s needs to reassert their masculinity is a reflection that they have low self esteem and thus violence is used as a strategy to fill up that lack. Padayachee (2004) supports this proposition by stating that perpetrators typically have low self-esteem even though they want to be seen as strong, masculine figures.

Similarly, respondents’ accounts drew upon hegemonic discourses as violence was used as an instrument to suppress women and to elevate their dominance. Statements

such as “*I wanted to instil fear in her so that she would not do it again*” are evidence of the hegemonic discourses, which they invoked. Feminists contend that hegemonic masculinity legitimises the existence of patriarchy; in essence it guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Gilgun & McLeod, 1999).

Amongst other factors, the presence of alcohol also contributes to the violent episodes. The researcher concludes that it showed that men had lack of coping skills hence they resorted to alcohol. Furthermore, the correlation between alcohol and the use of violence was not fully established as some of the respondents stated their awareness of their actions whilst perpetrating violence.

Recommendations

- There is an urgent need for counselling for male violence perpetrators and these should offer: behaviour change sessions, alternative coping skills, esteem improvement, social skills and communication and marital skills programs. The researcher believes an impartation of such skills will reduce the probability of men using violence on their spouses. A model such as the Duluth Model of Minnesota, which addresses the above issues, is recommended.
- There is need to address power issues in most communities through educational programs that will challenge the negative impact of customs such as lobola whilst at the same time preserving their positive parts.
- The issue of infidelity needs to be addressed in conjunction with HIV/AIDS education, as this is not only a major cause of violence in relationships but also of the AIDS pandemic as witnessed in Rob’s account. Because he had many sexual partners, he got infected with HIV/AIDS, which for him was the milestone event that made him to make a decision to change.

6.1.4. Aftermath experiences of violence

Most of the respondents used defence mechanisms to shield themselves from the blame and the responsibility of having abused their spouses. For example, most of them blamed their spouses for initiating the arguments, provoking them and in most cases felt justified for using violence as they felt their spouses deserved it. Literature

is also showing that male batterers tend to deny and minimize their assaultive and abusive actions (Blacklock, 2000; Eisikovits & Enosh, 1997)

However, few of perpetrators were remorseful for their use of violence as evidenced by some of the gestures, such as buying their spouses presents, however, the recurrence of other violent episodes proved them otherwise, instead a cycle of violence was created as their spouses kept on forgiving them.

The impact of violence on the solution of the problem was communicated as negative rather than positive, as it made the problem worse. In some cases the violent episodes led to arrests by the police or the injury of the spouse.

Most of the men reflected that they were not aware of how violence impacted their spouses as most of them were occupied with a “sense of victory” and entitlement after the battering episode which is a major component of hegemonic masculinity.

The research also concludes that the fact that the respondents were able to visualise alternative ways in which they could have avoided the use of violence, is evidence that men who abuse their spouses have options at their disposal on how best to react during the arguments but choose to use violence. The research also shows that informal networks like the family, friends and the church still remain safety nets in dealing with domestic violence issues.

Recommendations

- There is need for educational programs that are led by men that focus on disseminating information on domestic violence and its effects to sensitise communities on this issue. Barnett et al (2005), contend that men have a particular role to play in educating other men about the nature of abuse and how men can change. The programs should also extend to schools and other places where young people are so as to deconstruct the patriarchal breeding grounds
- There is need for community outreaches to disseminate information, so as to strengthen the informal networks (family, church, traditional healers, friends) on how to provide concrete assistance in domestic violence matters.

- There is need to stress the importance of cooperation between the community and the service providers (police, social workers, health professionals) in dealing with domestic violence as the professionals mostly rely on cases that have been brought forward to them.
- There is need to initiate men's forums that focus on empowering and supporting men on challenges they are facing and also that aim to include men in the fight against domestic violence.

6.1.5. Perceptions of domestic violence laws and legislation

Men's view of the laws and legislation on domestic violence reflects an inadequacy of knowledge on the essence of the policy, as they believed that the more law more concerned about protecting women's rights and suppressing theirs. The study concludes that men's negative view of the Law is a result of the fact that the laws have not yet begun addressing how men can be involved in ending violence. In addition, most of the respondents highlighted the need for information pertaining to domestic violence.

Some of the key informants, such as the police and domestic violence legal advisors, described the Domestic Violence Laws as effective in curbing male violence. On the other hand, the Law was brought to question, as they were complaints about the ineffectiveness of the protection order. The other key informants noted that, the number of women reporting more abuse after filing for the protection order was rising remarkably. The researcher has concluded that the existing laws are catering more for the victim and less for the perpetrator. Moreover, the law is only focusing on the punitive part and has turned a blind eye on the rehabilitative part.

Recommendations

- There is need for more education on Domestic violence legislation so as to help the victims to be aware of the different steps they can take after abuse and for the perpetrators to realise the gravity of actions that can be taken against them.

- There is need for legislation in specific reference to the Domestic Violence Bill to make provisions for the rehabilitative dimension for perpetrators; hence provisions for counselling programmes should be made available.
- The policies need to make provisions that include men in the fight against violence by putting some responsibility on them in-order to destroy perceptions of violence being a women's problem only.
- The policy needs to be sensitive when it comes to the implementation of provisions like the protection order and how such a provision complements institutions such as marriage and the implications it has on the future of the marriage institution.

6.2. Focus group interview: Service providers

The following are conclusions drawn from the focus group interview with the service providers.

6.2.1. Causes of violence

Under this theme, the focus group largely shared the same sentiments as the perpetrators as they concurred that alcohol and substance abuse played a pivotal role in men's use of violence in the Alice community.

They also relayed that, poverty and unemployment made men to feel emasculated by not being able to provide for their families and thus coerced to use violence as a tool to reassert their masculinity.

Lastly, the pastor believed that lack of spirituality and godly reverence enticed most men into using violence against their partners.

6.2.2 Services offered to male violence perpetrators

As the focus group consisted of service providers from different institutions the study indicated that the domestic violence officer from the Magistrate court was mostly concerned with the opening domestic violence files for new cases and also for filing protection orders as per instruction by the magistrate.

The policemen also stated the same roles and tasks as the domestic violence except that their institution engages in crime prevention work in the community by disseminating information on domestic violence and other forms of crime.

The social worker and the pastor concurred that they offer counselling services. However, the pastor stated that the church's counselling is based on biblical principles. The nurse pointed out that their tasks included offering health care services for the victims and also making necessary referrals to the victim either to the social workers or the police in order to file for a protection order.

The research also established that, the social service providers seem not to have concrete procedures and capacity on how to deal with domestic violence perpetrators besides couple counselling, which is usually ineffective, as most perpetrators are under the assumption that the social workers are on their spouses' side and thus, they take a defensive stance.

6.2.3. Assistance for male violence perpetrators

It can be concluded that three of the service providers stated the need for more information on domestic violence to all men in general. Important to note is that the information should enlighten men on the effects of violence on their partners and also on measures that can be taken against them if they engage in such conduct.

In addition, the need for counselling programs for the perpetrators is needed. Finally, the nurse stated that there is need for employment opportunities in the Alice community through community income generating projects.

6.2.4. Effectiveness of the law

The focus group discussion showed that some three of the service providers perceived the law as effective and thus did not recommend anything. On the other hand, both the social worker and the nurse highlighted that the law was ineffective as the domestic violence statistics and cases were rising. Furthermore, the social worker expressed her

concern on the friction caused by the protection order as in some instances it fuelled the situation for the victim and thus recommended for a reevaluation of the law on this matter.

6.3. Recommendations

- Service providers need to orchestrate outreach campaigns that seek to educate men on domestic violence and its effects on their partners, families and the community at large.
- Service providers such as social workers should lobby for funds from the municipality and local stakeholders to initiate income-generating projects in the community to assist families to meet their needs, as unemployment is high.
- Service providers need to be capacitated with concrete procedures of dealing with male violence perpetrators; thus, resources should be made available for such initiatives.
- There is need to sensitise service providers such as the police, social workers and the health department on the importance of cooperation between their departments dealing with domestic violence issues. This is because domestic violence has multifaceted implications and in most cases requires the attention of social workers, the police and the health professionals.
- The law enforcement agencies such as the police need capacitation on how to handle domestic violence measures so as to make the law effective.
- A needs assessment research is required to inquire into the needs of the service providers in dealing with Domestic violence.

6.4. Concluding comment

The study attempted to look into male violence perpetrators' perspectives of domestic violence. It is safe to conclude that most of the discourses invoked by the respondents largely support feminist notions of patriarchy as the sole reason for the abuse of women. However, other factors such as alcohol, deception and faulty communication also contribute to men's use of violence. The research contributes to literature by providing insight on men's interpretation of their actions of violence and the meaning

they attached to these events. The effectiveness of the law was brought to question because of the ineffectiveness of the protection order. The study also approached service providers to inquire about their perspectives on this issue and the type of services they offer in dealing with domestic violence. Important to note is that there is need for cooperation amongst the service providers in the fight against male violence against women.

Bibliography

- Abrahams N.; Jewkes R.; & Laubsher R. (1999). *"I don't believe in democracy in the home: men's relationship with and abuse of women"*. CERSA (Women's Health) Medical Research Council, P/B X35, Pretoria, 0001.
<http://www.mrc.ac.za/gender/projects.htm>
[Accessed 5 June 2006]
- Agostinho S. *Naturalistic inquiry in e-learning research*. International Journal for Qualitative Methods. 4 (1). <http://www.ualberta.ca/iiqm/backissues/4-1>
[Accessed 7 October 2008]
- Alston M. & Bowles W. (2003). *Research for Social Workers* (2nd ed). Australia, Allen & Unwin.
- Altebeker A. (2005). *Policing domestic violence: sympathy gap*. Institute for Security Studies, South Africa.
- Ambrosino R.; Heffernan J., Shuttlesworth G., Ambrosino R. (2005). *Social Work & Social Welfare an Introduction*. United States of America, Thomson.
- Anderson, K.L. (1997). *Gender, Status & Domestic Violence: An integration of Feminist and Family Violence Approaches*, National Council on Family Relations. Journal of Marriage and the Family. 59 (3): 655-699.
[Accessed 6 June 2006]
- Anderson K.L. & Umberson, D. (2001). *Gendering Violence: Masculinity and Power in Men's Accounts of Domestic Violence*. Gender & Society. <http://www.links.jstor.org>. [Accessed 5 June 2006]
- Barker G. & Ricardo C. (2005). *Young men and the construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications of HIV/AIDS, Conflict & Violence*. World Bank. Paper No (26). 1-82.
- Bean C. (1992). *Women murdered by the men they loved*. Harrington. New York. Park Press.
- Blacklock N. (2001). *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment*. Domestic Violence: working with perpetrators, the community and its institutions. United Kingdom.
- Barnett O.W. & LaViolette (1993). *It Could Happen to Anyone, Why Battered Women Stay*. United States of America. Sage Publications.
- Barnett O.; Perrin C.L.; Perrin R.D. (2005). *Family Violence Across the Lifespan, An Introduction, (2nd Edition)*. United States of America. Sage Publications.
- Bowman C.J. (1999). *Social Policy and the Law*. U.S.A. Journal of Gender & Society. (3) 111-118.

Byrne, C.A., & Arias, I. (1997). Marital satisfaction and marital violence: Moderating effects of attributional processes. *Journal of Family Psychology*, Vol (11), 188-195

Campbell J.C. (1992). *"If I can't have you, no one can". Power and control in homicide of female partners, in Femicide: The politics of woman killing.* Buckingham. Open University Press.

Campbell J.C. & Maman S. (2000). The intersections of HIV and violence: Directions for future research and interventions. *Social Science & medicine*. South Africa.

Charmaz K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory*, United Kingdom. Sage Publications.

Collins P.H. (1990). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, And the Politics of Empowerment*. Britain. Routledge.

Connell R.W. (1995). *Masculinities*. University of California. U.S.A. Berkeley.

Cunningham A., Jaffe P.G., Dick T., Malla S., Mazaher N, Poisson S. (1998). *Theory Derived Explanations of male violence against female partners: Literature update and related Implications for treatment and evaluation*. London Family Court. <http://www.jstor.org>

Caetano R., Schafer J., Cunradi C. (2001). *Alcohol related intimate partner violence among White, Black and Hispanic couples in the United States*. National Institute for Alcohol Abuse & Alcoholism, U.S.A.

Devos A., S., H. Strydom, Fouche C., B. & Delpont C., S., L. (2002). *Research at Grass Roots*. Pretoria, South Africa. Van Schaik.

Denzin N., K. & Lincoln Y., S. (2000). *Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd ed)*. United Kingdom. Sage Publications.

Domestic Violence Act (1998). Pretoria, South Africa Government Printer.

Donaldson M. (1993). *What is hegemonic masculinity?* *Theory and Society*. (14) 643-657.

Dunkle, K., Jewkes, R., Brown, H., McIntyre, J., Gray, G., Harlow, S. (2003). *Gender- Based violence and HIV Infection among pregnant women in Soweto*. AusAID. South Africa.

Eisikovits, Z., & Enosh, G. (1997). *Awareness of violence and shame in intimate violence*. Violence and victims.

Firth, H. & Kit Zinger, C. (1998). *Emotion work as a Participant Resource: A feminist analysis of Young Women's talk- in- interaction*. *Sociology*, Vol 32 pp 297-320

Gilgun, J.F., & McLeod, L. (1999). *Gendering Violence*. Minnesota. U.S.A. Elsevier.

Gelles, R., & Cornell, C.P. (1990). *Intimate violence in families*, (2nd ed). Newbury Park. U.S.A. Sage Publications.

Gondolf E. (1993). *Alcohol Abuse, Wife Assault and Power*. Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment. 2 (2) 177-191.

Hearn J. (1998). *The violence of men: How men talk about and how agencies respond to men's violence against women*. Thousand Oaks. Sage Publications.

Henning E., van Rensburg W., & Smit B. (2004). *Finding your way Qualitative Research*. South Africa. Van Schaik.

Imms, W.D. (2000). *Multiple masculinities and the schooling of boys*. Canadian Journal of Education. 25 (2) 152-165.

Jackson L. (1997). *Recent initiatives in addressing gender violence in South Africa*. Crime Policing Policy Project. Institute for Crime and Security Studies.

Jewkes R., Penn-Kekana L., Levin J., Ratsaka M. & Schrieber M. (1999). "*He must give me money, he mustn't beat me.*" *Violence against women in three South African provinces*. CERSA (Women's Health), Medical Research Council, P/B X385, Pretoria, 0001. <http://www.mrc.ac.za/gender/projects.htm>
[Accessed 5 July 2006]

Jewkes R. & Wood K. (1998). *Love is a dangerous thing: micro-dynamics of violence in sexual relationships of young people in Umtata*. CERSA (Women's Health) Medical Research Council, P/B X35, Pretoria, 0001. <http://www.mrc.ac.za/gender/projects.htm>

Johnson M.P. (1995). *Patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence: Two forms of violence against women*. Journal of Marriage and Family. Vol (57) 283-294.

Kumar R., (2005). *Research Methodology* (2nd ed). Sage Publications, London, United Kingdom

Lee R.M. (1993). *Doing research on sensitive topics*. London: Sage Publications.

Lyden S. L., (2005). *Reconstruction and Resistance: Masculinity, Gender and Relationships among men in the Environmental Movement*. Swinburne University, Australia

Loseke, D. R., Gelles R. J., Cavanaugh M.M. (2005). *Current Controversies on Family Violence* (2nd ed). New York. Sage Publications.

Kaufman G.B. (2001). *Intervention with Abuse of Alcohol, Drugs & Women*. Men stopping violence Inc. menstoppingviolence.org

Kim J. (2000). *Women enjoy punishment: Attitudes and experiences of gender based violence among PHC nurses in rural South Africa*.

Macdougall, L. (2000). *A qualitative study of intimate femicide: the perpetrator's perspective*. Rhodes University, South Africa. <http://www.ru.ac.za/academic>

Mane P. & Rao Gupta G. (1994). "Effective Communication between partners: AIDS risk reduction for women". *AIDS* 8 (1) S325-S331.

Matthews S., Abrahams N., Martin, L.J., Vetten, L., van de Merwe, L., Jewkes, R. (2004). *A national study of female homicide in South Africa*, Medical Research Council, P/B X385, Pretoria, 0001. <http://www.mrc.ac.za/gender/projects.htm> [Accessed 5 June 2006]

Marshall C. & Rossman G. (1995). *Designing Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Masimanyane Women's Support Group Center. (1999). *Violence Against Women: An exploratory Study of the impact of the Criminal Justice System on Victims/ Survivors of Domestic Violence and Rape*. East London.

Messerschmidt J.W. (1993). *Masculinities and Crime*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Mihalic S.W. (1997). *A Social Learning Theory Model of Marital Violence*. Journal of Family Violence. 12 (1) 21-47.

Morrell R. (2001). *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. London. Zed Books.

Morrell R. (2002). "Men, Movement and Gender Transformation in South Africa. The Journal for Men's Studies. 10 (3) 309.

Moult K. (2005). *Informal mechanisms of dealing with domestic violence*. South African Crime Quarterly. (12).

Mouton, J. 1996a. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria. Van Schaik.

Mouton, J. & Marias, H.C. (1990). *Basic concepts in the methodology of the social science*. Pretoria, UNISA.

Murphy, C. M., Stosny S. & Morrell T. M. (2005). *Change in Self-Esteem and Physical Aggression During Treatment for Partner Violent Men*. Journal of Family Violence. Vol. 20. (4), 201-209.

Nkonkobe Municipality, (2005-2006). *Integrated Development Plan Review Document*.

Nueman, W.L., (2000). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*, (4th ed) Boston. Allyn & Bacon.

Njovana E., & Watts, C. (1996). Gender Violence in Zimbabwe: A Need for collaborative Action. *Reproductive Health Matters*. Vol. 4 (7) 46-55

- Oliver, W. (1994). *The Violent Social World of Black Men*. Canada. Lexington Books.
- Parenzee P, Artz L., & Moulton, K. (2001). *Monitoring the Implementation of the Domestic Violence Act*. Institute of Criminology. South Africa
- Padayachee V. (2005). *Offenders Rehabilitation & Reintegration- NICRO's Program for Perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence*.
- Pence E. & Paymar M. (1993). *Education Groups for men who batter the Duluth Model*. New York. Springer Publication
- Plant S. (2006). *Deconstructing Masculinity*. Compiled by Redfern, C.
- Pilcher J., & Whelehan I. (2004). *Fifty Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. London. Sage Publications.
- Radford J. & Russell D. (1992). *Femicide: The Politics of woman killing* Buckingham, Open University Press.
- Reid, W. J. & Smith, A.D. (1981). *Research in Social Work*. New York. Columbia University Press.
- Ronan G. F., Dreer L. E., Dollard K. M., & Ronan D. W. (2004). *Violent Couples: Coping and Communication Skills*. Journal of Family Violence. Vol. 19, (2) 131-137
- Salo E. (2005). *Gender based violence and sexuality in South Africa*. Transcript for the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust open dialogue event. Cape town.
- Soul City. (1999). *Violence Against Women in South Africa. A Resource for Journalists*. South Africa. Copyright Soul City.
- Stout, K.D. & McPhail, B. (1998). *Confronting sexism and violence against women*, New York, Longman.
- Strauss, A.L., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative Research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park. Sage Publications
- The United Nations Forth Conference on Women- The Beijing Platform for Action*, United Nations Website, www.un.org
- Thyer, Bruce A., (1993). *"Single-systems Research Design"*, Itasca Illinois. Peacock Publishers.
- The United Nations Forth Conference on Women- The Beijing Platform for Action*, [http:// www.un.org](http://www.un.org)
- Tshesane, M., 2001, *Women Abuse in the Family Context: An Ethological Approach*, Department of Criminology. University of South Africa.

Vogelman, L., & Eagle, G. (1991). *Overcoming Endemic Violence Against Women. Social Justice*. Vol. 18, (1-2) 209-229.

Watts C. & Ndlovu M. (1997). *Women, Violence and HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe*. SAFAIDS News.

West C., & Fenstermaker S. (1995). *Doing Gender*. Gender & Society. (1) 125-151.

Weiss E. & Rao Gupta G. (1998). *Bridging the gap: Addressing Gender and Sexuality in HIV Prevention*. Washington, D.C., International Centre for research on women.

Whatule L.J. (2000). Communication as an aid to resocialization: A case of men's anger groups. *Small Group Research*.

Wingood G.M., & Diclemente R.J. (1997). *The effects of an abusive primary partner on condom use and sexual negotiation practises of African-American women*. *American Journal of Public Health*. 87 (6) 1016-8.

Zain, P. (2002). *Working with men to stop violence against women: Models and ideas*, INTERFUND commissioned study.

Zastrow, C. 2004. *Introduction to Social Work and Social Welfare: Empowering people (8th Ed)*. United States of America. Thomson, Brooke/Cole.

Appendix One

University of Fort Hare
P.Bag X1314
Alice
5700

The Department of Social Development
Alice
5700

15 June 2007

Re: Request for permission to undertake a research study.

This letter serves as a request to undertake my research study with your organization. My name is Talent Danga. I am a student at the University of Fort Hare and currently pursuing my Masters Degree in Social Sciences (Social Work) by research. I am doing a research on “Male perspectives on gender violence: The case of the Nkonkobe Municipal area.

I am therefore requesting your permission and assistance to have access to **ten** of your clients between the ages of 24-45 years as my research participants. The research is focusing on black men who are domestic violent offenders. I wish to collect data, preferably from the 20th to the 25th of June 2007.

Attached is my research proposal and interview schedule for your review. I hope my application will receive your favourable consideration.

My contact details are- Cell number 072 304 8660
Email dandytee77@yahoo.com or tdanga@gmail.com

Yours faithfully
Talent Danga.

Appendix Two

Interview Schedule One: Male violence perpetrators

Topic: Male perspectives of gender violence in South Africa: The case of Nkonkobe Municipal area.

Theme	Question	Prompts
Demographic information.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tell me about yourself 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Age yourself and partner -Marital status -Type of relationship. -Occupational status(man & woman) -Educational status -Number of children.
Causes of violence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tell me about the worst argument you had that became physical. ▪ Tell me about the last argument that became physical? ▪ How can you explain your acts of violence towards your partner? ▪ Which occasions/ instances usually cause violence in the relationship? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -What caused the argument? -How did your partner react to the argument? -How did you react to the argument? -How did it become violent? -What caused it? -How did your partner react during the argument? -How did you react towards the argument? -How did it become violent? -What do they aim to achieve? -How do you justify the appropriateness of your use of violence? -Why do these instances cause arguments? -What importance do these instances have to you? -Why do these occasions end up causing violence?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In your opinion, why do men use violence in relationships? 	Give your answer.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Do you think violence is part and parcel of being a man? 	Give your answer.
Aftermath experience of violence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What happened/s after the battery 	<p>-How did you feel after the battery?</p> <p>-What impact did the act of violence have on the solution to the argument?</p> <p>-The meaning of the battering experience to you?</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How did/do you react towards partner after battery and type of assistance pursued 	<p>-How did/does your partner react after the violence?</p> <p>-What kind of feelings did/do you have towards her?</p> <p>-Did/do you understand the effect of the violent action on your partner?</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Do you see your use of violence in your relationship as a problem considering the effect it has on you and your partner? 	<p>Yes or no?</p> <p>-Why?</p>
Perceived male battery services for perpetrators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In your opinion, what would have prevented occasions where violence took place in your relationship? 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What sort of help did/do you seek after the battery? 	<p>-For your partner</p> <p>-For yourself</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What sort of help should be given to men who use violence against their partners 	-State the form of help. -Give reasons for the importance of this assistance
Understanding of domestic violence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What do understand by the term domestic violence? 	-physical -psychological -economic -emotional
Perspectives on the existing Domestic violence Laws & Legislation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are you aware the laws against domestic violence in South Africa? 	Yes or no What is your opinion of them?

Interview Schedule Two: Service providers

Theme	Question	Prompts
Causes of violence	In your working experience with domestic violence perpetrators what have been the major causes for conflicts in relationships?	-Give your answer -Which are the most common ones and why?
Services offered by each organisation	What sort of help does your institution or organisation offer to men who abuse women?	-State the form of help -Do you think your services are effective and why?
Assistance for male violence perpetrators	What sort of help should be given to men who abuse their partners?	-State the assistance -Why do you say so?
Evaluation of exiting policies	Do you think the existing policies and laws are doing enough to curb domestic violence in the home?	-Yes or no and why?
How to improve existing laws	What do you think can be done to make the policies effective?	-On a national level -On a local level

Appendix Three

Interview with Rob

Key: I = Interviewer

P = Participant

Demographic Information

Age: 38 years

Marital status: Married

Occupation: Self employed (Small tuck shop owner)

I: Can you tell me about your present relationship, how did you meet with your present partner?

P: Okay, eeh, we met in 1985, during that time I had lots of girlfriends since I was a guitarist in a band. We decided to stay together, though we thought it was a temporary arrangement since we did not perceive our relationship as not serious. However, we later realised that we had something solid, and so we decided to marry each other.

I: What do you think she liked about you?

P: During that time, I was a popular guy because of my profession and almost every woman in my community wanted a boyfriend in a band, so I think she basically enjoyed being called a guitarist wife.

I: Tell me about the current status of your relationship, how is the situation at home.

P: At the moment things are okay, as compared to the previous years, probably from, 1986 to 1997.

I: I want you to tell me about the worst argument that happened that led into violence.

P: During the time when I was a guitarist, there were so many women who were interested in me. So one of the days, though this happened many times, I did not go home, I had lied to my wife that the band had a show in one of the places. Also I did not give her money to provide for the children and to take care of the bills. When I

came back home, my wife had found out in the newspaper that there was no show yesterday, and so that's where the arguing started and this led to us fighting, which even ended up taking place outside.

I: Tell me, so when you started beating her up, how did your wife react?

P: In fact for me to use violence my wife had me provoked with her words.

I: How did the words provoke you into starting the fight, kindly give me a description of the order of events.

P: Okay, she told me she wanted money, which I told her I did not have. Later she came back again asking for money, so I emptied the pockets and gave her the little money I had. She then took the money and through the money in my face chanting why I had not given her the money in the first place. After that, she threw the sofa cushions in my face and yet again kept quiet. The moment that pushed me to the limits was when she poked my forehead with her fingers, which drove me mad.

I: What did you do afterwards?

P: Because I was so mad I decided to get out of the house to avoid a fight, but she followed me outside and continued shouting at me. Her noise attracted neighbours and so people came out of their houses to watch, so this made me to beat her up.

I: Tell me what the act of beating your wife meant.

P: The beating was meant to pass a message to her that she needed to understand that I was her husband and she was supposed to listen to me. Also it is hard for me to use words since I am a person who does not have so much to say, so my use of power was to instil fear in her so that she could respect me and to show that I was a man.

I: So if I got you correctly, you beat her up, to show her that you were the man in house?

P: That's right

I: Did you see your use of violence as having solved the problem?

P: Temporarily, because my wife has a way of making me angry so we would end up fighting again, so I can't say it solved the problem. Furthermore, at times I would

leave after beating her and come back three days later and when I get back, it means more fights.

I: Besides the fight scenario, which other moment/s caused violence in the home?

P: Most of the arguments we had emanate from my lies, about the shows and were I would have been, which easily sold me out on my infidelity.

I: So, did you see your lying helping then?

P: It would help at times because she bought into the lies now and again but on other occasions, anyway I was used to lying and a bit good at it and so it was part of me.

I: Did you see your conduct as violence?

P: Yes, because I did not provide for my family, I cheated on my wife, and was person who used power since I was not good with words.

I: How did you feel after the use of violence?

P: I felt sorry for her, as she also felt sorry for pushing me into it, like when she reported me to the police and I was arrested without asking my side of story. In less than 10 hours she came back and dropped the charges and I was released from prison. As for me, I felt angry at first but later realised that I was wrong and so I would want to comfort her. However, because I knew comforting when she was still angry would create more havoc, I would wait until she calmed down. Also, as a man I knew the things she liked and so I would buy her that. At first she would not accept it but later she would take the thing, or wear it if it was a dress. So I did things that she least expected.

I: So what did wearing the dress mean?

P: It meant the problem was solved at that time.

I: Did you understand how your use of violence affected your wife at that time?

P: Usually at that moment (soon after the battery), I did not get down to all that, since I felt in control and that I had taught her a lesson and I would go to the bar and have fun with my very many friends.

I: Did you seek any help after the battery?

P: We usually relied on the older relatives like the aunts for counselling and sometimes it helped, sometimes it did not.

I: What do you think could have been done to prevent the times you used violence?

P: Yah, I think I should have ignored the attention I was given by women who were not my wife. I should have concentrated on taking care of my family and listening to my wife.

I: Were you aware of the laws that were in place against violence that time?

P: Yes I used to read the laws in the paper but I don't know what happened to me I just ended up going against them. In addition, most policemen just arrested men without also talking to the partners and reprimanding them about provoking their partners since violence is carried out by two people. Anyway, even today, most men view the Domestic Violence Act as aimed at giving women power over men and having a potential to lead to the destruction of relationships.

I: So what was the milestone event that made you to change?

P: What happened it is that I got very sick and got tested HIV positive. My wife left after being advised by her relatives to leave me because I had made her life miserable. I was left alone until I got involved in HIV/AIDS programs in the community. I liked the forum and I liked their work and so I joined them.

I: You said your family life is now okay, how did you get back with your wife?

P: I can say that if God meant for things to happen in a certain way, they usually do. We stayed apart for one and a half years; I then got better and persuaded her to come back to me, which she did.

I: With your interaction with men, what do men perceive as the causes of violence in the home?

P: In most of my interactions as a person who is in a process of changing, most men state that most women lack understanding of a lot of things. Like the fact that men enjoy interacting with their friends after work and yet women expect their husbands to come straight home. Most women refuse their husbands sex and so; most of them are forced to have small houses (other relationships). This is aimed at inflicting pain on the partner, as this most of the times pushes them to persuade their husbands to have

sex with them. However, most men refuse them as punishment for their actions in the first place.

I: How do men define violence?

P: The society and culture believes that a man is the head of the house and therefore he can do what he wants. Most men also still believe in the old saying that says, “A bull that fights is identified by its bruises”. This entails that men are supposed to have more than one woman and experience different women. Most times this causes STI’s and fights, which bring about bruises and wounds, and this proving them to be real men.

I: Really!!

P: Yah, unbelievable but its true. Nowadays however, with diseases like HIV/AIDS this belief has to stop. Though a majority of men do not understand me now they think I have been given voodoo since I am no longer doing what I used to do long ago.

I: What sought of help should be given to men who use violence?

P: They need information on what a real men is. This is because most men think that to be a man is to be the head of the house and making sure that their word is the law. If they are taught that real men know their limits and are there to protect their families then things will be better.

I: Do you have anything else that you want to say?

P: I think what I would want to say is that men need to be educated more on this gender violence issue, especially those men on higher positions as they have the ability to act as role models to the general public.

I: Thank you.

Interview with Raphael

Demographic information

Age: 35years

Marital status: Married with one child

Occupational artist: Drama Artist

I: I would want you to tell me about your current relationship, by this I mean kindly tell me about how you met your wife and what attracted you to her?

P: Well, I had a wife that I wanted to marry initially before I met my wife. However, I failed to pursue the marriage because her mother died and the relatives told me that I could not marry her until they had spiritually cleaned the place, which apparently took long. I got born again and the church doctrine encouraged for young people to marry in the church. After some time as I was getting old, the pastor advised me that I was getting old and so though I had no intention of marrying I did what the Pastor had advised me. So that's when I got married to my wife.

I: How has been your relationship from that time?

P: Mmm, my relationship with my wife was and still is fine. Just like any other relationship, we had and still have our own problems. What I found out when I got married is that my wife did not want to stay without me she was a bit clingy. I understood her though because when I married her she was still very young.

I: Was there any occasion that led into violence?

P: You see I grew up knowing that a wife is not supposed to be beaten and I have always strived to leave by that, however, there was a moment when I beat her. But it was only once.

I: Kindly tell me about that occasion.

P: You see I used to give my wife my salary every time I got paid, except for that time when I saw a radio that I liked and bought it without her knowing. When I got home I gave her the money that was left. She asked where the rest of the money had gone and I explained to her that I bought a radio; I even showed her the radio. It seems that she did not believe me at all, and thus she started accusing me on infidelity and using harsh words like you are "a male prostitute) and the like. So I got very angry of what she was saying and so I beat her up. You see, I am a person with much anger and so when she continued with the words I could not stop so I found myself beating her up.

I: What was the meaning of the use of violence?

P: At the point I beat her up because she was not recognising my value as her husband. Anyway, after I beat her she left saying she was going back to her parent's house. However, she did not go to their home, she just went outside our home and

stayed there. So on my way to their home, I met her outside and started comforting her and took into the house.

I: Does it mean you were feeling sorry for her?

P: At that time, yes, I did feel sorry for her because it's always nice to be in good books with your partner. We went to her sister afterwards who later convinced her that I was a good man because I gave her money every month and not most men were doing that. She also managed to convey to her of the need to forgive me as I had beaten out of anger.

I: Is there any other occasion that might have caused violence?

P: Yes, this misunderstanding happened when a friend of mine had fallen in love with my secretary. So he asked me to put a good word for him to the secretary although my wife did not understand this. So on this particular day, my friend came and picked me up from my house, he wanted me to escort him to the secretary's house. So we went, but little did I know that my wife was following me with the baby at a distance. We got to the secretary's just as we had started conversing with her; my wife arrived at the scene and started shouting at me saying I was cheating on her. So, we left for the sister's house and explained the whole story. What I realised then was that most of the problems we faced were caused by my wife's jealousy. See I work with a lot of women in my profession and she just did not understand. So at least the sister was able to explain to her that she needed to accept that most women whom I talked to were my colleagues and her jealousy would create bitter relations between my colleagues and I.

I: I see, are there any other occasions, which have caused violence in the home.

P: Well there are plenty, one was when she told me she had gone to a friend's kitchen top up and yet she had not. What happened is someone else met her in town and yet she had said she was going for a kitchen top up. So when I went to pick up my car that day, I met someone who told me that she saw my wife in town and that made me very angry because it meant she had lied to me. When she got home, I asked her where she had been and she told me she had gone to the kitchen party. I asked her if she had not gone anywhere else besides the kitchen party and she said no. She only got to accept that she had been to town when I had told her that I met so and so who told me she was in town and if she wanted we could call the person. She then told me that she

had gone to take her business orders for her catering business though I did not believe that at all.

I: So when she said yes how did you feel and react?

P: I took her for a prostitute and felt betrayed and angry because she had been the one who had been telling me that I was the prostitute and yet it was she who was doing it. So I sent her away to her family, however, she left and went to my friend's house. My friend then made me to understand that there was no need for the family and I agreed. However, that time I had started a small catering business for her and so closed the business because I no longer trusted her and made her to sit at the house.

I: What was the meaning of the action you took?

P: I took the business from her so that she could fully understand that she is my wife and had to make everything transparent as we vowed on our wedding. I also wanted her to sit and think about her life, for her to really find out what she wanted in life and afterwards get back to me. I am still waiting for her to give me feedback about her decision. You see I told her that the business benefited all of us, why did she have to lie that she was going to the kitchen party when in actual fact she was going to town?

I: It seems that you do not take lying from your partner lightly.

P: I hate being lied to and because of that I don't trust her anymore.

I: What does she have to do to regain your trust in her?

P: Well I am assessing her own my own until I am satisfied that she is back on track.

I: Why do you think man generally use violence?

P: I think men want respect; I remember there was a man who ended up beating his wife after the wife had said bad things about his mother. The wife had said to her husband that "if you do not beat me your mother is a prostitute", and so the husband beat her up because she had asked for it. She also went further to tell him to kill her. I don't know what happens in the minds of women. Some men are also being verbally abused by their wives, although, they are some who contend to have beaten their wives without them doing anything. Our culture also contributes to the violence because it allows a man to do as he pleases as the head of the house, and therefore meaning he can do everything in his power to make sure his house is in order.

I: Do men see their use of violence as a problem?

P: Most men do not see violence as a problem they feel they have to do that as men.

I: What sort of help should be given to men who abuse women?

P: There is need for more awareness on this issue, in churches, soccer matches and any other place where men are mostly found gathered together.

I: What are men saying about the Domestic Violence Act?

P: Well most men state that the act suppresses men's rights as it has led to a lot of men being arrested.

I: Anything else that you want to say that we have not talked about?

P: Women also need to be told to conduct themselves better, because if the husband is arrested no one will provide for them. Furthermore, this can cause feuds in the family, as the men's family would blame the wife for facilitating their relatives' arrest.

I: Thank you

Interview with Paul

Age: 27 years

Marital status: Married

Occupational status: Self-employed

I: Tell me about your current relationship, how did you meet?

P: We met in 2006 and dated for six months, then she became pregnant and so I decided to marry her, as it was only the only reasonable thing to do at that time.

I: Kindly tell me about the arguments that you have heard that have led into violence.

P: I joined a men's forum when I was very young and so I have not yet had problems with my wife however, when I was a young adult I had problems with girls.

I: What sort of things did you do to the girls?

P: I used to beat my girlfriends if I saw them walking with other guys or people I did not get along with.

I: What did you aim to achieve by beating your girlfriend?

P: The beating was meant to force her to do what I wanted her to do.

I: What other things did you used to do?

P: Sometimes we shouted at the girls we had approached before for a date and would have refused.

I: What sort of words did you use?

P: We used vulgar words mostly about what they were wearing mostly their underwear.

I: Okay now I want you to tell me what you see as the main issues that are causing violence in the home.

P: The most important one is the money issue. Most women do not understand when their husbands tell them that they do not have money and yet they come home when they are drunk. What they do not understand is that a man does not have to have money for him to get drunk, a man can have his friends buy him beer.

I: Okay, Mmm

P: Also, in cases where the wife has a child before she gets married and the husband also has his child or children before their married. Most of the time you find out that, the wife will take better care of her child than that/those of the husband. So most men will resort to the use of violence in order for the woman to change her behaviour towards his child.

I: Why do men use violence against their partners?

P: eeh. Most men state that they have no intention of using violence towards their partners but what women say (the words they use, tone and behaviour) is what drives them to use violence

I: How do men define violence?

P: Most men do not really no, what violence is, for example infidelity and psychological abuse. They justify their infidelities by saying that there is no satisfaction in the house especially when most wives refuse to have sex with their husbands. Also some women are generally dirty and you will find out that most men will compare their wives behaviour and that of their girl friends. Many a times men state that at their “small houses”, its clean, there is nice food and furthermore, they are given sex freely than back at their homes.

I: What about things like withholding money and forced sex?

P: Pertaining to withholding money, I think this depends on whether the husband has money or not, because I don't believe that a real man would deprive his family if he has the money. Coming to forced sex, most men do not believe that forcing sex from the husband is violence. This is because they believe that because they paid

“lobola”(dowry), they have a right to have sex from their wives when they want. So violence is used when the wife refuses to fulfil the men’s conjugal rights (in this instance, sex). Violence is used to coerce the wife to own up to the husband’s demands either by beating her or forcing himself on her.

I: How do men justify their use of violence?

P: Most men still believe that culturally, they have the freedom to do anything they see fit as heads of the house or to maintain order in their families. Most of the times violence is used to maintain or restore order in the house.

I: What are men saying about the Domestic Violence Act?

P: Some men agree that the act is a good initiative mostly because it protects victims of Domestic violence whether they are male or female. Although the majority thinks that it is paving way for the beginning of the domination of women over men.

I: Is there anything else that you want to discuss or talk about that you feel we have not yet talked about?

P: I think most men should attend men’s forums so that they can get information for the betterment of their families.

Interview with Charlie

Age: 31

Marital status: Married

Occupational status: Policemen

I: Kindly tell me about your current relationship, how did you meet?

P: I met my wife in 1995, and we got married, had our first-born was born in 1997 and in 2007 we had our second child.

I: Tell me about the argument that you have had that has led into violence

P: Nothing specific though I easily get angry but not with her.

I: What are some of the situations that cause violence in the home?

P: Alcohol is the major reason and infidelity. You find that most men do drink a lot and forget to take care of their families and thus they have fights with their wives. Furthermore, alcohol causes a person not to reason well and not think well so when they get into arguments they usually overreact. Then when it comes to infidelity, most men with small houses, do not respect their wives and most times will not even want

their wives to touch them. In addition, some will go on to insult their wives by throwing away the food they would have cooked because they would have eaten at their small houses.

I: What do men see as the essence of their acts of violence?

P: Men who beat up their wives, do it to discipline their wives, they beat them up so that the women can recognise their positions as heads of the house.

I: What can be done to prevent violence in the home?

P: The most important thing will be for men and women to do something with their lives, I think this would prevent a lot of havoc. This is because the reason most people fight is that one of the two does not do anything with their life. Even if the husband drinks alcohol, the wife will not worry that much because she has money to take care of her children.

I: What do men see as acts of violence?

P: Most men do not see what their doing as acts of violence since it is consistent with their cultural beliefs, for example, those who have girlfriends believe that a men has a right to have lots of women.

I: Why do men use violence?

P: Most men use violence to cover up on their bad conduct, so violence is used to instil fear in the wife. Men depend on instilling fear because it enables them to assume their positions as heads of the households without fear.

I: So do you think most men perceive violence as part and parcel of being a man?

P: I agree, because most men say if you do not use power, the woman will end up disrespecting and controlling the men even in front of the man's friends.

I: what sort of help should be given to men who abuse women?

P: Most of the abusive men need training and information on domestic violence and its effects.

I: What are men saying about the Domestic Violence Act?

P: They say the act is giving more power to women than men. Generally, most men are not happy with the initiative.

I: Is there anything else that you want to say about what we discussed.

P: I think the government should provide more awareness of the Act so that both men and women can understand it.

Interview with Peter

Age: 27 years

Marital status: Married

Occupational status: Artwork

I: Tell me about your current relationship with your wife?

P: Well, I have always been a person who has strived to have good relationships with women; it's just the way I have been taught by my parents.

I: Okay, now I want you to tell me about the worst argument you have had with your wife that led to violence.

P: Yes, there was an occasion when I got home after work only to find our child alone and the door open. Furthermore, she had left the stove on, which was hazardous for the child. So I picked up my child because he was crying and waited for her and of course I was very angry. When she arrived home I did not have the time to talk to her so I started beating her and poking her asking why she could do such a thing.

I: So when you did that, did you see that it straightened the problem out?

P: Well, obviously it does not but at that time I was motivated by anger because I was consumed by what could have happened to my child or our property if a thief was to get into the house.

I: Is there any other occasion that ended up causing violence in the house?

P: Well I have had quite a few of them, one of them that I can remember was when I came home hungry and asked her if there was any food in the house. She then told me that, she had not cooked because she was not hungry. This got me angry because I expected my wife to at least cook especially when I came back home after work. This made me very angry and so I left the house and went over to my friend's house and slept there. So when I returned she started shouting at me saying I had slept my girlfriend's house and I was not prepared to tell her where I was I let her do her own research.

I: So what instances usually cause violence in your home?

P: Most times its when I come home late after 8 o'clock though I know she does not like it. So this causes arguments.

I: Why do you continue coming home late when you know it ticks her off?

P: Well what happens is that lately I have started doing my business at home and so I spend the whole day there and knock off at 6 o'clock. So after that I go out to refresh and visit my friends. Sometimes, if not all the times we talk about interesting stuff and I can't exactly be looking at my watch now and again and so I might exceed the time she expects me to be home and this causes havoc in the house.

I: What is it about you coming back home that ticks her off?

P: Well, most of the questions she asks insinuate that I would have gone to see my girlfriends. I usually reply asking why she cannot come to one of my friend's houses looking for me and see if she would not find me. I guess she just wants to see at home all the time.

I: Any other instances, which cause havoc in the home?

P: Usually my business returns can be low and sometimes we won't have enough money for everything we need. My wife does not understand this and so sometimes her talk irritates me like when she says, "When I was at my parent's house I used to have everything I wanted". So I usually tell her to go back to her parents place until the business picks up, however, she always turns the story saying I am chasing her away and then our voices go high and everything just goes bad.

I: Do you think a lot of men understand what violence is?

P: Mostly they regard only the physical fights as violence.

I: Any instance that men state as the major things that push them to use violence against their wives?

P: Some men say that they have problems with their wives going places without telling them. Some on the other hand say that they are irritated by the fact that most men can't also initiate sex and so this leads to cheat on their wives with women who appreciate the importance of initiating sex.

I: In your opinion, what do you think causes men to use violence against their partners.

P: I think it's our culture, especially lobola. To most men marrying a wife is equated to purchasing property and thus you will find women are constantly reminded that the husband paid lobola for her. Because of this, if a woman do things against their husbands wishes, it is regarded as disrespectful and actions like that do warrant punishment, hence the use of violence. I think the lobola cultural practise should be revised so that it is not costing but to serve its purpose, which is to unite the two families.

I: What are men saying about the Domestic Violence Act?

P: Most of them say that it supports women and suppresses men. So I think men need education so that they understand it fully.

I: Do you have anything else that you want to add onto what we have discussed?

P: There is need for us to take a look at some of the traditions that we are still holding onto. This is because some of these cultures are contributing to violence in the home.

Interview with Rex

Age: 32 years

Marital status: Married with two children

Occupational status: Self-employed

I: Kindly tell me about your relationship, I mean, how did you meet you wife?

P: I met my wife in 1996; we went out for nine months and got married. What I liked about her was her personality and the fact that we got along so well that I have never beaten her.

I: Tell me about the situations, which usually cause violence in your relationship?

P: Well, I drink beer a lot and so one day I came back home very late around 11pm and my wife asked me where I had been and I told her I was from the bar drinking, however, she did not believe this and so she started shouting at me insinuating that I have a "small house". I told her that I did not but she persisted so I got so angry with her and began to shake her body vigorously and then chased her out of bed.

I: What made you angry about what she had said?

P: The fact that she kept on accusing me of what I had not done and on top of the she was shouting at me in a loud voice, which irritated me because I wanted to sleep.

I: What message were you sending by doing what you did?

P: I wanted the shouting to end because it was irritating me.

I: How did your wife react to that?

P: She ran outside and started shouting at me and so the neighbours came out to inquire on what was taking place and that irritated me more and so I warned her not to come inside the house because I was going to beat her up. She slept at the neighbour's house that day.

I: How did you feel after she left with the neighbours?

P: Well I only got to realise later the next day that what I had done was wrong and so when I woke up I went to the neighbour's house and I found her there. The neighbours counselled us and so we patched things up between the two of us.

I: Any other argument that led to violence?

P: The other one happened early this year, in fact this January. She had sent me to buy a school uniform for our child who is starting his grade one, so I bought the wrong size and the colour was not exactly the same as she had told me and this I only realised it when I got home to her. When I got home, I gave her the uniform and the way she told me that I had made a mistake is what irritated me. About the uniform being big, I supported my decision by saying the child was growing fast so he would fit the uniform soon. So we started fighting over that. She told me to go and return it and I told her it was better for her to do that since she knew the size and the right colour and she refused, and this really irritated me.

I: So, why did the conversation irritate you?

P: What irritated me was that I had put an effort and yet she did not appreciate it. So I left home and came back in the evening because I felt that if I had stayed there I would have beaten her up.

I: Did you talk about the issue when you got back?

P: I think she later realised that her approach earlier was wrong so when I got back she had returned the uniform and got a new one.

I: What do you think should have happened to avoid the both arguments you told me about?

P: I need to cut down on my drinking because it causes most of the arguments. Also my wife needs to appreciate some of the things I do and when I am wrong she needs to address the cases in a decent manner.

I: How do you define violence?

P: Beating someone up, and also cheating on your partner because a person ends up not sleeping at home and this causes fights and also risky in that it can bring diseases in the home.

I: In your opinion, why do you think men use violence?

P: I think most of the causes are rooted in sex, for example if a man comes back from work and the wife starts to touch him and he does not respond, usually she will suspect that he is up to something. So most of the arguments emanate from that and then you find that a man will then use force of the woman just to stop her from shouting and nagging him.

I: Do you think the use of violence is part and parcel of being a man?

P: I don't think so, for me being a real man means to be disciplined, sticking to one partner and being able to provide for your family.

I: What do you think needs to be done for men who use violence?

P: I think those who use violence should be given counselling for them to change their ways.

I: What do men think about the Domestic Violence Act?

P: Most men contend that it suppresses men and making women to dominate the home.

I: Is there anything else that you would want to add onto what we were discussing?

P: No I have nothing to add.

I: Thank you very much.

Interview with Bobby

Age: 43 years

Marital status: Married with three kids

Occupational status: Self-employed

I: Kindly tell me about your current relationship.

P: We have been married for 11 years. What I liked about her was her personality and her approach to life so I was sure that we could have a future together.

I: How is your relationship so far?

P: I am happy with how things are going, however, the period between 1995-1997, however, in 1998 I was retrenched and things changed in the home. I did not understand why a person would change because my wife ceased to respect me; she would walk away and close the door while I was speaking. I was hurt by her attitude towards me that I started contemplating divorce.

I: Kindly tell me about situations which you still remember which ended up violent.

P: One that strikes me is when my parents came to me needing help in the 2000 and told me they needed some farming equipment. They also asked me to convey the message to my other brothers. So I told my brothers and they agreed, we would all contribute towards the purchasing of the equipment. When I came home I told my wife about the decision that we made and she was not happy because she said I needed to put the children's fees, school uniforms and food in the home and there was not enough to do what I wanted. That made me angry.

I: What made you angry about her reaction towards what you had told her?

P: I expected my wife to follow and agree with what I said as the man of the house. If she did not agree with what I had said I at least expected her to say it in a civil manner and not shouting like she did. Anyway, I had money, which I had saved from our tuck shop business; she took the money and hid it so that I could not contribute towards the purchasing of the equipment. So I went into the house and asked her where she had put the money, she told me she took the money and intended to open the children's accounts or I was supposed to finish paying lobola to her parents than buying equipment for my parents when they failed to buy those things. This pushed me to the limit that I beat her up with fists and she bit me with her teeth in turn though the wound was not deep because I think she was scared.

I: Did she finally give you the money?

P: Yes, I found out that she had given the money to her sister and they had agreed that I was not to contribute in the purchasing of equipment. When I got there, I was angry

and requested for the money and she refused saying that the situations has changed these days in that things are hard and so each man is supposed to take care of his own family. She later gave me the money and I went home.

I: Did you manage to patch up with your wife?

P: After a month, I had started going to the ZCC church where the issue of forgiveness was preached to us. So we were able to forgive each other and we put the havoc behind us.

I: Any other instance that caused violence in your home?

P: Well my line of work attracts both male and female clients and so one day a woman came to my work place because she wanted my services. As she was leaving my wife arrived. She did not look very happy about as she was already fuming with anger. So I had to leave what I was doing and attend to her that the woman was a client.

I: Which instances do men state as causing violence?

P: I think most men have problems with the way their spouses talk to them, especially shouting. Some have a problem with the way their wives dress like wearing mini skirts, not to say they do not admire woman who wear mini skirts, every man likes that. but the fact that they know that a large number of men would admire their wife is what they try to avoid. Furthermore, some of these dressings do not make a woman to look respectable in the community as someone's wife.

I: Is it that men do not trust their wives/partners or it's just pure jealousy?

P: I would say it is a trust issue that emanates from fear of diseases like HIV/AIDS because if you do not keep an eye on your partner you never know what might happen. For example, there was a time when a friend of mine used to pick me up to work. One of the days we picked up this woman on the road as she looked like she was pretty desperate for transport, so it became a habit that we began picking her up for sometime. My friend gradually started flirting with this woman and she was responding very well though she was married. So it is these kind of situations that make to wonder if your wife is not doing the same.

I: How do men define violence?

P: For most men the use of physical violence is what they only understand as violence.

I: Do you think violence is part and parcel of being a man?

P: No, for me being a man is to be a leader in the family, the ability to accept the good and bad that happens in the family and providing for the family.

I: What sort of help should be given to men who use violence?

P: Men should be taught to listen to their wives and to understand their wives and find and know the right words to say to their wives.

I: What are men saying about Domestic Violence Act?

P: My understanding of what men are saying is that the Act is abusing their rights as heads of the houses as they are losing the power to discipline their wives when need arises.

I: Anything else that you would want to add on to what we have been talking about?

P: What I would want to say is there is a rise in HIV/AIDS and my wish is for men and women to be faithful to each other as the situation is getting out of hand.

Interview with Luke

Age: 30 years

Marital status: Married

Occupational status: Musician

I: Kindly tell me about your current relationship, how did you meet with your partner?

P: We got married in 1994. What I liked about her was her personality and the love she had for me.

I: Tell me about the worst argument that you had that led into violence.

P: Most of the problems in our relationship have been caused by alcohol. The one moment I can remember is when I came home one day drunk around 1am, I woke her up and asked for my food and she refused saying I was late. Well because I was drunk at that moment what she said really irritated me so I beat her up and she got injured.

I: What was the meaning of the use of violence?

P: To me her refusing to wake up to give me food was an act of disregarding my authority as the father of the house and as her husband.

I: How did your wife react to the beating?

P: She fought back, and so in the end I served the food myself.

I: Did you understand the effect of violence on your partner?

P: At that moment I did not since I was drunk and I did not care about how she felt.

I: Does it mean you did not know what you were doing when you were beating her?

P: I knew what I was doing but I did it without much thought. You see alcohol makes a person to make hasty decisions.

I: How did you feel after using violence?

P: I did feel bad when I saw that I had injured her and I still regret that day because it showed a very bad side of me.

I: Did you see your use of violence helping at that time?

P: It did not help because I ended up hurting her to the extent that she had to go to the hospital because she sustained an injury.

I: Any other occasion that led into violence?

P: The other one happened when we just had been married, she still had a number of old male friends she was still in contact with. I told her that I was not comfortable seeing her interacting with other men and I had specifically told her to stop it. Clearly she did not take heed of what I had told her as I repeatedly saw her with them. So on that day I saw her again with the friends and so I beat her up together with her boyfriends. I had tried talking to her but seemingly she did not hear what I was saying and ended up resorting to violence.

I: What is it about her having friends that bothered you?

P: Well I did not know if she was cheating on me with these other guys or not. I felt like she was betraying me and with the rise of HIV/AIDS infection I was not willing to take a chance.

I: What are some of the instances that cause violence in your relationship?

P: Some of the instances are caused by the scarcity of food in house, rather the kind of foods she wants. Sometimes she can visit her friend's houses and see what they have and this later leads to problems as she will not understand why others have and we don't.

I: How do you respond to such occasions?

P: Well most of the times I tell her that life differs and that we have accept at all times that this is who we are.

I: What do you think should have happened in the two scenarios that you have mentioned that would have prevented the use of violence?

P: Well on the first occasion, I think if I had not taken that much beer I could have prevented my use of violence since beer affects the brain as it deters a person's ability to think clearly. I have stopped drinking beer because of that. The second occasion could not have happened if my wife had listened to what I told her and stopped talking to her boyfriends.

I: What things do you regard as violence?

P: To me violence is fighting with another person, calling names at someone and disrespecting them publicly.

I: Do you think violence is part and parcel of being a man?

P: I don't think that violence must be part of defining a man, but it looks like it is how men have been brought up to believe. I think this is why it seems normal for man use violence and getting away with it.

I: What instances do men state as causing violence in the home?

P: The issue of money is a problem that a lot of men state as causing violence. A lot of men are not able to provide for their families and so the women end up using their bodies to get money. The use of violence by the men is to discipline their wives and in order to maintain stability in the home.

I: What kind of help should be given to men who use violence?

P: Men are supposed to be taught not to use violence as it can harm their partners and cause them to sustain permanent scars.

I: What are men saying about the Domestic Violence Act?

P: From what I here, a lot of men do not understand it, it seems like its there to support women than men.

I: Do you have anything to say concerning what we were discussing?

P: Nothing at all.

I: Thank you.

Interview with Charlie

Age: 31 years

Marital status: Married with 3 children

Occupational status: Assistant constructor

I: Kindly tell me about your current relationship?

P: We met here in Alice and we fell in love with each other. We then agreed to get married in the year 2000. Now she is staying in my home village in and I am working in town

I: Could you please tell me about an argument that you had that led to violence?

P: Okay, one that I can remember happened when I had gone back home village to visit my family. The incident, however, happened two days before going back to work. I decided to visit my cousins who stay quite far from where we stay, so I ended up not coming back home because when we finished talking it was too late. When I came back home the next day, my wife was angry with me, she did not believe that I had slept at my brother's place. I asked her if she had ironed my clothes and packed my clothes and she told me that the person who I slept with the previous night is the one who is supposed to that for me. So I told her I was going out and that I expected to see my clothes ironed and packed when I came back from where I had gone. I came back in the afternoon only to find my clothes still dirty and not packed. I called her into the house and asked her why she did not do what I had asked her to do and she told me the same thing. I then went out of the house and took a cattle whip that is used when herding cattle and I beat her thoroughly.

I: How did your wife react to the beating?

P: She cried but I kept on beating her until she had kept quite and she took my clothes and started washing them. When I was satisfied that she was doing what I wanted, I went away to visit other friends and little did I know that she was waiting for me to leave for her to go to the community leader to report the case. When I came back I found messengers at my house to take me to his place. I got there and we were both given a chance to tell the chief what had happened, in the end I was found guilty and was given a fine to pay two cows to her family which I did.

I: What was the meaning of the use violence?

P: Well, I felt that she was disrespecting me as her husband and so the beating was meant to show her that I had the power to make her do what I wanted her to do.

I: Do you think your use of violence did help to solve the argument?

P: Well as I told you, in the end it did not since I had to pay a fine. I had to take two cows from my kraal and that was painful. However, I think she learnt a lesson not to disrespect me.

I: Any other occasion that led to the use of violence.

P: Another one happened when my brothers had come to help us in our field, it is something that we do as a family. One day we go to the other one's field the next to the other, that way it more effective. As we were working in the field, my wife decided to go and sit under a tree as she said she was tired and yet everyone was still working. That annoyed me very much and so I told her to come back and work but she kept on insisting she was tired. So I took the cattle whip again and started beating her in front of people.

I: But what did your brothers and all the other people say?

P: Well they all agreed I had done the right thing as she was being lazy and laziness in our culture is something that is not expected from women.

I: What was the meaning of violence?

P: I beat her because I wanted to discipline her and to make her to stop embarrassing me in front of people by being lazy.

I: Do you see that the use of violence at that time achieved the results you wanted.

P: Yes, because she then got back to work and even now she knows she can't do that and get away with it. Now I do not use violence because she is as straight as a ruler"

.

I: What occasions cause violence in your relationship?

P: Most problems are caused by misunderstandings between the two of us on a number of things. Also the issue of money is a problem in that sometimes I will not have enough money to send her and the kids and so when I get home she would have borrowed money from a lot of people. As a result that money I give her will not pay what it is supposed to pay and so that's when we have arguments. The other thing is her abrupt visits here to see me without telling me. Sometimes I won't be having money and so it leads to arguments.

I: What actions fall in the category of violence to you?

P: Physical violence and fighting with another person.

I: In your opinion do you think violence is part and parcel of being a man?

P: In a way I can say yes, because for you to discipline your wife you have to use violence sometimes.

I: Do you see your use of violence as a problem?

P: I do not because I do it for the good of both of us. Anyway I do not always beat her and as I said these days we understand each other.

I: What instances do men state as causing them to use violence against their partners?

P: Most men say that the way in which their wives talk in most instances, shouting causes them to use violence. Also because women are generally jealous, you find out that any move made by a man is viewed with suspicion like going to drink with friends. So a lot of arguments are based on that.

I: What sort of help should be given to men who use violence against their partners?

P: They need to be told that the use of violence is not good. I also think that even women themselves also need education on how to relate to their partners as they push the men into using violence.

I: What do you think about the Domestic violence Act?

P: Well I think that the act supports women more than men; I also think that it can lead to more violence, as most men feel offended by it.

I: Anything else that you might want to say that we have touched in the discussion?

P: Nothing at all.

I: Thank you very much.

Interview with John

Age: 24 years

Marital status: Married

Occupational status: Self-Employed

I: Kindly tell me about your current relationship.

P: Well, we got married when we were very young, I was 22 years and she was 20. What I liked about her is that we had an understanding that made me to think we could stay together forever.

I: Kindly tell me about an argument that you had that led into violence?

P: Well, I have not used violence on my wife as I grew up being taught that violence is a bad thing.

I: At this point I would just like to make it clear that when I say violence I do not mean physical violence I mean psychological, economic, verbal abuse and so on.

P: Well as any other couples, we do have our ups and downs, which may cause for people to use bad talk and so on.

I: Kindly tell me about those moments.

P: Most problems that we have are caused by the lack of money in the house. Because I run my own business once in a while business can be bad and we might not have all we want in the house. This causes arguments as my wife expects me to have money when she wants something. During these moments you find out that I can say harsh words to my wife like telling her that if she sees that I am not able to meet her needs she can leave.

I: What meaning do you attach to the words you say?

P: It will be an expression of my frustration of her high expectations, which I am not always able to live up to.

I: How does your partner react to such words?

P: Usually when I do that she can also start raising her voice saying I am chasing her away or that I am giving money to my girlfriends and not providing for my family.

I: Which instances do men state as causing violence in the home?

P: A lot of men state that, most women nowadays do not respect them and this forces them to use violence on their partners for them to show respect. Other issues are also money issues and so on.

I: What do you think needs to be done in your relationship to avoid some of the arguments you have that end up abusive?

P: There is need for both of us to understand each other, to make decisions together and to appreciate each other.

I: What sort of help should be given to men who use violence on their partners?

P: There is need for them to be given information on gender violence and its effects on the partner and the relationship.

I: What are men saying about the Domestic Violence Act?

P: Most men state that it is there to meet women's need and not men's. I think it is a good initiative because it is there to protect both men and women, however, in reality it might be an advantage to women, as most people are not convinced that men can be abused.

I: Anything else that you might want to say that we have not dealt with?

P: I think we have discussed everything else.

Focus group Interviews

In your working experience with domestic violence perpetrators, what have been the major causes for conflicts in relationships?

Domestic violence officer: Based on the cases we are constantly getting, I would say, alcohol and substance abuse. Yah, most perpetrators tell us that they had been drinking before they assaulted their partners. So yah, I think the main thing is substance abuse.

Policemen: I think the major culprit is culture, which has taught men that they have the power to discipline their wives. Furthermore I think its also due to illiteracy in which most of these men do not know that what their actions are against the law and that they violate women's rights.

Social worker: We have seen that the major cause to this is unemployment; most of these men are frustrated about their situations of not being able to take care of their families. So in a way it makes them to have a very low self esteem. Thus they use violence to compensate for their inability to provide for their families.

Pastor: Okay, we have not been presented with many cases on this issue since we have meetings with the partners in our church on relationship building and so our members, I think usually learn from the meetings. Anyway the reasons I see to be contributing to violence in the house are the fact that people are not grounded in the word of God, there are many people who have not yet been saved and so people need God's love for them to change for the better.

Nurse: The issue of violence is caused by so many reasons "*sisi*"(sister), the first one we see is the poverty issue In which most women do not have any source of income and so men tend to utilize on that factor and abuse women and knowing that they would not go anywhere. Secondly, the issue of our culture, look at the way we were raised, women were made to believe that being beaten is normal and men knowing beating a woman is normal and so it is a normal thing, I think that's what makes it scary. Then comes alcohol, a lot of men especially the unemployed are always drunk,

I think in a way they do it to forget their problems, however, when they get home they beat up the wives.

What sort of help does your institution or organisation offer to men who abuse women?

Domestic violence officer: Basically we touch on the legal side of the matter, we start by opening a file for the victim and we help them to open a protection order against the perpetrator. The magistrate will give an interdict and the 3 protection orders that are given to the complainant, perpetrator and the other remains with the court. Also give warnings or fines. We also work hand in hand with the social workers, especially on matters that are not serious and require counselling.

Policemen: We help the victim to file a report against the perpetrator after which a case is opened after ascertaining the facts of the matter, we then dispatch a van to locate the victim and to register the case. If the victim is in danger, he/she is separated from the perpetrator to a place of safety. The place of safety will be sponsored by the European Union. The organisation has also been taking us through domestic violence training on how we can respond to the communities efficiently because I tell you most of the policemen do not understand this issue and so the training could not have come at a better time. We also give the victim three options, which are to open a case, apply for a protection order against the perpetrator and also if there is enough evidence the victim can, press charges and have the perpetrator arrested.

Social worker: We mostly offer counselling services for the couple for us to understand where the problem is and to help our clients to come up with solutions. We also work hand in hand with the police in cases where the woman has been seriously abused.

Pastor: If a case like that is presented to us, what we usually do is we sit the couple together and give them counselling based on the bible, in other words we focus on spiritual counselling

Nurse: Our institution, is to provide health services, thus if someone comes in injured we assist them accordingly. However, we also try to inquire now and again on the

causes of the injury and that's when we do get such information. If we find out that the injury was a result of abuse, we refer them to the hospital social worker, who will look into the matter.

What sort of help should be given to men who abuse their partners?

Domestic violence officer: I think that the type of help to be given to men who assault their partners is maybe information on this matter and the different steps that the law enforcement can take against anyone who perpetrates violence against their partners. It is vital for social workers to educate and sensitise people on this matter.

Policemen: Information is the most important thing in one's life and so if these kind of men are given information especially the kind of information that points out that their actions are liable before the law.

Social worker: I think men need information on how bad their actions affect their partners, thus I suggest that more counselling sessions to deal with their problems and to come up with alternative solutions will reduce their use of violence.

Pastor: From our perspective we definitely think the counselling and praying sessions that we offer as a church can be used when working with such men.

Nurse: They should get employed first of all, for this entire problem to end. Second they need programs that discourage them to drink and to use violence. And also those who are going out of hand should be arrested.

Do you think the existing policies and laws are effective in curbing domestic violence in the home? Yes or no and why?

Domestic violence officer: I would say that the laws as they are, are okay, because with the cases we handle on domestic violence, we hardly have any problems with the perpetrators afterwards, so the law per se is okay, maybe people need to know more about the law for them to utilize it effectively.

Policemen: I think the policies are okay because as I said, we have a social crime prevention unit, which informs the communities on crime; as such we are having a number a large number of women reporting abuse and so our services are becoming more and more crucial.

Social worker: In as far as law is concerned I have problems with the law protection order given to the victims because in most cases they cause more violence in the house and may lead to the husband fixing the wife by not taking care of the family or making them him so angry such that they can even abuse them more. So I am not content to say that the law is effective. Furthermore the police do not have enough capacity in dealing with these matters, I actually do not think that most of them even know what the policy says and most of them are men and usually would support men.

Pastor: I really do not have much to say about the law, as we do not necessarily deal with it in these matters, so I think that's for lawyers and the police to talk about. From a bird's eye view, the law like anything else has its strong and weak points, we here about people being arrested every now and then and so I would think that these guys are doing their jobs.

Nurse: As I said I couldn't say it's doing enough because, this problem is rampant in the communities and nothing happens. So it's not doing enough.

What can be done to make the policies effective?

Domestic Violence officer: Well nothing as such but as I said earlier it's more about people knowing the law so as to make it effective.

Policemen: For me I do not see the need for any change in the policies, because I see them as effective as most perpetrators are being arrested.

Social worker: The policies need to be realistic. Those who make the policies should analyse them to establish if what is on the document can be done on the ground otherwise it can create a lot of disaster.

Pastor: I have nothing to say on that.

Nurse: The law enforcement agencies should first use the law to protect women and the community at large; otherwise the law would be ineffective.