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Formative research for enhancing interventions to prevent violence against women: men's perceptions in Diepsloot, South Africa



Research Report submitted to the School of Public Health

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In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Public Health

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Date: May 31, 2018

Declaration

I, **Tosin Akibu,** declare that this research report is my original work. Any work done by other persons has been properly acknowledged in the text. The report is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Public Health with the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. It has not been submitted for any other degree or exam in this or any other University.

Signature: 

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ABSTRACT

Background

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a global epidemic. Around the world, the range for lifetime prevalence among women of physical and sexual violence is 15%-71%. Lifetime prevalence of domestic violence has been reported as 48% in Africa. Prevalence of IPV against women is high in South Africa with an approximate 45% of men reporting perpetration of violence, 27.6 per cent of men having forced a woman to have sex against her will and 24.3% of men having perpetrated IPV more than once. This research was conducted to probe men's perception of intimate partner violence and what factors may exacerbate it.

Methods

Twenty-one participants were purposively sampled and participated in In-depth interviews (IDIs). The IDIs were used to better understand the perceptions of men about masculinity, power dynamics, unequal gender norms and violence in intimate relationships. The IDIs were also used to explore perceptions of men living in Diepsloot of IPV and how peri-urban contexts as well as impoverished or informal settlements contribute towards men's use of violence against women. In addition, I aimed to probe the relationship between social constructs such as hegemonic masculinities, power dynamics, gender norms and intimate partner violence perpetration. This study was approached using an interpretive research technique through qualitative methods. A thematic inductive and deductive coding framework of themes was applied to the entire database.

Results

Gang violence, communal upheavals and crime were prominent perceptions during the discussions. Findings demonstrate that the men in Diepsloot consider their involvement in neighbourhood violence as prominent reasons for IPV perpetration. Socioeconomic factors such as unemployment, poor living conditions characteristic of Diepsloot, alcohol use contribute to high rates of communal forms of violence and these also relate to the perpetration of intimate partner violence.

Conclusion

Findings of this study depict reasons for perpetrating IPV as multi-sectoral, cutting across several spheres of men's influence. It is therefore expedient to employ a combination of interventions to address IPV perpetration.

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DEDICATION

This research report is dedicated to GOD the father of all and to whom we all shall return.

My sweet beloved Daddy and Mommie, Pastor David and Elder (Mrs.) Alice Oluwadare who passed on just a few weeks ago, 25 days apart from each other. March 26 and April 20, 2017. You cheered me on here and have joined the cloud of witnesses to continue cheering me on. You believed in me and prayed ceaselessly for me. My research report is complete just as you said it would. I deeply love and miss you.

Boda Tayo, you left on July 10, 2015. You are a brother indeed. Continue to sleep on. Covenant, Praise and Aunt Funke are doing well. Thank you for stopping by. We miss you dearly.

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ACRONYMS

AIDS	ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME
HIV	HUMAN IMMUNO-DEFICIENCY VIRUS
IPV	INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE
PSS	PSYCHOSOCIAL SUPPORT
UNICEF	UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN FUND
VAW	VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
WHO	WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

DEFINITIONS

TERMS	DEFINITION	REFERENCE
Intimate Partner Violence	Self-reported experience of one or more acts of physical and/or sexual violence by a current or former partner since the age of 15 years.	WHO (2013)
Sexual Violence	Sexual violence is defined as: being physically forced to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to, having sexual intercourse because you were afraid of what your partner might do, and/or being forced to do something sexual that you found humiliating or degrading	WHO (2005b)
Physical Violence	Physical violence is defined as: being slapped or having something thrown at you that could hurt you, being pushed or shoved, being hit with a fist or something else that could hurt, being kicked, dragged or beaten up, being choked or burnt on purpose, and/or being threatened with, or having a gun, knife or other weapon used on you.	WHO (2013)

Violence Against Women	Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.	(United Nations, 1993)

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a global epidemic. Around the world, the range for lifetime prevalence among women of physical and sexual violence is 15% -71%(1). Lifetime prevalence of domestic violence has been reported as 48% in Africa (WHO, 2013). Women and girls around the world experience forced sex, physical violence and threat of violence (WHO, 2005b, Organization, 2012). Women may experience abuse over the course of their lifetime, with sexual abuse as a child often perpetrated by a family member or a familiar person (WHO, 2012). Experiences of violence affect women physically, sexually, emotionally, psychologically and economically (Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006, Max et al., 2004).

Research has shown that hegemonic masculinity is one of the factors that leads to IPV as well as other harmful cultural and health practices (Jewkes and Morrell, 2010a). Men who believe in, and hold very strongly to patriarchal norms such as control over women, entitlement and power, are likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence (Pornari et al., 2013).

In South Africa it was found that between 35%-45% of men reported perpetrating IPV within the last 10 years (Abrahams et al., 2006, Jewkes et al., 2006a, Desmarais et al., 2012). Furthermore, a lot has been documented on unequal gender norms, such as masculinity, patterns of harmful beliefs/practices and unequal ideologies on gendered roles as reasons for men's perpetration of violence (Buiten and Naidoo, 2016, Jewkes et al., 2006a). According to Abrahams et al. (2006), risk factors for the perpetration of intimate partner violence among working men in Cape Town include lack of post-school training, witnessing parental violence in childhood, drug use, alcohol use, perceiving as acceptable the notion of hitting women and ideas about equality as well as gender biased norms were major risk factors identified. Other risk factors associated with intimate partner violence include: ideologies around masculine gender roles, male domination, entitlement to sex, aggression and subordination of women (Abrahams et al., 2006, Santana et al., 2006b, Fulu et al., 2013b).

In order to address IPV, there is a need to focus on research that explores the perceptions of men of IPV (Crooks et al., 2007). This is to appropriately inform programmers about likely reasons, from the perspective of men, for perpetrating IPV (Stern et al., 2015). There is growing evidence that seeks to better understand men's perception around the triggers for

IPV. This is beneficial for interventions that will target men with the goal of reducing violence perpetration (Flood, 2011, Crooks et al., 2007, Fabiano et al., 2003).

Over the years and around the world, men have mostly perpetrated IPV, but interventions have largely targeted women who are more frequently victims of violence (Crooks et al., 2007). Most interventions that seek to address intimate partner violence take programming from the lens of the women/victim (Crooks et al., 2007). These programs most times seek to educate women on prevention/escape mechanisms; rights-based approach is employed to educate women on their fundamental human rights and available legal systems that can provide justice for the victim and judgment for the perpetrator (Bott et al., 2005, Ellsberg et al., 2015). There are increasing numbers of programmes that engage men and boys to reduce violence against women and children. *Men as Partners program, Stepping Stones and One Man Can* are programs in South Africa which focused on men with the aim of reducing incidences of violence against women (Christofides and Hatcher, 2015).

The initial *One Man Can* intervention targeted improving the involvement of men in the lives of their children. Evaluations conducted on the other programs which engaged men, showed shifts in thinking, a deeper engagement with their children and improved family relationships (van den Berg et al., 2013, Jewkes et al., 2008, Peacock and Levack, 2004). These are positive indicators that interventions focused on shifting men's perception can be effective. This research seeks to explore community perceptions of men's use of IPV. It aims to potentially contribute to already existing knowledge on likely reasons for IPV perpetration as well as existing and newly emerging interventions to ensure that programming has the best chance possible of reducing men's use of IPV (Mosavel et al., 2012).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Prevalence of IPV against women is high in South Africa with an approximate 45% of men reporting perpetration of violence, 27.6 % of men having forced a woman to have sex against her will and 24.3% of men having perpetrated IPV more than once (Christofides et al., 2014, Fulu et al., 2013b, Jewkes et al., 2006a, Jewkes et al., 2012, Jewkes et al., 2013b, Abrahams et al., 2006). Most men who had ever perpetrated IPV and more than once, started as teenagers (Dunkle et al., 2006, Jewkes et al., 2011, UNITED NATIONS, 2014). Men adhere to unequal gender norms and lopsided ideologies on gendered roles (Naidoo et al., 2016, Buiten and Naidoo, 2016). Some men view women as objects, animals and properties

(Rudman and Mescher, 2012). This view that some men have of objectivizing women leads to women getting beaten, physically punished, maltreated, deprived economically and socially and even sometimes killed (Rudman and Mescher, 2012). Women emerge from these experiences with differing consequences which can be emotional, psychological and physical (Matheson et al., 2015). The World Health Organization views intimate partner violence as a gross violation of human rights (WHO, 2012, WHO, 2005b).

1.3 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

There is a motivation to understand the triggers, root causes and risk factors for intimate partner violence (Flynn and Graham, 2010, Abramsky et al., 2011, Abrahams et al., 2004, Hayes and van Baak, 2016, Jewkes et al., 2006a). There is limited qualitative research that explores the perceptions and experiences of men around perpetrating intimate partner violence. While a few quantitative research studies such as the IMAGES and Men's use of violence studies in Asia have been conducted to evaluate intimate partner violence, these studies focus mainly on perpetration of intimate partner violence, its effect on gender equality and mostly individual level factors that trigger intimate partner violence (Fleming et al., 2015b, Fulu et al., 2013b). This research, on the other hand, seeks to better understand the qualitative perceptions of men about masculinity, power dynamics, unequal gender norms and violence in intimate relationships. In addition, the research seeks to also explore perceptions of men living in Diepsloot of IPV and how peri-urban contexts as well as impoverished or informal settlements contribute towards men's use of violence against women. In addition, to probe the relationship between social constructs such as hegemonic masculinities, power dynamics, gender norms and intimate partner violence perpetration.

There is a need to invest in research that explores the mindset of men as regards the perpetration of IPV, its factors and how the community contributes to it (Flood and Pease, 2009). With the understanding that there is no single cause for violent behaviour (Geen and Donnerstein, 1998), I seek to know what it is that men 'think' that propels them to perpetrate acts of IPV. I want to probe into what men consider as factors responsible for beating up, raping, maltreating and perpetrating emotional, psychological and financial deprivation towards a woman.

Going forward, there needs to be more exploration in terms of effectively working with men to reduce IPV. It is expected that this evaluation will inform evidence-based reasons for IPV and engaging interventions for men that address IPV (Stanley et al., 2012) as well as help

future programs on gender to focus on equitable practices and considerations while providing support to men who subscribe to and observe these gender equitable norms in the presence of other men in the community (Fabiano et al., 2003). The information obtained from men will inform a refined package of intervention methodologies and materials, tailor-made to include the perception of participants on how interventions can better address IPV.

1.4 Research question

What are the perceptions of men living in Diepsloot of IPV and how do peri-urban contexts, impoverished or informal settlements and social constructs contribute towards men's use of violence against women?

1.5 Study aim and objectives

The overall aim is to explore perceptions of men on violence against women and how the Sonke intervention can address the dynamics of violence against women in the peri-urban community of Diepsloot. The specific objectives were:

1.5.1 Specific objectives

a. To describe the perceptions of men aged 18 to 40 years of the reasons for violence against women in Diepsloot South Africa in 2016.
b. To explore the perceptions of men on masculinities and gender power relations between women and men in Diepsloot, South Africa
c. To explore men's perceptions of how a peri-urban context contributes towards men's use of violence against women

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.6.1 Prevalence and patterns of men's use of violence

A study conducted by the joint United Nations programme consisting of several partners which include United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), United Nations Women and United Nations Volunteers reported that in six Asia Pacific countries one out of two men reported ever using physical or sexual violence against an intimate partner (Fulu et al., 2013a). According to the report, one in four men reported ever raping a woman (Fulu et al., 2013a). Several studies have highlighted the prevalence and patterns of male perpetrated IPV in South Africa. According to Jewkes et al. (2013a) 37% of men in South Africa had reported raping a woman. These studies highlighted

IPV patterns to include physical violence, sexual violence, emotional violence, economic violence and sexual harassment (Machisa et al., 2011, Abrahams et al., 2004, Abrahams et al., 2006, Jewkes, 2002, Jewkes et al., 2013a).

Over the years, research conducted around intimate partner violence, especially patterns of rape and physical violence has used various theories to seek to understand 'why' from the perspective of victims, using an inductive approach (Flynn and Graham, 2010, Fulu et al., 2013b, Women, 2016). In subsequent subsections, I will discuss some of the consequences of IPV and determinants of IPV using the ecological model of abuse. Key search words during the literature review were: gender, violence, spousal abuse, domestic violence, behaviour, theories, causal pathways, hegemonic masculinity.

1.6.2 Consequences of violence perpetration on women's health

WHO has identified IPV as a public health issue which affects both men and women, either as victim or perpetrator (WHO, 2005a, Abramsky et al., 2011, Cerulli et al., 2014, Ellsberg et al., 2008). Negative effects include, but not limited to physical injuries, mental injury and depression (Ackerson et al., 2008, García-Moreno, 2013, Johnson and Leonne, 2005).

The health risks of IPV for women also cuts across physical and mental consequences including depression and sexually transmitted infections, (Abramsky et al., 2011, Cerulli et al., 2014, Kiss et al., 2015a, Mulawa et al., 2016, Sprunger et al., 2015, WHO, 2012). Some other consequences, both for perpetrators and victims include, alcohol addiction and dependence, overdose on laxatives and sleeping pills, smoking, drug abuse, poor self-esteem and self-harm tendencies (WHO, 2012, Coker et al., 2002).

1.6.3 Determinants for men's use of violence

Underlying drivers of men's use of violence against women

Men who adhere very strongly to norms that promote masculinity, traditional sex and gender roles and beliefs also identify with alcohol abuse and the need to control their wives/partners (Heise and Garcia-Moreno, 2002, Jewkes, 2002, Jewkes et al., 2010). There is a causal relationship between violence perpetrated against women by men with anger issues, mental health problems such as depression, a history of abuse and witness to domestic violence as a child (Stith et al., 2004, Cordero et al., 2012, Machisa et al., 2016). Men have alluded to being violent against their female sexual partner when they perceived they have lost control

over her, this includes sexual, economic, financial and emotional control (Jewkes et al., 2010, Jewkes, 2002). There is growing evidence that portrays the relationship between IPV and heavy drinking and substance abuse, (Anderson, 2002, Heise and Garcia-Moreno, 2002, Boles and Miotto, 2003, Sarkar, 2008, Jewkes et al., 2010, Townsend et al., 2011). Furthermore, in finding reasons for perpetrating intimate partner violence, men refuse to attribute any blame whatsoever to themselves but solely blame others and take stances of defiance (Stanley et al., 2012). Some men have gendered notions of an *'ideal wife/partner'*; they have expectations of an ideal way for her to behave (Flood and Pease, 2009). A shortfall of this notion in the attitude and behaviour of the wife/partner results in violence to 'reset' the woman to proper ways (Zakar et al., 2013, Vidal-Fernandez and Megias, 2014).
Many researchers have explored conceptual frameworks and theories that may provide some understanding of IPV perpetration (Machisa et al., 2016). Risk factors for intimate partner violence (especially those of sexual and physical violence) such as alcohol abuse, witnessing parental violence in childhood, involvement in communal gang fights, drug use, perceiving physical and sexual violence against women to be acceptable, suspicions about infidelity, lack of employment, male authority, lack of police response will be discussed in this report (Abrahams et al., 2004, Abrahams et al., 2006, Abramsky et al., 2011, Anderson et al., 2007, Fleming et al., 2015b, Flynn and Graham, 2010). I will explore these risk factors or IPV triggers from the ecological model of abuse Heise (2011b), with an understanding that there is no single reason for perpetrating intimate partner violence. IPV occurrence, incidence, intensity and patterns differ and are based on a man's exposure to many ecological factors and how they interplay in his socioecological milieu (Bekalu and Eggermont, 2014, Hatcher et al., 2013b, Heise, 1998b, Heise, 2011b).

IPV perpetration can be viewed through a holistic approach using the socio-ecological framework (Heise, 2011b). A socio-ecological approach can organize the underlying factors associated with intimate partner violence perpetrated by men and provide a structure for prevention interventions (Bell and Naugle, 2008, Flynn and Graham, 2010). The Socio-ecological model looks at people's behaviours and how they are shaped by intrinsic and extrinsic factors within their sphere of influence (C- Change, 2012) .

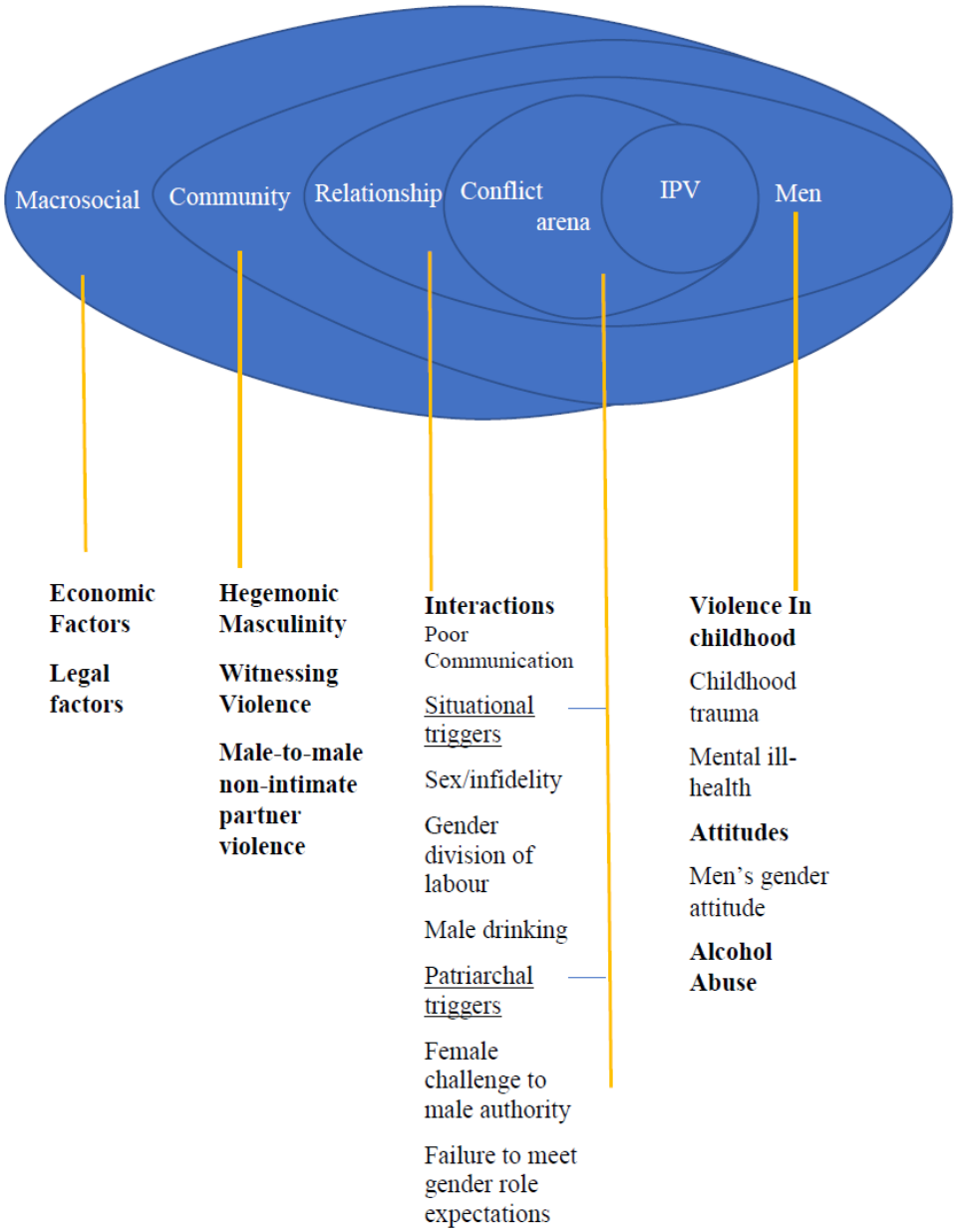


Figure 1 Ecological approach for understanding men's use of IPV adapted from Heise (2011b)

The socio-ecological model explores how individual, familial, communal and other enabling factors shape behaviour (McLeroy et al., 1988). At the individual level, it examines individual behaviours, attitudes, practices, beliefs, mental health and how they impact on perpetration of intimate partner violence or not. At the familial and communal level, it explores how an individual is shaped by their relationship with their immediate family,

significant others and the community. Enabling environment looks at how religion and economic milieu, amongst other factors, shape the behaviours of individuals (Johnson and Leonne, 2005, Anderson, 2002, WHO, 2012). Across cultures and societies, there are established gender roles which guide societal expectations (Pulerwitz et al., 2010, Hatcher et al., 2013b, Ozaki and Otis, 2016, Kiss et al., 2015b).

1.6.3.1 INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

Childhood trauma

Beyond individual level reasons for perpetrating violence, family level influences and experiences have been identified as reasons for perpetrating IPV. There is ample evidence that depicts the relationship between experiences of childhood trauma due to personal violence as well as domestic violence and the perpetration of intimate partner violence in adulthood (Gilchrist et al., 2015). Hilton et al. (2016) explained 'adverse childhood experiences as exposure to abuse and adverse household violence'(Hilton et al., 2016). While child abuse and maltreatment was defined in 1999 by WHO Consultation on child abuse prevention as 'an act that constitutes all forms of physical and/or emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect or negligent treatment or commercial or other exploitation, resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust or power' (World Health Organization, 1999, Runyan et al., 2002). The extent of childhood abuse varies, several studies have linked some men's experiences of childhood abuse to perpetration of intimate partner violence with their spouse (Cubellis et al., 2016). Witnessing domestic violence being perpetrated against one parent is a predictor for perpetration of intimate partner violence, especially among men in adulthood (Cubellis et al., 2016, Runyan et al., 2002).

Mental ill-health

Having reviewed the ecological factors responsible for IPV, I also sought to understand the association of mental health and the perpetration of violence (Linscott and Van Os, 2013). Some scholars have argued there was a correlation between mental illness such as depression and the perpetration of IPV (González- Guarda et al., 2011, Corvo and Johnson, 2013, Honings et al., 2016). Also, there is some evidence, that depicts a causal relationship between violence perpetrated against women by men with mental health problems such as depression. This depression may be caused by a history of partner abuse and witness to domestic violence as a child (Stith et al., 2004, Cordero et al., 2012, Machisa et al., 2016, Gass et al., 2011).

Men's gender attitudes

Studies have shown that men who hold strongly to gender norms, and gender biased traditional beliefs are more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence (Abramsky et al., 2011, Anderson et al., 2007, Fleming et al., 2015b, Flood and Pease, 2009, Hayes and Boyd, 2016, Hayes and van Baak, 2016).

Alcohol abuse

In addition to perceptions and beliefs, personal behaviours and practices have also been linked to IPV perpetration. There is growing evidence that portrays the relationship between IPV and heavy drinking, substance abuse, multiple concurrent partnerships, trans-generational and cross-generational sex (Anderson, 2002, Heise and Garcia-Moreno, 2002, Boles and Miotto, 2003, Sarkar, 2008, Jewkes et al., 2010, Townsend et al., 2011). Men who adhere to norms that promote masculinity and traditional sex as well as gender roles and beliefs also abuse alcohol and may control their wives/partners (Heise and Garcia-Moreno, 2002, Jewkes, 2002, Christofides et al., 2014). It has been documented, that alcohol abuse is a risk factor for perpetration of intimate partner violence (Wagman et al., 2016, Taft et al., 2010, Cerulli et al., 2014). In recent studies, most men who reported alcohol abuse also reported perpetrating intimate and non-intimate partner violence (Kiss et al., 2015a). Emerging evidence also shows there is an association between anger and alcohol abuse, both of which are risk factors for IPV perpetration (Romero-Martinez et al., 2015, Sprunger et al., 2015). Men who abuse alcohol when angry have used the combined energy and emotions from both anger and alcohol to perpetrate violence (Sprunger et al., 2015, Taft et al., 2010).

1.6.3.2 INTERPERSONAL LEVEL

Poor communication

Poor partner communication has been identified as one of the key triggers for perpetrating intimate partner violence. The inability to calmly articulate intimate thoughts, ideas and concerns to an intimate partner have been found to escalate intimate partner violence (Hatcher et al., 2014b). The eagerness to have the 'last word' and make a point also often led to IPV (Roberts et al., 2011).

Infidelity

Perceived sexual infidelity, especially where the man suspects the woman, is a trigger for IPV with gender roles and norms as the underlying factor (Hatcher et al., 2013b). While it is near normal for men to have multiple sexual partners, it is considered unacceptable for a woman to have multiple sexual partners (Fielding-Miller et al., 2016). A key punishment for sexual infidelity on the part of the woman is intimate partner violence, divorce and sometimes murder, (Mathews et al., 2014).

Gender division of labour

Gender division of labour at the interpersonal level takes account of household chores 'sharing' between the woman and man in the household (Coltrane, 2000). According to Heise (2011b) the conceptual framework for economist theory considers the household as a ground for 'cooperative conflict' where partners jointly undertake tasks such as children upbringing. The theory goes further to expatiate on how couples engage in a 'contest' of sorts to ensure their own personal interest is covered; where men protect their own individual interest and women protect theirs and the children. The extent to which a woman can 'bargain' her own interest is determined by the interplay between all the ecological factors in her life. This means that men have more in their arsenal of bargain than women due to socio norms, values and the economic upper hand that makes a woman dependent on him. According to Bloch and Rao, men use this economic advantage as a very strong bargaining power within intimate relationships to threaten violence, perpetrate it and/or maintain an upper hand (Bloch and Rao, 2002).

Male drinking

In addition to gender division, the intensity and regularity of male perpetrated intimate violence has been associated with male drinking. Several studies have linked cognitive impairment accentuated by alcohol intake to intimate partner violence (Ally et al., 2016, Lesch and Adams, 2016, Romero-Martinez et al., 2016, Wilson et al., 2017). It is perceived that the tendency for alcohol intake to reduce ability to articulately interpret verbal and non-verbal cues is a significant precursor to intimate partner violence (Heise, 2011b).

Female challenge to male authority and failure to meet gender role expectations

In patriarchal societies, there is an unwritten understanding and practice of roles which are normative and distinct. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa, women are expected to cook, take care of the house, take care of the children, not to question the husband/partner, or even get into an argument with him (Laisser et al., 2011, Hayes and van Baak, 2016, Hayes and Boyd, 2016, Mulawa et al., 2016, Allen and Devitt, 2012). These similar gender norms can also be found in South America (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008, Cerise and Francavilla, 2012) where there gender roles are usually distinct. These roles include seeking permission before going out, meeting her husband/partner's sexual needs and not having concurrent sexual partners, denial of her right to make informed decisions about her health; for example, where to deliver her baby or to even negotiate contraceptives (Uthman et al., 2009a, Uthman et al., 2010, Uthman et al., 2009b). These roles give credence to unequal power relations and they are clearly marked with very minimal blurred lines. It is perceived that the flouting of these gender roles justifies intimate partner violence especially against women.

Prevailing factors also include gender role strain in men who know and understand societal expectations of the masculine gender and are under pressure because they fall short or are unable to conform to it due to poor economic situations and other poor socio economic status (Balsam and Szymanski, 2005, Cunradi, 2009, García-Moreno, 2013, Gallagher and Parrott, 2011b, Swartout et al., 2015, Wilson et al., 2010).

It has been reported that stress due to feeling less a man is also an element in the causal pathway for the perpetration of IPV (Bhana, 2005, Gallagher and Parrott, 2011b, Gibbs et al., 2014a, Morrell et al., 2012, Swartout et al., 2015). In addition, men experience increased stress and anxiety due to unemployment and poor socioeconomic status. Unemployment as a stressor of the male spouse has been linked to intimate partner violence (Ahmadi et al., 2016, Costa et al., 2016, Schneider et al., 2016).

1.6.3.3 COMMUNITY LEVEL

Hegemonic Masculinities

Jewkes and Morell described hegemonic masculinity as a set of values, established by men in power (Morrell et al., 2012). It functions to include and exclude certain norms as well as some members of the society- mostly women- and to organize society in gender unequal ways (Morrell et al., 2012). It combines several features: a hierarchy of masculinities, differential access among men to power (over women and other men), and the interplay between men's identity, men's ideals, interactions, power, and patriarchy (Morrell et al., 2012, Matheson et al., 2015).

(McCarry, 2010) explains that the type of masculinity perceived by men as the standard for traditional masculine behaviour which needs to be adhered to, to conform to society's expectation of them as 'men' can be described as hegemonic masculinity. Society perceives men's traditional masculine behaviour to be one which wields authority and control over women as well as in the society; which may lead to aggressive behaviour (Gallagher and Parrott, 2011b). This corresponds with (Thompson Jr and Pleck, 1986) conceptualization hegemonic masculinity in tripartite dimensions to which men vary in their adherence. These include: (a) status, (b) toughness, and (c) antifemininity (Lisco et al., 2015, Thompson Jr and Pleck, 1986). **Status** signifies the belief that men are entitled and must obtain respect. **Toughness,** signifies virility, aggression and both physical and emotional strength. **Anti-femininity,** which believes that men should avoid stereotypically feminine behaviours. Various researchers posit that when men adhere to norms that propagate and demonstrate hegemonic masculine norms, it portends the perpetration of intimate partner violence (Lisco et al., 2015).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has over the years been used to describe attitudes and practices among men that perpetuate gender inequality. This analysis of hegemonic masculinity includes; men's control over women and men's control and exertion of power over other women as well as men, who are most likely in vulnerable or minority groups (Jewkes et al., 2015). As discussed earlier, perpetration of violence is attributable to more

than one factor, but a conflagration of several social factors, such as gendered role and expectations, behavioural issues, childhood experience of violence and norms which are handed down and learnt. There has been extensive argument on the justification for the link between hegemonic masculinity and the use of violence. This is because some schools of thought perceive that men's use of violence against women does not depict they are strong, but rather it exposes their weakness (Hearn and Morrell, 2012, Morrell et al., 2013). However, this argument of 'weakness 'will only be tenable in a community that frowns at intimate partner violence. This is so because, using violence to 'control' women in a community that justifies violence is normative and is not seen as wrong and thus, men perpetrate violence at will and portray to the community that they are in charge (Fleming et al., 2013, Hatcher et al., 2013b, Kiss et al., 2015b). Furthermore, García-Moreno (2013) argues that even where violence is unacceptable in the community, its perpetration goes unpunished because it is aided by the 'culture of silence' and the woman's reluctance to 'expose' her partner (García-Moreno, 2013). Sometimes men who perpetrate violence against their wife/partner do not necessarily show their 'violent side' in public so their 'good-standing' in public is not tainted (Garcia Moreno et al., 2006).

While some men enjoy, exert and even misuse the 'privileges' of being a man, some men disapprove and do not adhere to hegemonic masculinity. It has however proven difficult for these few men to 'stand-alone' and take a deviant stand against the rest of the men and indeed the community (Backer, 2005). Beyond the difficulty that trails deviance, 'deviant men' are prone to verbal and emotional violence perpetrated on them by the rest of the community (Kimmel and Mahler, 2003).

There is a strong connection between sexual violence, perceived gender roles and hegemonic masculinity (Hatcher et al., 2014b). Global evidence suggests that the likelihood of perpetration of sexual violence is exacerbated by staunch beliefs and strict adherence to dominant norms such as hardiness, virility and power (Santana et al., 2006b, Christofides et al., 2014). This has also been corroborated in sub-Saharan Africa where strict masculine beliefs deeply embedded in age long culture/traditions are rife and sexual violence is highly rampant (Kalra and Bhugra, 2013, Smith et al., 2015, Alesina et al., 2016). In Southern Africa, sexual violence is ingrained in the cultures and traditions of the people where women are often regarded as an appendage to the man and in some cases an object, thus placing the

woman in a position where she is prone to violence (sometimes by intimate partners) (Jewkes and Morrell, 2010b, Alesina et al., 2016). Heise, Abramsky and other researchers consider societal factors such as gender inequalities, patriarchal family systems, cultures that condone wife battery and violence, as precursors to IPV (Heise, 1998a, Abramsky et al., 2011, Devries et al., 2013, Garcia Moreno et al., 2006, Garcia -Moreno and Watts, 2011, Heise and Garcia-Moreno, 2002, Jewkes et al., 2013b, Fleming et al., 2013, Fleming et al., 2015b).

South Africa, at some point in time referred to as the 'rape capital of the world', has had more than their fair share of rape and sexual violence incidences. In South Africa, men hold quite strongly, hegemonic beliefs which place them in positions of 'power' and 'authority'. These beliefs not only predispose women to being treated as subjects but also increases the risky behaviour of men (Luyt and Foster, 2001). It is worthy of note that in South Africa, two out of every four men have reported their involvement in perpetrating a sexual violence related atrocity (Jewkes et al., 2006a, Jewkes et al., 2012). Intimate partner violence and alcohol use/abuse, low risk perception and risky sexual exposures in South Africa WHO (2012) can be directly associated with adherence to hegemonic masculinity (Jewkes and Morrell, 2010a, Peralta et al., 2010, Wechsberg et al., 2006, WHO, 2012).

In South Africa, the perpetration of rape has been perceived as an avenue to exert and demonstrate power, (Niehaus, 2005). It is largely considered disrespectful when a woman refuses her husband's sexual advances (Naidoo et al., 2016). It is perceived that she has challenged his masculine status which deserves punishment such as rape, battery and/or infidelity (Niehaus, 2005). Experiences of gendered violence in South Africa are common (Msibi, 2009). Male controlled notions around masculinity that endorse alcohol abuse, use of weapons and daring dispositions are rife in South Africa. These notions have been reported to also affect the way law enforcement agents respond especially in the townships (Seedat et al., 2009, Msibi, 2009).

Though in Sub-Saharan Africa, research is limited around men's perceived underlying drivers of intimate partner violence. A few studies however, have shown that men perceive underlying drivers of intimate partner violence to include, perception of gender roles in intimate relationships which result in uneven power dynamics (Hatcher et al., 2013a, Uthman et al., 2009a, Laisser et al., 2011, Fleming et al., 2015a). Some men have the notion of an *'ideal wife/partner'*; they are set in their expectations of an ideal way for her to behave and a shortfall in her attitude and behaviour results in violence to 'reset' the woman to proper ways

(Zakar et al., 2013, Vidal-Fernandez and Megias, 2014). Also, some men have alluded to being violent against their female sexual partner when they perceived they were or (had) lost control over her, this includes sexual, economic, financial and emotional control (Jewkes et al., 2010, Jewkes, 2002). Furthermore, in finding reasons for perpetrating intimate partner violence sometimes, some men refuse to attribute any blame whatsoever to themselves but solely blame others and take stances of defiance (Stanley et al., 2012).

Dissimilarities in power relations between men and women due to cultural, traditional and social imbalances are another predication of intimate partner violence for men who hold strongly to traditional and harmful masculinities (Bhana, 2005, Dworkin et al., 2013b, Gallagher and Parrott, 2011b, Morrell et al., 2012). The use of power to exert the social construct of masculine gender is depicted in various ways, it may be demonstrated with physical, sexual and emotional violence as well as economic deprivation (Bhana, 2005, Hatcher et al., 2014b, Jewkes et al., 2011, Morrell et al., 2012).

Fleming et al. (2015b) conceptualized gender and masculinity as constructs of social interactions, how the individual internalizes these social interactions and interprets them. Fleming et al. (2015b), provided an interesting etiology of the use of power in two ways. They stated that the extent to which a man internalizes and displays his masculinity is dependent on an accumulation of behaviours and interactions and how his society views them. Therefore, to conform to societal expectations and to exert as well as to wield the power that comes with 'traditionally defined masculinity', men use intimate partner violence (Conroy, 2014, Pulerwitz et al., 2010, Strebel et al., 2006, Christofides et al., 2014, Santana et al., 2006a, Shannon et al., 2012, Coleman and Straus, 1990, Allen and Devitt, 2012).

Witnessing violence, abuse and Male-to-male non-intimate partner violence

Beyond social norms that encourage male-to-female violence, male aggression is an aspect of the community that plays a significant role in framing male-to-male violence. Male aggression has been used over the years in other parts of the world and in sub-Saharan African communities to signify rites of passage and in some instances, as community entertainment (Kiss et al., 2015b). This is exemplified in the Middle East where young men are put through rites of passage of beatings, detentions, bodily violence and male to male violence (Peteet, 1994). In some of these communities, it is culturally and customarily

acceptable for men to be aggressive toward each other. In South Africa, community-based and male-to-male violence is also rife. Some recent studies have found an association between community violence and the perpetration of male-to-male violence. In addition, community based violence and intimate partner violence have been found to link each other (Kiss et al., 2015b, Fleming et al., 2015a). Living in peri-urban settings has been found by several studies to contribute to intimate partner violence. Studies such as (Gibbs et al., 2014b, Seedat et al., 2009) allude that social dynamics such as poverty, unemployment, income inequality and poor living conditions are sometimes triggers for intimate partner violence and communal violence. Therefore some studies such as (Gibbs et al., 2015) also found an association between being poor as well as living in poor settlements as a possible trigger for the perpetration of intimate partner violence (Gibbs et al., 2014b).

1.6.3.4 MACROSOCIAL LEVEL

Economic and legal factors

There are several aspects to economic factors and its relationship with intimate partner violence at the macrosocial level. Capitalism and post-apartheid economics of South Africa also contribute to the normalization of violence in South Africa (Lau and Seedat, 2017). According to Lau and Seedat (2017), there are occurrences and re-occurrences of violent protests in South Africa's post-apartheid landscape. These have become daily occurrences due to a shortfall in basic amenities such as water, houses and electricity. Poverty is rife and so is the growing need for recognition and voice (Lau and Seedat, 2017). Ownership of property by the man, ownership of property by the woman and joint ownership of both partners to assets and properties all have known negative or positive effects on intimate relationships. In some countries, laws place men in vantage positions for land and asset ownership thereby placing women in less vantageous positions (Heise and Kotsadam, 2015). A woman's ownership of assets greater than her husband places her at risk of IPV as this will be seen as challenging the man's authority (Karmaliani et al., 2012). Studies have also shown that where joint ownership of property is established in intimate relationships, the likelihood of IPV is reduced (Heise, 2011a).

I will discuss in this report, institutional factors such as the legal system against intimate partner violence in South Africa and its enforcement. There are laws protecting women from violence but it is critical to assess whether the laws are enforced or not. (Heise and Kotsadam, 2015).

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 STUDY DESIGN

This qualitative study was conducted as part of the formative research which informed the Sonke Change Trial: a cluster-randomized controlled trial which is evaluating the impact of the Sonke Gender Justice intervention (Christofides and Hatcher, 2015).

My Masters research with men in Diepsloot forms the qualitative research conducted before the trial commenced. I utilized in-depth interviews (IDIs) to better understand the perceptions of men about masculinity, power dynamics, unequal gender norms and violence in intimate relationships. To also explore perceptions of men living in Diepsloot of IPV and how peri-urban contexts as well as impoverished or informal settlements contribute towards men's use of violence against women. In addition, to probe the relationship between social constructs such as hegemonic masculinities, power dynamics, gender norms and intimate partner violence perpetration. This study was approached using an interpretive research technique through qualitative methods (Myers, 2008). By using interpretive technique, I sought to understand the meaning that men associated with intimate partner violence and its occurrence. Qualitative research methods are used by researchers for critical insight and context and to collect data on sensitive topics, such as sexual history violence; especially for research that seeks to improve on interventions to prevent intimate partner violence (Ruark and Fielding-Miller, 2016). It is used to provide a flexible and nuanced opportunity for men to freely express themselves without concerns for issues of lack of confidentiality such as is obtained in focus group discussions. In addition, I adopted the qualitative research method to engage with men in their familiar surroundings using a natural social method of engaging in one-on-one discussions about everyday life in Diepsloot, being a father, and social aspects of being a man (Myers, 2008). This study was designed this way to enable me probe into the perceptions of men living in Diepsloot of IPV and to provide some understanding as to how peri-urban contexts as well as impoverished or informal settlements contribute towards men's use of violence against women.

2.2 STUDY SETTING

The study was conducted in Diepsloot, a low income, mostly unstructured residential district in Johannesburg, South Africa. Diepsloot was established in 1995 as a temporary settlement

for persons who had been evicted from Honeydew, Alexandra and Sevenfontein (Jacob, 2010). There have since been 13 Extensions since its creation as a settlement. With promises of reconstruction and development programmes (RDP), more and more people in need of shelter flocked to Diepsloot; however, only about 8,000 houses have since been erected in the settlement in Extensions 2-11 (Mahajan, 2014). With a population of over 13,000 people, Diepsloot is home to littered streets, unplanned shacks and structures, burst sewers, untarred and spoilt tarred roads. Many structures are shacks erected with old tarpaulin/or nylon, and held up with sticks as support. Most shelters in Diepsloot lack heating systems, rationed or pipe-borne water. People are robbed daily and crime is rife on the streets of Diepsloot. There are repeated incidences of street fights and violent outbursts in taverns. Most of the residents of Diepsloot are not originally from the area but have moved from Limpopo Province or elsewhere in southern Africa (Jacob, 2010). The streets and corners are lined with shanties where people conduct petty trading in wares such as biscuits, township snacks, vegetables, fruits, sweets and treats. Most people in Diepsloot are artisans who are unemployed or are only able to engage in informal daily jobs (Jacob, 2010).

2.3 Study population

The study population was men aged 18 years and older who lived in Diepsloot, South Africa in 2015.

2.4 Study Sample

Twenty-one participants were purposively sampled through key informants who had worked for Sonke Gender Justice. The two former community mobilization staff had working knowledge of the community, and identified, approached and invited men to participate in the study. Men who were willing to participate in the study were contacted and interview times were set up by a trained male researcher. The researcher sought informed consent from the men who were willing to participate. During recruitment, information that was provided was on the need for a study to understand from the perspective of men, what causes IPV and possible ways to address the triggers. It was mentioned to the men that they were not to be put under duress to mention experiences or perpetration of violence but would not be hindered if they wanted to share. Discussions with some of the men flowed into personal experiences of intimate partner violence and a couple of them mentioned they had perpetrated violence and served time for the crime. The men who participated in the study were aged 18 to 57years (n=21). The rationale for this age range was to ensure the men were of consenting age, and it allowed for a myriad of experiences of violence from the perspective of men of

varying ages. The men were purposively sampled to get as much diversity as possible in their socio-demographic characteristics such as age, and marital status although there was. Though a cross cutting similarity was their residence in Diepsloot.

2.5 Data Collection

I conducted in-depth interviews (IDI) using a semi-structured interview guide to elicit responses. An informal approach was used to get at the core of men's perceptions around the use of partner and non-partner violence (Berry, 1999). I developed an interview guide which is presented in the appendix section (see appendix E). My supervisors and I jointly reviewed the interview guides to establish, fine tune and restructure questions within appropriate sections. I reviewed the semi-structured interview guide to ensure a flow and ease of using the questions to engage with the men. While the primary purpose and main theme of the interview guide was retained, the review helped the team adjust the interview guides to enhance clarity. After the first three interviews, the principal investigators, the interviewer and I engaged in phone and face-to-face discussions to debrief the interviewer initial impressions of the data.

The male interviewer had conducted previous qualitative research with Sonke participants (Hatcher et al., 2014a), and is skilled at speaking with men around sensitive topics. He conducted the IDI's in Isizulu, Sesotho, Venda, IsiXhosa, Setswana, Sepedi and English depending on the preferred language of the participants. The interviews were conducted with some of men in their homes while others were conducted in other places where participants were comfortable and auditory privacy was achieved. Participants were taken through an informed consent process before interviews commenced. In addition to the informed consent, there was a distress protocol to respond to trauma or stress. However, none of the participants had need for the distress protocol during or immediately after the interviews.

Interviews explored perceptions of men in Diepsloot on factors that influence use of IPV, perceptions of the factors that drive IPV such as socio-cultural factors, their childhood experiences of IPV, occurrence of IPV and non-partner violence within their community, society values and myths that they perceived to be influencers of violence against women. Perceptions about the reasons for violence as well as its provocative factors were also explored.

2.6 DATA MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS

Interviews were translated and transcribed verbatim into English by a professional transcription service. Transcriptions and translation happened simultaneously. I removed all identifiers and replaced names with pseudonyms to ensure anonymity of data. Files were password protected, and named according to site, type of data collection, and date.

I applied both inductive and deductive coding. Inductive data coding is a type of coding of qualitative data in which you start your analysis without any predetermined idea about which codes you will use in the process (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006, Boyatzis, 1998). While deductive coding implies coding that you start with already existing codes from previous research or experiential basis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Data was intensively read to enable me elicit and apply codes. After this process, a thematic inductive and deductive coding framework of themes was applied to the entire database. I applied labels to different segments within the raw data gotten from transcripts of the men's discussions. This data driven coding process commenced with an open-minded approach to elicit the core of what the men were saying. After the initial coding process, I analysed the codes to derive fine codes from the perceptions of the men in Diepsloot. Themes coded deductively were done using the study objectives. Themes such as notions around men and alcoholism, culture driven violence, economically driven violence, and violence driven on the perpetrators understanding that no one will interfere; were purely data driven. Furthermore, the coding of the transcripts was negotiated and discussed with the supervisors to ensure depth and richness of meaning. It was very critical to the researchers for both inductive and deductive codes to blend in such a way that encouraged a deeper insight into what the men were saying and what could be deduced. I subsequently coded the transcripts, three more times for the development of 'fine codes' inductively from the data and looked for patterns in the data.

2.7 REFLEXIVITY

Reflexivity depicts how the qualitative researcher needs to be aware of circumstances in relations between the researcher and participants that often influence data collection and the interpretation of the data. (Zeynep Turhan, 2016). I am cognizant that my inability to directly collect data on this study due to language and gender barrier was a limitation for this study. This also affected my inability to place body language and non-verbal communication side-by-side what the men said. It is worthy of note that being able to elicit in-depth, far-reaching and deeply insightful responses from the men was an advantage of a male interviewer. It was evident from the transcripts and how he probed, that the men were comfortable speaking with

him. I was cognizant of my assumptions and biases due to my position as a gender specialist where I am constantly exposed to communities with low socio-economic status who hold very strongly to harmful gender norms. This clear understanding of my position and theoretical background helped me design questions in a sensitive manner. It also helped during data analysis to analyze interviews and code efficiently.

2.8 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for this qualitative study was obtained from the human research ethics committee (HREC) of the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. The ethical approval number as granted by the HREC is M160361 (see appendix B). Also, included for approval was the distress protocol specific for this study (see appendix D).

All participants received information about the study and upon affirmative consent, were invited to sign two written informed consents prior to data collection. The informed consents notified participants of the process of verbal interviews as well as an audio recording of the process. Informed consent procedures complied with ethical recommendations of University of Witwatersrand and of the UN Multi-Country Study on Men and Violence (Fulu and Jewkes, 2014).

Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary. They were assured that they could withdraw at any stage of the interview, skip any question in the research and that there will be no adverse effects on them should they decide not to participate.

The participant information leaflets and consent forms were written in simple English, (see appendix C). However, to enhance understanding, the explanation and discussions were in isiZulu, Sesotho, or English depending on the participant's language preference. The facilitator and the researcher were present throughout the informed consent process and clarified any questions the participants were not clear about. All the participants could provide a signature.

Confidentiality of this process for all participants was assured and maintained. All data collection materials, including printed transcripts and audio recordings were stored in a locked file cabinet. Soft copies of transcripts were password protected and stored on a hidden drive in the computer. At the point of coding, pseudonyms unconnected to the participants' real name or identity such as age and identifiable markers were used for ease of data analysis. It was only the participant and the interviewer that were present during interviews, except in

instances where a participant requested for a friend to be present. The locations of the various interviews within Diepsloot took place either at the home of the respondent or under an open space where auditory privacy was maintained. It was crucial to ensure the participants were, at each time of their interviews comfortable with the location, the seating and some who requested to smoke could do so, while the interview was ongoing. All data linked to the interview in such a way as to disclose identity of the participants was and is kept in a password-protected computer. All hard copies of interview materials are locked in a secure drawer.

CHAPTER 3 RESULTS

3.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The study sample comprised of 21 men living in Diepsloot, South Africa. Most of the men interviewed moved away from their place of birth, referred to as 'home', to find a source of livelihood and better living for themselves and their family in Diepsloot. Some had lived there for as long as 20 years moving from one extension to the other, while some had arrived recently a few months prior to the interview (range 4 months – 20years). Some of the men interviewed were unemployed; those who earned money were self-employed selling snacks and cigarettes in ramshackle temporary structures. Others repaired shoes, picked scrap metal from trash to sell, or engaged in piecemeal construction opportunities such as plumbing assistants or labourers with highly infrequent opportunity to meaningfully be engaged. Their ages ranged between 18 to 57 years and were mostly married and living with their partner while others were separated from their partner.

In subsequent sections of this study, I will be taking a critical look at the life of these men, their beliefs about masculinities, their perceptions and experiences and how these have influenced their intimate relationships.

3.2 MEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF IPV

Some of the men saw intimate partner violence as a regular occurrence.

> *It happens very often, I will talk about extension 1 as this is where I live. You observe a couple living together but you can see the man doesn't treat her well, but you don't have the right to go and intervene and tell another person, they will tell you that no this is my woman so you have no business telling me about my woman. Others can live together in harmony but on the other you*

can clearly see for others that there is no life here. Tumisho, 25 years old, unemployed

The men thought that IPV in Diepsloot was underestimated because of the culture of silence of victims. They explained that sometimes women who experience violence do not report for several reasons that include cultural acceptance of violence as part of a 'happy marriage' and poor police response. While some saw IPV as a problem, others perceived it as justifiable if women were found doing what they perceived to be wrong such as infidelity. Some of the men also perceived IPV as ingrained in their culture and thus not new.

3.3 MEN'S VIEWS ON MANHOOD, GENDER AND VIOLENCE

Several strong broad themes emerged from this study. These themes include masculinities, women's gender roles/men's expectations of women, contextual factors and other cross cutting factors such as alcohol and drug abuse. They linked these themes to violence perpetration. The men interviewed held to what they believed made them a man, their views on the status of women in the society, how much control they had over their intimate partner, and how they believed these were interwoven with IPV. Men revealed a sense of entitlement which was linked to being the head of the household and having power in society and indeed their homes. They also spoke about gendered roles and expectations on how women should behave. These hinged on their perceived expectations on how women should or should not behave and how they were to comport themselves as wives and mothers. Contextual issues such as criminality in the community and even childhood experiences of violence emerged; which may have influenced men's views and use of IPV. In subsequent sections, all these broad themes and their sub-themes will be considered in relation to how they were believed to trigger intimate partner violence or create an environment where men's use of violence was condoned.

3.4 HEGEMONIC MASCULINITIES

The men held strong beliefs about what it means to be a man. They had strong perceptions about their authority as men, their loss of position because of shifts in the social norms in South Africa, and the need to take back their control of the household. They also had strong perceptions in favour of disciplining women who were viewed as being out of order. For the men, being in control was critical to maintaining their positions as head of the household.

My brother, I do tell her that the man is the head of the family.
She should not do things thinking we have a 50/50 share in the house.

She cannot leave and come back whatever time of the night she sees fit.
You have to tell her what is allowed in the house, so that is how I use my manhood.

Bernard, 28 years old unemployed

3.4.1 BEING A MAN

The men were asked what they perceived to be the meaning of being a man. Most of the men linked the ability to provide food and shelter for their family and educate their children to being a "successful" man. This notion of being a man centered round the quality of their livelihood such as earning a lot of money, keeping a steady job, being able to buy whatever they needed for themselves and their family. Like most of the men, Sam described his perceptions of "being a man" from the perspective of being a provider to his children. It was important to him that his son received an education as this was an opportunity that he had not had.

> *"I identify myself as a man because I support my children. They do not sleep on an empty stomach. I want my son to go to school and educate himself so that he will not be like me. I was not educated; look at the job I am doing now. I want him to have a good future."* - Sam, 36 years old, snack vendor

In addition to being a provider, being a man was perceived as being the person in control, the sole decision-maker in the household and the one who gives instructions. Limpho explained by using a Sesotho idiom that being a man is the ability to hold the "bones" which meant that he should endorse or reject household decisions.

> *"Being a man means…the word man means I am the one who holds the bones* ***(Sesotho idiom that means: he makes all the decisions and everything has to go through him first before any decision made).*** *I am the head of the household."*-Limpho, 46 years old, unemployed

Sylvester, a 37-year-old felt being a man meant using your "manhood" to assert yourself over your partner and children so they know you have what it takes to control them. Bernard explained that he uses his manhood to make it clear to his wife that there is no equality between him and his wife, and rights in the house cannot be split "50/50".

> *"My brother, I do tell her that the man is the head of the family. She should not do things thinking we have a 50/50 share in the house, so that is how I use my manhood."* -Bernard, 28 years old unemployed

There was an undertone of control in most of the men's perception of what it means to be a man. They saw it as always having the final say and having your partner under control.

3.4.2 CONTROLLING WOMEN WHO ARE 'OUT OF ORDER'

Most of the men emphasized the need for men to control women because they perceived that women who were not "properly handled" were going to get 'out of order'. Several men asserted that most women would not abide by the rules set by the man of the house unless beaten. Some participants explained that some women are "stubborn, stiff-necked, proud and never apologetic". George said "women always cheat", but he felt the best way to control women so their "cheating" can somewhat reduce is to beat them.

> *"Women will always cheat on you…but when a woman sees that you do not beat her, they freely cheat"*-George 30 years old, employed

Other participants like Gilson, Simphiwe, Bernard, Banda and Alex explained that some women are to be called to order by men and to have the rules explained to them. In their own words, some of these rules include respect and how wives are expected to interact (or not) with other men. This manifested in who women may interact with. Alex particularly felt slighted if his partner looked at and even spoke with another man. He said "… *why you look at that guy".* Some believed they needed to constantly check their wife's phone to ascertain with whom she was speaking with and who was speaking with her. Mpho held similar view to Alex. He explained that some women were out of order by receiving intimate text messages from other men.

> *"For example, you find a man would find a text saying 'I love you' from someone else on his wife's phone and he is shocked as to who is saying such things then rage takes over and he slaps his wife."*- Mpho, 32 years old, unemployed

Most of the men believed an 'out of control' woman is a trigger for IPV. They perceived her being out of control an indication that she challenges the man's authority. One of the men,

Alex gave an example of some men's perception on the need to put an out of control woman in her place. *"We are now sharing power and as a man, I have got to give orders and you as a woman has to obey everything I say. If you cross the line or you are smart at me, I am going to show you who I am."*

Sandile and Themba however shared experiences that depicted the woman trying to "bring the man back to order". Sandile explained that his wife trailed his movements so she could know where he was and who he was with. He explained, "I would take the car and leave, she would take the other car and follow me". He was not comfortable with her actions and he ended up beating her in front of his friends. Themba shared with the interviewer an incident that occurred that morning of how a man was beaten by his wife "because he drinks too much and uses the money that is meant for groceries and household things". This is an example of men not meeting the gendered expectations of women on their role as providers. When gendered roles and expectations are not met, it could result in intimate partner violence.

Edward differed from the other men in his stance on men controlling wives and girlfriends. He perceived that the reason men sought to control their partners was that they had been brought up to see women being controlled and thus viewed it as the norm. He was not brought up that way and resolved issues in the relationship through open-communication.

> *"In most cases, it depends on how a person is raised. They saw it from home and they believed it was okay. When I grew up, I had never seen my father abuse my mother. I do not hit my wife. If there is a problem, I will sit down with her and we will talk. My wife and I help each other a lot."*-Edward 48 years old, employed

Edward's different stance on the notion of control may be associated with childhood upbringing where childhood experience or exposure to violence can be a determinant of violence perpetration in adulthood.

3.5 GENDER POWER RELATIONS

The discussion with the men also delved into perceived gendered dynamics and expectations. Some of the men explained that a man is entitled to respect from 'his woman'.

3.5.1 MEN ARE ENTITLED TO RESPECT

Some of the participants spoke about men's perceived entitlement to be accorded respect. There was a general perception that women are expected to respect men especially their spouse/partner or they may experience intimate partner violence as consequence.

> *"...I grew up knowing a woman submits whether I am wrong or right… some people think you discipline her by beating her or you starve her to death".* - Sandile, 35 years old, unemployed

In the narratives, the notion that a man is entitled to respect emerged. For some of the men, respect meant reverence from the woman. She was expected to demonstrate piety, obedience and never '*question*' the man's motives. Alex said *"…before, a woman had to kneel from the street there"* (referring to a part of the road)*, "crawling up to a man sitting here, bringing water."* To buttress his point on the importance of respect and how men consider it paramount, Alex used the example of Jacob Zuma (South Africa President) when he visited the Venda tribe and '*women knelt out of respect and reverence for him as a man*.'

> *"…The Venda's they knelt down in front of him* ***(President Zuma)*** *and giving him what, what,… he was very happy and he said, 'if I was not married I was going to come and take another five women from Venda".* -Alex, 57 years old, retired

Alex's reference to South African president Jacob Zuma could imply that even the President of the country as a man, is pleased with respect and reverence from women so much so he considered marriage to women who could be respectful.

Most of the men felt that a woman must respect a man because he earns money that keeps the family together. They explained that some men feel they are the breadwinner and the provider of the family and thus must be respected.

> *"Yes, people do give reasons; they would say 'I do not want a woman to disrespect me, I work for her and support her, but she disrespects me.' But I ask them what is the reason for the woman to disrespect you? When you first met her, did you not see that she was disrespectful?"*
> Gilson, 45 years old, Clergy

Edward, unlike most of the men, did not perceive respect as the entitlement of the man alone. He perceived it as a fundamental of human life that everyone be respected. He said *"women,*

men and older people" must be respected. He opined that respect is reciprocal and if a man had not comported himself in a respectable way, he should not expect respect in return.

3.5.2 PERCEIVED CULTURAL ACCEPTANCE OF IPV

Acceptance of non-partner or partner violence was evident in the discussion with men in Diepsloot. Alex, Simphiwe and George gave examples of how their setting encourages violence in general. George used the Zulu culture as an example that some cultures allow intimate partner violence; *"The Zulus will tell you that a man should beat a woman."*

Gilson who is from the Sotho tribe perceived that violence stemmed from some traditions that encourage stick fighting, he believed this was another reason for the perpetration of violence among some people.

Others discussed on the tenets of their culture as it concerns beating women. The men interviewed were from countries in Southern Africa (South Africa and Zimbabwe mostly) and some perceived their culture as being permissive of men to beating their wives under the premise of love. They perceived that a man beats the woman he loves and the police will not intervene because they believe it is culturally acceptable that intimate partner violence was on the premise of love.

> *"The Tsonga culture allows for a man to beat his woman.*
> *Most cultures do agree. It says if you do not beat a woman,*
> *that means you do not love them. Even if a woman tries to*
> *get her husband arrested they chase her away because it is culture.*
> *People get beaten."*- George, 30 years old, employed.

The perception that some cultures lead women to believe that "If you are not beaten as a woman it means the husband does not love you" was also discussed. The men perceived women associate "being beaten" with "being loved".

> *"So, whenever women sometimes are beaten, they appreciate it, because they would say to themselves 'I think it means I am being loved'*- Boniface, 33 years old, employed.

There was also a perception that women believe when they do not get beaten in their homes, it meant the marriage will not last.

> "So, *some people have been taught that if you were not beaten the first time you got yourself into their home as woman, …it means there is little chance of staying"*-Boniface, 33years old, employed.

Some of the men agreed with the cultures that support wife beating while some saw it as wrong and not befitting for modern times. Sylvester blamed culture for intimate partner violence. He felt some cultures are not befitting for modern times and must not be adhered to. He explained his argument this way:

> *"…Yes, that they are a man and saw how their father related to their mother. Things like that are not ok. Things like that ruin us because we look at that and make an excuse. There are things that this generation needs to change, we cannot keep repeating the same thing over and over again."* Sylvester, 37 years old, unemployed.

3.5.3 MEN'S PERCEIVED LOSS OF POSITION IN SOCIETY

During discussions with the men, several perceived threats to the position of men's control in the society where highlighted. Perceived threats such as women reporting issues to the police, borrowing money, following other men and the loss of jobs/livelihoods were discussed. Almost all the men interviewed spoke about feeling disenfranchised from their position of authority. They felt they had lost their position as head of the household and thus lost control of their partner and family. Participants perceived this was so because South African women have become empowered and this has meant a loss of their position as men. They felt disempowered by the system due to their belief that men do not have the same access to justice compared to women. Participants also mentioned that women were getting knowledgeable about rights and this has affected men as heads in their homes.

> "*Women, they run to the law enforcers. And you always know, once she is in the door, police men shortly follow. Men do not have power they just end up giving in. People end up saying this man does not have rules."* - Gilson, 45 years old, Clergy

A lot of the men explained that they are wary of enforcing rules in their household: they are even wary of disciplining their children, because women are so empowered that they can report '*anything*' to the police. They believed that they were at risk of jail and losing

everything they ever worked for if they were to enforce rules in their households. Like most of the men, Gilson believes the day he sets rules in the house his wife will run off to report to the police and lay charges against him.

> *"…Most of them (referring to women) are out of order,*
> *they are lawless because once you give them the rules to guide them,*
> *they run to the law enforcers."* Gilson, 45 years old, clergy

The threat of the police and the consequences was viewed as contributing to the loss of men's position of authority and as decision makers. In linking this to the perception of losing authority as men, husbands and fathers; they felt that government policies on child punishment has deterred them from bringing up their children to be better people. In Gilson's words;

> *"In these times, our households have men who suffer a lot*
> *while they try to set rules, but because of the policies government*
> *has introduced, the rules, though okay, have a negative aspect."* Gilson, 45 years old, clergy

They believed women now seek to share power with men. They explained that men do not desire to share power with women and that the role of the man is to put a woman in her place and have her under control. While some of the men felt they had lost their position due to women empowerment, others like Sam, Limpho and Ben perceived their loss of jobs and means of livelihood as a factor that led to the loss of their position in their homes. For Ben who believes that "women love you based on the size of your pocket" he said categorically; "women love less when there is no money." Themba however disagreed and said his wife has been supporting since he lost his job and has not allowed him to feel the impact of the embarrassment that accompanies unemployment. But, Sam, like Ben, felt his loss of a steady job had disenfranchised him from his position as a man in the house so much so, his wife borrows money from people without his knowledge. He said: "*She even borrows money from people and I am left paying it while she runs to her family*'. He explained that the loss of his employment has made him lose control of what his wife does and lessens his position to make rules in the house.

Limpho also felt the same as the other men. He said men felt threatened because of their inability to be the breadwinner, thereby relinquishing their responsibility of sole provider. With the loss of a job or property, the feeling of worthlessness increased. Perceived lack of livelihood resulted in bruised ego for the men and the notion of loss of authority led to violence. Some of the men attested to the transference of aggression to the woman due to a twist from better to worse in their economic circumstances. The men talked about the lack of standard housing structures and poor social amenities. They explained that they live in shacks-made of nylon, sticks and in one case a trampoline, some of the extensions did not have electricity, and they built makeshift toilets that were shared by several other people. They also spoke about a lack of security due to the way their residences were structured and also the rampant rate of crime. Men described living in Diepsloot as "*far from their dream life in South Africa".*

Not all the men agreed that women's empowerment could be practiced in their house neither did they perceive they had lost their position as head in the family because of that. George for example perceived that the 'man' making the law at the level of government was just saying things he knows he cannot also accept in his own household. He opines he is the owner of his household, government could not dictate and people had no right to discuss what happens in his household.

> "*This is not parliament; this is my place. They cannot tell me what to do or what to say regarding my household."* George 30 years old, employed

3.6 Gender Norms

Some men held views of women's status in the society and on how women should comport themselves. These expectations were deeply entrenched in their values, beliefs and norms. They identified particularly the roles and responsibilities of women and the failure of women to behave in expected ways. This failure to behave in expected ways was viewed by many of the men as a legitimate reason for IPV.

3.6.1 Expectations of women's behaviour

Some of the men were very specific in their perception of their expectations of a woman's behaviour and most of them believed it was a strong determinant of a woman's worth: whether she was a 'good' woman 'or not'. According to the men, women were expected to

behave in certain ways that portrayed them as "good" women. Sam portrayed his partner as being a 'bad woman.' He spoke about his partner being bad at money management, child upbringing and household chores. He felt a good woman *'will wake up in the morning and cook for her husband.' 'She wastes my money! I wake up at 4am and she wastes it!'* These according to some of the men are reasons why women are beaten. In Mpho's words, *"...you do not just get beaten for nothing.'*

One of the men, Sam explained that he left his wife and son back at home to look for a better job to cater for them. He was shocked one day, when one of the older men approached him "… *he warned me of the sins my wife was committing in my absence. He told me that my marriage was in jeopardy*." He said,

> *"Even when we went home now, you would not find her.' So, we went home. When we got home, we went to her shack, I noticed there was no soap, no toothpaste, no toothbrush and there was absolutely nothing. There was no sign she lived there."*-Sam, 36 years old, snack vendor

Participants like Sam, George and some other men said they left their country/home-base to come and find a means of livelihood in South Africa/Diepsloot and in the process, left their wife and children at home. They explained that they lost their relationship with their partners because while they were away, their partner had intimate relationships with other men. Most of the men strongly objected to women cheating on their partners. "Women are not expected to have other partners," they said. Among the men, to find out about a woman having another partner was unacceptable. For most of the men it was a legitimate reason to "beat up" a woman if found out.

> *"She knows what she is doing to deserve that. You would find that when a man goes to work, while he is at work, the woman is busy with Taxi-drivers…women love them because they buy them things. Violence is caused by actions that the woman does. It does not come out of nowhere"*- Chris, 30 years old, businessman

Gender norms influenced the expectation of the men on how women should behave. Most of the men attested to being brought up expecting women to submit to a man's wishes, to obey, to be silent, to not question men's motives or intentions. Mpho a 32-year-old, unemployed participant perceived that women should be cool tempered, not prone to anger and full of respect. On another note, some of the men described situations, which would have resulted in

violence if men ascribed to gender norms but in these cases IPV did not happen. An example was a man who had encountered a cheating partner and forgave her and went on with the relationship because of love. Sandile, a 35 year old unemployed man described how loving a partner did not necessarily ensure a lasting relationship and he eventually separated from his partner because *"Some women love many men at the same time. Her love of men runs in her veins".* While some men spoke about cheating, others like Tatenda and George perceived women who drank alcohol and never stayed at home as falling short of their expected behaviour. Tatenda perceived it was expected that men drink alcohol but a woman who does not cook but goes out drinking should expect a beating.

> "*For instance, when the man leaves early in the morning on the weekend and they expect a meal when they come back in the afternoon, he comes back hungry and it might happen that the wife is not there, she is out drinking. This leads to fighting."* - Tatenda, 43 years old, employed

3.6.2 WOMEN ARE NOT TO USE VIOLENCE

On another note, some of the men said they did not expect a woman to raise her hand to her man. It was only men who could hit women. It was perceived as unacceptable to some who witnessed a woman beating her husband. Bernard said "*it is not okay for a woman to hit her husband; all women will start hitting their husbands if he lets that happen. What he can do is leave (get separated from her)"*.

3.6.3 WOMEN'S NEGLECT OF CHILDREN AND DUTIES

Some of the men mentioned women's neglect of children and their duties as a reason for men's use of IPV. The men explicitly described it as the duty of the woman to take care of the home and children while the man's role was to provide for daily needs. The care of children, the conduct of household chores and the management of appliances in the home were viewed by some of the men as a woman's duty. They believed it was the job of a man to discipline his child while it was the responsibility of the woman to ensure the children were well cared for. Sam, Limpho, Boniface, and Tatenda provided explanations as to how it is the duty of women to take care of their children, their husband and the home.

> *"When I am all ready to go to work and almost at the door, she would ask,*

> *'so you are going to leave without breakfast'. She expects me to sit down and eat while at the door. Concerning the child, she does not take him to daycare. He is always playing on the street and cars might hit him."* – Sam, 36 years old, snack vendor.

For most of the men, women who neglected their children and their duties as wife and mother were considered to have behaved poorly as women and that use of IPV was justified. Some of the men believed that a woman who sleeps while her child is ill is irresponsible. They perceived it to be the duty of a woman to watch over a sick child and not sleep. Sam said, "she even snores while the child is sick. I have to sleep with an eye open. It is tough". The men feel all these negligence's on the part of the woman, may result in IPV.

Sam explained the poor condition he often met his child at home due to his wife's neglect of her duty. He said he would often meet the child unkempt and neglected out in the cold which meant he perceived his wife neglected her duties by not taking care of the child.

> *"You would find my child sitting outside. Wet, playing while it is cold…. The kid will be playing on the street unattended, next thing you will find him with neighbours"* Sam, 36 years old, snack vendor

He attested that, this sometimes led to intimate partner violence but his wife never seemed to understand that her responsibility was her child. However, not every man shared this view. While some saw house chores as the sole responsibility of the woman, others thought it appropriate to support household tasks. Alex, for example, believed that a man can help his wife to do dishes, take care of the children, mow the lawn and cook.

He suggested drunken moments were the only times when he was unable to assist his wife of 37 years with household chores.

> *"I've got cars, I've got a wife, I have got children. You know I expect, that period of time from eight o'clock you got to make breakfast, eat first, do home chores job. Help clean whatever you can help. Clean your yard, clean yourself, you know before you just go for drinks".* - Alex 57 years old, retired

Alex's age might have altered his views of his responsibility as a man. He is a grandfather. He posits that he babysits his grandchildren and takes care of them when his children are busy. His position on household chores and responsibilities are quite different from the other men interviewed in Diepsloot. This may be because he is older in age and marriage and thus more experienced than the younger men who were interviewed in Diepsloot.

3.6.4 WOMEN ARE TO BE SILENT

Another gendered norm that emerged was that women should not be heard or they should mostly be silent. Several participants suggested that women should only speak when they are asked to speak and keep quiet the rest of the time. Most of the men expected that in marriage or a nuptial relationship which involved a man and a woman, a man should be heard more with the woman being silent while going about her daily duties. For Gilson, he explained that *'men want to take all the decisions and women have no say'.* He used a Zulu idiom, 'Only the men's shoe makes a noise' to drive home the point that woman are expected to be silent and men the only ones expected to speak.

> *"You would find that men want to take all the decisions and women have no say. Only the men's shoes make a noise (idiom that means only the man makes the rules/decisions). So, when the woman starts speaking, she gets beaten."* Gilson, 45 years old, clergy

Most of the men had the perception that a woman must maintain silence in her relationship with her partner, they also argued that poor communication was the reason issues got out of control which led to violence- when men and women do not talk to each other but would rather respond to disagreements through physical violence. Some of the men wanted to have 'discussions' with their partners. When asked what the discussion was about, some of them said to 'tell her what she is doing is wrong'. They saw 'discussion' as an opportunity to exert their place of authority and get their partner to be in line. The discussions however were focused on the men with the woman expected to speak less or not 'talk back.' The men, rather than engage in meaningful discussions were talking down to their partners and giving instructions on what they should or not do, what was right, what was wrong and what was good and bad. A flip side to this was that a few of the men perceived that if the wife replied

them during that '*discussion*' she was being stubborn, which will result to arguments and end up in IPV.

> *"…So when she starts speaking, she gets beaten. He would say 'oh you are responding? Who said you should respond woman! Then she gets beaten."*-Gilson, 45 years old, clergy

Gilson may have this stance because he is clergy and does not seem to have the same marital problems most of the respondents have. Not all the men had this view as most of them felt they needed to sit down and tell their partner what they desire as men without recourse to what the woman also needed or what was getting her upset. In Sylvester's words, *"…will not be told what to do by a woman. Yes, they are the man and saw how their fathers related with their mothers."* The aim of the communication was so the women will understand them and let them be. For example, Sandile believed it was pertinent to sit his wife down and explain his social preferences to her. He further explained that he told his wife 'he loved drinking alcohol as much as he loved her.' He perceived this was a way to avoid conflicts. He perceived if she knows he loves alcohol, then there will not be problems when he got drunk and they both could reach an agreement on their preferences.

> *"… I think if we speak to each other it would be better. Like if I tell someone that I love them, but I also love beer it would be better. Or you should tell the person that you have a problem with having too many friends. Each of you should agree on what to compromise on so we can spend time together."* - Sandile, 35 years old, unemployed

A few of the men alongside Sandile, believed that having a discussion on preferences and social priorities was a viable means of curbing IPV. However, Mafeni differed from the men on their stance on communication. He believed couples should have someone, a neutral third-party, they look up to and trust who can constantly sit with them to listen to and address grievances rather than allow it fester and give way to violence.

> *"…problems begin with words and can be fixed with words. If you keep the situation to yourself it becomes a problem. If people could meet with counsellors, it will be better. If you deal with the situation by yourself it becomes a problem. It grows inside of you and by the time you let it out you*

explode. We need to talk to people we trust. I believe if you have a problem talk to someone to release the anger."-Mafeni 37 years old, employed

It was a general perception among the men that effective communication was important for healthy relationships in families.

3.7 Other types of violence

Most of the men, especially those who have lived in Diepsloot for a long time explained their experiences with criminality and non-partner violence. Most of them revealed that they still felt traumatized and unable to go out at night due to the incidents they had experienced. Childhood experiences of witnessing or experiencing violence was also explored to aid an understanding of these men's use and perception of violence. In this section, criminality/non-partner violence as well as childhood experiences of violence will be explored.

3.7.1 Criminality and non-partner violence

Most of the men who participated in this study had perpetrated, experienced, or witnessed criminality and non-partner violence in Diepsloot. For them, it seemed like a revolving cycle that kept coming back and was even seemingly increasing. For some, it resulted in them abandoning a business, and having to choose another means of livelihood which led to them staying indoors at night. Some of the men who woke up early to go about their business saw mutilated dead bodies, some of them belonging to men they knew. Sam recalled a time he used to wake up at 4am to go to work. He said he usually saw an old man also on his way to work, unfortunately, one of those days he found the man dead with all his belongings (phone and money) intact in his pocket.

"You would see one dead body, then two or three.
You sometimes see someone you know. It is tough when that happens.
There was a man who worked as a traffic officer down there…
when I woke up at 4am he would be going to work.
There was a car that used to fetch him here.
He was an old man but he was also shot. I do not know what they wanted.
They did not take his phone, they did not take his money,
he had R1500 in his pocket."-Sam, 36 years old, vendor

Many men described Diepsloot as highly volatile and unpredictable. One man narrated a story about some men going to an evening service at a local church. The men participated in the church service, and after service ended, helped stow the church equipment away but came back at night to steal everything. The men perceived that these and several other incidents have encouraged churches to close evening service early or stop conducting evening services all together. Giving a more personal experience, Sam who was a hawker explained that he and a friend had decided to set up temporary stores outside of a place where a party was ongoing. He said, later in the night, a few men came out of the event premises, walked up to him and attempted to rob him. He said he offered them cigarettes but they went across the road to his friend and when his friend was not fast in responding to their demands; started stabbing him. In his words; *'all three of them stabbed my friend till one of them injured himself.' 'I ran'* he said… *'till today, I don't know the whereabouts of that boy whether he is dead or alive'*. Sam said he stopped going out at night after that, he cannot sell his goods again and has chosen another line of business-repairing shoes.

The men perceived the high rate of violence in Diepsloot as worrisome and that alcohol and drug abuse especially among young people contributed to this. However, some of the men attested to witnessing so much violence and they viewed it as being the only way to getting things done sometimes in Diepsloot. One of the men, Boniface explained it this way. He said, *"then you would just be part and parcel of them" "you actually associate yourself to issues of balance"* He explained further, *"it's either domestic issues are waiting for you at your own place or you have to fight other people who are not related to you".*

Some said that they are now accustomed to it, while some of the respondents were themselves perpetrators of violence and had served time for their actions. In explaining the presence of violence in Diepsloot as a situational trigger for the perpetration of both intimate and non-intimate violence, Sam explained that his nephew who had seen his father and other people being violent had himself become a perpetrator of intimate and non-intimate violence.

> *"His children are gradually adopting his habits, especially his first-*born *child. He takes out his belt and starts hitting people for no reason. The other time we found him in a random house naked. Apparently, it was attempted rape and he was arrested. He was sentenced to eight years and is still in prison."*-Sam, 36 years old, snack vendor

Boniface and Gilson shared this perception with Sam. It is difficult for people, especially children to grow up to be better persons in Diepsloot. In Gilson's words, *"he learns to be a man by what he sees in the environment".* They said for those that have their family with them in Diepsloot, raising their children there will further ingrain violence in their children, thereby making it a lifestyle and becoming perpetrators themselves. He explained that it should not be expected that children born and raised in Diepsloot will live lives devoid of violence (as perpetrators) because:

> *"Children are born as empty vessels who need to be filled.*
> *They learn on whatever they see, they hear. That is what they do.*
> *So the way we are grooming and nurturing our children,*
> *we are nurturing them in a mess, messy."*- Boniface, 33years old, employed

Boniface believes the use of violence in Diepsloot was a vicious cycle you could not avoid. He believed that the environment they live in (Diepsloot) contributes to how men use violence to solve problems. He said even if you do not want to use violence, in Diepsloot it would be difficult because there will be someone who will perpetrate *"violence against you and you had to defend yourself."*

3.7.2 CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE

Speaking about their childhood and how it relates to their environment in Diepsloot, some felt they were protected from violence while growing up at home, in their villages. Though protected from violence some of the men felt that the quality of life of their children now was improved due to the quality of toys, entertainment and some other social factors. Some of the men disagreed that their children had better lives now. They felt life at 'home' was safer, better and character/personality of children raised there was better than now. Speaking on discipline, some participants in remembering their childhood attested to the existence of stricter disciplinary measures for children back then. Limpho in comparing the way he is bringing up his children now to how his parents did, said; *"there is a big difference, when I was growing up, the stick was highly functional. If you made a mistake…you knew you were going to be beaten."*

For some men, violence was entrenched in memories of growing up. Some had witnessed their older sisters being beaten by their husband. Ben had experienced beatings as a child and

was not able to relate to his father. He however used the unpleasant experience to bring up his children differently so they can freely relate with him.

> *"……I grew up in a* household *where I would occasionally get spanked. I think long and hard before spanking my kids because children of today are very sensitive and will take physical discipline as not being loved by parents. I would rather sit and speak with my children. We used to be hit all the time."* Ben, 32 years old, unemployed

Mpho on his part was never spanked as a child. He said his father always spoke to him to address what he did wrong. He has adopted the same approach with his daughter. Japheth was beaten as a child and he adopts the same approach with his children. Japheth hinges his perception on religious inclinations *'that permits him not to spare the cane on a child.'* He perceived that since he had experienced violence as a child he would discipline his child. However, the extent to which he disciplined his children was restricted because, in his words *'the law prohibits him from physical discipline of his children.'*

Sam wished he was much older to be able to stand up to his brother-in-law then. He perceived that his sister was '*so traumatized that she had not recovered.*' Her husband claimed, *'their third child was not his, thus he led his wife'* (Sam's sister) *'to the bush, beat her up, killed the baby and forced her to bury it.'* Sam expressed that he is still traumatized by this incident and as a result would rather walk away than be violent in a relationship.

3.7.3 Perceived lack of community interference

Much of the violence perpetrated between partners and non-partners had little or no interventions or mediations. Bernard explained: *"You cannot just go and help someone, if you do they could end up hurting you."* Most of the men attested that they will not help people if they were getting beaten for fear of reprisal attack. They added that even if their neighbour was hitting his partner, they will not come to the woman's aid so they are not termed as having an affair with the woman.

> *"When you enter, thats maybe when he will kill that lady*
> *or he will probably think that there is something that you*
> *are doing with…it's not easy, you go and intervene and*
> *the man asks you, are you her lover?"* Tumisho, 25 years old, unemployed

From the men who had experienced non-partner violence first hand or witnessed violence, they explained the use of weapons such as guns, clubs and knives. When asked if they will intervene if witnessing intimate partner violence, most of them said they will not, for fear of reprisal attacks. For intimate partner violence, the men were concerned about intervening in a couple's fight which they perceived could appear as meddling in other people's affairs; according to Boniface, *"they say these are things happening in camera. They are in camera in their own house.*" Worse still, in some instances, intervening in a domestic violence situation could raise suspicions of an affair between them and the woman. Intervening is also particularly dangerous because the man could be a gang-member. The mistaken assumption that because you intervened, you are having an affair with the woman becomes extra dangerous in this case. Bernard stated that *"you cannot just go and help someone, if you do they could end up hurting you."* The men had seen too many cases of men who were waylaid for intervening in violent situations, they perceived there was always reprisal attacks.

The other angle to this discussion was the perception among some of the men who had witnessed women beating their male partner. Insisting they will not intervene, the men perceived their intervention would give an impression that they were supporting the man's actions. Themba explained that he had seen a man being beaten by his wife because he was drinking too much and using housekeeping money for alcohol. He did not intervene because the woman might assume he was her husband's drinking friend.

> *"It is not easy for me to go running into the situation because when I get involved that lady will assume that her man was spending that money with me, so I would be to blame, why she does not get money to buy deodorant and such things, so the situation turns on you."*-Themba, 25 years old, unemployed

The men also explained that rather than intervene in violence between intimate couples, the community will inquire from the man what the woman did. Once he says she cheated on him, community members will encourage him to beat her more. They explained that some persons in Diepsloot perceived infidelity on the part of the woman as a justifiable reason to get beaten by her man. Sandile explained it this way: *"They do not react, it is normal. They would*

probably ask what she did and call her an old whore. If they find that she was cheating, they advise the man to beat her further." The community frowned upon women who cheat and saw it as punishable by beating at the least without verification of authenticity of the story. One of the respondents, Mpho, said he usually got wild when drunk and would be a nuisance to people. He explained how the people at the tavern instructed for him to be beaten to get him to behave himself. He said: *"take myself for an instance, I have been a nuisance and people are annoyed with me. When I get into a fight, people will say yes! Teach him a lesson let him get beaten and roughed up a bit."*

The absence or lack of a lot of police personnel was also decried as another reason why violence goes without interventions. There was a perception among men on violence happening without police intervention.

> "*Police stations have become unfriendly, they would find you crying and they will just look at you. You would find them looking at you, pretending to be listening, once you are done they tell you to leave. But the matter has not yet been resolved.*"-Limpho, 46 years old, unemployed

Another reason some of the men gave for lack of intervention in violence was for the difference in ethnicity of the perpetrators and themselves. They felt this could expose them to xenophobic attacks.

> *"Sometimes when you try to stop it, you end up being in the middle of it. As we live here, there are different nations (foreign nationals), people group themselves, you can find that there are eight people from each nation moving together. If I am alone there is no way I can stop the abuse from happening and you'd find that they have had it in for us and they have been waiting for us to do something so they can beat us. So you can't stop it."* - Tatenda, 43 years old, employed

Some of the men however like Tatenda and Banda, did not agree with the notion of being afraid of reprisal attacks. They were more concerned about getting women out of "trouble". They were concerned about getting men or other community members involved in fights, out of "trouble". They maintained they would support and intervene during intimate partner violence. Some said they had mediated at times in issues of domestic violence when they

knew the man was calm and sober and would listen to them. In responding to whether he would intervene during violence or not, Tatenda compared the situation to when a shack was burning and people intervened to assist and get everyone and everything to safety. He believed he would intervene and '*not pretend as if nothing was going on*.'

3.8 ALCOHOL ABUSE

While most of the participants drank alcohol, narratives of the consequences of abusing alcohol (drinking too much and getting drunk) tended to be about other men who they had witnessed rather than themselves. Men provided examples of how abusing alcohol affected the peace of the neighbourhood. They associated alcohol intake with both partner and non-partner violence in Diepsloot and viewed alcohol abuse by both men and women as a trigger that led to the escalation of violence. Several men had seen occasions where drunken men had broken into a brawl which led to the death of one or more persons. Some had witnessed where alcohol abuse had led to accidents.

> *These places are violent. Someone came back drunk. People were dancing and dancing on the street. The driver was speeding, he could not see, he was drunk. He crashed into a house and killed five people. He ran away and left his friend. The friend was caught and beaten to death then they burnt the quantum (taxi).* -Sam, 36 years old, snack vendor

Some of the men had experienced first-hand, the perpetration of violence. Tatenda, Mpho, Sandile, George and Limpho had been victims of male-on-male violence which was perpetrated by persons who had drunk heavily. Tatenda in his case had been out drinking with a woman and four men. On their way back, they were accosted by some men who were also drunk but were clearly angry at him for going out with 'their girl'. He was shot in the process.

> *"As the four of us went down the street, the guy approached us around 9pm. It was the 25th (pay day), as we come around the corner, there was someone approaching us. I was also drunk…all I heard was 'hands-up!' and there was a gun pointed to my head. The guy told me he would shoot me, I told him to do so and to my surprise, he did. He shot me on the chest twice. I fell into the river.* - Tatenda, 43 years old, unemployed

Participants distanced themselves from drunkenness and blamed drunken violence on other men who could not 'control' how they drink. While using other men as example of drunkenness they explained how the abuse of alcohol was something used as an escape mechanism to forget worries, some perceived it as a medium that gives some men the boldness to abuse their wife or face difficult situations. One of the men shared how he drank alcohol to get away from problems or used it to face his partner when trying to 'solve' issues. In Themba's words, *"Beer...You tell yourself I will show her today, then carry on drinking. You get your liquid courage to go and confront her. You go to her drunk with an intention of doing something.*"

Sylvester explained that some other men saw it as the reason for acting under the influence and perpetrating violence. '*When they are sober, they are ok. When they start drinking everything goes wrong'* said Sylvester a 37-year-old unemployed man. Some of the men described alcohol intake as the reason '*why money finished in the hands of some men quickly'* which caused tension in homes and led to fights. According to Ben, he said some men have "*difficult financial situation in the house, yet they manage to get money to drink."* In Gilson's words, he said *"they end up buying alcohol with the little money they have, they just waste money."* Intake of alcohol was linked to perpetration of crime such as rape, petty and armed theft, mugging, gang-fights and intimate and non-partner sexual violence.

While some others saw the intake of alcohol as the problem, some of the men differed in their point of view and described it as predisposing people to being violated. For instance, Mafeni a 37-year-old employed man explained that some of the perpetrators of non-partner violence in Diepsloot, capitalize on drunk people's vulnerability.

> *"Thieves break into drunk people's houses and start searching their clothes for money, they sometimes get hurt. There are serious cases of when people get hurt when their drunk."*- Mafeni, 37 years old, employed

Most of the men perceived that 'taverns are a big problem' and that Diepsloot has 'lost control' on the way and manner taverns were opened. While some were of this opinion, others like Tatenda thought taverns may remain but there should be a restriction to opening

and closing hours. He perceived this might reduce the rate of violence perpetrated by drunk people and against drunk people:

> *"In my view…I think the problem lies where they sell alcohol. If they can limit the accessibility in those places, for instance, if all alcohol outlets can close by 5pm, I think it will reduce the amount. The frequency in which men abuse women would reduce if strict measures were taken…"*- Tatenda, 43 years old, employed

He felt that placing a restriction on opening hours, would prevent people who set out early to get drunk from doing so; and closing the taverns early would allow people go back to the safety of their homes before nightfall when crime is perpetrated under the cover of darkness.

Some of the men in the discussions mentioned that young people see sale of alcohol as a viable means of livelihood in Diepsloot.

> *"In this stage, when a person buys a house, especially here in the township. They think of nothing but a tavern (opening a tavern). They think of nothing else but that. Children start thinking that a way of making money lay within the taverns."*- Edward, 48, employed

They also decried the lack of age-limit for the sale and consumption of alcohol. They explained the sale of alcohol to underage persons without recourse to a consideration that they are minors. The men alluded to the fact that increasingly, young people were getting into the habit of drinking and getting drunk.

According to several of the men, the use and abuse of drugs was another factor that exacerbates violence in Diepsloot. They were concerned that more people were under the influence of an intoxicant in Diepsloot. Several men explained that the use of an intoxicant such as *Nyaope* was another reason for violence perpetration. In their perception, *Nyaope* was an addictive drug that was very common in the townships of South Africa. *"We also have problems with drug use, Nyaope is a problem."* Sylvester described *Nyaope* as a local drug mixed with Ratax™*, antiretroviral (ARV) and some other drugs that are easily obtainable in Diepsloot as well as other township locations.

He explained that sometimes people take this drug and steal or get stolen from. The perception of the men in Diepsloot on the use of drugs was one which expressed concern at the rising spate of drug abuse amongst the old and young; but especially young people. Some of the men perceived that the lack of jobs and initiatives for small scale business was partly the reason for drunkenness and drug use. They perceived that government should create small scale businesses to keep people busy and occupied so much so, if they drink, *'they don't forget who they are.'*

**Trademark*

CHAPTER 4 DISCUSSION

In this study, I explored perceptions of men in Diepsloot on intimate partner violence, being a man and how peri-urban context contributes towards men's use of violence against women. The men taking part in the research had a common story of battling with unemployment, poverty, insecurity and dire living conditions while grappling with societal expectations of their role as men. The most prominent of this male gender role expectation was of provision for the family. Men in Diepsloot also have very strong beliefs about women's roles in the society especially around their intimate partners and even stronger expectations that women must adhere to these roles. The men in Diepsloot perceived that there was a strong legal framework supportive of women who experience IPV. However, they perceived that some women in Diepsloot are denied access to justice due to poor police intervention.

4.1 DRIVERS FOR VIOLENCE PERPETRATION

My findings signify that violence perpetration is often perceived as a normal and unavoidable occurrence in an intimate relationship. The influences that make IPV normal are situated within and beyond the individual. Men's personal beliefs and gender attitudes were identified as drivers for violence perpetration. Men who believed that women were unequal to men and who held strongly to masculine hegemony were more inclined to view IPV as normal. At the interpersonal level, drivers such as poor communication where couples could not discuss nor deliberate on issues emerged. Men who saw women as unequal did not consider it necessary to discuss and meaningfully deliberate on issues with their partner. If communications ensued, they were not mutually respectful. A further linkage between the individual and interpersonal levels was the gendered division of labour or expectations of roles and responsibilities in the household (Coltrane, 2000). Women who did not fulfil the expectations of these roles in the views of men, such as perceived neglect of children, justified the use of violence. This is corroborated by studies in South Africa that intimate partner violence is justified for women who did not fulfil household expectations on carrying out domestic chores(Wood, 2001). Some studies in South Africa have also found that, men who believe that women are unequal to men, are prone to using violence in intimate relationships (Jewkes et al., 2002). Furthermore, a few studies in South Africa, found that women could associate signs of love with violence perpetration(Shefer and Foster, 2009, Strebel et al., 2006). We also found community perceptions that condone IPV and other factors such as unemployment, low-level education and poor living conditions. All these cut across social strata as evident in the socio-ecological model as applied by (Heise, 1998b, Heise, 2011b). In

congruence with the socio-ecological model, the results of this research connect; individual, familial, communal and societal influences on men's perception of their manhood and violence perpetration.

4.1.1. INDIVIDUAL LEVEL INFLUENCES IPV

In this research, men expressed experiencing violence in childhood either directly or indirectly. Experiences of childhood violence include, beating, corporal punishment, witnessing violence from father to mother or from in-law to sibling. Participants explained how they were beaten as children, verbally and/or physically abused.

The individual level of the ecological framework for violence refers to individual experiences of the men such as violence in childhood and certain attitudes towards violence, characterized by harsh physical punishment, witnessing parental violence, attitudes, accepting of violence to resolve conflict, accepting of IPV, gender hierarchical attitudes, alcohol abuse and unemployment (Ali and Naylor, 2013). Most of the men spoke about their experience of childhood violence with regret. This has been found in other settings, such as the US where experience of childhood violence is seen as a cycle and possibly even inter-generationally transmitted from childhood to adulthood. (Widom and Wilson, 2015).

Most of the men in Diepsloot were financially constrained. In this study, the extent to which a man could cater for his family was used by the men themselves to gauge their role and effectiveness as men and provider. It is worthy of note that if men perceived that their role as head of household was unrecognized or ineffective, they were more disposed to perpetrating intimate partner violence. This relates with the findings of several studies which reported that men do not consider themselves man enough unless they have met the needs of their family, especially that of their children (Abramsky et al., 2011, Garcia Moreno et al., 2006, Heise and Garcia-Moreno, 2002, Heise and Kotsadam, 2015). Findings show that individual level factors like childhood experiences, and men's upbringing interacted with interpersonal factors like the strength of the emotional ties in intimate relationship and community level factors like men's economic circumstances, social norms, and societal expectations. These factors had an influence on how men perceived masculinity and fatherhood. This is linked to the findings of the Plantin et al. (2003) study conducted in Sweden and England to gauge how fatherhood was constructed in intimate relationships and in the background of external systemic influences. Men linked masculinity with how well they could take care of their

children's needs, provide for them and give them what they (the fathers) did not have as children. These include education, taking them to children's recreational centers to play, buying snacks and toys for the children. Some men did not consider punishment as a viable source of parenting, rather, they sought to be relational rather than confrontation with their children (Marsiglio and Pleck, 2005). It was worthy of note that men rated their own masculinity, what it meant to be a man and fatherhood on a scale that tilted back and forth over how happy they make their children and if their children looked up to them or not, (Dolan, 2014). The inability to meet the needs due to certain constraints, such as unemployment or low paying jobs, resulted in frustrations usually meted out on their partner (Krishnan et al., 2010).

This perception of a failure in their role as men in turn exacerbated aggression and abuse not only toward their intimate partners but to others in the community. This finding is similar with the research findings of (VanderEnde et al., 2015) in Bangladesh where intimate partner violence against women was associated with household income. Worthy of note is the fact that men who fell short were prone to abuse from their partners too, a finding that echoes other literatures such as (Flood and Pease, 2009, Gilchrist et al., 2015, Hayes and Boyd, 2016, Hayes and van Baak, 2016, Jakobsson et al., 2013, Costa et al., 2016); which have found that women verbally and sometimes physically violated their intimate partner due to their inability to provide for them and the family.

Alcohol/substance use and previous experience of abuse are predictors of intimate partner violence (Cummings et al., 2013). Alcohol and substance abuse were evident factors for the perpetration of IPV as has been reported elsewhere (El-Bassel et al., 2005). Alcohol and substance abuse are factors that may increase vulnerability of women and men to experiencing violence (Boles and Miotto, 2003, Lesch and Adams, 2016, Romero-Martinez et al., 2015, Sprunger et al., 2015). According to Kavanaugh (2013), the act of preying on drunk individuals is referred to as opportunistic predation for violence. People sometimes identify people's vulnerable moments such as when being drunk or 'high' on substances to steal from them or sexually violate them, (Lesch and Adams, 2016, Tinkler et al., 2016, Wilson et al., 2017).

In addition, the discussions elicited responses that perceived love as an indicator for perpetrating intimate partner violence. The men during the discussions explained that a

woman who was not beat up in her husband's house is not loved nor cherished. It was considered that a marker for a man to show deep love and affection for his spouse was through beating or forced sex, which is similar to a study conducted in Kwazulu-Natal where boys held a positive view about forced sex than girls since they associated it more often with signs of love (Sathiparsad, 2005).

4.1.2 INTERPERSONAL LEVEL FACTORS

At the interpersonal level, I examined relational triggers for intimate partner violence. Among reasons identified are; poor communication, high relationship conflict, infidelity, division of labour, female challenge of male authority.

Poor partner communication has emerged as a challenge in intimate relations and this leads to intimate partner violence as a means of venting anger and frustrations. In my study, men alluded to not being able to communicate and tell their partner their feelings, or to express what makes them angry or even happy. Also, men who posited that they engaged in discussions with their spouse did so with an upper hand in the discussion while talking down on the woman and handing out rules and regulations. This finding is similar to other studies which report that spousal communication can be crucial to emotional triggers in intimate relationships (Finkel et al., 2013). The study explores what couples talk about, how they express themselves to each other and how this can trigger emotions that either foster happiness or emotional trauma. In line with findings of this research in Diepsloot, which is corroborated by other studies such as (Conroy, 2014, Hatcher et al., 2014b); spousal communication is crucial in intimate relationships. Poor communication in relationships may result in consequences such as IPV.

My findings that IPV is linked to interpersonal dynamics between men and women about control of household income is supported by other studies. Women who were financially deprived, who demanded for equity and a change in the household financial propriety of their spouse were seen as confrontational (Goodman et al., 2009). On the other hand, men felt threatened by women who earned some income and felt her economic control and freedom warranted some measures to tame her. This also meant that she could not perform her normative role of full time housewife and mother. This resulted in some men performing roles within the household which were traditionally those of women. This switch in roles put

pressure on the man from the community as though he were failing in his position as a man, especially when he did not have a steady source of income. Other studies have found that in Iran, Weitzman (2014), Mexico, Terrazas-Carrillo and McWhirter (2015) and Bangladesh, a strong predicator for the perpetration of violence is the financial independence of the women especially when the man is unemployed or has low earnings. The threat of losing face within the community due to financial handicap, pressure to exert his authority and regain his perceived rapidly slipping position as a man, is a reason for perpetrating IPV (Schuler et al., 1998).

Extra-marital affairs emerged from the discussions as a trigger for perpetrating IPV. It was incomprehensible to the men how a cheating woman could be tolerated. Findings from Gibbs et al. (2014c), found that men believed that a cheating woman should be beaten. The men in the Gibbs' study saw infidelity from a woman as a slight on manhood which should be met with IPV (Gibbs et al., 2014c). During discussions, they made it explicit that a woman's infidelity was viewed as spite on her partner which can only be restored by intimate partner violence. In a study conducted in Brazil and the United States of America, violence perpetrated due to perceived infidelity on the part of the woman was considered appropriate to restore honour and the dignity of the man (Vandello and Cohen, 2003). According to the men in Diepsloot, it was a way to prove his manliness and intolerance of unfaithfulness. This research finding also showed that men perceived that a man must be able to monitor his partner's movements, read her chats, scrutinize her call records; and the inability to do this probably due to his partners defiance, frustrates the man and thus justifies IPV.

Discussions with the men in Diepsloot also focused on perceived partner infidelity as a recourse for IPV perpetration. The men in Diepsloot viewed infidelity as a trigger for IPV and also as retaliation. Retaliation for what they perceived the woman did wrong or to retaliate for her infidelity. Also, men felt they could cheat on their partner without recourse to what society would say; in fact, they opined that the virility of a man was in the number of sexual partners he had. This is similar to the findings of Hatcher et al. (2013b) in Kenya where the predicator for IPV was spousal infidelity. The men in Diepsloot considered women who had more than one sexual partner as loose or wayward and could get beat up in public without any anyone intervening. Consideration of unfaithful women as wayward and deserving of IPV was a key finding in the study of reasons for IPV in Russia (Stickley et al., 2008).

Some of the interviewees perceived that a woman's role was to do domestic duties in the household. They thought that a woman, who fell short of her intimate partner's expectations of her domestic duties and responsibilities such as child neglect and not cooking on time, was considered "deserving" of IPV. Studies on the risk factors for IPV perpetration against women in 17 Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, depicted an approximate 62% of men believed a woman's neglect of household duties (especially perceived child neglect), was a strong determinant to perpetrate violence on her (Uthman et al., 2009a). The link between child neglect, household duties, perceived neglect of ideal feminine household roles reflected strongly on IPV perpetration in many settings (Gideon, 2016). According to the men in this study, the neglect of 'feminine duties' in a nuptial relationship was compared to contesting/trying to wrestle for leadership and authority (Dobash and Dobash, 1979). The neglect of duties depicted that the woman did not know her place in the relationship and was deemed as warranting a beating to set "her right". In addition, the woman's inability to perform her normative role due to her career, in a household where the men held traditional gender roles very strongly was a reason for IPV (Villarreal, 2007).

An interesting twist at alcohol use was when men alluded to their intentional use of alcohol to perpetrate premeditated intimate partner violence. They perceived it as a required intoxicant to be able to beat a woman without remorse which is similar to findings in (Abramsky et al., 2011, Cunradi, 2009).

4.1.3 Community level determinants of IPV

Factors acting at the community level are norms that accept wife beating and which subtly impose male rights to control a wife's behaviour. Discussions on gender norms that accept or promote wife beating were discussed with the men in Diepsloot. Acceptance of IPV, and gender norms that accept wife beating as a sign of love and as a means of asserting authority came out strongly in discussions with men.

Men who consider themselves superior to women and unequal to women are more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence (Mathews et al., 2014). Some men understand intimate partner violence to be the only way for a woman to respect and obey the man. Men in Diepsloot perceived that unless a woman is beaten, she will not know her place in her home,

nor will she understand the man's authority. Men's exertion of authority and portrayal of being in control was very evident in an article that reviewed studies on reasons for male perpetration of intimate partner violence, (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2012). The researchers suggest that men's position of authority comes with the traditional role of being provider for the family's financial, material and shelter needs. Langhinrichsen's finding is corroborated by the findings of this study where men in Diepsloot feel strongly about their role of authority and as sole household provider. A shortfall in meeting this expectation results in frustration and anger which leads to IPV and other forms of violence (Kalra and Bhugra, 2013, Dworkin et al., 2013b). This notion of cultural acceptance of violence was depicted in a WHO study across countries in Africa, where norms encouraged and accepted spousal violence as normal (WHO, 2009). In Diepsloot, although the men were from various places within South Africa or from other countries, there was a notion of masculinity which was linked to a similarity in gender norms granting men control over women's behaviours. The notion of control was invariably connected to entitlement to respect, male dominance, cultural acceptance and prescription of IPV, male dominance.

Within the extensions in Diepsloot it was generally perceived as intrusion to interfere in a couple's fight as found in other South African studies. Intimate partner violence especially physical abuse was considered to be private by the male participants. They fear being branded as the woman's lover or to be attacked for interfering in domestic issues. This practice of non-interference by neighbours and community members is perceived to give men the impression that there was no consequence for committing both IPV and male to male violence. The men also had a mix of fear and trepidation of reprisal attacks from the male spouse for interfering in his domestic issues. The poor response of neighbours to IPV is evident in a study conducted in Canada, where neighbours knew about the existence of IPV but did not intervene neither did they speak up against it. This led to the perpetration of IPV with the foreknowledge that no one will intervene (Lant, 2014).

According to studies conducted in the United States of America (USA), women who were undocumented were unable to access social safety nets and this predisposed them to IPV (Adams and Campbell, 2012). Men who knew there were no community safety nets for women who were victims of violence, perpetrated IPV at will without constraints (Adams and Campbell, 2012). There were also indications that the police were greatly influenced by

their beliefs that IPV is a tool for discipline (Pienaar, 2017). This made them perceive intimate partner violence as a domestic issue which women should resolve by "behaving properly." In instances when women reported at the police station, the police either told them to go home and seek to understand their spouse. This portrayed to the men that policemen in Diepsloot do not take the issue of responding to IPV seriously. In Pienaar's study in South Africa, police were seen to trivialize IPV by sending women away from accessing available IPV services. During the study period, a policeman in the control police station had shot and killed his own wife (Pienaar, 2017).

On the other hand, some men felt threatened by the laws in South Africa protecting women from violence and abuse and felt women just use any opportunity to put them in trouble with the law. Some of the men felt the need to assert their authority and made it clear how they ruled their homes. The notion of equality was not practiced in their households. Therefore, in extensions within Diepsloot where police presence and intervention is very poor, men perpetrate violence against women knowing they will not be arrested, nor judged by the policy of gender equality. This is similar a study conducted in Bristol and found that police response to IPV was overwhelmingly negative (Segrave et al., 2017). However, Gracia et al. (2014), found that the response of police in Spain was favourable towards women in intimate and non-intimate partner violence than to violence perpetrated against other groups.

According to Dobash and Dobash (1979), feminist sociologists believed that gender, unequal and inequitable power relations are responsible for the perpetration of intimate partner violence. Feminists suggest gender norms that justify domination and control also justify maleness, power, dominion over women and are reasons for perpetrating IPV. These gender norms give men power, value, control and completely place women in positions less than and in total submission to the will of men. This theory fits my data as the discussions with men who held strongly to positions of masculinity admitted to having perpetrated IPV. In line with these findings in Diepsloot, several studies have found that norms that promote patriarchy and masculine hegemony also justify IPV. A review of several interventions in the study of Dworkin et al. (2013b) depicted that the higher men's acceptance of patriarchal norms, the higher their chances of perpetrating IPV. While findings from Gallagher and Parrott (2011a) state that men who hold very strongly to hegemonic masculinity were *'hostile to women*' and this hostility to women perpetuates IPV. We also found that social norms which are patriarchal, give total control to men. This corroborates the findings of Hatcher et al. (2013b)

where men who felt they were losing control of their place of dominance and authority within the home had used IPV to re-assert their authority. To re-assert authority, we found in Diepsloot that men perceived aggression towards intimate partners as a means of "proving" themselves as men to themselves and the community. This is similar to the findings of Lisco et al. (2015) where men who held on to masculine hegemonic beliefs and toughness norms, were physically aggressive towards their female intimate partner. Apart from wife beating and sexual violence, in my study, sending her back to her parents, banning her from formal work and cheating on her were ways men exerted their position as head of the household. These findings are like the reports of (Allen and Devitt, 2012, Flood and Pease, 2009, Jakobsson et al., 2013, Mosavel et al., 2012, Stanley et al., 2012, Strebel et al., 2006, Usta et al., 2013) in their studies of men's perceptions about domestic violence, the notion of control was something the men held at community level.

Community male-to-male violence in Diepsloot cannot go without mention, where violence is premeditated by revenge, substance abuse, criminal motives and gangsterism, (Kiss et al., 2015b). Social disorder and exposure to community non-intimate partner violence can be applied in the context of increasing knowledge on reasons for IPV perpetration (Raghavan et al., 2006). The contextual situation that characterizes men's daily living in Diepsloot is one that exposes them to violence perpetration and victimization. Poverty, dire living conditions in a low-income settlement with lack of basic amenities may fuel intimate partner violence (Slabbert, 2016). Several studies suggest that low-income families contend with domestic violence, while poverty in most of the cases acts as a fuelling factor (Slabbert, 2016, Goodman et al., 2009, Jewkes, 2002, Schneider et al., 2016).

Men who engage in more communal fights or who live in violence prone environments were likely to be perpetrators of IPV (Kiss et al., 2015b, Lisco et al., 2015, Ozaki and Otis, 2016). In recent times, scholars have successfully related social disorder within contexts to incidences of IPV. Intimate and non-partner violence does not happen in silos, it is a result of several factors which include living in environments with high crime, witnessing violence, being an offender, or being a victim of violent crimes or outbursts (Raghavan et al., 2006). In communities where violence is rife and is perceived as a normal way of life, it becomes like an unwritten standard practice for disputes to be settled with a violent approach. Thus violence inadvertently becomes normalized as a dispute settlement tool (Raghavan et al., 2006).

Based on discussions with the men in Diepsloot, a lot of non-partner violence occurs in the settlement. Violent crimes predispose men to unfavourable situations of having to defend themselves against crimes, perpetrating violence to get out of a violent incident and drug/ alcohol abuse. Men burst into violent outbursts or result to physical violence due to trauma of recent experience or exposure to violence (Stith et al., 2011). It is considered that IPV is an offshoot for maintaining control in intimate relationships while communal violence is a stamp of masculinity and an affirmation of maleness within the community (Raghavan et al., 2006).

4.2 STUDY LIMITATIONS

I am cognizant that being a young woman who is not South African and who is restricted by not speaking the local languages was a limitation in this study. This was a barrier to conducting the interviews and to being a note taker. In addition, in-depth interviews require the presence of only the participant and the interviewer. This did not adversely affect the findings of the study but it was a limitation that the researcher could not physically see the body language and non-verbal communication of the participants. Also, it may have led to a literal interpretation of the data rather than understanding the nuance within the narratives. My absence during the interviews did not give an opportunity to revise questions based on evolving discussions with the men. An example is the non-inclusion of questions that seek to probe into the sexual violence history of the men (as victims). This would have shed some light on a possible relationship between being a victim of sexual violence in childhood and the perpetration of sexual violence as an adult. Mental health and trauma would also have been key topics during the discussion if I were part of the interviews. Also, I analysed the data alone without a second researcher. This would have aided in-depth analysis and insight that comes with two researchers independently conducting an analysis of the same data. Lastly, the number of men interviewed (n=21) may be a limitation although the research approached saturation with participants starting to reflect on the same themes. Another limitation was not to have interviewed women on their perspectives on hegemonic masculinities and how manhood is asserted and guaranteed. This may have helped to understand nuances of some of the gender norms this study identified (Jewkes et al., 2002, Wood, 2001, Shefer and Foster, 2009).

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this study, I explored men's perceptions of IPV perpetration, and how a peri-urban context contributes towards men's use of violence against women. I analyzed the in-depth interviews using an adapted version of ecological model for intimate partner violence (Heise, 1998b, Heise, 2011b, McLeroy et al., 1988). The model reviewed intimate partner violence from the perspective of men, their relational, communal and macrosocial spheres.

The findings of this study suggest that men accept partner violence as a viable means to resolving conflict. I discovered that violence in childhood, characterized by harsh physical punishment, witnessing parental violence were strong predicators for intimate partner violence. The findings suggest that gender hierarchical or transitional attitudes were also some of the triggers for men's perpetration of intimate partner violence. Men's abuse of alcohol was considered by the men as a reason for violence perpetration when they were under its influence and some of them alluded to intentionally using alcohol to perpetrate violence. Unemployment and its attendant frustrations was another reason for intimate partner violence.

Poor communication, conflict in relationship, sexual infidelity and perceived inequitable division of labour are perceived reasons for perpetrating intimate partner violence. Also, male drinking, female challenge to male authority, failure to meet gender role expectations all allude to men's perceived reasons for perpetrating intimate partner violence. Men hold very strongly traditional gender constructions on expectations of women's roles in the society. In the distributions of these roles and expectations, men have the upper hand and wield higher authority. These roles are restrictive of women's ability to have agency and place men in the helm of household affairs such as being the breadwinner of the family. This expectation of a man being the breadwinner is usually accompanied by prestige and authority, since the bread winner has an upper hand over domestic goings-on while the woman is expected to undertake domestic chores such as house cleaning and child rearing. However, due to poor economic situation in Diepsloot and the economic constraints of people's lives, women are sometimes forced to undertake menial tasks in multiple places. Aggression and anger due to the man's inability to take control of his household by being the sole provider, is meted out on the spouse. While IPV is perpetrated to wield power and control, it may also be used as a tool to cover up inadequacies and shortcomings, especially of societal expectations. Some cultures expect the man to employ violence in asserting his position in the family. It is expected of a woman to be fully understanding when the man is unable to meet up to his role as

breadwinner and if possible support him. A woman who is violent against her husband for falling short of his duties is usually considered aggressive and unsupportive. However, it is considered normative for a man to perpetrate IPV against a woman who falls short of her role as a woman, mother and wife. Marital expectations also include wife beating as an indication for staying long in the man's house. As described in the study, there may be acceptance in some settings for a woman to be beaten, hit, slapped, kicked by her husband. It is perceived as a sign that she will last long in the marriage. In some settings gender norms condone violence from persons who are considered higher in authority or have dominance (Gibbs et al., 2015). This was evident in the study when men used the example of their cultural tolerance of violence to justify its perpetration. The dynamics of power, perceived to be a man's stamp of an upper hand in relationships gave credence to the use of violence when it was slipping off or being wrestled for, by the woman in the relationship. The men I encountered during this study in Diepsloot were accustomed to either perpetrating violence to wield authority or had witnessed it being used severally by other men in intimate relationships. IPV in relationships festers due to inequality in relationships, economic inequality, perception that women are inferior, women subordination, masculinity, men's sole decision making in the household, alcohol and drug abuse (men and women).

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1.1 SYSTEMS THINKING AS AN APPROACH FOR IPV PREVENTION

This research report has highlighted issues that men have identified as triggers for IPV. These triggers are as multi-level, socially, as they are multi-sectoral. The triggers as deduced within the context of Diepsloot are cross cutting and will require multi-level responses. It is therefore imperative to consider that if the reasons for perpetrating violence are multi-layered and multi-sectoral, so must be the response. There has been evidence based recommendations on interventions that can help achieve very reduced perpetration of violence. One of such suggestions was adopting systems thinking and an integrated approach to IPV reduction and response (Gilchrist et al., 2015). Programmers must approach IPV prevention from the angle of deliberate interventions that address IPV using systems thinking approach Richmond (1987) with a focus on integrated development. According to Richmond (1987), "***Systems Thinking*** *is the art and science of making reliable inferences about behavior by developing an increasingly deep understanding of underlying structure."* If

systems thinking is adopted for the prevention of intimate partner violence against women, it could shift focus from the perpetration of IPV to the ecological level rather than focus on triggers at individual level which lead some men to perpetrate violence. Systems thinking approaches intimate partner violence from the perspective of a deeper understanding of behaviour. Integrated development approaches IPV through an intentional integrated approach to design, delivery, implementation and evaluation.

5.1.2 Combination interventions

This involves holistic, all-encompassing multi-sectoral interventions, which include economic enrichment activities and initiatives; such as agriculture, financial management, skills acquisition, soft loans/ village savings loans, home gardening, vocational skill acquisition, life building skills for men to address anger issues, poor communication skills, low self-esteem and harmful gender norms discussion with a view to gradually shift towards the adoption of new norms. This is important as findings from this study depict a strong connection from economic hardship and adherence to the practice of harmful gender norms as causal factors for perpetrating IPV. Interventions should also adopt the socio-ecological model approach in planning interventions. Interventions designed from a socio-ecological lens are cognizant of individual, household, community and policy level factors for identifying reasons for and preventing intimate partner violence. Strategies to improving housing and economic strengthening may also be adopted through lobbying to the South African government. Supporting the men of Diepsloot to advocate for improved housing and general living conditions is key. This can be applied through cohort sessions that focus on life skills, effective communication, including advocacy and social mobilization. Economic strengthening activities will support men to acquire income generating skills. It may be beneficial for Diepsloot to have a rehabilitation center, where men can uptake rehabilitations services such as psychological counselling for emotional and behavioural issues.

5.1.3 Counselling, psychosocial and peer support

Interventions may also adopt drug and alcohol-use counselling, psychosocial support (PSS) and recreational sporting facilities (which may be collectively homegrown by the men). In addition, engaging men in the community as champions for change has proven to be a viable means of IPV prevention. An intervention that gives men exclusive opportunity to share is

during men only exclusive meetings, where they can discuss issues that affect them as men and provide moral support for each other.

5.1.4 Mentorship and Spiritual support

Mentorship initiatives may also be adopted. This intervention pairs men who are struggling with IPV perpetration with role-models who have gone through struggles with emotional issues and have found ways of shifting focus from it to more productive ventures. Based on the discussions with the men, some alluded to receiving spiritual and psychosocial support from spiritual leaders. This opportunity may be harnessed to include spiritual leaders in providing spiritual support to men in Diepsloot.

5.1.5 Small group modelling

The role of fathers in child upbringing through small group modelling should also be emphasized so that men are more conscious of the effect they have on their children and how this can make them supporters or champions against IPV. Modelling sessions may take place during small group discussions, with a male champion facilitating the session.

5.1.6 Police re-orientation

Based on the overwhelming evidence of poor police response to IPV and the possible influence of the police in preventing and responding to intimate partner violence, an orientation of police officers on human rights, mediation and resolution may be an approach for engaging the police. Programmers may design interventions to support the Police force to designate/strengthen domestic violence desks for response to IPV.

5.1.7 Mental health interventions that address childhood abuse/trauma

Interventions that reach out to men who experienced childhood abuse and/or trauma are critical to understanding reasons for violence perpetration. These interventions will also aid the recovery process of men's mental health. Community interventions can also foster linkages with mental health specialists to provide mental health services. This might contribute to the reduction of IPV.

5.1.8 IMPROVED MULTI-SECTORAL REFERRALS

Interventions may be designed to form a nucleus of prevention and responses to IPV. This entails designing/strengthening referral mechanisms that cut across; health for medical post GBV care, social services for psychosocial support, safe spaces where men can speak of their struggles and frustrations, grassroot initiatives for economic empowerment.

5.1.9 INTENSIFIED TARGETED INTERVENTIONS AT MEN

Women have been provided education on systems that can provide justice for the victim and judgment for the perpetrator (Bott et al., 2005). However, in South Africa a few interventions have targeted men with the aim of addressing violence and mitigating the impact of hegemonic masculinities on women, such as, *Stepping Stones and One Man Can* (Peacock and Levack, 2004, Jewkes et al., 2006b, Dworkin et al., 2013b, van den Berg et al., 2013).

The *One Man Can* (OMC) intervention targeted improving the involvement of men in the lives of their children and generally their parenting skills Colvin (2009) and there were indications that the intervention was largely successful Colvin (2011). This is congruent with findings of Sherman (Sherman, 2009) where a study conducted among rural American men who lived in impoverished settings. The study found that men who could not provide financially and economically for their family, found some level of satisfaction and regained a sense of manhood by taking up caregiving roles for their children and spending more time with family. It was reported through qualitative research that positive change occurred among men who participated in the interventions such as enhanced involvement in the family and improved communication with their children (Dworkin et al., 2013a). The men described shifts in thinking especially around strong beliefs on their gender roles and expectations and could decide and communicate on informed health choices to other men (Fleming et al., 2015a). The One Man Can intervention can build on this success and equip more men and women with communication and conflict resolution skills. Helping men and women build relationship skills like improved and effective spousal communication has shown some level of reduction in intimate partner violence in settings such as Uganda and Rwanda (Starmann et al., 2017, Stern and Nyiratunga, 2017).

In addition, evaluations conducted on other programs such as *Stepping Stones* showed favourable outcomes; as men who participated in interventions had some level of shifts in thinking towards gender equity, perpetrated less intimate partner violence and reduced

engagement in transactional sex (Jewkes et al., 2008, Jewkes et al., 2006b, Peacock and Levack, 2004). These are positive indicators that interventions focused on shifting men's perception from harmful norms can be effective in reducing IPV and fostering improved relations with family. Community based interventions that provide education within a group should target both men and women on harmful norms such as the ones that perceive men as sole providers, which also discourages financial contribution for households and joint decision making for both women and men. These interventions at the community should seek to relax the norms and encourage a shift to adoption of gender fluid and friendly norms.

While it is best practice to isolate different types of violence and to understand their root causes Fleming et al. (2015a), it is important for interventions to not only address the occurrence of IPV but its triggers such as alcohol abuse, emotional disorders and cultural norms (Kiss et al., 2015b, Holmes et al., 1997). It is then not enough to identify a common ground along the triggers of IPV, but to use combination strategies to provide sustainable, long-lasting solutions to preventing and responding to intimate partner violence (Kiss et al., 2015b, Fleming et al., 2015a, Gilchrist et al., 2015).

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APPENDICES:

APPENDIX A: PLAGIARISM DECLARATION FORM

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG | FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCES

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED BY ALL HIGHER DEGREE STUDENTS

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY: APPENDIX ONE

I Tosin Akubu (Student number: 872349) am a student registered for the degree of MPH SBCC in the academic year 2014.

I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature: _____ Date: September 12, 2017

26/04/2015
1

APPENDIX B: ETHICS CERTIFICATE

R14/49 Ms Tosin Akibu et al

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE NO. M160136

NAME: (Principal Investigator)	Ms Tosin Akibu et al
DEPARTMENT:	Public Health Diepsloot, South Africa and Abuja, Nigeria
PROJECT TITLE:	Formative Research for Enhancing the Sonke Intervention to Prevent Violence Against Women: Men's Perceptions in Diepsloot, South Africa
DATE CONSIDERED:	29/01/2016
DECISION:	Approved
CONDITIONS:	South African Human Research Ethics Committees (HRECs) have no standing outside South Africa. Ethics approval is also required from local HRECs in Nigeria
SUPERVISOR:	Nicola Christofides and Abigail Hatcher
APPROVED BY:	Professor P Cleaton-Jones,Chairperson, HREC (Medical)
DATE OF APPROVAL:	15/08/2016

This clearance certificate is valid for 5 years from date of approval. Extension may be applied for.

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Research Office Secretary in Room 10004, 10th floor, Senate House/3rd Floor, Phillip Tobias Building, Parktown, University of the Witwatersrand. I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the above-mentioned research and I/we undertake to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated, from the research protocol as approved, I/we undertake to resubmit the application to the Committee. **I agree to submit a yearly progress report**. The date for annual re-certification will be one year after the date of convened meeting where the study was initially reviewed. In this case, the study was initially reviewed in January and will therefore be due in the month of January each year.

Principal Investigator Signature Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

APPENDIX C: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS OF IDI

Participant Information Leaflet and Informed consent to participate in the formative research

Formative research for enhancing interventions to prevent violence against women: men's perceptions in Diepsloot, South Africa

Every participant must receive, read and understand this document before any procedure of the study

*STUDY TITLE: "***Formative research for enhancing interventions to prevent violence against women: men's perceptions in Diepsloot, South Africa***"***

FUNDED BY: What Works Consortium (South African MRC)

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS: Nicola Christofides and Abigail Hatcher

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To a participant: this informed consent may contain words that you may not understand. Kindly ask study staff to explain these words or anything that you do not understand. You may go home with a copy that was not signed to think about it or discuss with family or friends before you decide.

DATE AND START TIME OF THE INFORMED CONSENT DISCUSSION

			:	
Date	**Month**	**Year**	**Time**	

Introduction:

Hi, my name is _____. I am working for the Wits School of Public Health. We are doing research on men's health and life experiences in order to test out a programme for improving men's intimate partnerships. This programme is run by Sonke and involves helping men to take action in their own lives and communities around men's use of violence.

Wits would like to invite you to participate in a qualitative interview today. That means we will have a normal conversation and I will ask about your views. We are talking to people knowledgeable about the Diepsloot area. The research will involve answering questions about your experiences and knowledge about the area.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Wits is part of a group of research scientists who are trying to test interventions to reduce violence against women and girls. We are trying to find ways to involve men in this work, and Sonke offers a promising model. The information you provide will help Sonke deliver the intervention. Before starting our work in Diepsloot, it is important to understand the local community. That is why we are talking to key stakeholders like you.

If you decide to participate in this project, your responses will help us to improve the way we study the Sonke project. Some of the questions relate to sensitive topics that some people find difficult to discuss. All the information you give is voluntary which means you are not obligated to participate. We are talking with people who deliver other Diepsloot interventions and professionals working nearby. We are also talking with men who take part in Sonke activities. The interview will take between 30 minutes and 1 hour. Your knowledge and insights will help us to improve our intervention and ultimately reduce men's use of violence.

As a researcher, I would like to make a sound recording of your conversation. After the discussion, someone will type a transcription of what is on the tape and will remove any mention of names. The sound recording will be stored for 2 years after the data is published or for 6 years if the data is not published. Recordings will be stored on password protected computers and only senior members of the study team will be able to access it. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to sign or make your mark on this document to make sure that you understand the study. You will be given a copy to keep.

Some of the topics we shall be discussing today include your Background, your knowledge and perceptions on gender norms, your perceptions of IPV and your perceptions on interventions for violence against women.

RISKS and/ or DISCOMFORTS:

We will be asking you questions about your professional or personal engagement with the issue of men's health and use of violence towards partners. We do not believe that these questions will cause you any distress. If for some reason you feel uncomfortable, you may choose not to answer or choose to stop participating in the discussion at any point. You may say as much as you are comfortable saying. If these questions cause you distress for any reason, we can refer you to a counsellor or other local services that can provide you with assistance.

The purpose of today's discussion is not to ask you about disciplining children. However, if we do learn about physical or sexual abuse towards children we are obligated by law to report it. Therefore, we ask you to kindly not discuss these issues during today's conversation.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS

There may be no direct benefits to you from this study. However, you and others may benefit in the future from research done in this study because we will learn more about addressing violence in this area.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION

There is no cost to you for being in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

We will not record your name or any other identifying information on any study documents other than this consent form. We have been trained to respect the privacy of participants and the information you provide us will remain confidential. All discussions take place in a private room and the information we collect will be stored in a locked cabinet and will only be accessed by the researchers in this study. After all names are removed, your interview may also be looked at by people from the What Works Consortium, Ethics Review Boards, and monitors/auditors. These people are trained to maintain confidentiality and would review your interview to ensure that the study is conducted to the highest quality. You will not be identified by name in any of the reports or publications of this study or its results.

If you have any further questions about this study, please contact the people listed below:

Nicola Christofides Principal Investigator Wits School of Public Health Education Campus, Parktown Tel: 011 717 2566 Mobile Number: 082 7748547	Abigail Hatcher Co-Principal Investigator Wits RHI, Hugh Solomon Building Esselen Street, Hillbrow Tel: 011 358 5403 Mobile Number: 084 406 7773

This study is conducted in accordance with the Department of Health Guidelines for the Good Practice in the Conduct of Clinical Trials in Human Participants in South Africa (2006), and has received ethical approval from the University of the Witwatersrand. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or complaints about the manner in which you were treated, or feel that study has caused you harm, please contact:
Prof. Peter Cleaton-Jones Chairperson for the Committee for Human Research Ethics Committee University of the Witwatersrand Tel: 011 717 2301

INFORMED CONSENT:

We would appreciate your participation and your insights are very important.

Do you have any questions about any of the information I have provided?

Yes_____ No_____

Do you understand you are not obligated to participate?

Yes_____ No_____

Do you agree to be interviewed?

Yes_____ No_____

To be completed by researcher:

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

A copy of this ICF has been provided to the participant.

Permission provided by participant for taking part in the interview

Signature of Volunteer:

Signature/mark or thumbprint		Date signed	dd	mm	yyyy
Print name		Time signed	:		

Signature of Witness: (if necessary)

Signature/mark or thumbprint		Date signed	dd	mm	yyyy
Print name		Time signed	:		

Signature of Study Staff taking consent:

Signature/mark or thumbprint		Date signed	dd	mm	yyyy
Print name		Time signed	:		

Permission provided by participant for recording of Interview

Signature of Volunteer:

Signature/mark or thumbprint		Date signed			
			dd	mm	yyyy
Print name		Time signed	:		

Signature of Witness: (if necessary)

Signature/mark or thumbprint		Date signed			
			dd	mm	yyyy
Print name		Time signed	:		

Signature of Study Staff taking consent:

Signature/mark or thumbprint		Date signed			
			dd	mm	yyyy
Print name		Time signed	:		

APPENDIX D: DISTRESS PROTOCOL

Distress protocol for Formative research for enhancing interventions to prevent violence against women: men's perceptions in Diepsloot, South Africa

A response protocol for incidences of trauma during the study

Introduction

This guide has been designed in accordance with international guidelines for the conduct of research around the perpetration of gender based violence. It is for the purpose of eventual incidences of trauma/distress both for the interviewer and the respondents. The research team upon ethical approval and prior to the commencement of the research, will identify and gather contacts of resources within Diepsloot and immediate environs where distress interventions may be offered. The team will contact the resources and notify of the research and possible referrals for interventions. In accordance to international guidelines, the interviewer will be careful to not use the phrase *perpetration of gender based violence*. Great considerations will be in place to ensure that the public does not perceive the research to be on perpetration of gender based violence.

Components of the protocol

- ✓ **Distress protocol for respondents**
- ✓ **Distress protocol for the interviewer/researcher**
- ✓ **Disclosure of gender based violence perpetration**

Distress protocol for respondents

The following have been concluded to be distress protocol for this research. The researcher has a duty of care towards the respondents. The researcher has undergone prior orientation in conducting research on gender based violence perpetration and is both aware and knowledgeable that perpetrators may also be victims and to look out for and respond to distress.

1. **Distress**
    a. Respondent may express discomfort
    b. The interviewer may notice behaviours that exhibit distress such as long pauses, emotional outburst, visible shaking or irrational behaviour

1.1 Plan A response:

1.1.1 Stop the interview immediately
1.1.2 Ask how the individual is feeling
1.1.3 Ask if there is anything you can do
1.1.3.1 Respond: I can help you with…OR I may not be able to help with this…
1.1.4 Ask if he is able to carry on with the interview.
1.1.4.1 If participant is able to carry on, proceed
1.1.4.2 If not…

1.2 Plan B response

1.2.1 Stop the interview

1.2.2 Inform the participant about immediate available resources and how they are aware and willing to assist
1.2.3 Allow the participant to decide whether to uptake services or not
1.2.4 If willing to uptake, assist to access the support
1.2.5 If unwilling, allow to leave or you leave
1.2.6 Follow-up with participant consent on a courtesy call to check up on them
1.2.7 You may also call or inform participant that he may call to let you how know how he is feeling within days of the interview

Distress protocol for the interviewer

The interviewer has extensive experience in conducting research around gender based violence and this particular research is less rigorous than others conducted. There will be scheduled debriefing sessions during data collection and analysis. Also during data collection, the team will individually, journal experiences which may include feelings, thoughts and observations. However in the course of probing during interviews and during analysis of data, there may be distress triggers for the interviewer/researcher. If this happens, the following will be the line of response.

2.1 Response for interviewer

2.1.1 Stop the session and you may excuse yourself or beckon to the rest of the research team for someone else to continue the interview

2.1.2 Request for help as required
2.1.3 You may not continue with that session and subsequent sessions
2.1.4 Access the available services

2.2 Response for researcher during analysis

2.2.1 Constant debriefing and feedback sessions with the rest of the team during analysis

Disclosure of gender based violence

The intent of this research is not to learn the details of gender based violence crimes. Rather, it is to understand the experiences of men with violence in the community. Nevertheless, in the course of the research, there may be an instance where perpetrated crimes or non-criminal forms of violence are disclosed.

3.1 Response

3.1.1 The researcher has been trained that all information disclosed during the interview is confidential.
3.1.2 If needed, the researcher may debrief the story with the manager, without disclosing details of who told the story.

3.1.3 Should participants require additional support for perpetrated or experienced violence, he can be referred to:

Lawyers against Abuse

Diepsloot Office (by police station)

Ella Kotze, Psychologist

087 150 7235

1. Draucker CB, Martsolf DS, Poole C. Developing distress protocols for research on sensitive topics. Archives of psychiatric nursing. 2009;23(5):343-50.
2. Jewkes R, Dartnall E, Sikweyiya Y. Ethical and safety recommendations for research on perpetration of sexual violence. Pretoria: Sexual Violence Research Initiative. 2012.
3. McCosker H, Barnard A, Gerber R, editors. Undertaking sensitive research: Issues and strategies for meeting the safety needs of all participants. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research; 2001.

Providing safe, active referrals. Have you::

- ☐ Discussed options?
- ☐ Chosen referrals with best fit?
- ☐ Written or emailed referral letters?
- ☐ Offered to phone referral org?
- ☐ Described location?

Follow-up visit scheduled for:

_____

_____

Sonke CHANGE Referrals

Diepsloot

Children

Childline
Afrika Tikkun Centre
011 645 2000
0800 55 555

Children & Violence Trust
Kumbukeni Children & Family Centre
011 705 1960

Counseling

FAMSA
Afrika Tikkun Centre
011 833 2057

Emthonjeni Clinic
Wits Braamfontein
(011) 717 4513.

Mental Health

Child & Family Mental Health
Witkoppen Clinic
11 705 2438

SA Depression & Anxiety
Toll free 0800 205026
SMS : 31393

Shelter

Leamogetswe, Saulsville
012 375 8845

Beth Shan, Pretoria West
Pastor Fourie
012 327 3005

Police

SAPS
Thusong Service Centre
Stand 381, Diepsloot West
011 464 0980
Emergency 10111

Protection order

Family Court
15 Market Street
011 639 0300

Legal

Lawyers against Abuse
Afrika Tikkun Centre
011 717 8601

Medical

OR Tambo Clinic
011 464 7951

Diepsloot South Clinic
011 464 7182

Social Grants

South African Social Security Agency (SASSA)
Thusong Service Centre
011 484 4000

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Background

1. Tell me about yourself (age, where you come from)
2. How did you come to live in Diepsloot?
    a. How long have you been living here?
    b. Where were you living before?
3. Where did you live when you first arrived in Diepsloot?
    a. How was it when you arrived?
    b. Was it a difficult or easy place to start a life?
    c. Tell me about the Extension where you live.
        i. More brick houses or shacks?
        ii. Crowded or some space?

Gender Norms

4. Some people talk about what it means to "be a man". What does being a man mean for you?
    a. How is it to "be a man" here in Diepsloot?
    b. Probe: is it more difficult or easier here than other places?
    c. Probe: are there different ways of being a man here than in rural homes?
5. Are you in a relationship now?
    a. Probe: how long have you been together?
    b. Probe: Tell me, what is something you like about the relationship?
    c. Probe: what is something hard that you would like to change?

Perceptions of IPV

6. One topic we are interested in as health researchers is this thing of violence between a man and a woman. We call it intimate partner violence. Have you heard of this happening in Diepsloot?
    a. When do you think partner violence is worse? How is it triggered?
7. What does the culture in this community portray about intimate partner violence?
    b. Probe: are there ever times that the community is against IPV and stands up for the victim?
    c. Probe: are there ever times when people are quiet or even support this violence?
8. What do you think are the issues in marriage that influence IPV?
    d. Probe: are there times that it is alright to perpetrate violence against a woman to put her in her place
9. Most everyone has a memory in their life of someone they love experiencing violence from a partner. Do you have any memory like this?
    e. Has anyone, like your parents or a partner, ever been violent to you?
    f. If it feels comfortable to answer, have you ever been violent to a partner?
10. What in your perception can make men stop intimate partner violence?

Interventions for violence against women

11. Have you ever heard of Sonke?
12. Have you or anyone you know ever participated in a Sonke activity?
        i. Probe for experiences
13. What are the activities you enjoy the most in interventions such as this?
14. What are the activities you find boring during interventions such as this?
15. What, in your opinion, is important to men regarding violence against women?
    a. What do men want to talk about?
    b. What worries men?
16. Are there suggestions you have that may improve Sonke's programmes?

Wrap up

17. Are there any other issues that we have not yet talked about that are important in your life?

    For example, things that you worry about or would like support around?

18. May I just read through the sheet to make sure I've covered everything?

Thank you for spending time with me today. Is there anything else we may not have covered that you would like to talk about?