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Men's perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence: a comparative study of immigrant and South African men in the Johannesburg inner city

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Dedication

I dedicate this research report to my beloved brothers, Godknows Njowa, Admire Njowa, and my husband, Ereck Chibuwe, with special thanks for their love, support and all the sacrifices they made for my studies. I always thank God for very special people like you in my life, I feel humbled and blessed.

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- My children, Tadiwanashe, Tapuwanashe, Takura; my nephew, Tawana-nyasha, and my little angel, Vimbainashe for their support and love.

Plagiarism Declaration

This dissertation is my own work and I have NOT used someone else's printed/ electronic or other material as my own. I accept that should my work be regarded as plagiarized I take full responsibility and accept that I may lose marks and that I may be prosecuted for such violation.

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Abstract

This report presents findings from a comparative qualitative study conducted in the Johannesburg inner city. The study sought to understand immigrant and South African heterosexual men's perceptions, experiences, and responses to domestic violence. Drawing on social constructionist theory, the research investigates whether migration and nationality influenced how heterosexual men perceived, experienced, and responded to domestic violence. The study used qualitative methodology and relied on original empirical research. In total, participants (consisting of six immigrant and six South African men) were identified through purposive and snowballing sampling methods. Semi-structured interview guides were used to collect data, which was then analysed using thematic content analysis. Findings of the study revealed that migration influenced the way in which immigrant men experienced and responded to domestic violence in South Africa. However, migration did not have an impact on how immigrant men perceived domestic violence. This means that the ways in which immigrant men perceived domestic violence was the same as they perceived it in their home countries. However, the ways in which they were experiencing and responding to it in South Africa was different from the ways they used to experience and respond in their home countries (migrant sending countries). The South African participants did not attribute their perceptions, experiences and responses to migration. Instead, they attributed their experiences to the over insistence on rights by women, and the failure of law enforcement agencies to ensure that men who are victims of domestic violence are also heard. Findings also revealed that nationality differences between immigrant men and South African men did not influence the ways in which these two groups perceived and understood the term 'domestic violence'. Thus, migrant men and South African men understood the term in the same way.

The definitions of domestic violence that participants reported were different from the traditional definitions and categorizations of domestic violence. Participants defined domestic violence in accordance with their perceptions and experiences, as there was a thin line between perceptions and personal experiences. Further analysis showed that men understood domestic violence as being physical, emotional, and verbal. The findings of the study also revealed that immigrant men believed that their susceptibility to domestic violence was due to migration because of the perception that South African domestic violence legislation favours women. Furthermore, South African men attributed 'favouritism on terms of the law' towards women as an issue that made women take advantage of the policy framework to initiate violence towards their intimate partners. These men suggest that women do this in the knowledge that men are generally not believed when they (i.e. men) make reports of domestic violence.

Structure of the Research Report

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one gives an introduction of the study, and includes information on migration in Johannesburg, the rationale of the study, and the research questions. It also provides an overview of, and explains the research methodology which includes the sampling process and definition of concepts and anticipated problems of the study. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the objectives of the study where insight is given on what the study intended to uncover.

Chapter two provides a literature review of the study. Here, the researcher defines the term 'domestic violence'. This chapter also gives a historical background of migration and migration trends in South Africa. It further discusses studies conducted on domestic violence and migration, forms of domestic violence, theories of domestic violence, domestic violence and migration, as well as migration and changing gender roles.

Chapter three focuses on qualitative research methodology and the phenomenological research design adopted for the study. This chapter defines and justifies the use of qualitative research and the phenomenological research design. Furthermore, types of qualitative research interviews, sampling plans, data collection, methods of data analysis and ethical considerations are also discussed.

Chapter four discusses the findings and themes that emerged from the data gathered from a comparison between migrant and South African heterosexual men on whether immigration and nationality differences influenced the ways in which immigrant men and South African men

perceived, experienced and responded to domestic violence. The main findings of this study are as follows: i) Nationality differences did not influence the way in which immigrant men and South African men perceived domestic violence but migration changed immigrant men's experiences and responses; ii) The ways in which participants experienced and responded to domestic violence differed according the contexts in which such incidents occurred; iii) All immigrant men reported that their being migrants in South Africa made them more susceptible to domestic violence because South African laws and regulations favour women and they are likely to be arrested should they be reported the police; and iv) The prevalent themes from both groups of participants include attributing the cause of domestic violence to the failure of women to conform to perceived socially-defined gender roles, and to women's tendency to claim rights.

Lastly, chapter five concludes the study and gives recommendations for future research.

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

Most studies on domestic violence in the context of migration were, and still are immigrant women centered. These studies were on the narratives of immigrant women's common experiences and explanations. They also focused on the dynamics and responses to domestic violence and recommendations on how to improve domestic violence services provisions in migrant communities (Easteal 1996; Menjivar & Salcido 2002; Kiwanuka 2008). This research contributes to the body of masculinist literature that explored narratives of immigrant men and South African men's perceptions, experiences and response to domestic violence. The study seeks to find out whether migration and nationality differences influenced the ways in which heterosexual immigrant men and South African men perceive, experience and respond to domestic violence.

The nature and frequency of domestic violence involving heterosexual men has remained inconclusive and is regarded as unheard of (Robinson & Rowlands 2006; Matsha 2011; Respecting Accuracy in Domestic Abuse Reporting, 2009). Domestic violence is one of the social, human rights and public health problems that have received attention over the years and still is receiving attention from feminist activists and social scientists (Hindin 2003; Heise et al 1994; Jewkes 2002; Campbell 2002; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children 2005; Takyi & Mann 2006). These studies focused on women because they are the ones who are mainly subjected to domestic violence which unfortunately, is perceived to be a justified

cultural way of solving marital disputes in many societies (Bowman 2003; Cook 2009; Dean 2005; Cleary 2003). Considering that studies on heterosexual men's accounts of domestic violence is under-researched, this study offers a comparative investigation of immigrant and South African men's accounts of domestic violence.

Although this study is on immigrant and South African heterosexual men's perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence, it is not the intention of the researcher to rule out feminist studies perspectives which focused on female victims of violence perpetrated by men.[1] Rather, the study seeks to give insight on how men perceive, experience and respond to domestic violence in the less studied migration context. It is the intention of the researcher to highlight the fact that women and children are not the only ones subjected to domestic violence, and that men are also victims of domestic violence.

1.2 Aims and objectives of the study

The study aims to understand whether migration and nationality influence the way in which heterosexual immigrants and South African men perceive, experience and respond to domestic violence in South Africa. The objectives of the study are:-

- To understand whether nationality and migration status influence perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence;
- To understand immigrant and South African heterosexual men's experiences, and perceptions on domestic violence;

[1] This study does not seek to refute or undermine studies conducted by feminists on women's explanations, experiences and responses to violence by intimate partners. By intimate partner, the researcher refers to women who had been living together with immigrant and South African men for more than two years as married, not married, live-in-partners or girlfriends.

- To understand immigrant and South African men's responses to domestic violence as perpetrators and victims;
- To understand the perceived causes of domestic violence among immigrant and South African heterosexual men in intimate relationships;
- To understand if and how immigrant men perceive migration as a factor contributing to domestic violence.

1.3 Research Question

How does nationality and migration impact on the ways in which immigrant and South African heterosexual men perceive, experience and respond to domestic violence that they may experience?

In seeking to enrich this debate, this study will attempt to ask the following sub-questions:

1.4 Research Sub-questions

- How do heterosexual immigrants and South African men perceive domestic violence?
- How do immigrant and South African men experience and respond to domestic violence?
- What are the perceived causes of domestic violence in immigrant and South African homes?
- To what extent do immigrant heterosexual men attribute migration as a cause of domestic violence?
- To what extent does nationality and migration status influence perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence, amongst men?

1.5 Rationale

This study was motivated by the silence in the literature on heterosexual (especially immigrant) men's perceptions of domestic violence. Little has been written about heterosexual male perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence due to a number of reasons. These include, among others, fewer studies on men's perceptions of domestic violence and the lack of accurate statistics of heterosexual males experiencing intimate partner violence (Kumar 2012; De la Rey 2004). According to Robinson & Rowlands (2006, p.14), "research remains inconclusive about the nature or frequency with which men experience domestic abuse".

Scholars attribute this lack of literature to masculine socialization (Cook 2009; Carpenter 2006; Large 1997; De la Rey 2004; Kumar 2012; Cleary 2003; Kernsmith, 2006; Gallagher & Parrott, 2011; Donaldson, 1993). They argue that the ways in which men were raised as warriors, and as strong and powerful individuals makes it a taboo for them to share experiences of domestic violence.

Many studies have been conducted on male violence against women and children, gender-based violence in conflict situations, and on men as perpetrators of domestic violence among others (De la Rey 2004; Carpenter 2006; Gallagher & Parrott 2011). But these have not sought to understand whether migration and nationality differences have an impact on how immigrant and South African heterosexual men perceive, experience and respond to domestic violence. In addition, in South Africa there are legislations that mention domestic violence against men in passing without exploring immigrant and South African men's' perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence. An example of such legislations is the Declaration on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children and the Domestic violence

Act No. 116 of 1998. In view of this gap, this study serves the purpose of understanding the perceptions, experiences and responses of immigrant and South African heterosexual men on domestic violence. More so, the researcher also attempts to understand whether migration has made immigrant men susceptible to domestic violence as previous studies on immigrant women indicate (Easteal 1996; Menjivar & Salcido 2002; Kiwanuka 2008).

Studies reveal that being an external migrant in a foreign country makes immigrants more prone to abuses of any sort due to several factors such as disparities of laws and their implementation, immigration status, ways in which countries exercise democracy among other facts (Kiwanuka 2008; Easteal 1996; Menjivar & Salcido 2002; Avni 1991; Dobash & Dobash; Dobash, Dobash, Wilson & Daly 1992).

This study seeks to uncover one of the lesser known aspects of the lives of immigrant and South African men's regarding their perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence. This will inform policy makers of the need for gender-neutral implementation of relevant policies. It is also expected to prompt awareness campaigns that will inform abused men that there is help for them, and facilitate the provision of non-discriminatory domestic violence service by the authorities. This study will also provide insight into men's own personal experiences of domestic violence, an area that is still under-researched.

1.6 Methodology and Research Design

This study is a qualitative descriptive study that draws on the social constructionist paradigm. Its aim is to understand whether nationality and migration influence the way in which immigrants and South African men perceive, experienced and respond to domestic violence. Qualitative research is a method that comprises several techniques which analyse and describe people's experiences, actions and meanings attached to events (Willig 2001; Savenye & Robinson 1996; Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey 2005). According to Savenye & Robinson (1996, p. 1046), it "typically involves highly detailed rich descriptions of human behaviors and opinions". The researcher chose qualitative research because of its advantage of giving in-depth information about people's multiple realities of phenomena that cannot be quantified.

The use of qualitative research methods enabled the researcher to capture in-depth and detailed information about participants' perceptions of domestic violence and to understand meanings which participants attached to incidences of domestic violence. It also enabled the researcher to reflect on meanings and explanations she had attached to migration, nationality differences and domestic violence. This is in line with the fact that qualitative research methods require and enable the researcher's reflexivity and involvement as a central part of the research process (Willig, 2001). Reflexivity is the researcher's awareness of her own contribution towards meaning construction throughout the whole research process, as well as the researcher's acknowledgement that she can never be outside her personal perceptions and experiences (Willig, 2001).

Although qualitative data sets are small and not generalisable, this method enabled immigrant men and South African men to reflect upon, and provide information about what is happening

within a larger population of men on domestic violence. This study enabled immigrant men and South African men to describe and explain their perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence from their own points of view. Unlike quantitative research which does not pay attention to meanings and finer details of the phenomena, the use of combined qualitative methods was very essential in understanding immigrant men and South African men's subjective perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence. At the same time, it allowed the investigation of whether nationality differences and migration influence the way in which immigrant and South African men perceive domestic violence.

This study adopted a case study design as it investigated a contemporary event in the context in which it existed. The case study design was adopted so as to enable the researcher to access rich and detailed information "of a single person or a small number of people in order to obtain an intimate familiarity with their social worlds" (Devos et al, 2011, p. 320). Thus, individual experiences are used as units of analysis. This study also made use of the social constructionist paradigm which is based on the notion that people construct their realities and knowledge from the way they perceive the world. The social constructionist paradigm suggests that there is no one knowledge neither is there one reality but instead there are knowledges and realities (Willig 2001; Gillett 1998; Gage 1989). In this view, knowledge is constructed through the lens by which participants perceive and interact with the environment in which they live (Gage 1989). This means that knowledge and reality are subjective since they are constructed in the mind of an individual, and the deeper meanings of these constructions can only be understood through interaction (Gage, 1989). This would mean that the perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence of immigrant and South African men were based on how they perceived and

interpreted what they regarded as reality and which is usually influenced by the environment they live in.

This paradigm also emphasizes the importance of the subjectivity of reality and language used to obtain socially constructed knowledge. It is argued that in social constructionist paradigm the same phenomenon or event can be described in different ways giving rise to different ways of perceiving and understanding it (Willig, 2001). The choice of the social constructionism approach was based on the idea that the words or language which participants use to describe their experience plays a part in the construction of the meanings they attribute to such experiences (Willig, 2001). In this case language played a central role in the ways in which immigrant and South African men construct the meanings they attach to their perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence in South Africa. However, as much as language is key to the construction of meanings, it is argued that qualitative researchers have contrasting views on the extent to which language constructs versions of reality (Willig 2001; Gallett 1998).

1.7 Challenges encountered

The researcher encountered challenges in recruiting participants from Sonke Gender Justice as was planned initially. To address this challenge the researcher resorted to finding participants in public spaces such as streets, markets, garages and flats in the Berea, Hillbrow, and Yoeville areas of Johannesburg. In the case of immigrant participants, the researcher observed that they were reluctant to answer questions related to migration because they were concerned about exposing their immigration status. In addressing this challenge, the researcher clearly explained that it was not her intention to expose their status to the authorities. Furthermore, she guaranteed the participants that the study would not expose them in anyway because she was going to record

their responses using pseudo-names. Moreover, she documented the biographical data of participants in such a way that the individuals could would not be easily identifiable (Stevenson et al. 1993 as cited in Takabvirwa 2010).

While conducting the study, the researcher experienced participant resentment and interviewer effect both of which can be attributed to gender differences. There were things that men were reluctant to share with a female researcher that they could have shared more easily if the researcher was a fellow male. In order to conquer this challenge, the researcher emphasized that there were not no right or wrong responses. Also, she emphasized that the purpose was not to judge participants but to understand their perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence in accordance with how they viewed the world in their personal contexts. In addition, language was also a barrier as some participants spoke native South African languages and a few also spoke Zimbabwean Shona dialects that are unfamiliar to the researcher. To by-pass the language obstacle, the researcher provided interpreters, and in some cases the participant was also allowed to be accompanied by someone he trusts to do the interpretation.

1.8 Sampling

According to Burns and Grove (2003), sampling is a process whereby a researcher selects a group of people, phenomena or behaviour of his or her interest to study. Polit, Beck and Hungler (2001) confirm that whenever a researcher uses a certain sampling method, it is to ensure that a portion of participants representing a large population is selected. In this study non-probable and purposive sampling was conducted. Parahoo (1997, p. 223) noted that non-probability sampling allows researchers to select participants using their own discretion, and they select these participants in accordance with their know-how of the phenomenon under study.

Purposive sampling or snowballing sampling plan was used to conduct this study. Parahoo (1997, p. 232) described purposive sampling as "a method of sampling where the researcher deliberately chooses who to include in the study based on their ability to provide necessary data". The researcher used purposive sampling plan so that she could investigate whether nationality difference and migration influenced the way in which immigrant men and South African men perceive, experience and respond to domestic violence. In this study heterosexual men who had migrated to South Africa were purposively chosen to participate in the study. South African heterosexual men were also purposively chosen as a comparison group.

1.9 Definition of terms

1.9.3 Gender equality

According to the World Economic Forum (2005, p.1), "Gender equality refers to that stage of human social development at which the rights, responsibilities and opportunities of individuals will not be determined by the fact of being born male or female, in other words, a stage when both men and women realize their full potential".

1.9.4 Gender roles

Gender is understood to be a social construct that makes a distinction between sexes. It has been argued that it is social rather than biological processes that are most essential in understanding the position of women and men in society (Abercrombie, as cited in Thompson, 2006). According to Jolly & Reeves (2005, p. 5) gender is defined as "the differences and commonalities between women and men which are set by convention and other social, economic, political and cultural forces". This means that gender is the distinctions that people make as a result of being born male or female and these distinctions are usually achieved through

socialization at a very early age of childhood development (Ulkuer, 2006). These distinctions between male and female have resulted in a preconceived way of perceiving certain professions as masculine or feminine. Thus, there are jobs that are culturally and socially perceived to be for males or females in different cultures.

Gender roles are defined as a "set of social and behavioral norms that are generally considered appropriate for either a man or woman in a social or interpersonal relationship. Gender roles vary widely within cultures and even in the same cultural tradition [they] have differed over time" (World Health Organisation, 2009, p. 19). Pilcher & Whelehan (2004) argue that the traditional differences in gender roles or gendered division of labour started during the era of industrialization whereby males had the primary responsibility of providing financially to the family through laboring outside the home in exchange for wages. For their part, women had the primary responsibility of nurturing the family and housework, which included cleaning, laundry, cooking, shopping and caring for the children (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

1.9.5 Culture

The term culture is complex; researchers and theorists have been unable to reach a consensus on one single definition (Belshek, 2010). Even though there are culture dynamics and lack of a single unified definition of culture, it remains a central part of every one's life because everyone has a culture to follow, and this comprises various set of beliefs, values, norms, attitudes and expected ways of behaving in particular environments. According to Hall (1976, p. 16) "culture is not genetically inherited, and cannot exist on its own, but is always shared by members of a society". This means that no one is born with a culture in their genes but people are socialized into a certain way of doing things which is usually exercised by every member of a particular

community that becomes one's culture. Hofstede (as cited by Belshek, 2010. p. 2) defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another". It is further argued that culture always changes before it is passed on from one generation to the other (Belshek, 2010). In addition, it is also indicated that in most cases culture is taken for granted and it is believed to be truthful since it is regarded as the first institution where people learn socially acceptable behaviour (Sperber & Claidiere 2008).

In most African families, domestic violence is often intertwined with cultural beliefs (Bowman, 2003). In my view, cultures differ from one place to another for there are different ethnic groups that exercise their cultures differently. One of the writers mentioned in the paper written by Bowman (2003), indicate that in Nigeria, in the Yoruba culture to be precise, wife-beating is regarded as normal and therefore acceptable as part of the culture. Culture is thus one of the major tools used in society to explain and justify actions of domestic violence and gender role differences. Some cultures perpetuate domestic violence by claiming that wife beating is a disciplinary measure and a way to express love. This leads to a situation whereby people in abused relationship are oppressed to the extent that they do not report violence as it is seen as a normal way of life. Paulo Freire (as cited in Schenk, Nel, & Louw, 2010) argues in this regard that, "when people are oppressed a 'culture of silence' is developed.

It is the view of this researcher that culture also perpetuates domestic violence against men as much as it does against women because in most cultures men are raised and made to think of themselves as the powerful and strong. They (men) therefore, find it difficult to express and

report domestic violence they may experience in their relationships because they will be regarded as weak and therefore, a disgrace to their men folk.

1.9.6 Socialisation

> Ryle (2012, p, 119) defines socialisation as: The ways in which we learn to become a member of any group, including the very large group we call humanity. The process of socialization begins the moment we are born and continues throughout our lives to the very end, as we constantly learn how to successfully belong to new groups or adjust to changes in the groups to which we already belong.

Following are definitions of the terms socialization, gender norms and masculinity.

It is argued that socialization comes with different responsibilities depending on one's gender (male or female); this is referred to as gender socialization (Ryle, 2012). According to Ryle (2012, p. 120) gender socialization is defined as:

> as the process through which individuals learn the gender norms of their society and come to develop an internal gender identity.

He further explains that, "gender norms are the sets of rules for what is appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour in a given culture'. But, gender identity is known as the way in which men and women internalize which roles are suitable for their gender (Ryle, 2012).

1.9.7 Masculinity

Masculinity is defined as "the set of social practices and cultural representations associated with being a man" (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004). In addition, masculinity is often discussed in relation to femininity because both concepts work hand in hand to define each other (Johnson et al 2012; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children 2005; Ricardo & Barker 2008; Respecting Accuracy in Domestic Abuse Reporting 2009). According to the Women's

Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2005, p. 5), masculinity and femininity are relational concepts, which only have meaning in relation to each other". Johnson et al (2012) argue that masculinity is socially constructed and that it is a part of gender that identifies traits that are typically associated with being a male. It is further argued that masculinities are preconceived perceptions of how society expects men to behave in particular situations (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005).

1.9.8 Conclusion

This chapter identified the gap in literature on the perceptions men (especially immigrants) on domestic violence. The purpose of this chapter was to explain the rationale of the study on immigrant and South African men's perceptions of domestic violence. It also sought to foreground the significance of studying men's perceptions. The chapter elaborated on the qualitative research methodology that was adopted for the study to capture detailed, in-depth and subjective information on immigrant and South African men's perceptions of domestic violence. The overview of the research methodology, sampling plan, and challenges encountered while conducting were presented. The chapter also discussed how the researcher addressed these challenges. Lastly, the chapter presented definitions of significant terms used throughout the study.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will attempt to define the term domestic violence and its forms and causes. It will also discuss the theories of domestic violence with a view to explain its perceived causes. These theories will include the following: rights theories; feminist explanations; cultural explanations and society in transition explanations. In addition, this chapter will also discuss studies that have been conducted on perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence among immigrant women. These studies have revealed that there is a gap in the literature around domestic violence that is perpetrated against men, and that domestic violence against men is an under-researched topic in migration studies. Hence, this study seeks to fill this gap by exploring men's perceptions, experiences and responses of domestic violence in general, while not focusing on them as perpetrators or victims. Lastly, the literature identifies perceived factors that contribute to domestic violence such as migration and shifting gender roles, and how this has increased men's susceptibility to domestic violence.

2.2 Theories and causes of migration

The movement of people whether documented or undocumented from one country to another has always existed. This movement of people from one place to another is caused by different factors. Migration theorists have come up with different theories to explain domestic and international migration which King (2012, p. 11) noted as "rigid and disconnected" such as the individual rational-choice theory. Haug (2008, p. 586) argues that "rational choice theory is strongly influenced by the economic approach on the one hand, and by behavioural decision

theory in social psychology on the other hand". This means that an individual is capable of making his or her own migration decision but limitations and minimal availability of opportunities limit individual choices. It is also noted that in the rational-choice theory approach that migration decisions are also based on weighing the cost and benefits of migration (Haug 2008, King 2012).

There are other theories that explain the causes of migration in an inclusive way. One of these is the push and pull factor theory (Jolly & Reeves 2005; Parkins 2010; King 2012). This is often understood as a connected theory that reflects present day migration patterns. King (2012, p. 13) explains that

> This simple, indeed simplistic, model conceives of migration as driven by a set of push factors operating from the region or country of origin (poverty, unemployment, landlessness, rapid population growth, political repression, low social status, poor marriage prospects etc.), and pull factors operating from the place or country of destination (better income and job prospects, better education and welfare systems, land to settle and farm, good environmental and living conditions, political freedom etc.

The push and pull factors of migration differ from continent to continent. In Africa, for example, the most prominent causes of migration are searching for a better life, civil wars, religious, political and ethnic persecution, and natural disasters such as floods, volcanic eruptions, drought, and earthquakes (Dirks 1993). However, in Europe, people migrate more in search of better climatic conditions and investment opportunities (Dirks 1993). According to Jolly & Reeves (2005) migration is the movement of people within a country or between countries for short or longer periods of time for various reasons such as political, economic and social. Similarly, migrants in South Africa have been driven from their countries of origin by one or more of the different factors mentioned above.

2.3 Domestic violence

The South African Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998, defines domestic violence as any act of:

> Physical abuse; sexual abuse; emotional, verbal and psychological abuse; economic abuse; intimidation; harassment, stalking; damage to property: entry into the complainant's residence without consent, where the parties do not share the same residence; or ii) any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a complainant, where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to, the safety health or wellbeing of the complainant.

This act further states that domestic violence is a serious social evil in the South African society (Domestic Violence Act no. 116, p. 2). The Act recognizes male victims of domestic violence but there is more emphasis on women and children who are considered to be the most susceptible and vulnerable groups in domestic violence cases. The Domestic Violence Act no 116 of 1998 places much emphasis on women victims of domestic violence, stating expressly that it seeks to protect women in accordance with international regulations to end violence against women and children:

> The Constitution of South Africa, and in particular, the right to equality and to freedom and security of the person: and the international commitments and obligations of the State towards ending violence against women and children, including obligations under the United Nations Conventions on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Rights of the Child". (Domestic Violence Act no. 116 of 1998, p. 2)

Some authors justify the emphasis on women and children by making reference to studies showing that women and children are the major victims of domestic violence (Kuar & Garg

2008; Dean 2005; Kernsmith 2006). This study does not refute the fact that women and children are the major victims of domestic violence. Nevertheless, the study seeks to explain the lesser known side of heterosexual men's perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence, even though it is not as prevalent as that of heterosexual women in intimate relationships.

Domestic violence is commonly perceived to be initiated by men against their wives, girlfriends, and partners, and not the other way round (Dean 2005; Kernsmith 2006). Feminist writers have always portrayed men as perpetrators rather than victims of domestic violence (Cook 2009; Kernsmith 2006; Bhattacharya, Bedi, & Chhachho 2009). Furthermore, it is often reported that domestic violence is one of the most serious criminal, health and human rights problem affecting women and children (Domestic Violence Act no.116 of 2008; Pillai 2001; Kuar & Garg 2008).

Domestic violence has health and human rights implications for both abused male and female victims. These include mental health problems and the deterioration of family relations. In the absence of accurate statistics and due to poor implementation of gender neutral domestic violence legislation, it is argued that there are possibly more unreported cases of domestic violence than those reported due to cultural, social, economic and psychological factors (Dean 2005; Cook 2009; Kumar 2012). For example in the black African context, domestic violence is seen as a private family matter that should be resolved by elders and within families. However, men do not usually report intimate violence to family members because of the fear of being humiliated for not being able to control their homes.

The following sub-division will attempt to discuss the different forms of domestic violence.

2.4 Forms of domestic violence

There are many forms of domestic violence in the South African context. The Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 identifies ten forms of domestic violence in South Africa that include physical abuse (also known as battery), sexual abuse, emotional, verbal, psychological, and economic abuse, intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to property, entry to the complainant's residents without consent and other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a complainant that can inflict harm. According to Du Bois & Miley (2008), domestic violence takes place in different forms and in diverse kinds of courtship, marriages and intimate relationships. Physical violence occurs when one uses physical force that has the potential to harm the intimate partner. Actions that fall into this category include biting, slapping and threats of violence which consist of "threatening physical or sexual violence with words, gestures, or weapons in ways that communicate intent to harm one's intimate partner" (Du Bois & Miley, 2008, p. 396). Physical abuse or battery are acts that cause bodily or physical harm (Kuar & Garg 2008). According to Roberts (1999, p.5),"battery is any act inflicting physical harm upon a woman and her child that results in physical and psychological or emotional distress" (Roberts 1999, p. 5).

Threats are defined acts that may result in battery, assault, coercion, harassment or arbitrary deprivation of liberty for example, stalking (Kuar & Garg 2008). Economic abuse refers to acts that make or attempt to make a woman financially dependent. Examples include destroying household property, withdrawal of financial support that prevents the victim from engaging in economic activities such as having an occupation. Psychological violence involves the trauma that is experienced in response to violence, humiliation, and embarrassment among other things. Furthermore, acts of psychological violence include " acts or omissions causing or likely to

cause mental or emotional suffering of the victim such as, but not limited to intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to property, public ridicule, verbal abuse or humiliation, repeated verbal abuse and marital infidelity" (Fall, Shareen & Ford 1999, p. 4).

Sexual violence is referred, "to any act, which is sexual in nature, committed against a woman or her child e.g. rape, sexual violence, treating a woman or child as a sex object, making sexually suggestive remarks, physically attacking the sexual parts of a victim's body, forcing him/her to watch obscene publications and or indecency" (Fall, Shareen & Ford 1999, p. 6). All of the above-mentioned forms of violence are experienced by both males and females but some forms of violence are more prevalent among one sex than the other. It has been noted that there are some forms of domestic violence that are usually initiated by men such as physical abuse while verbal and psychological abuse is more often used by female perpetrators of violence against male victims (Clearly 2003; Kumar 2012).

The following sub-division will discuss the theories of domestic violence.

2.5 Theories of domestic violence

There is a wide range of literature on theories of domestic violence. African and western authors on domestic violence have come up with different theories to suit different contexts in which domestic violence occurs. For example, Bowman (2003) suggests that in the African traditional context, wife-beating is not perceived to be domestic violence but an acceptable disciplinary measure. However, in the Western culture, wife-beating is perceived to be domestic violence and it is regarded as a sign of family dysfunction (Bowman, 2003). This clearly indicates that acts

and behaviours that people perceive to be domestic violence differ from one place to another and that there are no universally agreed upon definitions of domestic violence (Kiwanuka 2008; Krug, Dahberg, Mercy, James, Antony & Zano 2002).

Despite the literature being Afrocentric or Eurocentric, most authors support the widespread notion that domestic violence is facilitated by alcohol abuse, poverty or socio-economic pressures and the failure to conform to traditionally expected gender roles which usually differ from one culture to another (Weidel at al 2008; Fawcett, Heise, Isita-Espeje & Pick 1999; Goodman-Bryan & Joyce 2010). In this regard, Goodman-Bryan & Joyce (2010, p. 2) note that, "with the current economic crisis, domestic violence has become even more salient. When unemployment goes up, so does domestic violence".

Following is a discussion on cultural explanations.

2.6.1 Cultural explanations

Cultural explanations of domestic violence are of the notion that African customs and practices influence domestic violence. It is argued that wife-beating is a normal part of "the African traditional culture" to discipline a spouse (Bowman, 2003). Jones (2004, p. 61) argues likewise, observing that "violence is seen to have a purposeful role within the family – 'to correct her behaviour 'so the family can function again". Thus, domestic violence is used as way to make women conform to customary feminine duties such as gendered division of labour, issues of submission to their husbands as well as the husband's traditional responsibility to economically support extended families. A study conducted among Appalachian women by Gagne (1992)

revealed that wife-beating is also facilitated by cultural and social controls within an area. The study also revealed that the normative culture of domestic violence is not only practiced in African cultures but in many other cultures.

Moreover, cultural explanations of domestic violence are sometimes direct and in some cases indirect (Bowman, 2003). The indirect cases are, for example, "the uneven distribution of power within traditional African marriages, the impact of polygamy, the acceptance of male promiscuity, the power of the extended family over the married couple, and the almost universal institution of bride price as underlying the widespread abuse of wives" (Bowman, 2003, p. 853). Armstrong (as cited in Bowman, 2003) stated that the payment of the bride price makes women more susceptible to domestic violence because in most cases they are hesitant to leave abusive relationship due to lack of financial means to reimburse the bridal price paid by their abusive partners. This means that women in abusive relationships with families unable to pay back the bride price are forced to remain in abusive relationships. Research conducted in Zimbabwe by Alice Armstrong reveals that cultural factors contribute to cases of domestic violence among members of the Shona ethnic group (Bowman, 2003).

In her study, Armstrong reported that domestic violence is caused by quarrels over money and jealousy among the Shona people in intimate relationships. She further reported that violence usually starts when a woman asks her intimate partner for money, which is usually seen as challenging her husband's authority as head of the house and also head of family finances. Moreover, it is also reported that a woman is not allowed to question her husband about anything even when he is having extramarital affairs. When the woman questions her husband, she is

regarded as challenging the husband's cultural rights and privileges thereby stirring up violence from her husband.

The cultural explanation theory of domestic violence was adopted because it highlights on a set of ideas on the causative factors of domestic violence, which emerged in this study. This is a significant part of the study because it explains why domestic violence occurs in homes, which is also what the study focused on. However, the only difference with the cultural explanation theory is that it places much emphasis on women's suppositions on domestic violence while this study focuses on men's suppositions in the migration context. The cultural explanation theory also explains the way in which culture is used to justify acts of domestic violence, which also emerged in the study. The use of culture in justifying domestic violence is common in this study. However, some of the cultural explanation theory's explanations are contrary to the findings of this study, which shows that men were not as bad as the theory portrays them. For example, both immigrant and South African men expressed complete disapproval of wife battering but they acknowledged that wife battering used to be acceptable in the olden days not in this present modern society.

In some instances culture is used as a tool influencing abuse of men in relationships with women either as partners, spouses or husband and wife. Culture being used as a way to justify domestic violence is common in this study. Culture compromises the rights of both men and women.

The pitfall of the cultural explanation theory is that it focuses more on women's suppositions while totally ignoring men's. This theory is taken from the feminists' who believe that culture influences domestic violence in women only. Thus, this theory is of the opinion that men are perpetrators of domestic violence which is not always the case in reality. In actual fact, there are factors such verbal abuse, emotional abuse among others which are usually perpetrated by women against men but go unnoticed. To add to that, the cultural explanation does not explain any instances where women initiate violence against men. Moreover, this theory was developed by feminists who have a eurocentric way of viewing the world a development which is totally different from the way africans percieve the world.

The following sub-section will discuss society in transition explanations and structuralist theory

2.6.2 Society in transition explanations and Structuralist theory

The society in transition explanation theory argues that domestic violence is caused by the transition from an accustomed way of life to an urbanised society (Bowman 2003). This theory claims that the introduction of modern ways of life changed how things were done in the traditional african culture. The society in transition explanation also argue that domestic violence is influenced by social change and the threats posed by social change to men. It is also argued that violence is more prevalent in modernized society than in the olden days (Bowman, 2003). Armstrong (as cited in Bowman, 2003) supports the notion that modernization and migration has contributed significantly to increasing domestic violence. She contends that domestic violence has increased over the years due to a number of factors including the growing independence of women who now take jobs outside the home. This has allowed women to interact with men on a

more equal basis as against what used to happen in traditional societies. Furthermore, women are empowered when increasing numbers of men now face fiscal challenges and struggle to provide for several wives and extended families.

In addition, Bowman (2003) argues that during the traditional agrarian era, men were capable of supporting multiple wives but this is no longer possible in modern society characterized by rising costs of living. Therefore, domestic violence in the modern era may also be linked to the shortage of resources for families.

The society in transition theory is adopted in this study because it gives a clear understanding and explanation of factors that influence domestic violence. It explains that the introduction of urbanisation, modernisation, rural to urban migration and shortage of resources as factors influencing domestic violence. This theory seems to echo the explanations given by immigrant men when they aired their views on perceived factors influencing domestic violence in their homes. However, the existing difference between the society in transition explanation and immigrant men's explanation of factors influencing domestic violence is that, immigrant men perceived that domestic violence increased due to them migrating to South Africa whereas society in transition explanation is not clear regarding the context in which domestic violence exacerbates . For example, the society in transition explanation does specify whether domestic violence is influenced by internal or external migration. Therefore, immigrant men believe that introduction of modernisation, external migration and shortages of resources that they are experiencing in South Africa, influenced domestic violence more as compared to their experiences on domestic violence in their home countries.

On the other hand, the structuralist theory argue that domestic violence results from social problems, patriarchal social structures and changes in social structures impacting on people's social lives hence leading to "stress reactions" (Jones, 2004, p, 25). The structuralist theory is similar to that of the society in transition explanation theory as both theories suggest that domestic violence results from social stress (Bowman 2003, Gelles & Straus 1979). To Jenkins (as cited in Jones 2004), the social stresses contributing to domestic violence include unemployment, poverty, homelessness and isolation. However, society in transition explanation does not attribute domestic violence to unemployment, poverty, homelessness or isolation but to urbanization and migration which have set families apart from their social support systems that

usually intervene in cases of domestic violence (Jenkins as cited in Johns 2004). Therefore, the two theories under consideration identify the same cause but offer different explanations of this cause. It is important to note that neither of these theories takes into account instances of domestic violence in middle and upper class homes (Jones, 2004).

In addition to the above, the structuralist theory and the radical feminist theories attribute domestic violence to patriarchal social structures. The structuralist theory suggests that there is scope for individual agency and changes to cultural norms and beliefs and in how society is structured. In conclusion, the structuralist approach locates societal changes within individuals since structures are themselves made up of individuals.

The following sub-division will discuss the link between domestic violence and migration.

2.7 Domestic violence and migration

There are only a few studies on domestic violence in the context of migration (Avni 1991; Dobash & Dobash; Dobash, Dobash, Wilson & Daly 1992) that focus on immigrant men. Most studies are on the narratives of migrant women, women in general, male perpetrators of domestic violence, violence against men and women in war times, and a few, on male victims of domestic violence (Cook 2009; Dean 2005; De la Rey 2004; Zincir, Yagmur, Kaya, Balci & Elmali 2010; Carpenter 2006; Large 1997). Most studies on domestic violence in the migration context focus on migrant women's perceptions, experiences and narrative experiences of domestic violence in the host countries (Kiwanuka 2008; Easteal 1996: Menjivar & Salcido 2002).

However, there are some studies on male victims of domestic violence perpetrated by women, but these do not take the migration status of subjects into account (Kumar 2012; Cleary 2003; Zincir et.al 2010; Lehane 2004; Jones 2004). The absence of gender neutrality in such situations can be justified but this does not rule out the fact that that there are men experiencing domestic violence and who need to be protected as much as women and children (Gleason 2008; Kumar 2012).

In their paper, "Immigration, Women and Domestic Violence: Common Experiences in Different Countries", Menjivar & Salcido (2002) point out that it is not that domestic violence is more prevalent in migrant communities than in local communities. However, immigrant women are more vulnerable in cases of domestic violence because of a wide range of factors such as lack of knowledge of the host language, isolation from family and other significant support systems, shortage of decent jobs, and immigration status (Menjivar & Salcido 2002; Kiwanuka 2008). However, some scholars believe that even if the stressor of immigrant women are eliminated, domestic violence will not necessarily end. It is also believed that there is lack of evidence to show statistics of immigrant women experiencing domestic violence in migrant receiving countries (Menjivar & Salcido 2002).

Patricia Easteal (1996) also discusses a case study of immigrant women's experiences of domestic violence in Australia. She reports that she conducted case studies with immigrant women who were in arranged marriages with men of their ethnic groups residing in Australia and had obtained Australian permanent residency. As do Manjivar and Salcido (2002), Easteal

notes that the perceived causes of domestic violence in immigrant societies include women's immigration status, failure or difficulty to speak English, unawareness of available domestic violence services, isolation and lack of social support system in-migrant receiving country among other factors.

More studies indicate that immigrant women reveal that they were taken as possessions by their husbands, and that they suffered physical, emotional and economic abuses while their parents thought that they were being well taken care of. These women's accounts reveal that the bride's parents often trusted the groom's parents to take care of their daughter upon the bride's arrival in the groom's country. In most cases, it is a dream that usually never came true because the groom's parents do not usually keep the promise of taking care of their daughter-in-law as promised to her parents. Generally, the studied population of immigrant women in arranged marriages reveal that immigrant women were more susceptible to domestic violence in the host country. Hence, due to isolation, lack of social support, fear of disgracing their families by leaving abusive relationships among other things, these women end up being killed by their husbands or committing suicide.

Most participants in Easteal's study blame spousal abuse on alcohol, pregnancy, financial and economic stressors, unemployment as well as individual self-blame in which case they felt that they deserved abuse because they believed that they have provoked the perpetrator in some way or the other (Van Hightower, Gorton & Lee DeMoss 2000). Easteal (1996) suggests that governments should enforce safety precautions on either husband sponsored or non-husband sponsored immigrant women. These safety precautions would become possible when further

amendments of immigration laws are done that acknowledge different forms of domestic violence, provide for improved education of immigrant women about their rights, and make domestic violence services available in their communities.

Many researchers in the field of migration studies and domestic violence have come up with different findings on perceptions, explanations and assumptions of domestic violence (Van Hightower et al 2000; Gagne 1992). They have also argued that occurrences of domestic violence in relationships is not a social class, race or migration issue since domestic violence occurs among people of all races, social classes and ethnic groups (Van Hightower et al 2000; Gagne 1992; Kumar 2012). In a study on Latinos in the Washington DC area, Anderson (as cited in Van Hightower et al 2000) points out that wife-battery increased among Latino women upon migrating to the United States of America. It is reported that incidences of wife battering were more prevalent among undocumented migrant women or women who were married to citizens or permanent residents residing in the USA on certain stipulated conditions.

Some researchers argue that spousal battery is severe in rural areas. For instance Websdale (as cited in Van Hightower et al 2000, p. 140) came to the conclusion that, "(a) physical isolation associated with the rural milieu provides batterers with opportunities to engage in abusive behavior, (b) patriarchal attitudes of rural law enforcement officers impede timely and effective responses to domestic violence calls, and (c) rural battered women encounter acute difficulties in using potentially supportive domestic violence services". It may also be argued to the contrary that patriarchal attitudes do not only hinder effective law enforcement in cases of domestic violence against women in rural areas, it also allows men to suffer domestic violence in silence

regardless of whether such men are natives or immigrants.

Domestic violence in the migration context is an under-researched area of study. However, there are a few studies on domestic violence that show that men are also susceptible to domestic violence. In making this point, Kumar (2012, p. 1) states that, "Men do report and allege spousal violence in private, but they hardly report it in public". In his study, "Domestic Violence Against Men in India" (2012), he reports that cases of domestic violence against men are not new in heterosexual intimate partner relationships although researchers have tended to overlook the subject for a very long time. He further suggests that the number of men experiencing spousal abuse is likely to increase due to economic independence, changes in control of resources, and ever-changing power dynamics in intimate relationships. Kumar (2012) goes on to observe that over the years, women's status, power and position has changed from being inferior to superior, a situation that perpetuates power imbalances and can result in men being victims of spousal abuse.

Many researchers have revealed that men and women perpetrate violence at the same rate (Kumar 2012; Maguire 2010, Dobash and Dobash 2004). In a bibliographic study, Fiebert (as cited by Kumar 2012) notes that a sample of 201 500 men interviewed reported that women are even more aggressive and violent towards their spouses compared to their male counterparts (Dobash & Dobash 2004, Straus & Gelles 1990). It is also reported that the thought of men suffering spousal abuse is widely taken for granted which makes it even worse for men to report cases of domestic violence in the public arena as a way of protecting the perceived social constructions of the superiority of manhood (Kumar 2012).

From the wide range of literature consulted, it seems that men stay in abusive relationships for similar reasons to those given by women in abusive relationships. These reasons include the fear of starting all over again with someone new, hoping that the partner will change some day, fear of losing custody of children, religious reasons, fear of losing status, respect and self-blame. Kumar (2012) posits that men in abusive relationships tend to believe that it is their fault that they are abused, and they also feel that they deserve such abuse, which are the same perceptions that women in abusive relationships have. Sarkar et al (as cited in Kumar 2012) of the Save the Family Foundation reports that of the 1650 domestic violence cases reported against men in India in 2012, 25,21% of violence was physical in nature; 22,18% was verbal and emotional abuse; 32.79% was economic abuse; 17,82% was sexual abuse and 2. 00% reported no abuse.

The following sub-division will discuss migration and the changing gender roles.

2.8 Migration and changing gender roles

Gender roles are the different kinds of jobs that males and females perform because of their biological differences, that is due to their being born male or female. Gender roles are also learned through socialization from a tender age. According to Jolly & Reeves (2005, p. 5), gender is "the differences and commonalities between women and men which are set by convention and other social, economic, political and cultural forces". This means that gender refers to the distinctions that people make as a result of being born male or female and these distinctions are usually achieved through socialization at a very early age (Ulkuer, 2006). These

distinctions between male and female have resulted in male and females occupying different jobs.

Studies conducted on migration and gender roles indicate that there are usually changes in gender roles following family migration, whether it is internal or international migration. Pilcher & Whelehan (2004) argue that the traditional 'differences' in gender roles or gendered division of labour, started during the industrialization period when males had the primary responsibility of providing financially for the family through labouring outside the home in exchange for wages. However, women had the primary responsibility of nurturing the family and doing housework which includes cleaning, laundry, cooking, shopping and caring for the children. It is important to note that the domestic work done by women remains unremunerated though it remains necessary for the everyday upkeep of the household and its members (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

Haddad & Lam (1994) argue that sometimes migration brings about economic disempowerment of the male bread-winner, a situation that makes some males to realize that they need to share some responsibilities with their wives for the sake of survival. Research undertaken by Lanphier (1980) and Lam & Richmond (1987) reveal that immigrants generally have a lower occupational status than their educational attainment would suggest, and that they most often 'adapt' to this situation by sharing economic roles between spouses (Haddad & Lam,1994, p. 167). Thus, the power associated with masculinity is compromised by the changes in gender roles making men vulnerable to domestic violence.

The following sub-division will conclude and make critiques of the literature discussed.

2.9 Conclusions and critiques of the literature

The literature reviewed reveals that migration in South Africa is not a new phenomenon. The movement of people from the SADC region and beyond has always occurred. The movement of people during different historical periods have been marked by different types of migration flows. Whereas the apartheid era was characterized by permanent migration for whites and temporary migration for blacks, the post-apartheid era has been characterized by circular, permanent and transit migration. The post-apartheid era is also marked by immigration laws that attempt to control migration. However, the efforts of the South African government have so far proven to be unfruitful because the number of migrants continues to increase.

The discussion of theories on domestic violence shows that there have been a wide range of positions on the causes of domestic violence. More theories identified males as perpetrators, a situation that obscures the fact that males can also be victims of domestic violence. There is the sense therefore in which most explanations of domestic violence only cater to women victims. Similarly, the literature indicates that most studies on domestic violence and migration focus mainly on women's narratives, perceptions, experiences, and responses to domestic violence. Only a few studies have been carried out on men's perceptions and experience of domestic violence in general, let alone in the migration context. This shows that domestic violence against men in the migration context is a subject that is seriously under-researched.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research methodology that was followed in conducting the study. The chapter defines and discusses the qualitative research design adopted; it also elaborates on how data was collected, the sampling plan used, and the ways in which data was analysed.

The following sub-division will attempt to define and shade light on qualitative research

3.2 Qualitative research

Defining the term qualitative research has been a controversial subject among scholars (De vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport 2011, Fidel 1993). Qualitative research methods are said to have emerged over the last few centuries (Lukka, as cited in Braidwood & Sallinen 2009), and scholars have failed to come up with one universal definition for it (Fidel, 1993). It is argued that even though researchers do not have a single universal definition of qualitative research, they are aware of its meaning and characteristics, and this practical understanding guides researchers when conducting qualitative research (Fidel, 1993). Mellon, MacCall & Simmons (as cited in Fidel, 1993) argue that instead of defining qualitative research many authors use the differentiation between qualitative and quantitative methods as a way to explain what it is and what it is not.

According to Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey (2005), qualitative research is a scientific method, which uses pre-defined procedures to answer questions of interest to the researcher. They explain that qualitative research collects evidence and gives findings that are not pre-determined, that are generalisable and that it "seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves".

In addition, Shank (as cited in Ospina, et al 2004, p. 1) states that qualitative research is "a form of a systematic empirical enquiry into meaning". According to Ospino et al (2004, p 1), by systematic, Shank (2002) means that qualitative research is conducted in a planned, orderly and public manner that follows rules approved, "by members of the qualitative research community". She further states that by empirical evidence, Shank (2002) means that qualitative methods are rooted in how one experiences the world, and that 'inquiry' refers' to the researcher's interest in finding out ways in which their participants understand their lived experiences.

Furthermore, Denzin & Lincoln (2000, p. 3) state that qualitative research is an explanatory and natural method, meaning that "qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them". Similarly, Rubin and Babbie (2005, p. 30) observe that qualitative methods are "research methods that emphasize the depth of understanding, that attempt to tap the deeper meaning of human experience, and that intend to generate theoretically richer, observations which are not easily reduced to numbers ".

From these definitions, one can argue that even though there is no single universal definition of qualitative research, qualitative researchers have similar practical approaches and understandings of how to conduct qualitative research. Moreover, it shows that they also take note of similar characteristics when conducting qualitative research. These characteristics include considering participants as active beings who are capable of constructing meaning from certain phenomena, acknowledging that there are multiple realities, and studying participants in their natural settings. It is also important to note that qualitative researchers have common grounds in terms of the realization of the existence of multiple realities which differ across time and space. Thus, qualitative researchers acknowledge and respect individual differences that come with how each participant construes the world.

A qualitative study affords the researcher several advantages such as the ability to capture the way individuals experience the world. Also, a qualitative study can be appropriately done where there is need for flexibility and the researcher knows very little about the particular area of study or when the researcher seeks to get insights into complex and dynamic experiences as lived by the population under study (Rubin & Babbie 2005; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). According to Rubin & Babbie (2005, p. 417), "qualitative research is especially appropriate to the study of those topics in which attitudes and behaviour can best be understood within their natural setting". Kiwanuka (2008) also explains that despite the fact that qualitative methods enable the capturing of in-depth and detailed information, it also helps in the re-construction of meanings attached to the relationship between migration and domestic violence as understood by the researcher and participants.

A qualitative research design was adopted for this study because it gave a clear understanding of human behaviour in the social and cultural contexts in which human activities occur. These are usually difficult to understand without reference to the meanings and experiences attached by people (Guba & Lincoln as cited in Kiwanuka 2008). Qualitative research assists the researcher to get detailed information that gives dynamic or ever-changing representations of the ways in which participants express and construct their reality (Holloway, 2005). Such methods are appropriate for this study as they allowed the researcher to conduct a flexible study in participants' complicated lived experiences. The participants' lived experiences are unique and complex in the sense that every participant has his own different way of viewing and experiencing the world.

In this study, the qualitative research method was employed because qualitative methods have the essential tools and structure that enabled the research questions in this study to be answered. The research questions were answered through conducting one-on-one interviews with immigrants and South African heterosexual men residing in the Johannesburg inner city. Rubin & Babbie (2005) note that using quantitative or qualitative research depends on the purpose of the study. The purpose of the study was to understand immigrant and South African heterosexual men's perceptions, experiences and responses regarding domestic violence. Men's understanding, perceptions and responses of domestic violence are less documented as compared to their heterosexual female counterparts (De la Rey 2004; Dean 2005; Cook 2009).

Following is a discussion on the different types of qualitative research interviews.

3.3 Types of qualitative research interviews

There are three types of qualitative research interviews namely: unstructured, semi-structured and structured (Dicicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006, Newton 2010, Bryman 2004). According to Harell & Bradley (2009, p. 7),"interviews are discussions, usually one-on-one between an interviewer and interviewee, meant to gather information on a specific set of topics. Interviews can be conducted in person or over the phone". Researchers argue that structured interviews do not qualify as qualitative research interviews because they are conducted in an inflexible manner and usually produce quantitative data (Dicicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006, Bryman 2004). This leaves the unstructured and semi-structured interviews as the two types of qualitative research interviews.

Semi-structured interviews are those that are pre-scheduled, and for which the researcher organizes a set of open-ended questions or an interview guide (Dicicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006; Bryman 2004; Newton 2010). During semi-structured interviews, the researcher also probes and attends to any further questions that may arise between the interviewer and participant (Newton, 2010). According to Dicicco-Bloom & Crabtree (2006, p. 315), "semi-structured in-depth interviews are the most widely used interviewing format for qualitative research and can occur either with an individual or in groups".

Bryman (2004) asserts that in semi-structured interviews, interviewees are free to answer the researcher's questions in the way they deem fit. Bryman (p. 314) further states that, "questions may not follow on exactly in the way outlined on the schedule and questions that are not included in the guide may be asked as they pick up on things said by the interviewers". This means that the researcher does not necessarily need to ask questions in the order in which the

questions were written but can ask them in any order while paying close attention to the participant's answers.

For this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted because they allowed the researcher to gather in-depth information on immigrant and South African heterosexual men's perceptions, experiences and responses on domestic violence. It also allowed the researcher to follow guidelines that enabled interesting questions and topics to be covered. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to interview participants in their natural settings and in flexible environments which enabled participants to discuss their perceptions of domestic violence freely. In this way, the researcher was able to probe for rich and detailed information that could not have been gathered through quantitative means.

Bryman (2004) states further that qualitative research methods are the best research techniques to uncover and to get detailed accounts of events that cannot be reduced to numbers. Qualitative methods, for instance semi-structured interviews, provide data that cannot be gathered by any quantitative means (Bryman 2004, De vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport 2011, Newton 2010). In addition, semi-structured interviews give researchers an opportunity to probe for accurate, detailed, social and personal accounts based on the participant's accounts of their lived experiences (Bryman 2004, Newton 2010, Dicicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). They allow participants to talk freely and the way they are structured enables the interviewee to respond easily (Newton, 2010).

Despite these noteworthy advantages of semi-structured interviews, they have their flaws. Denscombe (as cited in Newton, 2010) argues that the ways in which research participants respond to the researcher may be influenced by the researcher's behaviour or characteristics. This influence is referred to as the interviewer effect. This means that different researchers can get different responses to the same questions with the same research participants depending on their behaviour and characteristics. The other limitation of semi-structured interviews is that the interviewer can ask the same questions differently and get different answers (Newton, 2010). Thus, changes in the phrasing of semi-structured interview questions are usually unevaluated and unaccounted for (Newton, 2010).

According to Boyce and Neale (2006, p. 3), "in-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation".They argue that in-depth interviews are advantageous in the sense that the researcher has access to detailed information that cannot be obtained by other data collection methods such as surveys. They state, moreover, that in-depth interviews are conducted in a generally comfortable way that enables participants to pour out their perceptions in a relaxed atmosphere.

The following sub-division will discuss the different research designs.

3.4 Research design

3.4.1 Phenomenological research design

There are six types of qualitative research designs namely narrative biography, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory and case study (De Vos et al. 2011). For the purpose of this study, the researcher chose the phenomenological research design. According to Lester (1999. p. 1), this design is "concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual, 'bracketing' taken-for-granted assumptions and usual ways of perceiving". Phenomenological research design is one of the age old research designs recently brought to the attention of scholars. It has been argued that the phenomenological research design was developed by a German philosopher, Edmund Husserl (1859- 1938) (Groenwald 2004). Groenwald argues that although "the origins of phenomenology can be traced back to Kant and Hegel, Vandenberg (1997, p. 11) regards Husserl as "the fountainhead of phenomenology in the twentieth century" (Groenwald, 2004, p. 3).

Husserl believed that assurance of events is obtained from people's lived experiences. He also assumed that the truth outside people's lived experiences should not be taken into consideration because it is not the honest truth. To Husserl, " realities are thus treated as pure 'phenomena' and the only absolute data from where to begin" (Groenwald, 2004, p. 3). This means that researchers could only arrive at multiple truths when they gather information from participants sharing their lived experiences. Similarly, Ebrahim & Sullivan (1995, p. 197) argue that phenomenological research design is a concept that acknowledges the existence of multiple realities, stating that: "in order to understand the meaning of a person's actions we must develop empathy and see things from their point of view". Thus, the design focuses on individual's

unique perceptions, "personal knowledge and subjectivity, and emphasizes the importance of personal perspective and interpretation" (Lester, 1999, p. 1).

In line with these insights, South African and immigrant men's unique lived experiences of domestic violence form the basis of this research. This study therefore sought to capture multiple realities rather than an absolute reality that individuals experience and how they interpret and perceive these lived experiences.

Phenomenological research design was the most appropriate research design because it allowed the researcher to capture immigrant and South African men's perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence. It also generated rich detailed information that cannot be reduced to numbers. Furthermore, it allowed participants to construct their own meanings that they attach to phenomena (Holloway 2005, Burns & Grove 2003). The bottom line is that phenomenology acknowledges the power of the respondents that they are not passive recipients of situations.

The following sub-division will present the sampling plans used in this research.

3.5 Sampling plan

According to Hycner (1999, p. 156), "the phenomenon dictates the method (not vice-versa) including even the type of participants." The researcher utilized snowballing and purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is considered as the most essential non-probability sampling method of identifying primary research participants (Welman & Kruger 1999). The researcher selected purposive sampling plan based on her judgment and aim of the study (Babbie, 1995;

Greig & Taylor, 1999; Schwandt, 1997). Through purposive sampling, the researcher searched for participants who "have had experiences relating to the phenomenon to be researched" (Kruger, 1988 p. 150).

Purposive sampling is also known as judgemental sampling (Marshal, 1996). When purposive sampling is conducted, the researcher selects participants with suitable characteristics to answer her research questions (Marshal 1996; Rubin & Babbie 2005). Marshal (1996, p. 523) states that in purposive sampling, the researcher "actively selects the most productive sample to answer the research question". Silverman (as cited in De Vos et al, 2011) characterizes purposive sampling as typical case sampling whereby typical cases required are selected for the study. The researcher used this sampling method because it targets a particular group of people of the researcher's interest which in this case were immigrant men and South African men. The researcher approached participants at their work places such as street markets, street garages and flats in the Berea, Hillbrow and Yeoville areas of Johannesburg.

In order to get additional participants, the researcher used the snowballing sampling plan. Snowballing is a method of increasing the number of participants by asking a participant to recommend other participants for interviewing (Davis, Gallardo & Lachlan 2012; Babbie 1995; Crabtree & Miller 1992). Snowballing sampling is also considered as a type of purposive sampling because it has similar characteristics with purposive sampling. The researcher requested the participants obtained through purposive sampling, at their own discretion, to give names and contact details of other potential participants.

Davis et al (2012) has noted that snowball-sampling plan has its disadvantages, which include bias, and the fact that it is non-representative. This means that snowball sampling does not fully represent perceptions of all immigrant and South African men. Despite the above-mentioned pitfalls, purposive samples remained a viable sampling plan in identifying populations that are not easily accessible as was the case in this study.

Baker & Edwards (2011, p. 8) note that, "qualitative researchers generally study fewer people, but delve more deeply into those individuals, settings, subcultures, and scenes, hoping to generate a subjective understanding of how and why people perceive, reflect, role-take, interpret and interact". This means that qualitative research is situation-specific research with data that cannot always be generalisable to different contexts (Willig, 2001). The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with a small sample of twelve participants comprising six immigrant and six South African heterosexual men. The purpose was to get detailed and rich data that can be analysed in-depth. The choice of a small number of participants enabled the researcher to gather comprehensive and manageable data, and to understand more deeply the participants' perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence. In addition, information gathered from each subsequent new participant was found to be similar to that of previous participants. Therefore, there was no new insights generated by increasing the number of participants.

The following sub-division will discuss data analysis and the steps taken in the data analysis.

3.6 Data analysis

Steps in the data analysis

After the collection of the data, the steps described in the paragraphs below were followed for their subsequent analysis. DeVos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport (2011, p. 405) argue that "the first [stage of analysis] involves data analysis in the field during data collection while the second involved data analysis away from the field following a period of data collection". The researcher analyzed the data away from the field following a period of data collection. However, in cases whereby the interviewees were uncomfortable with being tape recorded, the interviewer quickly jotted some notes that she had missed while conducting the interviews.

The researcher proceeded to the third stage where she started working on managing the data. After each interview, the researcher would listen to the recording and transcribe data while the interview remained fresh in her mind so that she could remember what participants communicated verbally and non-verbally. While transcribing data, the researcher took note of topics and sub-topics that emerged in the interviews. These include issues of gender equality, gender roles, socialization, culture and the perception of domestic violence as a family issue. In steps four, five and six, the researcher simultaneously read the transcript, generated initial codes, searched for, reviewed and named and defined themes in preparation for the final report writing. Lastly, the researcher examined the data in view of existing literature in order to identify emerging themes that could be defined and clearly explained. The table and charts below shows results gathered in the study.

The following sub-division will discuss the six stages of thematic content analysis.

3.7 The six stages of thematic content analysis

For the purpose of the study, the researcher adopted Braun and Clarke's (2006, p. 87- 96) six phases or stages of thematic content analysis. These are elaborated on in the paragraphs that follow.

3.7.1 Familiarizing yourself with your data

The researcher organizes data and reads through it repeatedly in order to familiarize herself with it. This is easy for the researcher because she had collected and transcribed the data herself (Braun & Clarke, 2006). According to Braun & Clarke (2006, p. 87), "if you collected [data] through interactive means, you will come to the analysis with some prior knowledge of the data, possibly with some analytic interests or thoughts".

The following sub-section will discuss the method used in generating initial codes.

3.7.2 Generating initial codes

In the second phase of thematic content analysis, the researcher systematically codes interesting data, searching through the entire data set and collecting and combining data relevant to each of the initial identified codes. This stage begins after the researcher read and re-read the transcripts and after having listed interesting ideas and the interesting features of the data. It has been demonstrated that there is a difference between coded data and units of analysis, the latter being referred to as broad themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this phase the researcher needs to take note of repeated patterns of data across the entire data set. When taking note of the repeated patterns in the data set, the researcher chooses ways in which he/she can code the data. The data

can be coded manually by writing notes on the texts being analysed, highlighting potential patterns among other ways.

The following sub-section will discuss how the search for themes was conducted.

3.7.3 Searching for themes

According to Braun & Clarke (2006), searching for themes is the third phase of the six stages of thematic content analysis. In this stage, the researcher sorts out long different codes that would have been identified in the entire data set into potential themes. Braun & Clarke (2006) observe that at this stage, the researcher would have started analysing the codes and also considering the ways in which to combine and form an all-encompassing theme. At this stage, it is helpful for the researcher to make use of visual aids, mind maps or tables to help sort out different codes into themes. At this stage the researcher comes up with themes and sub-themes, some of which may be discarded in the process. By the end of this stage the researcher would have gathered candidate themes and sub-themes.

Following is a discussion on how the themes were reviewed.

3.7.4 Reviewing themes

At this stage, the researcher would be having candidate themes that need to be refined in order to have themes that will be written for the data analysis. The researcher may identify that some of the selected candidate themes are not really themes to be taken up for analysis due to a lack of sufficient data to support them. For this purpose, Braun & Clark (2006, p. 91) suggest that " data

within themes should cohere together meaningfully, while there should be clear and identifiable distinctions between themes".

The following sub-section will discuss the process of defining and naming of the themes

3.7.5 Defining and naming themes

During this phase, the researcher reviews and refines themes at two levels. At the first level, the researcher reads all the combined extracts of each theme and checks whether the combined themes form a coherent data pattern (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher then moves to the next level when candidate themes show a logically connected pattern of data. In the event that those candidate themes are not logically connected, the themes would have been problematical or some of the data extracts used would not have been fit for the theme. At the second level, the researcher looks for the validity of the individual themes in relation to the collected set of data. The researcher also reads the entire data set to see whether the themes work in relation to the data set and to ensure that missed additional data is included. This is important because, " the need for re-coding from the data set is to be expected as coding is an on-going organic process"(Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 91). This means that in thematic content analysis, coding of data is endless because whenever the researcher reads or re-reads the data he/she again can come up with new themes and meanings.

3.7.6 Producing the report

In the sixth phase, the researcher would be having the finalized themes, finalized analysis, and a report draft. The research write-up should have adequate proof of the themes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For instance, the researcher has to write enough evidence that shows the

prevalence of the theme. At this stage the researcher is advised to make use of interesting examples or extracts that capture important points that the researcher desires to demonstrate.

3.8 Ethical considerations

According to Drew, Hardman & Hosp (2008, p. 56), " ethics have become a cornerstone for conducting effective and meaningful research". Ethical considerations have improved over the years and research procedures have to undergo severe scrutiny with different bodies to ensure that safety, self-determination, confidentiality and other ethical issues are taken into consideration (Best & Kahn, 2006; Field & Behrman, 2004; Trimble & Fisher, 2006 as cited in Drew, Hardman & Hosp 2008). In this case, this study was scrutinized by the research ethics committee of the University of the Witwatersrand.

In order to ensure that ethical standards are met, the researcher ensured that she secured the informed consent of participants. Informed consent is defined as "seeking permission from participants to conduct the research" (Holloway 1997; Kvale 1996). Drew, Hardman & Hosp (2008, p. 57) explains that, " "consent involves the procedure by which an individual may choose whether or not to participate in a study". For this study, the researcher obtained the consent of participants with the assurance that they will participate in the study out of their own will, and that they do not face any penalties should they decide to withdraw at any given time.

In this regard, the procedures and purpose of the study were explained to the participants. The researcher also pointed out the risks and benefits associated with the research to the participants. This is in view of Halai's (2006, p. 5) point that informed consent "usually includes prior

information on key elements of research such as purpose, procedures, time period, risks, benefits, and a clause stipulating that participation is voluntary and the participants have the right to withdraw from the study". The researcher also secured informed consent from other people directly linked to the research including community leaders and other gate keepers (Halai, 2006). Furthermore, informed consent was secured from participants at the beginning of every interview. Most potential participants signed the agreement forms and those who were unwilling to participate in the study were not pressured to participate in the research. All who ended up being research participants were in agreement with the terms of informed consent and they signed the relevant forms. In line with Bailey's (1996) suggestion regarding the importance of honesty, the researcher made sure that she did not deceive participants in any way about the purpose and procedures of the study. The researcher was conscious of Bailey's (as cited in Groenewald, 2004, p. 10) observation that "deception might prevent insights, whereas honesty coupled with confidentiality reduces suspicion and promotes sincere responses".

The researcher also requested consent to audio record interviews. Of the twelve interviews, nine of the participants were audio-recorded and three were not audio-recorded. All of the audio-recorded participants gave consent voluntarily; they were not coerced in any way. Three participants stated that they were comfortable with participating in the study without the recording. Each interview was given a pseudo name which served as a coding system, for example, Participant 1 Kelvin, 13 October 2013. As soon as the researcher was done with data collection, the interviews were transcribed and notes were made on the same day. The researcher transcribed the interviews word for word in order to allow voices of the participants to be heard.

Moreover, when collecting data, the researcher sought "to notice and to look for, patterns of meaning and issues of potential interest in the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86).

The following sub-section will discuss issues around the confidentiality of participants.

3.8.1 Confidentiality

The researcher explained and assured participants that their safety, confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed, and so used pseudo names to identify them. Furthermore, interviews were conducted in spaces (for instance a tutorial room at Esselen Street Residence) where the researcher and the participant were safe. At the same time, the researcher and participants moved to spaces where there were no unintended audiences so that the interviews and information discussed was conducted in a confidential environment. Moreover, the researcher ensured that the biographical data of participants were recorded in such a way that information could not be linked with their identifying details a development that could "considerably threaten [their] anonymity" (Stevenson et al. 1993 as cited in Takabvirwa 2010).

The following sub-section will attempt to discuss the issue of maintaining anonymity of participants.

3.8.2 Anonymity

In the initial plan of the interview, the researcher did not intend to request the participant's real names as a way to preserve confidentiality but in the course of logistical arrangements including scheduling of interview times and building rapport, the researcher ended up knowing the real

names of the participants. Although the participants' names featured in the audio recordings, this did not compromise confidentiality or anonymity in any way as the names were not mentioned in the transcribed data. Only pseudo names were used in the transcriptions.

The next sub-section will shed light on the assurance given to participants that the researcher meant no harm to them.

3. 8. 3. No harm

According to Drew et al (2008, p. 64), "harm may be broadly defined to include extreme physical pain or death, but also involves such factors as psychological stress, personal embarrassment or humiliation, or myriad influences that may adversely affect the participants in a significant way". To avoid personal embarrassment or humiliation and psychological stress to the participants, the researcher informed the participants prior to the interview that they are allowed to not answer questions they were uncomfortable with. The researcher had a list of referrals to organizations rendering counselling in the event that participants needed professional help. Considering that the researcher interviewed migrants who are sometimes seen as populations at risk because of their migration status, the researcher ensured that their immigration status were not exposed.

Following is a conclusion.

3.9. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research methodology adopted in the study. The researcher used qualitative research methods to capture immigrant and South African heterosexual men's

perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence in the Johannesburg inner city. Qualitative research methods were used so that the researcher could access insightful and rich data on the lived experience that could not have been acquired by quantitative means. Semi-structured interviews were adopted as a method of data collection to allow participants speak freely and flexibly while the researched probed for insight and understanding of immigrant and South African men's understanding and responses to domestic violence. In the study, the researcher used snowball and purposive sampling methods because the researcher needed a particular population of participants that was difficult to find. Thematic content analysis was used as a method of data analysis. Lastly, the researcher abided by the required ethical considerations to ensure the confidentiality, anonymity and safety of participants and all the people linked directly to the study.

Chapter Four

Findings and Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a detailed analysis of collected data and the main findings of the study are presented and discussed. The main findings indicate that migration and nationality difference played a significant role in how immigrant men perceive, experience and respond to domestic violence in South Africa. To immigrant men, domestic violence is perceived to have increased due to migration, nationality difference, over claiming of equal rights, unequal law enforcement implementation of the Domestic Violence Act and other migration related factors. South African men on the other hand attributed domestic violence to unequal law enforcement of the Domestic Violence Act, claiming of rights and women's failure to observe culturally defined "womanly" duties.

The findings reveal that in relating their perceptions, experiences and responses of domestic violence, immigrant men make a comparison between their experiences in their countries of origin and in migrant receiving countries. Compared to South African men, they based their perceptions, experiences and responses on experiences encountered in their immediate environment. Findings also revealed that both immigrant men and South African men perceived domestic violence to be a family matter worsened by external migration, claiming of rights,

shifting of gender roles, socialization, culture differences and biases in law enforcement towards domestic violence.

Furthermore analysis revealed that enduring domestic violence was not necessarily influenced by love but fear of not being taken serious upon reporting a case of domestic violence and fear of being stigmatized as a man who has failed to live up to masculine standards. By failure to live up to masculine standards participants meant that it is not culturally acceptable for a wife to physically abuse her husband hence reporting cases of men battering is regarded as a taboo.

Regarding the perceptions and meanings discussed, both immigrant men and South African men used culture as a way to justify domestic violence. At the same time, they did not perceive culture as a hindrance in terms of their seeking help in matters of domestic violence. They indicated that division of labour or role differentiation should be observed in line with traditional divisions of labour to ensure reduction in domestic violence cases.

This research, as well as personal communication, has revealed that upon reporting domestic violence men are less likely to be taken seriously because the South African society perceives males to be perpetrators rather than victims of domestic violence. This is due to the wide belief that women are weak, and as such cannot initiate domestic violence. Moreover it is perceived that the South African Police Service does not treat reports of domestic violence as unique cases. Rather, they tend to deal with such reports on the basis of pre-conceived ideas of who is likely to start violence. Moreover, the fact that there is vast literature on and attention to women victims of abuse perpetrated by men overshadows men's' claims of domestic violence. Thus, domestic

violence against men becomes a hidden criminal activity that Pallai (2001, p. 965) refers to as a "crime of silence".

4.2.1 Themes gathered in the study

Table 1 Qualitative Coding

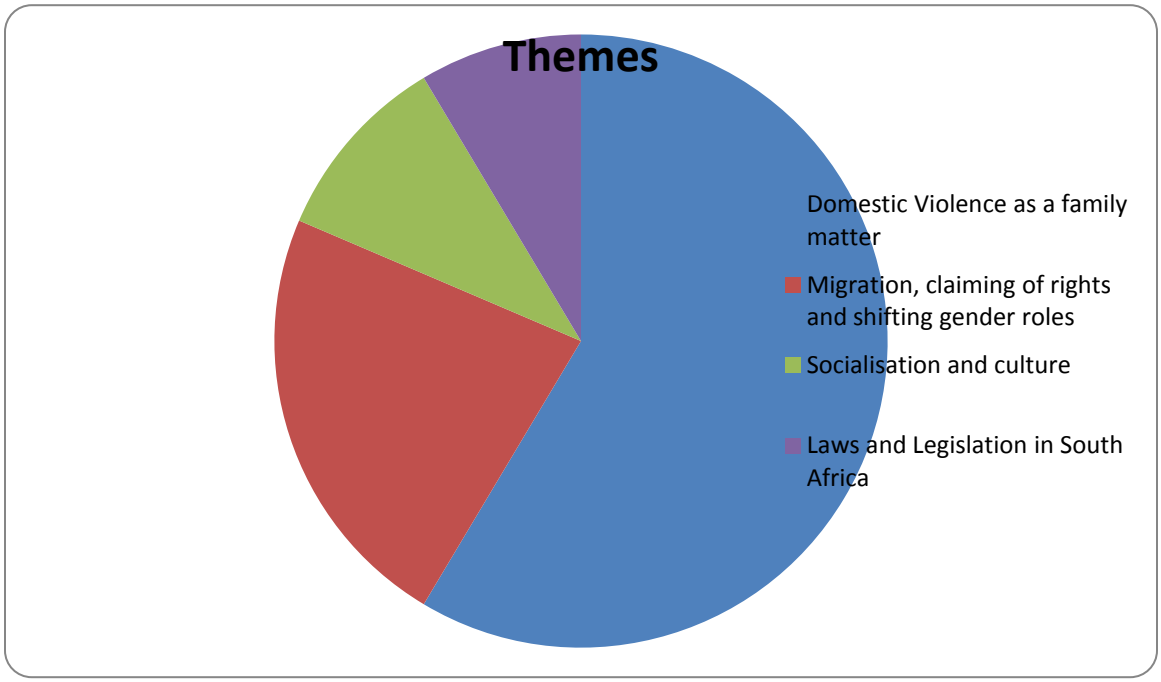
Topic	Themes	Sub-themes
Domestic violence	Domestic violence as a family matter	
	Migration, claiming of rights and shifting of gender roles	• Gender equality more pronounced in South Africa compared to Zimbabwe and Ghana • Claiming gender equality rights causing domestic violence • Women's expectation of men to carry out

		"womanly" duties in their absence
	Socialization and culture	• Socialization and culture used as an excuse for domestic violence cases • Clashes between African and imposed western cultures • Perceptions that women know their positions in homes. • Masculinity • Submission of women to men • Men have power to end relationships with violent women • Men as heads of the house withfinal decisions

	South African laws on domestic violence biased towards women and children	• Domestic violence laws are not gender neutral • Women taking advantage of the laws to spite their intimate partners

4.1.3 Themes gathered in the study represented in a pie chart

Figure 1 Qualitative Themes



4.2.2 Men's understanding of domestic violence

The findings show that both immigrant and South African men had a general understanding of domestic violence. The majority of the participants perceived domestic violence as physical, verbal and emotional abuse with some elements of economic abuse mentioned in passing. The ways in which they responded showed that they were aware of a few forms of domestic violence. For example, they perceived physical abuse as an act of domestic violence that they were aware of.

Most of the participants stated that they use physical abuse as the last resort to solve their marital or relationships problems. But a Bowman (2003) report that in some traditional African cultures such as the Yoruba of Nigeria, wife battery is regarded as a normal act within their culture. Similarly, Jones (2004) notes that wife battering is regarded as a means or act of instilling discipline to enhance family functioning.

The findings also revealed that a few of the participants took other forms of domestic violence for granted namely, sexual, psychological and economic abuse, intimidation, harassment and stalking. For example in the case of sexual abuse, in Shona culture it is culturally believed that if a man marries a woman, the woman ceases to have sexual rights which are referred to as conjugal rights. Some participants claim that in their culture a woman is not allowed to deny his husband sex whenever he demands it. Thus, forcing the partners to engage in sex is not perceived as domestic violence.

Participant Prosper (Zimbabwean):

> Domestic violence is an abuse of a spouse by another spouse regardless (sic) of the sex. Abuse can be physically or emotionally.

Participant (South African):

> Domestic violence as an abuse of a wife, girlfriend, partner and children like beating them up.

Participant Babalwa (South African)*:*

> To me domestic violence is the quarrel or fighting within the family, it does not only occur to husband and wife, it can be the whole family.

However, of all the participants, only one understood a wide range of actions as domestic violence which other participants did not mention. This is supported by the quotation below:

Participant Malvin (Zimbabwean)*:*

> Domestic violence is treating your spouse in an indifferent way which is …..when someone abuses the spouse. Domestic violence is the way you treat somebody emotionally and physically. Domestic violence is not only hitting your partner, being unfaithful to somebody; non-commitment to the needs of your partner, that is, not taking your partners needs seriously and not respecting the rights of your partner which includes sexual rights.

Findings also show that women are deemed to have given up their sexual rights following the partner's payment of the bride price (roora) [Shona] or (lobola) in [Zulu or Sindebele][2]. In this

[2] Sindebele is a language similar to Zulu which is widely spoken in South Africa and the Matebeland parts of Zimbabwe,

regard, Bowman (2003) notes that in African culture, women's husbands and their husbands' families control the sexuality of women after the payment of lobola. Interestingly, the study revealed that is was not only the customarily married husbands and wives that are entitled to conjugal right since some of those claiming conjugal rights were people in cohabiting relationships.

Another interesting point to note is that both immigrant and South African men did not perceive verbal abuse as domestic violence when inflicted on them by their female partners. Instead, they perceive verbal abuse as a factor that leads to wife battering because a spouse or partner would have pushed them far thereby.

Participant Kelvin (South African):

> If she does not want to have sex with me then what is she doing in my life? It is understandable for my girlfriend to deny me sex when she is not feeling well not for her to refuse for no reason.

Participant Prosper (Zimbabwean):

> Persuading my wife to have sex with me after having a fight or when she does not feel like having sex is not domestic violence because it is believed that sex is actually nicer and enjoyable to have after engaging in a fight. The other thing is that I would have paid bride price for her so why deny me sex?

In addition, findings revealed that the manifestation of domestic violence against men is usually of a different form and nature compared to that experienced by women in spousal abusive relationships. Findings revealed that men were not aware of the mere fact that they were in abusive relationships when they are being shouted at or when affection is withdrawn. Men often

take cases such as verbal abuse and withdrawal of affection lightly until it worsens and then they tend to take action afterwards. Such action is often a resort to physical abuse as a way to shut a provocative wife up. Some researchers argue that the types of violence prevalent against men are taken less seriously in the society and these include mental, verbal and emotional abuse (Kumar 2012; Lambert 2006; Cleary 2003). This also suggests that, while there are some forms of domestic violence prevalent against men, men are themselves not generally aware that these actions constitute abuse against them. Below are responses from three different participants expressing their views on issues of verbal abuse, withdrawal of affection among other forms of domestic violence.

Participant Ronald (South African):

> Women hardly beat men up but they are good at provoking men by insulting men and withdrawing love by making sure that she won't make love with you until you have given her what she wants or she will just be moody and she will be giving you one word answer or not giving an answer at all (sic) (Insulting words).

Participant Lewis (Ghana):

> You know! People are good at saying that men committed domestic violence because you have beaten a woman but when she shouts at me, calling me names and provoking me it is not a crime and I am not abused. It only becomes abuse when I smack her.

Participant Tina (Zimbabwean)*:*

> If I go and report that my wife beat me up at the police they will laugh at me because they don't believe that a man can be beaten by a woman. Of course a woman cannot hit me but women are good at making your life miserable especially when you have children with them, they always shout at you even in the presence of family and friends or they can even forbid you to see your children.

With regard to women embarrassing or shouting at their spouses, partners or husbands in front of close friends or relatives, Kumar (2012) observes that, being shouted at in front of friends and family provokes men more than physical violence from women, meaning that men are more sensitive to emotional and psychological abuse. He goes on to state that violence against men is not considered serious because of its different manifestation. In most cases of violence against men, women use more mental, verbal, and emotional violence and are involved less in physical violence" (Kumar 2012, p. 5). The findings of this study also confirm Kumar's findings on men's experiences of domestic violence.

Most participants stated that withdrawal of sex is the weapon mostly used by women against men, sometimes for no apparent reason. This is again in line with Kumar's (2012) study in which most men stated that women withhold sex for no reason knowing that the husband will not seek sex elsewhere. In this regard, Kumar (2012, p. 294) states that women use sex as "a bargaining tool". The reasons why some men do not look for sex elsewhere is usually cultural, religious, and self-discipline among others.

The following sub-section will discuss the causes of domestic violence in homes.

4. 2. 3. Causes of domestic violence in homes

Domestic violence in societies is not a new phenomenon, neither are the causes a new aspect too (Menjivar & Salcido 2002, Easteal 1996). Most of the studies on intimate partner violence have documented the perceived causes, experiences, responses as well as educating women on available services for women in abusive relationships. Most of these studies mainly focused on narratives of female survivors and male perpetrators of domestic violence. However, in this case men shared their perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence.

This study revealed that both immigrant and South African participants perceived that domestic violence results from women's failure to take on their feminine roles, women's lack of respect towards their partners, unfaithfulness, monetary issues, claiming of rights e.g. through withholding of sex. The above-mentioned factors were reportedly to have contributed significantly to domestic violence. By indicating that their partners were failing to show them respect, they were meant in cases whereby their partners would backchat them when they were talking. They also mentioned that back chatting is a clear indication of disrespect and also a sign of challenging man's authority as the head of the house. In support of this proposition, Bowman (2003) reported that in African culture issues of failure to respect and asking for money are prominent causes of domestic violence because not showing respect and asking for money undermines a man's role as provider and as the head of the house.

Findings in this study also revealed that immigrant and South African men viewed the touching of phones by their spouses, partners or wives as an invasion of their privacy. They indicated that

the mere fact that their women were going through their phones was a clear indication of the lack of respect towards them. Bowman (2003) supports the above by stating that, ". …arguments erupt among Shona couples when wife simply asks her husband for money, thereby challenging the traditionally absolute control by the male head of household over family finances".

Participant Ronald (South African):

> The fights that are happening in my family are because of my wife's lack of respect.

Interviewer:

> What do you mean by saying that you fight because of your wife's lack of respect?

Participant Ronald (South Africa):

> She does not respect me by talking back to me when I am talking (back chatting). You know that every man deserves to be respected as the culture says (sic). The other thing is unfaithfulness and unfair treatment of children from previous marriages. It is also a problem that causes a fight in my house when my wife refuses to sleep with me

Participant Malvin (Zimbabwean):

> Fights in intimate partner relationships are usually caused by lack of respect (sic). To me respect is very important.

Interviewer: *What do mean by lack of respect?*

Participant (Zimbabwe):

> By respect I mean that the partner should talk to me after judging my mood on that particular day. If she does not judge the mood of the particular day she

might say something that might lead me to be violent towards her. Lack of respect also involves touching people's phones and being intrusive, being unfaithful, always asking for money when I don't have money. For example when her family or my family members back home ask for money when we do not have money

Participant Kelvin (South African)*:*

In the arguments about having sex one can end up beating his wife because she is refusing to have sex. Couples also fight about money, as for me, my girlfriend gives me sex after I have given her money without money I will not have sex with her and when she refuses that when our fight start.

Participant Prosper (Zimbabwean):

Intimate partners usually fight about money, insecurity and lack of respect. African men need to be respected because that is the way men are brought up. Women need to respect men since there are some things that cannot change no matter how much the world has become westernized. And the other issue is that of women refusing to have sex because it is their right to deny husbands sex and yet the husband paid lobola. If women refuse to have sex with me then where is she getting it? Tiredness is not an excuse for a woman to deny her husband sex because sexual organs are never tired. Extended family members are also another problem in a relationship, when they hear that you are in South Africa they just assume that you have a lot of money so they always ask for things and want to be taken care of. And yet partners would be having their own plans or people would have come to South Africa will not be making enough for themselves and their families.

However, despite some similarities mentioned above, there were some differences in immigrant men and South African men's perceptions of domestic violence. Immigrant men reported that cases of domestic violence result from too much pressure and high expectations from family members in the migrant sending countries. They indicated that their family members in sending countries expect immigrant men to provide for them and their families. For example, a brother in the diaspora is expected to take care of all extended family members. By high expectation they meant that relatives in the migration sending countries expect them to buy them goodies and money all the time yet migrants would not be making enough for them to make ends meet for themselves and nuclear family in South Africa. Hence, when one tries to send money or goodies to the other partner's relatives forgetting the other partner's relative, fights in the house begin.

Bowman (2003) supported the above mentioned by stating that too much pressure from extended family members is a prominent factor leading to intimate partner violence due to different factors such as shortage or limited available resources for one to cater for his family. Let alone, providing for the extended family members in the migrant sending countries from both the wife and the husband's side. Bowman (2003) further states that intimate partner violence cases are usually sparked by the challenges faced by the husband in coping with his economic obligations to extended family members, which is also a threat to the nuclear family. In addition, the study by Armstrong indicated that monetary issues among other factors result in spousal abuse.

Findings also revealed that the exposure of immigrant women to the South African way of life is among the reported causative factors of domestic violence. They reported that immigrant women were copying what they termed as "the South African way of life" such as going to the parties

and neglected their duties as women of the house. These duties included coming back from parties well in time to prepare supper for their husbands. Thus when women have gone out for parties they expected their men to cook for themselves and them as well something that is regarded as a taboo in the African context.

The following sub-section will discuss domestic violence as a family matter.

4.2.4 Domestic violence as a family matter

The study revealed that domestic violence is perceived to be a private family matter that should be handled within the family. Both immigrants and South African heterosexual men in intimate relationships indicated that in the event of domestic violence, they report to relatives on both the men's and women's side. By intimate relationships the researcher referred to women who were living together with immigrant and South African men either as married or not married or living together as partners or spouses of the participants. The cases of domestic violence that the participants were referring to were cases based on their personal experiences and incidents of people whom they know. Thus, the cases they referred had happened to them personally and were also cases they witnessed among close relatives and friends. Participants reported that family members involved in intervening or solving domestic violence cases are usually aunts, uncles, grandparents, sisters and brothers of the concerned parties.

It was also found that acts of domestic violence are regarded as family matters because they are perceived to be normal acts that could occur in every intimate partner relationship. They are therefore not reported to public institution outside the family. Thus, if violence occurs, seeking

help from places such as public domestic violence help centers shows a failure to deal with a normal marital problem.

Participant Ronald (South African):

> I will tell my family members or her family members such as aunts and uncles that she is abusing me so that they can sit with us down and tell her what she is doing is wrong and she needs to change.

Participant Tumi (Zimbabwean):

Shona

Ini ndikarovana nemudzimai wangu handiti, anogona kunondirevera kuna mukoma wangu kana kuna amaiguru kana anatete, anambuya ndovanouya kuzotigadzirisa zvimwe chetezvo neniwo kana akandiabuser ndinonotaurira madzikoma, anatete, ambuya vekwangu nevekumukadzi wangu.

English translation

(In the event that I have beaten my wife up she will go and report to my brother, my brother's wife, aunts, or our grandmothers to come and solve the matter and that same applies to me. If it happens that she abuses me I will also report her to our sisters, brothers, aunts and grandmothers from my side and her side *also).*

Participant Taka (Zimbabwe):

Shona

> (Ndinonomhan'ara domestic violence kune vanhu vakaita sana tete nokuti anatete ndivo vanogadzirisa matambudziko ose atinosangana nawo mumba medu).

English translation

> I will report domestic violence to our family members like our Aunts for they are the ones who are always responsible for all marital affairs or any marital disputes in our family.

Participant Babalwa (South African):

> If my partner abuses me for the first time, I will talk to her about her actions the following day and ask her why she has beaten me and when she fails to understand I will involve her family, mother or father.

Some participants from villages with strong chieftainships also reported that domestic violence matters are usually taken to local authorities such as chiefs and headmen in instances where the social support provided by close family members fail. South Africans in their rural homes usually did report matters to the chief or headman in cases where families have failed to resolve differences. Similarly chiefs or headmen from Zimbabwe were reported having been consulted to resolve marital disputes. However, in the case of immigrant men it is difficult for them to consult their chiefs because of the distance involved.

However, literature tends to say the opposite. Scholars argue that domestic violence is not just a family matter but a social, public health, human rights, criminal law and justice issue (Goodman-Bryan & Joyce 2010, Respecting Accuracy in Domestic Abuse Reporting 2009). Goodman-Bryan & Joyce (2010, p. 1) argue that even though domestic violence occurs in private spaces it is not a family problem because its effects are seen in "homeless shelters, emergency rooms, and unemployment lines … family instability, long-term health problems and reduced productivity".

The following sub-section will shed light on migration, claiming of rights and shifting of gender roles.

4. 2. 5. Migration, claiming of rights and shifting of gender roles

The study revealed that migrating to South Africa has made migrant women aware of rights such as equal rights and the fact that they can report acts of domestic violence, situations that immigrant men say are less obtainable in their native countries. Migrant men who participated in the study reported that claiming of rights by women has provoked domestic violence in their homes because women no longer performed their 'feminine roles' in the house as they used to do in their native countries. It is reported that women now expect men to perform these 'feminine' duties such as cooking and doing laundry for their intimate partners.

Participant Prosper (Zimbabwean):

> When women from Zimbabwe come this side (South Africa), they wanna (sic) join this fast and party life forgetting their duties as women. For example when she goes for a party she wants to find food cooked for her. That did not happen in Zim there weren't too much parties and besides at home women know that whenever they go out partying they come home in time to do all their job.

Participant Tina (Zimbabwean):

> This issue of equal rights has caused many problems in relationships especially here (South Africa) whereby women have too many rights to an extent that when they have gone somewhere they want to find all their duties done. Like they expect you to cook, do the laundry and take care of kids.

Participant Lewis (Ghanaian):

> Women in my country know their position in the house. Not what I see here in South Africa where women speak of equal rights asking men to do their duties. Women provoke men by asking men to do dishes, and laundry among other women duties here in South Africa, they ask men of things that never used to happen in the Ghana and that's where the problem starts.

The above findings are in line with the fact that there are preconceived gendered domestic division of labour and position of women in homes. Pilcher & Whelehan (2004) have argued that such practices generally lead to women being nurturers, passive, submissive, emotional and sensitive human beings. From what migrant participants reported, it is apparent that migrant men perceived claiming of rights and shifts in gender roles to have resulted from their migration to South Africa where gender equality and claiming of rights are more pronounced. They therefore feel that if they had not migrated to South Africa, their women would not have been exposed to such rights and would not demand changes in the roles performed back in their countries of origin.

Most of immigrant participants also reported that gender roles are more defined and maintained in their native countries as a result of strong family institutions that monitor the maintenance of culturally defined gender roles. Bowman (2003) observes that in most cultures there are clearly defined gender roles that are passed from one generation to another through socialization. In such situations, spousal abuse is likely to occur when women fail to perform their roles and to follow cultural expectations and the expectations of their husbands.

Participant Malvin (Zimbabwean):

> I can only cook for my girlfriend when she is not feeling well and when she is not sick she has to perform "her duties as a woman". I don't mind allowing my girlfriend to go to work but she has to ensure that her duties such as cooking, cleaning the house and doing laundry are done (sic).

Participant 4 (Zimbabwean):

> I believe that women are supposed to perform womanly duties because culture has defined what women and men should do. As African people, African men and women are supposed to follow their culture not following other people cultures that supress our culture.

The following sub-section will discuss socialization and culture.

4.2.6 Socialization and culture

Findings revealed that South African and migrant men used socialization and culture to explain causes of domestic violence. They expressed that through socialization they have learnt things that are socially acceptable gender roles, as such, they have a problem when their intimate partners adopt a different culture. To the participants, gender equality and shifting of gender roles are perceived as western cultures obtainable in the west, and that they will definitely resist it if such cultures are imposed on them.

Participant Thando (Zimbabwean):

> In our culture, we have a certain way of doing things and that is how they should be done. Women should do things they are supposed to do such as cooking, taking care of children and all.

Participant Lewis (Ghanaian):

> The issues of gender equality and shifting of gender roles do not exist in my culture and I prefer doing things in our "African way".

It may be argued however, that shifting gender roles due to migration, are not root causes of domestic violence since there are heterosexual couples whose gender roles have shifted despite not having migrated. It can thus be too simplistic to argue that migration is the sole cause of shifting gender roles, a situation that can be quite complex. In this regard, Bowman (2003, p. 854 -855) contends that:

> Other commonly reported causes of arguments that escalate to violence are: (1) disputes about the husband's traditional economic obligations to his extended family, now seen as a direct threat to the economic survival of the nuclear household; (2) anger over the wife's perceived failure to adequately fulfil the role of a wife within the traditional division of household labor;36 and (3) violence occasioned by the wife's "talking back," that is, failure to conform to the expected behaviour of a wife to be submissive, not to question or argue with her husband, and to ask his permission for all her activities.

The following sub-section will discuss South African laws on domestic violence biased towards women and children.

4.2.7 South African laws on domestic violence biased towards women and children.

The findings of this study reveal that South African laws on domestic violence are biased towards women and children. Participants expressed the view that migrant men and South African men are vulnerable to domestic violence because the South African laws on domestic

violence take women's claims of abuse more seriously than those reported by their male counterparts. Due to this, participants indicate that they do not find it useful to report cases of domestic violence to the police for fear of being humiliated or of not being believed. Findings also indicate that migrant men believed that migration is responsible for the increase in cases of domestic violence against men while South African men emphasized more on laws that protect women as the main contributing factor.

Compared to migrant men, four out of six South African heterosexual men also reported that they do not consider reporting domestic violence to the police because of the fear that their claims may be not taken seriously and that they may be laughed at. These views by the respondents confirm Stewart's assertion that "[m]any domestic violence incidents are not reported to the police"(2001, p. 9). Moreover, this study has shown that the changes in migrant men's responses to domestic violence can be attributed to the 'strict' domestic violence laws in South Africa and the fear of arrest. For example one migrant respondent stated that:

Shona

> "Kurova mukadzi kuno kuSouth Africa imhosva huru nekuti ndinogona kusungwa even kurara naye asina kundibvumidza kuno imhosva. But kuZimbabwe haisi mhosva yandingasungirwa nemapurisa nekuti vanongoti dzokerai kumba munogadzirisana kana kuti vanoti endai mozodzoka moreporter mangwana kuitira kuti vaone kuti mangwana ndinenge ndichiri kuda kureporter here or tinenge tatogadzirisana ini nemukadzi wangu

English translation

> ".(Beating your wife here in South Africa is a serious criminal offence even having sex with her without her consent is a crime. But in Zimbabwe it is not a crime that I would get arrested for by the police. Instead the police will ask the domestic violence survivor to go back home and come back to report the following

day. Police do that so as to see whether the following day my wife would still want to report the case or we would solved our differences."

Nevertheless, it can also be argued that the police officers would like to confirm whether the complainant really wants to report the case because survivors of domestic violence usually turn up the following day for the release of their spouses. According to Bowman (2003), the fact is that while most African states do have domestic violence legislations, they lack administrative and law enforcement capabilities to put the laws into practice.

Differences in ways in which immigrant and South African men perceived, experienced and responded to domestic violence

- Immigrant men expressed strong belief that domestic violence is exerxabated by migrating to South Africa where law is said to be biased towards women, whereas South African men expressed the view that domestic violence was perpetuated by bias of law enforcement officers towards men as perpetrators of domestic violence not victims.
- Immigrants believed that wife battering is way of instilling discipline to a problematic partner whereas their South African counterparts did not say anything about disciplining wife with a rod .
- Immigrant men reported that the shortage of resources to support expectant extended family members in their countries of origin was a major contributing factor of domestic violence amongst migrant communities where as South African men did not mention anything about extended family members contributing to domestic violence.

- Immigrant men perceived that migrating to South Africa has made migrant women increasingly aware of gender equality and claiming their rights in the wrong way which resulted in them neglecting their duties in the house. Hence, resulting in domestic violence.
- Immigrant men believed that migration was responsible for the increase of domestic violence in their homes whereas South African men on laws that protect men as the main contributing factor.

Similarities in ways in which immigrant and South African men perceived, experienced and responded to domestic violence

- Both immigrant men and South African men perceived that domestic violence was a family matter to be dealt with within family structures before exploring other options such as community heads, police among other available structures.
- Both immigrant and South African men indicated that they do not even consider reported cases of domestic violence to police because they fear being humiliated or laughed upon reporting domestic violence inflicted by women.
- Both immigrant and South African men used culture to justify acts of domestic violence.
- Both immigrant and South African men indicated that being shouted at in front of people provokes and evokes anger thereby.
- Both immigrant and South African men perceived that division of labour or role differentiation should be observed in line with traditional division of labour to ensure reduction in domestic violence cases.

- Both immigrant and South African men had a general understanding of the term domestic violence.
- Both immigrant and South African men did not perceive verbal abuse as domestic violence when inflicted on them by their female partners. Instead, they perceived verbal abuse as a factor that leads to wife battering because a spouse or a partner would have pushed them far thereby.
- Both immigrant and South African men did not perceive demanding for sex as an act of domestic violence for they felt that it was their right to exercise conjugal rights obtained after having paid bridal price.
- Both immigrant and South African men had preconceived ideas of women's role in the home.
- Both migrant and South African men made use of socialisation and culture to explain causes of domestic violence

4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, research reveals that there was no significant difference in how immigrant and South African men perceive domestic violence. Most immigrant and South African men had an understanding of domestic violence. The research also revealed that participants were at some point abused by their partners but were unaware of the abuse in cases of verbal abuse or the withholding of affection and sex for example. It is also revealed that men are also victims of domestic abuse but they are scared to report domestic violence for fear of being laughed at.

Although, in some cases, migration and nationality differences had an impact on how participants perceived, experienced and responded to domestic violence, there were generally no major discrepancies between migrant and South African men. However, migrant men indicated that the way they respond to domestic violence has changed since they moved to South Africa because of a wide range of factors such as fear of getting arrested, deportation and humiliation.

South African men also slightly differed from migrant men when it came to the causes of domestic violence. Migrant men attributed domestic violence to shifting of gender roles upon migration, claiming of rights and South Africa's domestic violence laws that are allegedly biased against men. Lastly, the study revealed that social constructions of masculine identity, gender roles and the power of men regarding domestic violence are more likely to hinder them from seeking help, and this makes it difficult for researchers to recognize domestic violence against men as a problem.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

First, this chapter presents a summary of the findings of the study plus an explanation of whether they answer the research questions. Second, the chapter offers and interpretation of the findings. Thirdly, the researcher discusses the context in which the study was conducted. This is where the researcher seeks to find out the extent to which the findings of the study agrees with existing literature on domestic violence. Fourthly, the researcher discusses the implications of the findings, and seeks to show how they align with current theories of domestic violence and migration. Then the limitations of the study and factors that may have affected the findings are discussed, and this is followed, lastly, by recommendation for further studies.

5.2 Summary of findings

The study revealed that migration and nationality difference did not have an impact on how immigrant men and South African men perceived domestic violence. It is revealed that immigrant men perceived domestic violence the same way they perceived it in their migrant sending countries. Interestingly, South African men perceived domestic violence the same way as immigrant men. For example, both immigrant men and South African men perceived domestic violence as a normal way of dealing with family matters which can also be solved within the family. By perceiving domestic violence as a family matter that can be handled within the family, they mean that in the event of any form of domestic violence they would normally report the case to immediate family members such as uncles and aunts. This means that parties involved in domestic violence only seek help outside the confines of the family when family interventions fail.

This study also showed that migration and nationality difference does not influence how immigrant men and South African men understood the term domestic violence. Both had similar understanding of what domestic violence is, and what it comprises. For example, both groups of participants understood violence as physical, emotional and verbal. Interestingly, they did not understand that certain acts constitute abuse, for example forcing their intimate partners to engage in sexual activities against their will.

Some of these men indicated that they were quite happy that finally there are people willing to understand their perceptions on domestic violence because over the years discourses on domestic violence has focused only on women and children. Compared to laws in immigrant men's

countries of origin, immigrant men indicated that South African laws favour and protect women more than men. Therefore, they do not see the point of reporting domestic violence cases knowing that their claims will not be taken seriously. Furthermore, they mentioned that in cases of domestic violence they would not consider reporting the case to the police because they fear that the police will humiliate and laugh at them. In addition, it is not considered manly for them to report because it would batter their egos and put into question their masculine status which is associated with being physically strong, suppressing feelings and exercise of power over women among other perceived masculine attributes (Grogan & Richards 2002; Shefer et al 2007).

To a great extent, the study answered the research question by revealing that migration had influenced the way in which immigrant men experienced and responded to domestic violence in South Africa. It was revealed that immigrant men experienced more domestic violence (such as verbal abuse and physical abuse) because they were not able to send remmitances to their family members in their migrant sending countries. They indicated that domestic violence erupts when their partner, wife or live-in girlfriend, desires to send money or valuables home while they (the men) are not able to make ends meet in South Africa. They also state that these fights have been exacerbated by their movement to South Africa because the expectations from extended family members are never met. Immigrant men also noted that they experienced more verbal and sexual abuse since migrating to South Africa because women take advantage of the laws and regulations in South Africa that protect them. By this, they mean that women are taking advantage of the more pronounced human rights in South Africa to abuse their male partners. Immigrant men also mentioned that moving from their home countries also worsened domestic violence in the

sense that the family systems which were available in their home countries that helps solve domestic violence are not always available in South Africa. One interesting thing about these immigrant men's experiences is that they spoke as if domestic violence did not exist in their countries.

The study also revealed that migration changed the way immigrant men responded to domestic violence. These men indicated that it is difficult for them to discipline their intimate partners (wives, live-in-girlfriends, or partners) in South Africa because they fear arrest by the police. By discipline, they meant beating up their women up as a means of punishment and of correction.

Furthermore, wife battering is regarded as a normal way of teaching a partner to be obedient (Bowman, 2003). Immigrant men also believed that there was no use reporting violence initiated by their partners because even if they report a case of domestic violence, they will not be believed. Thus, to immigrant men reporting domestic violence is not an option because they will also be placing themselves at risk if they do not have legal documents to reside in South Africa.

Overall, what was even more interesting for the researcher was that both immigrant men and South African men revealed that they often experience domestic violence initiated by their partners but they are not comfortable with publicizing it. They indicated that they usually experienced verbal, emotional and sexual abuse. For instance, their partners can withdraw affection or show lack of respect for no apparent reason or as a bargaining tool. They also mentioned that physically or emotionally, abusing their partners is usually the last resort in most

cases. To them, beating up their partners is used as a way of ending long standing issues in their relationships.

5.3 Context of findings

Studying perceptions of domestic violence and migration is not new in the social sciences. Studies on domestic violence have been conducted on immigrant women's perceptions, experiences, responses and vulnerability in the contexts of migration over the years (Kiwanuka 2008; Menjivar & Salcido 2002; Cook 2009; Dean 2005; De la Rey 2004; Zincir, Yagmur, Kaya, Balci & Elmali 2010; Carpenter 2006; Large 1997). Most of these studies did not reckon with the accounts of men especially, immigrant men's, perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence in the migration context which is what this study sought to explore.

The findings of the study are in line with existing literature which indicate that the use of physical abuse by men in African culture is perceived to be a normal way of correcting disobedience (Bowman, 2003) and in response to women's requests for money which is perceived as an affront. However, in this study, men's explanations differ in the sense that they indicated that partner battering was often the result of women provoking men through various forms including verbal abuse and the withdrawal of affection. By this they mean that wife battering is not a response to women asking for money, but that it results from long-standing issues such as disrespect and failure to abide by cultural expectations. Thus, men tend to use force as a means of retaliation against partners who do not respect them (Clearly 2003; Kumar 2012).

The study attempts to clarify some contradictions in the literature relating to women's dual roles as both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. Participants stated expressly that women perpetrate violence as much as men do, but that theirs is taken lightly because of the long-standing pre-conceptions that women are victims rather than perpetrators of domestic violence.

5. 4. Recommendations for future research

a) First, the researcher recommends that there is need for further research that directly uncovers the less known side of migrant and South African male victims' perceptions of domestic violence so that there is an awareness that domestic violence is not just a gender, human rights, public health or criminal justice issue concerning women and children but that concerns men too.

b) Second, there is a need for law enforcement officers to take male domestic violence claims as seriously as they do women and children's claims so that migrant and South African men can seek help instead of being stigmatized and laughed at. This will also make it easier for domestic violence in both women and children to be combated.

c) Thirdly, the researcher recommends that the South African Police Services offers protection against domestic violence without gender biases and without identifying whether one is documented or undocumented so that even abused migrant men can also receive protection.

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, migration influences the way immigrant men experience and respond to domestic violence in South Africa, although migration and nationality differences do not impact on how

immigrant men and South African men experience domestic violence. This study reveals that despite the difference in nationalities, participants reported common experiences regarding gendered division of labour and traditional roles. The research also indicated that men also experience domestic violence in a form different from that experienced by women. In most cases men respond to verbal and/or emotional forms of abuse with physical abuse as a means of punishing their women for disobedience and other culturally-determined offences. The researcher concludes that changes in the contexts in which domestic violence occurs have an impact on how immigrant men experience and respond to domestic violence in South Africa. Moreover, South African laws and legislations (as well as the perception that human rights are more protected in South Africa than in the migrant sending countries) have an influence on immigrant men's experiences and responses to domestic violence. But because they have not migrated externally, South African men do not associate their perceptions, experiences and responses to domestic violence to the issue of South African laws.

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Appendix A

Participant information sheet

Dear Research Participant

Request for your participation in a research project

My name is Polite Njowa and I am a Master of Arts in Forced Migration student at the University of the Witwatersrand. In partial fulfilment of my degree requirements, I am conducting research on immigrant and South African heterosexual men's understanding, perceptions and responses to domestic violence in Johannesburg inner city. The seeks to understand whether nationality and migration has an impact on immigrant and south African men's understand, perceive and respond to domestic violence.

I would appreciate it if you would allow me to interview you for about 45 minutes, your participation is entirely voluntary, and you will not receive any benefits from participating in the study. You may withdraw from the study at any time, without any consequences and you may refuse to answer any question you do not feel comfortable with.

With your permission the interview will be tape recorded. No one will have access to the tapes other than my supervisor and I. The tapes will be destroyed after my study has been marked and I have graduated. No identifying information will be included in the interview transcripts and in the final research report, pseudo names will be used throughout the research.

The final research report will be kept in the Cullen Library at the university where students and lecturers will have access to it. You will be able to request information about the research report from the researcher. Any queries regarding the study do not hesitate to contact student: Polite Njowa on 071 841 4867 or email: pnjowa@gmail.com and Supervisor: Zaheera Jinnah on 011 717 4092 or email: Zaheera.Jinnah@wits.ac.za.

Yours Sincerely

Polite Njowa

Appendix B

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

I hereby consent to participate in the research. I have read the participant information sheet where the purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular items or withdraw from

the study at any time without any consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential as the researcher and her supervisor are the only ones who will have access to the audio tapes. I also know that I will be kept anonymous in the reporting of the data as pseudo names will be used in the reporting of the data.

Participant Signature: ……..

Appendix C

CONSENT FOR AUDIO-TAPING OF THE INTERVIEW

I hereby agree to be tape recorded on the interview. I understand that my confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained at all times and that the tapes will be destroyed after the researcher has graduated.

Date:……..

Signature:……

Appendix D

Semi – Structured Interview guide

Date of interview

1. How old are you?
2. What is your occupation?

3. What is your relationship status?
4. Where do you originally come? (Country of origin)
5. For how long have you been staying in South Africa?
6. Please tell me about what made you to leave your home country and come to South Africa.
7. What were the major challenges you encountered when you reached South Africa?
8. Can you please tell me what you understand by domestic violence?
9. What acts do you think are acts of domestic of violence?
10. How do you perceive domestic violence in your culture?
11. Has this movement to South Africa had an impact on your marriage and or relationship? If so
12. How? What do men and women or husbands and wives or intimate partners usually fight about?
13. What do you think causes the fights to occur?
14. What conflicts have you experienced in your relationship with our wife/partner/ girlfriend –

a) In your home country

b) In this country (South Africa).

15. Do you think that migrating to South Africa has changed roles between you and your wife/ partner/ girlfriend? And if yes, in what ways have these roles changed and do you think they can cause any conflicts?

16. Please tell me whether you think you think that the conflicts you are experiencing with your partner/wife/ girlfriend in South Africa are more or less than those you experienced in your country of origin. Why do you think this is the case?

17. What do you think contributes to conflicts between you and your partner/wife in South Africa?

18To what extent do you think that conflicts in intimate partner relationships are a result of being an immigrant in South Africa? If yes why do you think so?

19. How would you respond to violence inflicted by your wife/ partner/ girlfriend?

20. Suppose you have been a victim of domestic violence, where and who would you report to?

21. Is there any difference or similarities in how domestic violence is perceived and dealt with in your country origin as compared to South Africa? In what ways?

22. Do you think there are other questions I have left out that you would have wanted us to talk about?

23. Would you need any further information on domestic violence?

24. Do you have any questions?