CHALLENGING VIOLENT MASCULINITIES:
A CRITICAL FEMINIST INVESTIGATION OF THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
AND RELIGION

By

RUBEENA PARTAB
8318974

Submitted in Fulfilment of the Academic
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Subject of
Gender and Religion

at the

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
(Pietermaritzburg Campus)

SUPERVISOR

PROF. SAROJINI NADAR

PIETERMARITZBURG
March 2012

DECLARATION

As required by University regulations, I hereby state unambiguously that this work has not been presented at any other University or any other institution of higher learning other than the University of KwaZulu-Natal, (Pietermaritzburg Campus) and that unless specifically indicated to the contrary within the text it is my original work.

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13 March 2012

As candidate supervisor I hereby approve this dissertation for submission

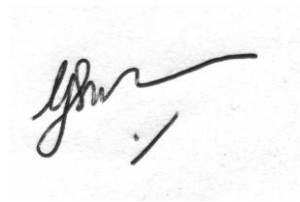---

PROFESSOR SAROJINI NADAR

13 March 2012

CERTIFICATION

We the undersigned declare that we have abided by the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics (SRPC) in the College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal's policy on language editing. We also declare that earlier forms of the dissertation have been retained should they be required.

GARY STUART DAVID LEONARD

13 March 2012

RUBEENA PARTAB

13 March 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The fact that this research project is completed at all reflects the tireless assistance and constant encouragement of many incredible people.

First, I owe my sincere gratitude to the inspiring supervision of Prof. Sarojini Nadar for her excellent critical eye, unstinting support and contagious enthusiasm. Indeed, it was her undaunted patience with my numerous imperfections that provided the necessary impetus to bring it to its final completion!

To my precious indulgent family, whose unconditional support, persistent faith and consistent and unfailing enquiry of the progression of writing or lack thereof enabled me to endure the many tedious and trying stages of this incredible journey. I am profoundly blessed.

To my many friends, who bravely stifled their yawns, and disguised and feigned their interest while listening to me talk incessantly, I am humbled by your attention, tolerance and patient endurance.

Finally, to the men who so gracious co-operated as eager participants of this research project, I owe you all my sincere and respectful appreciation for being willing to share on what ultimately contributes to a better understanding of why you do what you do!

ABSTRACT

When something is about masculinities it is not always about men.
Kosofsky-Sedgwick (1995:12).

Any society that is lauded for its exemplary National Constitution that asserts and affords their citizens basic human rights is accountable for how those rights are translated into the "lived experiences" of its citizens. In South Africa, a pronounced and violent identity has become notoriously established by the blatant disrespect for women's rights, a reality predominantly present within the marital dyad. Unfortunately, even after eighteen years of political liberation and some fourteen years after the promulgation of the much-lauded Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998, the culture of human rights has not demonstrably translated into women's rights as countless women continue to be challenged in their marriages by the dictates and privileges of hegemonic masculinities that their husbands subscribe to.

In order to engage with this prevailing and destructive state of disharmony and abuse in marriages, this study concentrates on a simple yet logical question of "why do men do what they do?" centred as it is within the compass of their violent relationships with their wives.

This exploratory research project afforded an in-depth understanding and examination of seven married men who were afforded an opportunity to engage in four focus group discussions to describe and detail their subjective narratives of their violent relationships. This research provided spaces for men's reflective accounts of their violence, thereby offering insightful interpretations of the contours of the contradictions contained in the social construction of masculinities which in South Africa is multi-faceted.

The sample frame comprised of men who resided in Phoenix, a large township, north of the City of Durban. According to racial profile, all were South African Indian. Their ages ranged from 34 to 61 years, while their wives were between 35 to 60 years of age. Years of marriage ranged from 3 to 36. Three respondents were in their first marriage, while four were married for the second time. Five respondents had matriculated; while one possessed a post-matriculation qualification and one had completed Standard Six (present High School Grade Eight). Concerning their religious affiliation, six of the respondents were Christian and one was Muslim.

Utilising critical, feminist and masculinity theories, the 'authoritative discourses' offered by the respondents were meaningfully interrogated, examined and analysed. In particular, the study paid careful attention to the inextricable links between the constructions of masculinities, domestic violence and the sociology of religion.

Emergent meta-themes that emanated from the extensive narratives of the men on their violent relationship with their wives included the privileges of patriarchy; religion and male privilege, and finally the clash between religious belief and the South African criminal justice system. It is within the acknowledged space of the "web of associated factors" which contribute to domestic violence, that conclusions were reached.

The study logically concludes that a deliberate, coherent, sustained, and spiritual ethos is needed in South Africa so as to ameliorate the damaging and destructive effects that are presently and overwhelmingly dictated by the presence of hegemonic masculinities.

Key Themes: *Domestic Violence; Masculinities; Hegemonic Masculinities; Gender; Feminist; Feminist Research; Sociology of Religion; Islam and Christianity; Headship; Spirituality; Patriarchy; Oppression; Web of Associated Factors; Narratives of Lived Experiences; Power and Control; Clergy; Faith Communities; Substance Abuse; Domestic Violence Act; African Feminist Principles; Gender Transformation; Reconciliation and Healing.*

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

I propose to invite attention today to…the best field for the operation of non-violence. This is the family field...Non-violence as between the members of such families should be easy to practice. If it fails, it means that we have not developed the capacity for pure non-violence. For, the love we have to practice towards our relatives or colleagues in our family institutions, we have to practice towards our foes, dacoits etc. If we fail in one case, success in the other is a *chimera...ahimsa*[1]is best learnt in the domestic school, and I can say from experience that,

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[1] Ahimsa basically means nonviolence. As Gandhi can write elsewhere, "*Ahimsa* is a comprehensive principle. We are helpless mortals caught in the conflagration of *himsa*. The saying that life lives on life has a deep meaning in it. Man cannot for a moment live without consciously or unconsciously committing outward *himsa*. The very fact of his living eating, drinking and moving about necessarily involves some *himsa*, destruction of life, be it ever so minute. A votary of *ahimsa* therefore remains true to his faith if the spring of all his actions is compassion, if he shuns to the best of his ability the destruction of the tiniest creature, tries to save it, and thus incessantly strives to be free from the deadly coil of *himsa*. He will be constantly growing in self-restraint and compassion, but he can never become entirely free from outward *himsa*.

Then again, because underlying *ahimsa* is the unity of all life, the error of one cannot but affect all, and hence man cannot be wholly free from *himsa*. So long as he continues to be a social being, he cannot but participate in the *himsa* that the very existence of society involves. When two nations are fighting, the duty of a votary of *ahimsa* is to stop the war. He who is not equal to that duty, he who has no power of resisting war, he who is not qualified to resist war, may take part in war, and yet whole-heartedly try to free himself, his nation and the world from war." *Gandhi, An Autobiography*, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1927). Cited in <http://www.humanistictexts.org/gandhi.htm/> [Accessed November 07, 2011].

if we secure success there, we are sure to do so everywhere else, for a non-violent person the whole world is one family. He will thus fear none, nor will others fear him. (Gandhi 1942:229)

According to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, non-violence is best learned in the domestic environment. From my experience as a social work practitioner for more than nine years working in the field of domestic violence, I have constantly encountered women subjected to the unquestioned and unchallenged abuse by their husbands. I expected that in post-Apartheid South Africa and with the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 firmly in place, that gendered violence would at the very least decrease given the very detailed procedures and protection the Act affords women in such violent situations. Unfortunately I was wrong. If anything, the statistics have shown it to have been spiralling out of control as I will refer below. As a consequence, the question that concerns me the most is, "How can a country with such progressive gender legislation, still continue to have such high rates of gendered violence?" The answer is both simple and yet complex, as Sarojini Nadar (2009:85) has lamented:

> While South Africa has made impressive efforts to overcome gender violence through legislation…the problem is that in a country that claims to be almost 80% Christian we have tended to ignore [the] 'theological justification of violence'…and we have focused instead on legislation to help us overcome violence….Resolving gender violence requires not just interrogating our legal systems but our belief systems which are based to a large extent on our sacred texts and cultural systems.

The declaration by one male respondent given in a 1999, CERSA (Women's Health) Medical Research Council report on men's abuse of women, illustrates the point even more clearly:

> Another informant, who admitted to abusing his girlfriend, also described his perceptions "I do not believe in democracy in the home. That is something up there in the government—not in the house" (Abrahams et al. 1999:23).

Two factors emerge from the above. First, the realisation that the legislation originally designed to protect women has failed, because it has not taken into account people's worldviews and belief systems which ultimately reside in their religions and cultures. Second, and as my Masters dissertation entitled "Marital Violence: the Husband's Perspective" sought to show, the 'natural' privileging of men in hegemonic society has not yet been examined to its fullest. My constant preoccupation with understanding the contradictions and complexities of gender during my many years of Social Work in the area of domestic violence necessitated this empirical academic study, which I present in this research study.

The main focus of this research study will be on dialoguing with men in an attempt to make sense of their choice to use violence as an option in domestic conflict resolution, and also attempting to find out the particular role that religion and culture plays in such choices. Given the failure of legislation to protect women from men who are violent, and given the negligible attention that men are afforded in both research and intervention, this research appeared to me as a logical and necessary step of engagement. Peacock and Botha (2006:79) note that studies which focus on the "lived experiences" of men in South Africa are sorely needed, which will promote our present understanding which invariably will illustrate and contribute to further future male involvement initiatives. Moreover, depicting the comprehensive contours of violent men's lives will navigate towards transformation of non-violent lived realities.

2. Background and Motivation for the Study

The phrase, 'challenging masculinities' is used here in both its active and passive sense. While it is envisaged that the process of the research itself will challenge the men involved to re-consider their masculinities, the phrase also highlights that masculinities is a deliberate, contested and ever-changing construct which demands scholarly consideration. Of necessity, such scholarly attention requires a diversity of approaches. One such approach is the critical feminist approach, which constitutes the main theoretical framework of this research. It provides theoretical insight into

the nature of masculinities in both active and passive senses. Furthermore, a critical feminist analysis highlights the multiple contributing factors to the construction of masculinities, particularly the nature of masculinities of men perpetrating domestic violence. While there exists numerous contributing factors to the construction of violent masculinities, religion is one such factor that may be both a contributing problem as well as a deterrent to domestic violence. Accordingly, the special role that religion plays in the construction of masculinities will form an important part of this research.

To summarise, this present research study will examine the links between constructions of masculinities, domestic violence and the sociological construction of religion and culture, particularly religious worldviews.

3. Outline of the Research Problem

As has already been stated, while there has been much focus on domestic violence in post-apartheid South Africa within the context of a legal framework, e.g., the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998, there is also an increase of awareness that legislation alone cannot combat the statistics of spiralling numbers of women, who experience interpersonal violence within the marital dyad. Affiliated organisations, such as NGOs and FBOs concentrate their efforts and programmes on women who experience abuse but the source of the violence, which has been identified as men, have been afforded negligible, superficial and poor attention, while men continue to perpetuate and commit acts of violence against their wives/partners. While male violence against women and other men is a problem in South Africa, it is certainly not restricted to South Africa. If anything, Keepin et al. (2007:11) present a sobering account of the prevalence of male violence in the United States of America:

- The victims of men's violence are mostly other men, accounting for 80% of male violence;
- Men commit suicide four times more often than women;

- 6.4 million Men suffer from depression annually in the United States.
- Male depression often goes unrecognised and untreated;
- Men have higher death rates than women for all fifteen leading causes of death. They also account for 60% of traffic fatalities, 79% of murder victims, 95% of workplace fatalities and 99.993% of deaths in armed combat;
- Male teenagers account for 90% of suicides; their average life span is 11% shorter than for women; and,
- In 2007, American Boys Scouts was forced to reveal for the first time that they dismissed 5, 100 Scout leaders for sexual abuse and a history of paedophilia perpetrated against young Scouts since their inception.

The statistics provided by William Keepin et al. locate and validate the necessity of my study in South Africa. After all, a cursory glance at the statistics on violence reveals a similar picture. Studies show that such violence is located within the extremely pronounced gender hierarchy, extant in South Africa where there are quite strong ideas that men should be in a position of power and control over women (*cf.* Dawes 2006:232). The staggering statistical scenario notes criminal violence against women inclusive of rape would suggest that there are high levels of interpersonal violence in the private sphere (*cf.* Dawes et al. 2004). Moffett (2001:4) notes that research undertaken by the Medical Research Council of South Africa (MRC) and crisis organisations conservatively indicates that:

- One in three South African women will be raped in their lifetime (which controversially but fairly accurately means that one in three South African men will rape in their lifetime). Rape Crisis Cape Town (2001) believes that the real figure is at least 20 times higher—the equivalent of 1 rape every 23 seconds;
- That over 40% of men have beaten their domestic partners at least once;
- That 40% of girls' first sexual experiences are non-consensual;
- That less than one in 20 rapes is reported to the police;
- That less than 1% of rapes are successfully prosecuted, making rape by far the safest crime to commit in South Africa; and,
- That 1 in 10 of those raped will become HIV-Positive.

More recently, Jewkes et al. (2009:1) reflect upon the scale of the problem where they present on the following research evidence:

- 40% of men reported having been physically abusive to their partners and 40-50% of women report having been victims, 40% of victims who report rape to the police are girls under 18, and 15 % are under the age of 12,
- 28 % of men reported having perpetrated rape, and,
- With the murder of women by husbands and boyfriends half of the women homicide victims are killed by their male intimate partners.

From the above, it can be extrapolated that the true extent will be unknown because of under-reporting for obvious reasons. Peacock (2010) acknowledges that in South Africa the rates of men's violence against women appear to be on the increase.

Although crime statistics are not a definitive indicator of reality, they nevertheless indicate high levels of violence against women e.g., in the period April 2002 to March 2003, 52, 425 rapes were reported to the South African Police Service (SAPS). How then do we understand that despite South Africa's most progressive and human rights-oriented constitution, we have the worst known figures for gender based violence for a country not at war?

Rachel Jewkes et al. (2002:1615) maintain that any model which attempts to understand partner violence needs to present it as a web of associated and mediating factors and processes which are centrally influenced by ideas about masculinity and the position of women in society and ideas about the use of violence. One of the mediating dynamics in this "web of associated and mediating factors" which supports violence is religion (Nadar 2005). Ezra Chitando has also noted that "while being male is a biological factor, the process of expressing manhood is informed by social, cultural and religious factors" (2008:51). My research is meant to build on and provide new empirical insights into the growing body of literature by scholars of religion on masculinities and the various links with social issues such as gender violence. Indeed, as Adriaan van Klinken (2011:278) has correctly stated:

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The reason why men and masculinities are addressed by scholars in religion and theology is that several critical aspects of dominant masculinities are believed to be informed by religious beliefs and practices.

While much research has been done in recent times by scholars of religion on the links between masculinities, religion, and violence; in sociological studies, the links between masculinities and violence is engaged with only in passing. As a consequence, the purpose of my research project was to study and analyse the perceptions of religiously-determined perspectives of hierarchy in a sample of male subjects who have perpetrated violence against their wives. Regarding perspective, my study was from the standpoint of an African feminist social worker and forms the contribution I wish to make to the growing discourse on the subject.[2]

4. Description of the Study

The study is based on dialogues with men who have been involved in domestic violence and who were in a court-mandated programme for anger management. The aim was to understand what role, if any, religion and culture did/does play in their violent behaviour toward their partners. One such programme is offered by Khulisa Social Solutions, a non-profit organisation (NPO) established in 1997 which operates nationally with service points in eight Provinces and is expanding internationally. The study sample was elicited from the Restorative Justice, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking Programme developed by Khulisa Social Solutions,[3] and focused on the men who have been court mandated to attend the "Breakthrough Life-skills Programme", which is where learnt negative behaviour is challenged and replaced with new positive behaviour traits. Among others, they attend six group sessions. Key to the success of the programme is the individual's accountability for their

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[2] For further details of the programme, see <http://www.khulisaservices.co.za/programmes/early-intervention/justice-restoration-programme/> [Accessed 07 November 2011].
[3] See Appendix #5 The Khulisa Restorative Justice, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking Programme.

sustained change.[4] The recruitment of the group of males will be detailed later in the chapter on research design. It should be noted that neither the programme content, nor its impact, falls within the ambit of this study. The predominant focus of the research was on the maintenance of the violent male hegemonic *status quo*, and what contributes to this *status quo*. As a result, this study attempted to purposefully engage with men to assess how they reflect, deconstruct, introspect and substantiate their violent choices in resolving conflict within the marital relationship, and the subsequent role that religion and culture play in their reflections.

Before stating the objectives of my study, it will be important to first define how I am using the terms domestic violence and masculinities. Each of these will be defined in turn. Because domestic violence is often erroneously construed only as physical violence, a summary of the definition of domestic violence according to the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 is essential since it is the one piece of legislation that is most often cited by the men in my study.

According to the South African Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998, domestic violence refers to:

> (xii) "physical abuse" means any act or threatened act of physical violence towards a complainant;
> (xxi) "sexual abuse" means any conduct that abuses, humiliates, degrades or otherwise violates the sexual integrity of the complainant;
>
> (ix) "economic abuse" includes—
> (a) the unreasonable deprivation of economic or financial resources to which a complainant is entitled under the law or which the complainant requires out of necessity, including household necessities for the complainant, and mortgage bond repayments or payment of rent in respect of the shared residence; or,
> (b) the unreasonable disposal of household effects or other property in which the complainant has an interest; (v)
> (x) "emergency monetary relief" means compensation for monetary losses suffered by a complainant at the time of the issue of a protection order as a result of the domestic violence, including—

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[4] See <http://www.khulisaservices.co.za/programmes/early-intervention/justice-restoration-programme/> [Accessed 07 November 2011].

(a) loss of earnings;

(b) medical expenses;

(c) relocation and accommodation expenses; or

(d) household necessities;

(ix) "emotional, verbal and psychological abuse" means a pattern of degrading or humiliating conduct towards a complainant, including—

(a) repeated insults, ridicule or name calling;

(b) repeated threats to cause emotional pain; or

(c) the repeated exhibition of obsessive possessiveness or jealousy, which is such as to constitute a serious invasion of the complainant's privacy, liberty, integrity or security; (vi)

(xii) "harassment" means engaging in a pattern of conduct that includes the fear of harm to a complainant including—

(a) repeatedly watching, or loitering outside of or near the building or place where the complainant resides , works, carries on business, studies or happens to be;

(b) repeatedly making telephone calls or inducing another person to make telephone calls to the complainant, whether or not conversation ensues;

(c) repeatedly sending, delivering or causing the delivery of letters, telegrams, packages, facsimiles, electronic mail or other objects to the complainant; (xx)

(xiii) "intimidation" means uttering or conveying a threat, or causing a complainant to receive a threat, which induces fear; (xiv)

(xxiii) "stalking" means repeatedly following, pursuing or accosting the complainant;

(v) "damage to property" means the wilful damaging or destruction of property belonging to a complainant or in which the complainant has a vested interest;

(i) entry into the complainant's residence without consent, where the parties do not share the same residence; or

(j) any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards the complainant, where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to, the safety, health or wellbeing of the complainant.[5]

Having established the definition of domestic violence it is important to also understand the use of the term masculinity in this study.

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[5] See Appendix #6 Domestic Violence Act. No. 116 of 1998.

5. Defining Masculinities

It is imperative to briefly contextualise our understanding of masculinities, a comprehensive engagement of which will be presented in Chapter Two and subsequent chapters where applicable.

In defining masculinity, the sociologist, Raewyn W. Connell notes that the definition of masculinity has mostly taken our cultural standpoint for granted. She defines masculinity as:

> …simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture (1995:68).

Robert Morrell (2005:85) argues that masculinity "is fluid, and has been changing, and can be the object of social, political and personal work". Connell (2002:4) makes the same point by saying that "part of the mystery of gender is how a pattern that on the surface appears so stark and rigid, on close examination turns out to be so fluid, complex and uncertain. She continues that "we cannot think of womanhood and manhood as fixed by nature. But neither should we think of them as imposed from the outside, by social norms or by pressure from authorities". Connell further maintains that "gender is above all a matter of the social relations within which individuals and groups act." and should therefore be understood as a social structure. It is therefore "not an expression of biology, or a fixed dichotomy in human life or character. It is a pattern in our social arrangements and in the everyday activities or practices which these arrangements ultimately govern" Connell (2002:9).

6. Masculinities in South Africa

Connell's notion of masculinities is evident in the research of scholars such as Xaba (2001); Campbell (2001); Khumalo (2005); Lesejane (2006); Morrell (2005, 2006); Morrell and Ouzgane (2005); Morrell and Jewkes (2009); and Salo (2003), who

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concentrate on issues related to South Africa and Africa, including colonialism, apartheid, racism and HIV and AIDS. In fact, it could be argued that the greatest attention given to masculinity studies in recent years has been in the area of HIV and AIDS in South Africa. The common denominator in all of these studies is a focus on hegemonic masculinities and the need to critique them.

In squaring gender with culture it is imperative to critique hegemonic forms of masculinity. Robert Morrell (2005:85) captures well:

> [the] connection between men and private and public power. Such power is exercised to the detriment of women, children, and minorities, including men who are unable to satisfy the requirements of hegemonic masculinity. The stress is on tolerance, peace, democracy, domestic responsibility, sensitivity and introspection, which ushers in a new form of masculinity (2005:85).

How this "new man" will suit men in poorly resourced contexts is debatable, when compared to the well-resourced developed world. The African context model of masculinity is said to stress responsibility, protection, provision, wisdom and communal loyalty. Such may well be better suited to sustain life and create harmony. In this present study, the multi-dimensionality of masculinity will be interrogated to understand how it translates into violent marital relationships.

7. Research Objectives

The stated objectives of this present research project are threefold:

i.   To describe how selected men understand their violent actions towards their partners, through reflective accounts as provided by the men in the study.

ii.   To analyse the social construction of hegemonic masculinity, with a particular focus on the role of religion and culture in maintaining hegemonic masculinities.

iii. To investigate how these religiously-influenced constructions of masculinity contribute to the use of power and control within the marital dyad, and to assess to what extent such influences can be transformed.

8. Key Research Questions

i. How can reflecting on the use of control and power assist in deconstructing hegemonic masculinities?

ii. What coherence exists between the cultural, religious and social aspects of masculinity?

iii. To what extent do the reflective accounts on violence lend themselves to understanding the use of power and control, and to what extent can these be transformed?

9. Structure of the Dissertation

There are eight chapters that constitute the dissertation and structured for functionality and not purpose:

i. **Introduction** This chapter presents an introduction to the study. The background and motivation for the study is described. Thereafter, an outline of the research problem is both presented and discussed, followed by a description of the study on the challenges of violent masculinities. The definition of masculinities follows, whereupon masculinities within the South African context are discussed. The research objectives of the study are presented. Finally, key questions are outlined.

ii.   **Literature Review** This chapter consists of a review and synthesis of relevant literature pertaining to the topic. It consists of two broad categories, namely the psycho-social constructions of masculinities and the religious and spiritual constructions of masculinities.

iii.   **Theoretical Framework and Constructs** This chapter examines the theories framing my study, namely: critical, masculine, African feminism, and the Sociology of Religion. First, critical theory and its relevance to the study are discussed. Second, an overview of feminism as a critical theory is provided. Third, a selection of the theoretical constructs within masculinities studies is presented. Finally, a brief overview and discussion of the basic tenets that define a Sociology of Religion approach is tendered.

iv.   **Research Process and Methodology** This chapter focuses on the research process and methodology utilized in the research project. Thereafter, feminist research and reflexivity is discussed, followed by the considerations for such a research process. Historical and thematic dynamics are also considered. Finally, qualitative data analysis is explored.

v.   **Data Analysis I: The Privileges of Patriarchy** In this, the first of three chapters of data analysis, several subsections of the privileges of patriarchy were identified. These subsections consist of a detailed discussion on headship and ownership, respect, domestic devotion, economic power, blame and justification, hetero-patriarchal benefits, and substance abuse.

vi.   **Data Analysis II: Religious Belief and Male Privilege** This second analysis chapter details and examines the two privileges that emerged from the focus group on religion, namely, headship and respect.

vii.   **Data Analysis III: The Clash between Religious Belief and the South African Criminal Justice System** The final component of the data analysis is

devoted to an exploration of the respondents' encounters and experiences of the criminal justice system in South Africa.

viii. **Conclusion and Recommendations** This final chapter addresses the conclusions emanating from the study and offers some pertinent recommendations. The limitations of the study are also acknowledged and discussed.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Introduction

Having outlined the main aim and objectives of this research study in the previous chapter, I will now turn to a literature review. Because the literature on the link between masculinity and violence is so extensive, for the purposes of coherence and lucidity, I will categorize the literature into two broad categories:

i.   Psycho-social constructions of masculinities
ii.   Religious and spiritual constructions of masculinities

The literature will be reviewed in the broader global context as well as the local South African and African context. Through this literature review I intend to show that while significant attention has been paid to the psycho-social context of risk factors for partner violence, the role of religion and culture in this 'web of associated factors' requires more engaging scholarly attention. The sociologist, Raewyn W. Connell's influential and authoritative voice is echoed, when she asserts "that everyday life is an arena of gender politics, not an escape from it" (1995:3).

2. Psycho-social Constructions of Masculinity

An extensive body of research on the psycho-social constructions of masculinities exists. This body of research has engaged a number of different areas. These include:

i.   The nature of gender;

ii.   Ideological dimensions of masculinities;

iii. Psychological dimensions of masculinities;

iv.   Understanding men's practices;

v.   Challenging hegemonic masculinities;

vi.   Education from childhood to manhood 'boys to men';

vii. Masculinities in the South African Context.

Each of these areas will now be reviewed below.

2.1. The Nature of Gender

No meaningful research on masculinities and violence can be contemplated without the inclusion of Raewyn W Connell's remarkable and prolific contributions on the complexities of gender inequality. According to Connell (2003:3-4), at each progressive stage of our lived experiences, from childhood to adulthood the socio-economic, cultural-gendered identity is never static.

Connell (2003:3-4) makes the following key points about gender systems, all of which will here frame my study. First, she makes the point that "gender relations are an interactive system of connections and distinctions among people (and groups of people)." In other words, what happens to one group in this system affects the others, and is affected by them. Second, and most significant for my study, Connell argues that "gender relations are not superficial, but are deeply embedded in organizational routines, in religious and legal concepts, and in the taken- for-granted arrangements of

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people's lives (such as the distinction between 'home' and 'work')." Third, Connell maintains that "gender relations are multi-dimensional, interweaving relationships of power, economic arrangements, emotional relationships, systems of communication and meaning etc". Fourth and finally, Connell holds that "gender systems are diverse and changing; they arise from different cultural histories in different parts of the world and have undergone change in the past and are undergoing change now."

2.2. Ideologies of Masculinity

Since the inception of masculinity studies, scholars within this area have developed several trajectories of thought through which 'ideologies of masculinity' can be understood. In what follows, I will review the work of some of the most influential theorists in this field.

2.2.1. The 'Four-dimensional' Model

In their work with masculine ideology, David and Brannon (1976) identify four dimensions of ideology within traditional masculinity. These societal stereotypes communicate and encourage young boys and subsequently men, towards an impersonal and detached persona. According to David and Brannon (1976 cited in Mahalik 2001:548), the four dimensions of ideology within traditional masculinity comprise of:

1. No sissy stuff;
2. The big wheel;
3. The sturdy oak,
4. And, give 'em hell.

These four dimensions are related to messages that men should avoid anything that might be vaguely construed as feminine; for example, displaying feelings, experiencing weakness, and being nurtured. According to this understanding, men should strive to defeat others and achieve status by climbing to the top. They should

never demonstrate weakness and should have the ability to endure difficulties without relying on assistance from others; they should actively seek out adventure and risk, even responding with violence if required to do so (Mahalik 2001:546). For this reason, scholars of masculinities studies have reiterated that boys learn early in their lives that society values this disconnected and detached representation of self.

2.2.2. The 'Seven-dimensional' Model

To further this understanding, Levant et al. (1992, 1996 cited in Mahalik 2001:548) identify seven dimensions of traditional masculine ideology. These, they argue, are universally accepted across cultures. I concur with this thought, as even within the South African context, scholars of masculinity studies have reflected on several of these areas

i.   Telling men that they should avoid anything feminine (not doing housework);
ii. Restrict their emotional life (not crying in public);
iii. Act tough and aggressive (taking risks even it means getting hurt);
iv. Be self-reliant (never counting on others for help);
v.   Emphasize status above all else (sacrificing personal relationships for career advancements);
vi. Be non-relational and objectifying in their attitudes towards sexuality (always being ready to perform sexual relations);
vii. Fear and hatred of homosexuals (not continuing friendship with another man once he finds out that his friend is homosexual) (Mahalik 2001:546).

The South African scholar, Robert Morrell (2005:84-87) [1] has also identified many of the above dimensions as being evident in South Africa. In particular, he has theorized how these traditional masculine ideologies have contributed towards gender transformation in a post-apartheid South Africa (Morrell 2005). Shefer et al. (2007:3) have also alluded to the South African context on the conformity of the social

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[1] While these dimensions may not be readily evident in traditional African societies, in the increasingly emerging Black bourgeois classes in South Africa and with the effects of globalization and its attendant corporatized culture, these dimensions are beginning to find both expression and meaning.

construction of masculinities which are discussed later in this chapter. Luyt (2003:49) also identifies with the South African "rhetorical representations of masculinities"

Through the lenses of the ideological dimensions of masculinities, masculine gender role socialization is viewed as contributing to gender-related cognitive distortions for men who are overcommitted to modifying their behaviour according to masculine prescribed behaviour. These are discussed below.

2.3. Psychological Dimensions of Masculinity

Against the above schema, specific gender-related cognitive distortions may arise through nine dimensions of traditional masculinity, as outlined by Mahalik. This nine-dimensional model is again relevant in so far as it furthers our fundamental understanding of how socialization maintains gender related behaviour, particularly from a psychological perspective. Moreover, as will be seen later in this research project, evident even in the narrative context of my study are repeated references to these nine significant themes and their related cognitive distortions. These cognitive distortions are clearly embedded within the psychological understanding of why men do what they do.

2.3.1. Nine Dimensions of Masculinity Messages

Drawing on the work of earlier theorists (See in particular, Eisler and Skidmore 1987; Harris 1995), Mahalik (2001:549-552) proposes the following nine dimensions of masculinity messages that men receive from society and process cognitively.

2.3.1.1.   Winning

"Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing". Men are informed during their lives that it is imperative to succeed and be competitive in order to acquire status, respect, recognition, and admiration, especially in work and sport settings (Eisler and Skidmore 1987; Harris 1995). Often, men are socialized to 'get ahead' within the work environment and triumph at games and in sports competitions.   Those men who accept and obey this socialized gender role may support ideas such as making money as being essential to what it means to be a successful man.

Cognitive distortions associated with winning might include: "I must defeat others to be happy and fulfilled" and 'I must win against others to be worthwhile".

2.3.1.2.   Emotional Control

Men are informed that it is also vital to be in control of themselves emotionally and not to display emotions, especially weak ones (Eisler and Skidmore 1987; Harris 1995). In summary, these include:

i.   They are taught to neglect or repress the feminine parts of themselves;

ii.   Men who rigidly adhere to this masculine identity tend to have difficulty telling others they care about them, disclosing and discussing vulnerabilities, and finding words to describe their feelings;

iii. These men give little time and attention to their emotional or inner lives; feel uncomfortable being demonstrative in taking care of children and feel that if they express their strong feelings they will be open to attack from other people.

Cognitive distortions associated with restrictive emotionality may include: "Big boys don't cry"; "If I share my feelings with others, people will think I am a sissy"; "I cannot express my feelings because others will see me as weak and important others will think I am falling apart if I cry".

2.3.1.3. Risk Taking

Men are informed that it is vital to be belligerent, take risks, be daring, and use violence if required (Harris 1995). They are trained to believe that it is vital to be viewed as valiant even while being terrified or anxious, and if called upon, they should be prepared to risk their lives or even face death. Frequently, they have difficulty and feel open to attack when others identify that they are fearful. They support such ideas as it is important to handle dangerous situations without showing panic or hesitation.

Potential cognitive distortions may include "A real man isn't afraid of anything" "People will think I am a wimp if they know I am scared"; "If I don't do this dangerous thing, people will think I am gutless".

2.3.1.4. Violence

Men are informed that they ought to always be prepared to be violent. Young boys are socialized to express roughness, hostility, and participate in sports such as football and wrestling. Afterwards, as these boys become men, they are expected to engage in military service where they are taught how to kill in defence of their country. If a young boy gets beaten up on the school playground and goes home, it is likely that his parents will advise him to "Go back and give him as good as you got".

Cognitive distortions may include: "If you do not fight back, you're a sissy."

2.3.1.5. Playboy

Men are taught through overt and covert messages gained from advertising, television, movies, and their friends that their sexual relations are supposed to be recreational with many partners (Harris 1995). Often, they are told to be daring and bold in their sexuality, spend minimal time developing personal relationships that are intimate beyond physical intimacy and do not hesitate to attack when these sexual partners expect their relationships to be more than merely recreational. They are supportive of thoughts such as a man's value is based on how many sexual partners he has, and that men are not biologically supposed to be monogamous and shun ideas such as sex is a supposed to be a part of a nurturing relationship based on faith and intimacy.

Cognitive distortions may include: "Without many sexual partners, I won't feel fulfilled"; "If I do not or cannot seduce many partners it means that I am unworthy or that people won't respect me".

2.3.1.6. Self-reliance

Men are taught that it is vital not to seek assistance from anybody other than oneself and are socialized to do things single-handedly and not rely on anyone else (Harris 1995). They are told it is important to resolve their own problems and that a man does not let others dictate to him what he should do. Often, they encounter difficulty with seeking assistance or accepting that they do not know or cannot do something and feel uncomfortable with accepting charity or getting assistance from others particularly when they encounter difficulties. Those men who over-conform to this gender role sanction such thoughts as a man should always stand on his own two feet and "if you want things done right you had better do them yourself".

Cognitive distortions may include: "If I can't do it myself, people will think I'm inept"; "Asking for help is a sign of weakness, and I must always be able to do everything by myself".

2.3.1.7. Primacy of Work

In countless and numerously subtle and sometimes not so subtle ways, men are taught that work is the most significant element of their identity (Harris 1995). Often, they are socialized to locate their work goals before their personal relationships with family and are exposed to modelling from other men. Most frequently, their own fathers reinforce the idea that work is an obligatory sacrifice that must be made so that family relationships can progress. As a result, men often experience difficulties with family members who make demands on their time and energy which take them away from achieving their work goals. Men who adhere rigidly to this gender role, support ideas such as their personal and work identity are identical and "I am what I do".

Cognitive distortions associated with this factor include: "Work must take priority over my family and all other commitments or I'll never be successful"; "If I spend time with my family I will not advance in my career".

2.3.1.8. Disdain of Homosexuals

Men are taught and socialised into believing that their sexual orientation must be heterosexual and not homosexual. These men experience difficulty in demonstrating caring particularly towards other men without becoming apprehensive about the homosexual connotation that such an action may mean.

Those men who internalize this socialization message may have cognitive distortions such as "I cannot be close to other men or people will think I am homosexual".

2.3.1.9. Physical Toughness

Men are constantly provided with messages that they have to be physically strong and be capable of accepting punishment "like a man". They are supposed to tolerate physical and emotional difficulties without protest.

The typical cognitive distortions include: "If I am not a tough guy, everyone will push me around"; "If I give into pain, it means I am a wimp".

These nine dimensions detailed by Mahalik demonstrate how gender role socialization contributes to gender related cognitive distortions for men who subscribe to normative and typical behaviour. Moreover, these 'cultural functions' of masculinities offer an excellent framework of predictability of the inherent pressure in subscribing to stereotypical male mentality.

2.4. Understanding Men's Practices

Bob Pease also illustrates how patriarchal beliefs become embedded in men's psyches, and subsequently are expressed in their actions and practices. Similar to Mahalik, Pease (2003:123-134) identifies the general consequences of traditional masculinity to include, emotional in-expressiveness, poor health, distant fathering, family breakdown, stress associated with competitiveness and overwork the over-representation of men in substance abuse, high risk behaviours, homelessness, suicide and criminality.

Drawing on Hearn (1996) and Pringle (1998), Pease identifies the following six crucial arenas which appear similar to Mahalik's but presents a different dimension in which men's practices are enacted.

2.4.1. Another Six-dimensional Model

2.4.1.1. Sexuality

Heterosexual male socialization supports the proposition that men should assume the assertive role in initiating coitus and of always being dominant. Cultural messages sustain and maintain attitudes and norms which could cultivate sexually-aggressive behaviour.

If this is the understanding, then male sexual coercion can be prevented by challenging the cultural principles that encourage aggression and male domination over women as an established right. Naturally, this will necessitate confronting and challenging the myth that views sexual coercion as a predictable product of male desires. If it is not confronted, the threat exists of inadvertently allowing the 'naturalness' of men's urge to sexually dominate women, instead of challenging the manner in which our society continuously condones male coercive sexuality.

For men's sexuality to be non-oppressive, it essentially requires becoming aroused without exerting any power over the other. The significance of the work of Pease to that of my own study is the recognition that the essence of male power within heterosexual relations is not static or unchangeable, but is constructed socially, religiously and otherwise.

2.4.1.2. Intimacy and Emotional Expressiveness

The often repeated mantra from heterosexual women is for men to be more communicative and articulate more regularly than they presently do. Their inability to communicate emotion has multitudinous repercussions for their present relationships with women, their friendships with other men and their ability to a nurturing environment for their children. This inexpressiveness also has direct consequences for men themselves since they are not afforded beneficial emotional experiences.

Their basic and primary model for relationships often tends to become hierarchical in nature. Even in their personal relationships, men posses an overwhelming inclination to either control women or withdraw from them. When they give away such power and control in their relationships, their capacity for intimacy is hindered.

2.4.1.3. Health and Well-being

Some men's movement's make the implication that men are deprived and discriminated against as a gender in receiving health services when compared to women. Many studies have noted the sex differences in health status between women and men. Of particular importance to South Africa is the present HIV and AIDS pandemic that coerces men into contemplating their healthier choices around intimacy for fear of infection. Within a pro-feminist approach to men's health, the emphasis is on the multiplicity and disparity in their lives and the cost of men's adherence to forms of social domination. Men are thus expected to develop a critical consciousness around the material and ideological factors that may impact their health. Moreover, there needs to be recognition of the circumstances of men who are marginalized by class, race and sexuality.

2.4.1.4. Family and the Care of Others

One of the ways in which men practice hegemonic masculinities is in the area of family care. Many studies prove that women's participation in the paid labour force does not decrease the amount of unpaid work they do at home. In other words, women are responsible for work outside and inside the home. Men on the other hand feel that paid work outside of the home absolves them from engaging in domestic duties. For example, in 2001, an Australian study demonstrated that women in full-time paid employment completed over 65% of the household's unpaid labour (Dempsey 2001:60). This is not including the unaccountable hours planning and arranging menus and other psychological responsibilities for domestic life that women

additionally bear than men. Invariably, factors such as resentments and disputes contribute to marital discord that results in divorce (Dempsey 2001:61). Many women prefer that their husbands participate more in household chores and child care so that they can be afforded opportunities and time for leisure and relaxation. As a result, they are able to contribute more meaningfully and substantially in the decision making process (Dempsey 2001:62). It would thus appear that marital breakdown may be interrelated to men's sense of marital privilege and their sexism.

African women theologians have also written extensively on the disproportionate burden of care and household responsibilities that are placed on women within the African context (*cf.* Siwila 2007; Moyo 2005). Basically, in masculinity studies there exists a tacit view that greater involvement of men in child care is pivotal to heal the "father wound" caused by a fathers' remoteness and absence (Biddulph 1994:99). While this advocates a larger contribution of men within the lives of their children, it also encourages an obvious distinction between the roles that men and women play. For example, fathers are expected to be the main transmitters of culturally approved masculinity to their sons as evidenced in my study. In addition, Linda Richter and Robert Morrell's excellent (2006) book, *Baba, Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press) provides an invaluable contribution on the positive and meaningful presence of fathers, instead of their absence in the lives of their children.

It is therefore vital that there is a continued emphasis placed upon equity in household chores. Emanating from my study was the emphasis on division of duties and devotion for household chores that were rigidly adhered to.

2.4.1.5. Paid Work

It has been noted above that men have been taught and socialized to pursue work as priority-issues in their lives and to regard child-rearing and domestic responsibilities as being less important. Their occupational-related behaviours influence their personalities and spill over into their home environments. The competitive world of

work constantly encourages men to distance themselves from their feelings as a means of surviving. Moreover, the masculinised nature and structure of some men's work is sustained and maintained by keeping women away or 'keeping them in their place' if they do get into the same work environment.

In my study, the men also noted being challenged by finding appropriate work within the constraining economic South African environment. This will be discussed in more detail later in the present study.

2.4.1.6. Men's Violence

It should be acknowledged and accepted that while violence is mostly practiced by men, seemingly not all men are violent. Some theorists extend the socio-biological arguments that explain men's violence, while others make reference to testosterone and hormonal patterns. Indeed, it is ordinarily accepted that there is nothing inherent in men that make them to be violent, as many studies have revealed.

This is demonstrated in many cross-cultural studies that assert that the larger the level of gender inequality in society, the more elevated the level of violence against women. Michael Kimmel (2000:245) also noted that studies of societies in which there was little violence "found that the definition of masculinity has a significant impact on the propensity towards violence". Most notably in societies where gender inequality was generally the highest, was also where masculinity and femininity were seen as being opposites. This not only has important ramifications for preventative approaches to men's violence but also for the establishment of gender democracy within different strata of society. Hence, within the South African context the legislative commitment is undoubted, yet the challenge is to successfully articulate this into meaningfully reducing the rate of domestic violence.

Numerous intervention programmes with perpetrators of violence are frequently focused at men's abuse of power within the family unit instead of concentrating on

the precise nature, constitution, and authority of power itself. The perpetrator within the intervention programme may be assisted in managing his violent actions, but the basic power structure within the marital dyad remains unchanged. As Gondolf has pointed out, empirical research has shown that "men tend to abuse women when they have much greater power and /or status than women" (1987:316). It is therefore imperative to recognize that the practices of men must be understood and explained within class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, bodily facility, religion, world views, parental/marital status, occupation and the inclination for other violent factors. These pertinent issues influence to some degree the obligation men may have towards gender egalitarianism. Clearly, not all men have equal resources/responsibilities to commit towards ending their male privileging which compounds analysing their power and privilege effectively. This is evident in the demographical sample of my study where all the respondents are challenged by this exact intersecting reality. Jeff Hearn and David Collinson endorse that one way to understand this dilemma is to theorize men simultaneously "along two axes, the male-female axis of men's power over women within the marginalized groups, and the male-male axis of non-hegemonic men's relative lack of power" (1994:98). Moreover, what should be examined is the interrelationship between men and masculinity, which my study has identified as a gap and addresses within a local context.

The above succinctly supplements Mahalik's notion on the core areas that fundamentally frame our context of the contested arena of masculinities.

2.5. The Push-Pull Factor: The Interpersonal Circle

Helpfully, Kieser (1983:189) has diagrammatically and theoretically explained the 'push-pull' factors in the ways in which men ultimately 'practice' their masculinities through a combination of the need to control (i.e., power and dominance) and the need to be affiliated (i.e., love and friendliness) through the form of three inter-related circles (See Figure #1 below).
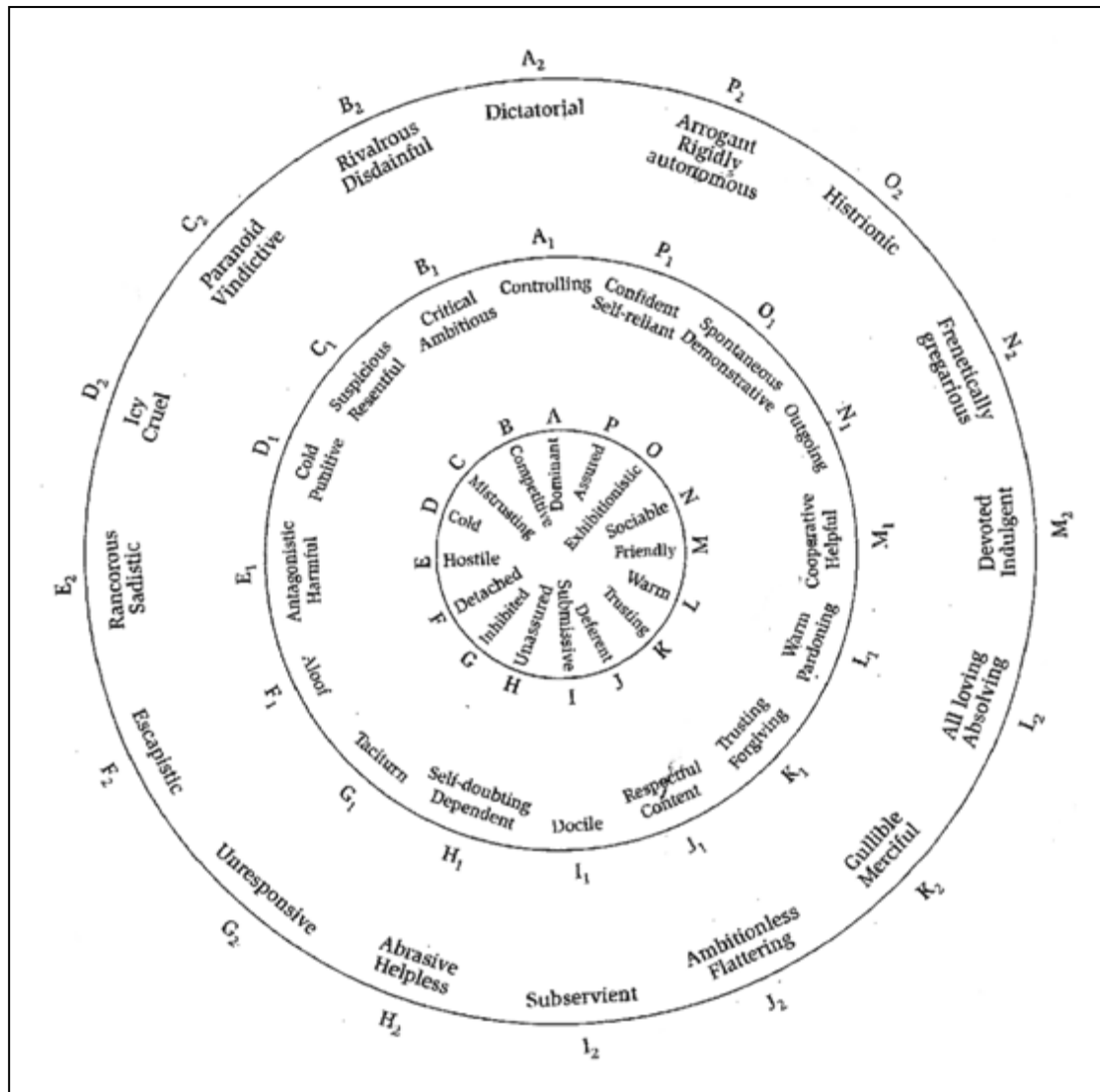
Figure 1

The Interpersonal Circle

Source: Kieser (1983:189)

The Interpersonal Circle reproduced in Figure #1 above, clearly depicts the tension that exists between the need to control and the need to be affiliated. Here, control and affiliation are represented both horizontally and vertically.

Of the three sets of inter-related circles:

   i.   The innermost includes interpersonal behaviour;

   ii.   The second circle represents mild to moderate behaviour;

   iii.   The outer represents extreme interpersonal behaviour.

The Interpersonal Circle demonstrates clearly how even within the narratives of the men in my study that these two areas continue to create a 'push-pull' effect on the respondents' violent behaviour. The control dimension (i.e., dominance 'pulls' submission, submission 'pulls' dominance) and the corresponding along the affiliation dimension (i.e., hostility 'pulls' hostility, friendliness 'pulls' friendliness). Among the men in my study, this 'push-pull' factor was most evident when the men responded almost automatically with acts of violence whenever their wives displayed any sign of hostility towards them. The contradictory interpersonal domestic scenario keeps this constant tension within their marital relationship alive. It is within this backdrop, that distortions are cognitively maintained.

3. Challenging Hegemonic Masculinities

While the above research has shown that men have imbibed and enacted hegemonic practices of masculinities, a further study by Tonkin (2001) demonstrates how these hegemonic masculinities can be challenged through the process of what he terms the "reinvention of men".

Drawing on the work of Hurst (1998) Bernard Tonkin (2001:6) argues that:

> We must pay greatest attention to the violence and neglect men subject themselves to as a gender. This is absolutely critical in enhancing the safety of women and children…addressing their self abuse and neglect, as part of the process of developing a sustainable non violent lifestyle….If men who are violent do not become engaged in a change

process, they…go on to form other abusive relationship…to traumatize and neglect another generation of children.

Similarly, I would suggest that the notion of eradicating violence in an intrapersonal relationship cannot be contemplated unless programmes purposefully address the splintered nature of the gendered society we live in. The male hegemonic *status quo* requires challenging because it validates the privileging of men over women. The power bases apparent in society which are solely in the hands of men have to be unfolded by men's experiences of violence and interpretation of the consequences of their actions.

My study provided the opportunity for men to reflect on their violent actions. It not only contributes to research on why men do what they do, but also created the space for men to engage in introspection on their violence. Furthermore, direct dialoguing about this will significantly enhance present knowledge and supplement existing programme content on eradicating violence in men. Moreover, my study attempts to extrapolate the levels of responsibility men in violent situations, retrospectively assume over their behaviour and attempts to elicit thoughts on their pathways of sustained change. Most significantly, the process of change can only be acknowledged by men who meaningfully interact with their own behaviours and its inherent benefits so that they can ultimately reconstruct dominant masculine ideology. Connell (1995:123) and Starhawk (1987:9) also describe and envision a process for men of reinventing or reconstructing themselves away from violent dominant masculinities based on a "power over" patriarchal paradigm.

Tonkin's Australian study (2001) is further relevant to my own study in that he worked with a programme entitled "No to Violence—The Male Family Violence Prevention Association", where he held in-depth interviews with eleven men. Tonkin's study provides the necessary precedents to my sample of seven men which although appears small as a sample, offers the opportunity for comprehensive understanding of why men do what they do.

Tonkin advocates that labelling tends to negate possibilities of change by implying that violent behaviours are a fixed characteristic—and indeed a person's characteristic—rather than a matter of choice and thus a personal responsibility. His study utilized the approach of Alan Jenkins (1993) of working with men who use violence. Jenkins interestingly offers the conundrum between personal responsibility for behaviour and the shaping of behaviour by social and cultural influences by proposing a theory of restraint. This process places the responsibility for the violence firmly on the men by inviting them to consider the traditions, habits and beliefs internalized by culture and society that are restraining them from relating respectfully to women. Much of Jenkins' work was influenced by Gondolf's idea that men who are violent can be located on a 'continuum of change' depending on their level of moral development. It commences with self-centeredness, motivation to change often only from fear of the criminal justice system, progressing to empathy for partner and children and finally to a desire to work for social change. Social change through research is pivotal to a feminist of research, i.e., research is not solely for the purpose of scholarship but for the betterment of society. This is also deeply significant to me as a critical social worker committed to social justice and change.

Tonkin uses the table below with overarching themes that emanated from his study and provides specific findings into a conceptual framework that develops and builds on extant theory. This was adapted and built on Gondolf's developmental model (1987) and Starhawk's idea of power and the related theme of connectedness. Tonkin (2001:6) does add "Responsibility/Self Esteem", clarifying the connection between these two themes which emanated from his study. He noted that men who took responsibility for their behaviour did work on their self-esteem and sense of self in the process of embracing what became a liberating journey towards non-violence. Tonkin regarded the most salient finding of his research—that men who embrace responsibility for their use of violent and controlling behaviour do resume responsibility for personal change over a number of non-violent pathways. Tonkin alerts us here that "attitudes to women" which progresses to "active partnership" (2001:6), is italicized (see Table #1 below) since men who had reached advanced stages of change mentioned little of their relationships with their partners, which

Tonkin acknowledges was an area he did not explore and recommends further research. My research contemplates some of the established areas of concern Tonkin mentions, such as the inherent concept of power, identity and meaning of life.

Moral Development	1. Denial		2. Behavioural Change (crisis)		3. Personal Transformation	
Change Stage	Defiance	Self-Justification	Self Change	Relationship Building	Community Service	Social Action
Power Paradigm	Power over				Power with and power within	
Connectedness	Disconnection from self and others				Connected to self and others	
Self Esteem/responsibility	Blame others		Blame self		Affirm self	
Masculine Identity	Defend masculinity		Doubt masculinity	Struggle with Masculinity	Masculinity reconceived	
Attitudes to Women	Women as danger	Resentment		Empathy	Active partnership	
Dealing with Feelings	Impulsive behaviour		Push feelings away	Manage anger well and express creativity	Can sit with and express creatively	
Ability to Recreate	'Can't relax' Blame external factors for not having leisure		Some self care		Range of recreational activities	
Work Life	Excessive over work		Disillusionment with work life		Work life reconceived	
Meaning in Life	Expressed as material goals				Has a personal philosophy or spirituality	

Table 1

Pathways of Change towards a Non-violent Life Style: For Men who use Violent, Abusive or Controlling Behaviour in their Family Relationships

Source: Tonkin (2001:7).

This section on challenging hegemonic masculinities has indicated the importance of research not only in attempting to understanding men's violent behaviour but to challenge men to change such violent behaviour which is undergirded by hegemonic

masculinities. Such hegemonic masculinities can be significantly challenged by gender education as will be seen below.

3.1. Gender Education from Childhood to Manhood "Boys to Men"

It is imperative to understand that gender education needs to be contemplated from childhood to manhood in order for it to have any meaningful impact in changing the present *status quo* of maintaining hegemonic masculinities. As will be seen later in more detail, the narratives of the men in my study demonstrate the incremental effect that gender conditioning has from the time of boyhood onwards.

Raewyn Connell's (2003:20-21) research conducted mainly in schools in developed countries on gender in child development and education, also has bearing within the South African context. Moreover, the inclusion of engaging both boys and girls on reconstructing their thoughts on power relations within the gender binary will ensure more egalitarian and mutually respectful relations, which relates to the conclusion of my study.

Connell makes five crucial observations on the importance of gender education within this discourse. First, she makes the assertion that gender education is a highly active process. Boys and girls, as Connell contend, incorporates "an active negotiation about gender, its meanings, and hierarchies of masculinity, begins early and continues through adolescence" (2003:20). Here, the possibilities that Connell raises, are clearly implicated in my conclusion of attempting to critically acknowledge some previous unsuccessful efforts and to clearly innovate for more sustained change.

Second, Connell (2003:21) holds that "gender development passes through different stages". Evident in the narratives of the men in my study were statements relating to the importance of such development being taken seriously.

Third, gender development is multi-dimensional. As Connell states, it involves "cognitive and emotional learning, physical development, the learning of social skills, and the development of personal identities" (2003:21). Within the narratives in my study was also the emphasis of multi-dimensionality.

Fourth, Connell points out that "bodily activities such as sport, fighting and sexuality are very important in young people's thinking about masculinities, especially in defining hierarchies between hegemonic and subordinated masculinities" (2003:21). In my study, men fighting with other men was also narrated to reassert their 'dangerous' masculinities.

Fifth and finally, according to Connell, "gender learning occurs in multiple sites, from the family to schools, peer groups, and workplaces" (2003:22). The numerous sites of learning again were evident in my study where the men narrated their "homo-social activities" particularly with other men like playing cards. More significant for this study is whether religion and spirituality can be a site for positive gendered learning for men.

For Morrell (2005:3), the schooling system in South Africa offers the best chance to engage the youth in the question of masculinity. Despite the present curriculum offering some opportunity for engagement, Morrell claims that it is inadequate and has negligible effect. As Morrell further argues, the Lifeskills Curriculum should ideally provide learners with more caring skills, not only for the sick, but for all children in general.

Besides education being a focus of studies in South Africa, scholars in masculinities have engaged in a wider spectrum of research on masculinities. These areas are explored below.

3.2. Masculinities in the South African Context

Many leading South African scholars authoritatively examine masculinity, gender and violence. These include Blackbeard and Lindeggar (2007); Gibson (2004); Jewkes et al. (2002); Khumalo (2005); Morrell (1998, 2005 and 2007); Peacock (2006); Ritchter (2006a). They inform and contribute to my perspective of this study. They offer extensive discourse on gender construction, masculinity with its differing contradictions, complexities and hegemonic masculinities within the South African cultural context. Moreover, an excellent South African study edited by Tamara Shefer et al. (2007) *From Boys to Men: Social Constructions of Masculinity in Contemporary Society* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press) brings gender into focus as a fundamental dimension of culture, economics and politics. Connell substantially informs my study in her forward to the book, where she concisely notes how research in South Africa has pointed us in the correct direction to include the following areas of research—all of which are my research advances: education, health, violence men's relationship to children, counselling and psychotherapy of men and work in civil and religious organisations.

This multi-dimensional approach to the study of masculinities has found significant expression within research on socio-cultural and economic risk factors for partner violence.

3.3. Socio-cultural and Economic Context Risk Factors for Domestic Violence

The mediating/causal factors in the area of violence have often been looked at primarily from the context of poverty, alcohol dependency, drug addiction, career failure, etc. For example, as Comas-Diaz notes, "poverty is seen as undermining the culturally acceptable male role of being breadwinner and income generator for the family when unemployed men construe themselves as failures since their socially-determined prescribed role as provider for the family is not fulfilled" (1995:31). Vogelman and Eagle (1991:209) add that "it is almost a dislodgment of masculinity

which lessens their power and control associated with the traditional male role." As Olivier (2000:46) also maintains, "this unfulfilled role may be displaced as they [men] become violent with their partners to restore some semblance of power". Abrahams et al. (1999:7) have also noted low educational levels as factors of risk for partner violence in South Africa. Likewise, Dawes et al. (2006:232) have pointed out that these risks factors could be a product of poverty, since less educated spouses are likely to be poor and invariably encounter higher stress levels, which could influence the marital relationship. The difference in age of more than six years as identified by Ulrike Kistner (2003:9) is yet another risk factor impacting on violence. Similarly, the study by Bollen et al. (1999:22) found that younger couples were at most risk of experiencing serious abuse.

Some significant and ethnographic studies have also been done on the constructions of masculinities. As mentioned earlier, Shefer et al. (2007) offer an impressive and substantive collection of predominantly pervasive South African contextual analysis of masculinities. The collection, documents hegemonic discourses on masculinity as well as the resistances and challenges to dominant forms of being a boy or man within the South African context. Some pertinent chapters include: "The Problems Boys and Men Create"; "The Problems Boys and Men Experience"; "'Moffies, Jocks and Cool Guys': Boys' Accounts of Masculinity and their Resistance in Context"; "Social Construction of Masculinity on the Racial and Gendered Margins of Cape Town"; "Teenage Masculinity: The Double Find of Conformity to Hegemonic Standards", and "Do You Want To Be A Father? School-going Youth in Durban Schools at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century". This book, representing as it does a mixed collection of empirical, methodological, and theoretical research, sharpens our views on the cultural climate within which masculinities manoeuvrers in South Africa and is therefore of great importance for my study.

In their work, Peacock and Botha (2006:281), illustrate how South Africa is similar to other parts of the world in that gender roles are in constant flux. Such roles they assert are contested in complex and complicated ways by women and sometimes even by men. In particular, their work addresses the entrenched gender inequalities and

constructive male involvement in men working to promote gender equality. They describe initiatives currently underway across the country and provide evidence of growing commitment by government and civil society.[2] Their work is important for my study in that it helps situate the organization from which the sample was drawn, within the broader initiatives undertaken by government and civil society.

While it is evident from the vast array of studies outlined above, that social and cultural contexts in the study of masculinity are critically located, there is nevertheless a minimal-to-negligible local focus on the relationship between religion and domestic violence. While socio-cultural and economic context risk factors are important, further attention needs to be paid to the role of religion and culture. Where feminist work has been done in this area it has often focused on the ways in which religion constructs femininity. While this has been important research, what is also of crucial importance is the way in which religion and culture constructs masculinities and how it can promote violence.[3]

Although some studies in South Africa are quantitative in nature they have particular meaning in framing the demographical landscape of domestic violence. Their relevance acknowledges the need and gap for more qualitative work which my study attempts.

Jewkes et al. (2002) community survey of partner violence, studied the lifetime and past year prevalence of abuse of 1, 306 women in three Provinces (Limpopo, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga) of women between the ages of 18-49 years. They also noted that 75% of these women between the ages of 18 to 49 years believed that it was "sometimes or always acceptable for an adult to hit another adult" (2002:1609). Mbokota and Moodley (2003:455) in their random sample of 604 women attending King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban found that 38% of women experienced domestic violence.

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[2] See in particular, Peacock and Botha (2006:283-290) for a detailed description of those initiatives designed to interrogate men's power, patriarchy, culture religion and the violation of women's rights in South Africa's new democratic dispensation.

[3] Some research in this area has been initiated by theologians and scholars of religion and these will be detailed in the next broad section.

Furthermore, Singh's (2003:34) study of a sample of 230 found that 32% of male participants where violent because of an unhappy marital relationship. Some reasons cited were unfaithfulness and unexpected pregnancies. This study also noted that 24% of men identified the correlation between financial stress and domestic violence. 52% of the women believed that men used violence because they lacked confidence and were insecure about their competencies and abilities.

South Africa's first National Social Attitude Survey, conducted in 2004 by Dawes et al. (2004) and has particular bearing on this study. In their survey, a representative sample of 2, 497men and women, sixteen years of age and over, from all provinces, population groups and income backgrounds were interviewed. A total of 1, 198 participants with partners completed the measure of partner violence. 83% were married and the rest were unmarried and cohabiting.

Their main findings revealed the following:

- Overall prevalence in relationship lifetime: Nearly 20% of the sample who had partners, experienced violent physical assault, either as perpetrators, victims or both in the lifetime of their relationships with that partner. This is almost 25% higher than in the United States of America.
- Overall prevalence in the past year: 12.5% reported such assaults
- Perpetration and victimhood in relationship lifetime: More than 16% of the sample report having assaulted their partners, and 15% report being assaulted during the lifetime of their relationship
- Gender differences: Regardless of the period, women are twice as likely to be assault victims as their male partners.
- Income Level and men: Regardless of the period measured, more men in the lower income bracket (less than R1000 per month) assault their partners than any other income group.
- Income level and women: More women in the lowest income group are likely to assault their partners and be assaulted. Double the number of low income women in relation to men who are assaulted.
- Race: Regardless of the period, proportionally higher numbers of African/Black and (so-called) Coloured women report assaults by their partners, and more men in the same communities assault their partners than in others. African/Black and Coloured people in South Africa are more likely than in others to be in the lower

income groups. Therefore what we are seeing in these figures is likely to be a consequence of poverty (Dawes et al. 2004:7-8).

Luyt's 2003 article on "Rhetorical Representations of Masculinities in South Africa: Moving towards a Material-discursive Understanding of Men" which drew on a study of seventy-seven Cape Town men who participated in a focus group discussion on the perspicuity of "hegemonic metaphors" is yet another interesting study. Similar to the seven dimensions of traditional masculine ideology above, Luyt's local study offers a succinct summary.

From Luyt's study, seven metaphorical themes were thus identified:

1. Masculine control: "It's basically a conquest thing";
2. Masculine (un) emotionality: "Having a lion's heart";
3. Masculine physicality and toughness: "The iron man";
4. Masculine competition: "It's a matter of war";
5. Masculine success: "Flying high";
6. Masculine (hetero)sexuality: "The steam engine within";
7. Masculine responsibility: "Child-minding the world" (2003:56).[4]

While Luyt warns that rhetorical representations of masculinities is much more complex than just the seven themes above, he nevertheless motivates that an analysis of this kind is imperative in demonstrating "watercolour themes" of South African men's lived realities. The study demonstrated the dialogical nature of social representations, which are grounded within the socio-historical context of how men in South Africa reproduced knowledge concerning themselves within an ever-changing social environment. The study further substantiates how social categories such as race, class and sexuality add to the experiences of these men and how South African men in particular experience their masculinities. Moreover, this study noted that consensus and disagreement both surfaced around "what it is to be a man". Luyt recommends (2003:66) that more work needs to be done in understanding the everyday description of male lived realities within the complex and contradictory

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[4] For a detailed description of each of these seven metaphorical themes, see Luyt (2003:55-57).

South African context. My study acknowledges this critical call and directly addresses the nuanced lived experiences of men who are violent.

3.4. The Contribution of Western Colonialism and Apartheid to the Construction of Violent Masculinities in South Africa

No study on masculinities and violence in South Africa can ignore the immense contribution of colonialism and apartheid to the construction of violent masculinities. Hence, many of the studies in South African acknowledge these two crucial factors. For example, Jewkes states that history may also play a pivotal role in the prevalence of violence. In particular, she mentions apartheid or racial segregation, and the forced migrant labour system, which left many women to raise families alone, while the men took up work in mining and other industries:

> With the precarious economic position, African were put in, increasingly, families changed their structures….Woman had children…outside of the marriage or even within the marriage [many] women with few economic opportunities [sent] children to live with other relatives. So, in this country…it was common for children to grow up spending much time living without either of their parents (Jewkes 2006:2).

Morrell also notes how gender, culture and rights have historically been implicated in inequalities and injustices. These can be found in contemporary patterns in South Africa, which include:

- High levels of violence against women (femicide, murder, rape and domestic violence);
- Domination of certain spheres of public life (corporate and State), by men to the exclusion of women;
- Physical attacks on outsiders and minority groups (frequently other men), including homophobic, xenophobic, racist and ethnic violence (Morrell 2005:84).

Another study conducted by Richter and Morrell (2006:8) notes that in South Africa, there are two factors to consider when thinking about men and fatherhood in the

context of masculinity. The first is the persistence of high levels of unemployment which disproportionately affects young black men. Second is the historical legacy of racial emasculation by which African men have been infantilised. To restore the value of fatherhood through the construction of masculinity it is necessary to tackle both of these factors.

While colonialism and apartheid and the manner in which it has shaped gendered relations have been well documented, it is not the main focus on my study and cannot here be further elaborated upon. Moreover, space and time constraints will not permit a lengthy discussion of the system of apartheid with its deliberate interplay of race and gender politics. Instead, my study deliberately concentrates on the religious and spiritual constructions on masculinities. A review of the literature in this area follows below.

4. Religious and Spiritual Constructions of Masculinities[5]

The second broad category under which I review the literature on my subject is the research that has been done in the area of religious and spiritual constructions of masculinities.

Within this broad category, the research can be further divided into three specific areas:

i. Much of the primary research simply culminates in calls to establish the interconnection between violent masculinities and religion;

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[5] For the purposes of this present study, the definition of spirituality supplied by Maples and Robertson (2001:818-843) is most acceptable: "Spirituality tends to be a more inclusive term that describes a sense of "closeness, harmony, or connection" with a transcendent being or power. These spiritual activities tend to be more personal, more private, and less dogmatic than religious activities". Religiosity generally refers to an active affiliation with an organised religious community and typically includes participation in various rituals and public activities sponsored by that group. Participation in such rituals and religious activities foster certain social understandings such as males being more dominant than women. This study did not expect potential respondents to note the differences or inherent similarities, of religion or spirituality, but it was anticipated from the subtext of the narratives.

ii. The second area of research is on religion as resource or hindrance to overcoming domestic violence;

iii. The third area of research follows from the first and has made a call for revising religious and theological education in the light of the said interconnection.[6]

5. Establishing an Interconnection between Violent Masculinity and Religion

Ellison and Anderson (2001:270) report that the role of religion in legitimating or deterring family violence has received short shrift from researchers. While to an extent this is true, recently, links between religion and gender construction have been made through the work of theologians such as Moyo (2001, 2004); Chitando (2008); Chitando and Chirongoma (2009); van Klinken (2011); Phiri (2000, 2002); Schüssler Fiorenza (1975, 2002); Nadar (2005, 2009); and Oduyoye (2001; 2002). They provide an expansive understanding on how culture and religion contribute to maintaining hegemonic masculinities. They nevertheless continue their call for more extensive research on such an important area of study, and my own work here is intended to address this call.

As the Muslim theologian Farid Esack has aptly warned:

> If we do not address issues of men and men's violence against women, and machismo and male insecurity and the question of masculinities as opposed to a very oppressive, homogenous understanding of man, we will really be sitting with problems eternally (Esack cited in Peacock and Botha 2006:284).

The question that has been raised is succinctly captured in the quotation below from the April 05, 2007 edition of the *Mail & Guardian (South Africa)* weekly newspaper:

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[6] A fourth area of research in the religious construction of masculinities in Africa is that of HIV and AIDS and masculinity. In this regard, Ezra Chitando and Adriaan van Klinken have been the most prolific researchers. While their excellent work is beyond the scope of this present study, intermittent reference to their research in so far as it relates to gender violence will be made.

If the religious right claims that the bulk of South Africans are God-fearing, devout believers, with 85% belonging to some kind of organized religion, then why are we confronted with such high incidences of interpersonal violence, if indeed we are serious about our faith?

Hence, as Sarojini Nadar also points out in an Op-Ed piece in the January 05, 2007 edition of the *Mail & Guardian (South Africa)*:

…while most religions pay lip service to ending violence against women, in reality women are pressurized to submit to their husbands as the head of the family, to reconcile, to try again and to try harder.

Nadar cites research conducted in Durban by Isabel Phiri (2000), where 85% of women married to leaders in a church claimed to have experienced violence at the hands of their husbands, When questioned why they endured such abuse, they responded by stating that they were taught by their religion that the man is the head of the home and that they should submit to his authority.

Other theorists have noted the distinct spiritual differences that exist for men and women. Studies undertaken by Long and Heggen (1988:213) and Rohr and Martos (1992:6) support this notion. The study by Long and Heggen specifically focused on how Christian clergy perceived spirituality for men versus women. Here the clergy had certainly different expectations for sexes. The clergy aptly described a spiritually healthy man as "dominant in the home, self-reliant, independent, comfortable leading in church, and enjoys teaching adults in church" (1988:213). Accordingly, a spiritually healthy woman was described as "being obedient, seeks advice from others, submissive in the home and enjoys teaching children in church" (Long and Heggen 1988:218).

In her research, McMullen (2003:197) concisely notes that the Christian church is as much a part of the problem of domestic violence as it is as an agent of change. A relevant example is the Roman Catholic Church, where domestic violence continues unabated within society while its priests in the confessional have privileges other professionals do not have. If a woman discloses domestic abuse to a priest, he may

choose to keep it confidential. McMullen makes the important point that confidentiality is not intended to protect the abuser from being held accountable, but is meant to give them time to get help for themselves and prevent further abuse. While the issues of transforming patriarchy within religion and its concomitant nature of confidentiality and confessional is not within the scope of this study, it nevertheless brings into bold relief the role that faith-based communities should play in addressing and ameliorating interpersonal violence among its congregant members. Potentially, this study intends to determine whether religion can be a resource for women and men in an abusive dyad.

Most dominant world religions have gender expectations about the participation of congregant members and those in religious service. For example, within Islam men are traditionally involved in mosque activities, while women's role is one of support. Maples and Robertson (2001:818) therefore conclude that in many religious traditions the characteristics that defined a man as "spiritually healthy have been similar to those that have also defined him as masculine".

The South African study conducted by Anna van der Hoven (2001:18) reported that within conservative Christian and Afrikaans communities, women tend to accept that they should adopt a submissive traditional and passive sex role. Her survey cohort consisted of 123 white women residing in Pretoria, Gauteng. Some of her findings were as follows:

- Half of the respondents revealed strong patriarchal attitudes, who believed that should they be more assertive; they would be blamed for the abuse;
- There was a statistically significant relationship between victim blaming and justification for the violence;
- Afrikaans-speaking respondents revealed a significantly stronger patriarchal attitude than English-speaking respondents;
- Post-matric respondents were less tolerant of marital violence, than women who had not studied further than high school (2001:18).

This study by van der Hoven reveals the trajectory that several theologians who make a direct link between theologies of submission and gender violence. For example,

Phiri's (2000) study on domestic violence in Christian homes made this exact conclusion, namely, that men who abuse their wives did so because they were not submissive enough and women opted to stay in abusive relationship because of their belief in a theology of submission (Phiri 2000:86).

Although abused women have similar experience in other faiths, van der Hoven observes that Christian abused women were often riddled with guilt about the marital violence. This guilt was based on their understanding of the following beliefs:

- It is your Christian duty to forgive;
- The Bible instructs us to love each other. The family is very important to God;
- Sacrifice for your family. A wife is secondary to her husband.
- The Christian woman must keep her family together;
- Pray for a violent man. God can change him;
- Put your marriage in God's hands (2001:19)

It is religious attitudes like the above that perpetuate and maintain women in their violent marriages. My study therefore acknowledges the imperativeness of engaging the 'other' in the marital dyad. These 'others" are the men who practice violence and my study attempts to understand the role religion plays in validating, continuing and promoting the use of violence in their marital relationships.

Another study which begins to point towards the role of cultural and religious belief in the construction of violent masculinities, is that undertaken in a South African farm working community by Penny Paranzee and Dee Smythe (2002). In their study, they noted that men justified violence towards their partners by referring to their status as being head of the household. The inextricable link between male domination and power within the marital dyad often has its beginnings in the family of origin. This cultural view is a primary belief fostered in especially religious families during the upbringing of children and provides little opportunity for wives to challenge their husbands, who are often physically stronger, thereby maintaining the status and supremacy within the family.

5.1. Religion as Resource and Hindrance

Maples and Robertson (2001:826)[7] also discuss the common presenting issues among actively religious men which informed my study since all the men were religiously affiliated. The strong overtones of masculinity include the following:

5.1.1. Resistance

Many religious men in general view the mental health profession with some degree of suspicion.

5.1.2. Sexuality Issues

The distinction between what is taught by religious authority and what is actually practiced may present a dilemma for men. Homosexuality in particular is considered immoral and sinful as noted by all the respondents in my study.

5.1.3. Cultural Issues

Clearly, differences do exist among religions with respect to the relationship of religion and culture. Overt religious activities may be something a man engages in for an hour or two on weekends, but during the rest of the week he pursues these activities only intermittently. This was also evident in my own study, whereby the vast majority of respondents not only became actively involved on 'special occasions' but at numerous other times. Indeed, one respondent attended mosque a total of five times a day.

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[7] For a comprehensive understanding of other issues that are beyond the scope of this study, see Maples and Robertson (2001).

5.1.4. Family and Relationship Issues

As noted in other religions, males are afforded particular rights and responsibilities not readily given to their wives:

> Men are sometimes afforded higher status in their families because of their role in religion. Because God is often conceptualized as male, a man's authority within the household is seen by some religions as an extension of God's authority (Maples and Robertson 2001:831).

As noted in my study, this has its basis in the sacred texts of Islam and Christianity. The idea of masculine influence in the family and within opposite sex relationships is very often explained on a religious basis. Indeed, within some religious contexts, men have a specific sense that they are ultimately accountable for the welfare of their family. As a result of this, the notion that men are to be generally responsible appears to extend beyond the boundaries of culture and religion:

> Religiously minded men, imbued with a feeling of authority as a religious right, may be at risk for abuse of that power (Maples and Robertson 2001:832).

In some religions, the inability to afford materially for the family carries with it a shameful and challenging cultural disgrace. In Islam for example, men are usually expected to continue to maintain close ties with their extended family. In addition, the Muslim male is also expected to sometimes accept responsibility for the care of ill and senior members of his family. Many of these men may not attempt to seek counselling on their own but may be referred because of the value, particularly Muslim men "place on privacy, problems are likely to be addressed within the family before seeking outside help" (Maples and Robertson 2001:832).

Religion has not only been known to provide motivation, but has been recognized as a resource to offer hope and comfort as the literature above has shown. Concomitantly, it can create stressful and conflictual tension as McMullen (2003) Phiri (2001) and McClintock-Fulkerson (1991) and other scholars have shown, especially with regard

to how often the clergy instruct women to return to their marital home after violence has occurred and to continue within the marriage.

As Chitando and Chirongoma have shown, given the popularity of religious studies in many African countries, it is strategic for men and women to "prepare to interrogate the licensing of men to perpetrate violence against women" (2008:66). This study does assert that the pervasiveness of domestic violence necessitates its continued inclusion in religious teaching on a more critical and challenging level. It is not naïve to assume that South African religious study in academia is male dominated however emergent feminist theologians have recently devoted growing attention to deconstructing masculinity.

5.2. Transforming Theological and Religious Education in the Context of Masculine Violence

If religion is expected to be used as a resource then work must commence at the inception of training and education of the clergy and other male members of faith-based communities. They need to seriously interrogate how hegemonic masculinities are detrimental not only to the congregants but have wider and far reaching implications. This has been an area of special interest to a few scholars in the area of violent masculinities and religions. For example, Chitando and Chirongoma rightfully call on departments of religious studies to "conduct research, publish and teach courses that deconstruct aggressive and dangerous masculinities since they are strategically placed in facilitating the transformation of masculinity" (2008:56). In the same article, Chitando and Chirongoma add that the "social construction of manhood needs to the interrogated to enable men to appreciate that they can express themselves in ways that are not harmful to women, children and themselves" (2008:58).

Longwood (2006:58) explicates the call for theologians to explore implications in relation to various parts of theology and ethics. These he continues should include "the doctrine of God, theological anthropology, understanding of sin, meaning of

repentance, process of reconciliation, meaning of power, our body-selves as sources of wisdom, specification of justice and the delineation of love" (2006:58). Longwood therefore calls on theologians to re-imagine that which is essential to "provide men to develop a more expansive and non-violent understanding of what it means to occupy the roles of father, lover, husband, brother and son" (2006:58). More locally, an entire double volume of the South African-based *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa,* vol. 14/2 and 15/1 (2008/2009) entitled "Feminist Theological Pedagogy in Africa" was devoted to reflecting on the pedagogical implications of using a case study on gender violence to teach a postgraduate theological studies module on theories and method at the School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal. Some of the articles included: "'Sacred Stories' as a Theological Pedagogy"; "The Feminist Teacher: Pedagogy of the Oppressed Women", both by Sarojini Nadar; "African Theological Pedagogy in the Light of a Case Study on Gendered Violence", by Isabel Apawo Phiri; "Teaching and Learning in Community with Others: A Transformation-centred Approach to Theological Education" by R. Simangaliso Kumalo, and "Introducing History of Christianity to Postgraduate Theological Students", by Philippe Denis. This unique collection of articles therefore attests to the attempt to concretely address the translation of theory into practice for students of theology studying within the South African academy.

6. Chapter Summary

This chapter has focused on two broad categories of the link between masculinity and violence to further our understanding on the extensive body of research on violent masculinities and religion. These two broad categories were the psycho-social constructions of masculinities and the religious and spiritual constructions of masculinities.

It is evident from the above literature review that despite adequate knowledge on the psychosocial construction of masculinities and despite some research on the

intersection between violent masculinities and religion more rigorous contextual and challenging research in still required in the latter category. My study concentrates its efforts on this current gap to further our understanding on the 'web of associated factors' by including religion and culture as variables. It augments this vast body of literature presented in this chapter and is undertaken to add depth to present understanding.

In the chapter which follows, the focus will be on establishing a theoretical framework and construction that will inform this present work.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONSTRUCTS

1. Introduction

In this chapter, the theoretical landscape informing and analysing my study will be discussed. Critical theory, feminist analysis and masculinities studies form the main theoretical framework of my study. These theories are broadly informed by the insights offered by theorists within the field of the sociology of religion. While in the previous chapter it was established that an extensive body of literature on masculinities exists, any research endeavour on violent masculinities will be fatally flawed if it is not acknowledged within a context specific synopsis. Again, the notion of the 'web of associated factors' will be crucial to my study.

By way of structure, I will first discuss critical theory and its relevance to my study. Second, I will provide an overview of feminism as a critical theory. Third, I will present a selection of the theoretical constructs within masculinities studies. Fourth, I will offer a brief overview and discussion of the basic tenets that define a Sociology of Religion approach. These will be essential to affording an answer to the key questions of my study.

Pease (2003:124) declares that theory, whether it refers to broad social theories concerned with the socio-cultural context and individuals' experiences of oppression, or theories of practice that are focused on strategies for intervention, is vital for any research. One of the reasons why theory is vital for both research and practice is that it enables human service professionals to identify aspects of a situation that may be unseen. Its value is judged by its power to explain what is going on.

The framework guiding my research will be critical theory, which also encompasses structural, pro-feminist, anti-oppressive and postmodern critical components (Pease 2003:125). According to Pease, these aforementioned theories incorporate the:

> Structural inequalities in men's lives emphasize the importance of dominant discourses in shaping men's subjectivities. It therefore becomes essential to locate men in the context of patriarchy and the division of class, culture, race, religion, sexuality and other forms of social inequality, while simultaneously seeking alternatives to patriarchal belief systems which become embedded in men's psyches (2003:124).

This eclectic framework emphasizes the complexities innate in the dynamic nature of research on power and control which is embodied within masculinities.

I will now discuss the first area of the framework, namely, the critical theory and its implications for my study.

2. Critical Theory

Critical theory serves two purposes in my research. On the one hand, it is a tool of analysis, helping to understand how violent masculinities are constructed; and on the other, through the process of the analysis it can assist ultimately to effect social change. Critical theory used in this study affords the 'lived experience' to contribute to knowledge on hegemonic masculinities, which will also create a climate to innovate and navigate on gender discourses, particularly with reference to interpersonal violence. When dominant discourses are unsettled, it cultivates a climate for channelling change. Following Babbie and Mouton (2006:38), any critical theorist provides explanations "that will ultimately lead to transformation and change in the world".

Critical theory is utilized in my study as a means to encourage the men to reflect on their choice of engaging in violence as a means of conflict resolution. This brings to the surface the understanding that explains and confirms feelings and attitudes that

were otherwise unclear. The research questions engage the men on numerous challenges they encounter with power and control in the marriage, when the 'private' of their lives potentially become the 'public'.

Payne (2005) discusses extensively the pertinence of critical theory. He proposes three principles of critical theory that find resonance in my study and these are provided below.

Critical theory advances thinking in the areas of domination, false consciousness and positivism. First, with regard to domination, Malcolm Payne asserts that it is:

> Created structurally but experienced personally. Because powerful people may directly exploit people but also deceive themselves that oppression and inequalities are unavoidable, these cultural beliefs lead people into self-defeating behaviour (2005:241).

In my study, domination and control is analysed from the narratives of the men. One area of this oppression was the connotation of headship and its benefits within the socio-cultural environment.

Second, with regard to false consciousness, Payne maintains that:

> People are not aware that social orders are created historically and might therefore be changed. They assume that inequalities are natural in society (2005:241).

This is a crucial factor when dealing with the role of religion in the maintenance of constructions of masculinities, particularly when people regard religion as sacrosanct and unchangeable. Similarly, Isherwood and McEwan (1993:61) offer that:

> Religion is not about standing still, repeating established 'truths', being limited by accepted interpretations; religion is about communion of community in the present, the inter-relatedness of everybody, connecting and networking, carrying and caring. Thus feminist theology presents a radical critique of religions and theological thinking stuck in notions of patriarchal supremacy.

Third, Payne (2005:242) states that:

> Positivism is an ideology about how knowledge is created and leads to passivity and fatalism, because people believe that social facts cannot be changed. Critical social theory, contrary to positivism, emphasizes people's agency—the capacity to achieve social change.

For this reason, the importance to my study of critical theory is that it advances the idea that progress and change is possible:

> Because the awareness of the possibility of change means that people have voluntary control over social arrangements, rather than the social order being determined by forces outside their control. (Payne 2005:242).

Finally, Payne (2005:242) maintains that:

> Knowledge is not a reflection of external reality but is actively constructed by researchers. Causal analysis differs from knowledge produced by self-reflection and interaction with others. Therefore, communication and reflection are essential to creating social change because they make possible the voluntary control of social issues in people's lives.

Integrally related to the discourses of knowledge is the notion and practice of power. Moreover, as Jan Fook has shown, critical theory emphasizes that power is pervasive in many facets of our society, even in extremely "organized and complex areas like governments" (2002:46). It is also pervasive in "discourses and texts that cut across the multiple sites of power." It is evident in such "texts and documents that power relations can be abstract yet intersect with local and lived experiences" (2002:46). It is in actual lived experience that the "abstract relations of power meet the life-worlds of ordinary people head on" (Babbie and Mouton 2006:37). The lived violent experiences of the narratives of the men in my study are fertile and rich with the dynamics of contested power relations.

Undergirded by the understanding of power are three principles that Pringle puts forward about work with men. First, he maintains that at the heart of critical work

with men is the focus on the "relationship between men and women rather than on men alone" (1998:623). Second, he argues for the importance of "examining the complexities of masculinities while grounding these in the materiality of men's practices" (1998:623). Finally, as with Payne, Pringle (1998:623) affirms the importance of "placing power at the centre of men's practices".

In what follows, I will explore the latter two principles in relation to the objectives of my study and analysis of the narratives of the men presented later in this study. This will be in order to understand within these narratives how men use hegemonic masculinities to exercise and maintain power. This enables a critical reflection of their narratives. Any thought of a social justice agenda requires critical reflectivity on the complexities and challenges of 'rethinking' and 'redeveloping'. The narrative, power and identity of hegemonic masculinities contained in my study are core within this critical reflective paradigm.

Fook (2002:52) notes three elements of Foucault's approach to power:

- Power is exercised, not possessed.
- Power is both repressive and productive.
- Power comes from the bottom up.

Moreover, the Foucaultian concept of power is widely accepted as helpful in advancing our thoughts on how power is sustained and maintained not only in society but within interpersonal relations. This relates to the key question of power and control which is one of the main research questions which my study hopes to address within the marital dyad. Fook (2002:53) continues that "the key to understanding power in any context is therefore to appreciate how it is expressed, experienced and created by different people at different levels".

Jan Fook draws attention to a number of lessons in the critical reflective process which is crucial for my study of men who have been violent within the marital dyad.

First, Fook asserts that the critical reflective process provides the researcher and participants the ability to:

> Acknowledge and appreciate the influence of self (personal reactions-behavioural and emotional, interpretations, social and cultural backgrounds, personal history or experience) in determining and changing a situation (2002:43).

Second, Fook holds that a critical reflective process provides the space for the "recognition of personally held, often hidden or unconscious assumptions, and their role in influencing a situation" (2002:43).

Third—and important because of my feminist stance is a sense of responsibility within the critical reflective process, on both the part of the researcher and the participant—Fook contends that:

> It foregrounds the notion of agency—how each player can act upon to influence a situation. Coupled with this ability to interweave analysis with action, is to engage in a process of inductive and creative thinking, so that specific personal experiences act as a springboard to broaden understanding (2002:43).

The latter idea of expanding why men do what they do within the marital dyad evolves within the narratives of the men in my study.

Finally, as Fook contends, engaging in a critical reflective process enables a "capacity to question, to tolerate uncertainty, and to utilize it as a catalyst for active change" (2002:43).

Within this framework we have to be aware that critical reflection is not identical to reflection. Fook (2002:43) notes that there is the concern that reflection can become a catch-all phrase diluted to mean any type of "thinking about" a situation. The reflective approach is based on a questioning of the usefulness of traditional approaches to knowledge-building for professionals, since traditional approaches seem to result in a disjuncture between the 'theory' and the "practice" of professionals.

It is crucial in a critical approach to develop a realization which is able to imagine the transformability of current arrangements. My study thus places the focus firmly on the men and their current dysfunctional violent relationships with their wives. This means that it is necessary to be able to distinguish between knowledge which is generated empirically, and that which is generated through self-reflection and communication. One group of features are the "emancipatory elements—the capacity to question and change existing power relations. A second feature is the "interactive way in which such emancipatory knowledge is developed" (Fook 2002:18).

In my study I seek to understand men's own perspectives, their contentious areas of engagement with women in their lives and the concomitant relationship with other men. The power dynamics alluded above and inherent in their gender is also critically examined. As Orme et al. imply, work with men "seeks to remove the damaging effects of their socialization into conventional male behaviour, and enables them to manage personal relationships more successfully" (2000:89). Essentially, working and engaging constructively with men who are violent would not only conscientise them about how gender is internalized, but have them reflect on the repercussions of their violent actions.

To summarize, the rationale for using critical theory for my study is that it provides:

a) A critique of positivism;
b) A recognition of reflective ways of knowing; and
c) A reliance on interactional processes in the generation of knowledge (Fook 2002:40).

It is from this critical space I now move to a discussion on feminism as a theoretical lens which guides the analysis of my study.

3. Feminist Critical Theory

Since the 1960s, feminism has decidedly addressed the inherent dichotomous gendered realties that exist in society.[1]

Of all the numerous definitions of feminism that exist, I find the following most appropriate for my study. Joanne Wolkski-Conn (cited in Clifford 2001:17) maintains that feminism is:

> Both a coordinated set of ideas and a practical plan of action, rooted in women's critical awareness of how a culture controlled in meaning and action by men for their own advantages, oppresses women and dehumanizes men.

There are at least three aspects of this definition which are significant for my study. The first is that it highlights the interrelationship of theory and practice within feminist thought. The second is that it focuses on critical awareness being a vital dimension. Finally and most importantly for my study—and contrary to popular opinion—feminism is not only about the emancipation of women from patriarchy,[2] but it also seeks to demonstrate how patriarchy dehumanizes men. Central to my work is the need to understand why men justify their violent actions towards their wives. This definition invites us to consider whether these men are themselves not acting from a space of dehumanization caused by patriarchal expectations of them.

It is within the context of seeking for a humanization of both women and men that Rakoczy (2004:11) declares that:

> Feminism is based on the conviction of the full humanity of women and therefore perpetually occupied in reconstructing human society, including religious institutions, to reflect women's equality with men.

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[1] Here, I refer to Payne (2005:251) for a full discussion on the multiple perspectives of feminism. Feminist within an African transformation agenda is guided by the Forum of African Feminists. This forum has created a platform from which to engage purposefully in gender equality across the African Continent. See Appendix #4 Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists.

[2] bell hook (2000:viii) offers that feminism is "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression".

Similarly, Mercy Amba Oduyoye proposes that:

> Feminism has become the shorthand for the proclamation that women's experiences should become an integral part of what goes into the definition of being a human (1986:121).

Schüssler Fiorenza (1975:607) also refers to the notion of humanization as a goal of feminist thought. She maintains that:

> First women are human persons, and it therefore demands free development of full personhood for all, women and men. Secondly, feminism maintains that human rights and talents and weaknesses are not divided by sex. Feminism has pointed out that it is necessary for women to become independent economically and socially in order to be able to understand and value themselves as free, autonomous, and responsible subjects of their lives. If women's role in society is to change, then women and men's perception and attitudes towards women have to change at the same time.

It is within these profound statements by Schüssler Fiorenza that this present work finds its greatest justification. In other words, I would argue that it is impossible for women's full emancipation to be realized if men are not afforded the opportunity of introspection and thereby transform their violent and oppressive behaviour.

More constructively, to work with men acknowledges that men do have options and that they can react and respond in different ways, even opting to be non-violent. This is imperative if working with the experiences of individual men who are violent. Orme et al. (2000:93) observe that it is in:

> Women's longer-term interests to work with violent men and promote behaviour capable of enhancing women's well-being. Unless men work on their behaviour, the incentive for men to change will be absent and little will be done by men spontaneously.

Working effectively with violent men is thus viewed as a genuine endeavour and a necessary component of the feminist effort in contributing to the cessation of violence.

This study finds accord with the agenda of feminism and its commitment to examine gender inequality. I will thus seek to deconstruct meanings, differences, positions, etc., which consist of the truth. Engaging purposefully with dominant discourses directs us to acceptable versions of thinking about the intimate link between power disparities within the gender landscape of masculinities and femininities. Michel Foucault contributes substantially to our understanding of power and control. He notes the inextricable link of power and knowledge; once again feminism's understanding of this power is exemplified in understanding gendered power relations. According to Foucault (1972), power is viewed as existing in everyday interactions on all levels of society and operating in various forms. The multifarious layers of power are also evident in relations between men and women. Some feminist misgivings on Foucaultian theory exist, because they argue that within a Foucaldian understanding the question of how power is exercised is addressed but not why and still remains unanswered (*cf.* Bradley (2005:104). Some feminists have instead advanced the approach of Anthony Giddens' approach to power, which makes a "link between access to and control of various social resources" (Bradley 2005:105). Men therefore command and dominate because they are afforded control and power over particular resources. From the foregoing discussion on feminist theory it is clear that scholars have made legitimate arguments for the inclusion of men in the discourse of feminism. However, Sandra Harding (1991:282) poses an essential question:

Can feminist analysis and feminist politics clarify men's lives for men?

My study seeks to confirm this. A Feminist theorist standpoint holds that our actual experiences often lead to distorted perspectives and understandings because "a male supremacist social order arranges our lives in ways that hide their real nature and causes" (Harding 1991:282).

It is widely accepted that feminist knowledge is not exclusively produced and shaped by women. Men from their own context contribute as well, either by backlash[3] or consensus within a vastly contested moot environment. Identifying with the objective of this study, men depicted and elucidated their violent relationships with their wives

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[3] The concept of backlash will be discussed later in this chapter.

in a remote and distant manner. In many instances subscribing to "gender nativism; or 'gender folk belief'" (Harding 1991:282) about themselves and the world they populate.

The core tenets of feminism ring true, in that all humankind is deemed equal, although there is inter-changeability and transformability of our current roles. The feminist theologian Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (1975:606) aptly alludes to these prescribed gendered roles:

> In a sexist society woman's predominant role in life is to be man's helpmate, to cook and work for him without being paid, to bear and rear his children, and to guarantee him psychological and sexual satisfaction.

Being cognizant of the interconnection between societal structural control, men's behaviour and merely their deficiency of emotionality creates a challenging scenario. Biddulph flatly calls into question feminism's neglect of addressing the "inner situation of men". In particular he continues that it often came "down to thinly disguised male-blaming" (2002:23). Biddulph reiterates that he is cognizant of the dilemma: "as a man you commend and support the strength of women, you assist in protection of those vulnerable, but you couldn't be a feminist, because it wasn't a club for you" (2002:23). Biddulph continues that "being accountable to women" (2002:23) although well-intentioned was certainly not similar to being authentic and spurious. He rightfully notes the incredible strides made by feminism. However, he claims that the gender theorists "stand apart when they could often stand together" (2002:23). Biddulph emphatically and pointedly declares that "you can't liberate only half the human race" (2002:23). Admittedly, liberating women from men assumes that men were somehow the winners in a power struggle. Biddulph persuasively maintains that this over-simplistic view does not acknowledge that men who abuse are "usually pathetically insecure—hence they need to keep women down." (2002:24). It is more realistic he asserts that both men and women were entrapped by roles and conditioning that causes long term damage to them both. Biddulph propagates the "long term solution which lay not with women fighting men, but in both fighting the ancient stupidities that had been bequeathed to them" (2002:24). While I concede that

this complimentary, cooperative and conciliatory effort is contentious, it is nevertheless laudable.

Following Biddulph, feminism encompasses working within values that espouse reciprocity, democracy, and equality together with a comprehensive appreciation of the complexities of gender relations that are dynamic and defined and redefined within a dialogical space. This is especially true within African feminist and womanist thought [4] For example, Oduyoye (1986:121) declares that:

> [Feminism] highlights the women's world and her world view as she struggles side by side with the man to realise her full potential as a human being…it seeks to express what is not so obvious, that is, male-humanity is a partner with female-humanity, and that both expressions of humanity are needed to shape a balanced community within which each will experience a fullness of being.

Alice Walker, a womanist scholar, also advances that a womanist is "committed to survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female. Not a separatist, except periodically, for health" (Walker 1983:xii)

4. Backlash Feminism

Susan Faludi's (1991) publication, *Blacklash: the Undeclared War against American Women,* introduced the laudable concept of Backlash feminism. Her provocative thoughts have contributed extensively to further our understanding of some of the residual and noticeable counter-effects of feminism which are evidenced in society. Pivotal to her interpretation is that blacklash is obviously a consequence of the successful strides made by women for equality. Faludi aptly calls it a:

> Counterassault that stands the truth boldly on its head and proclaims that the very steps that have elevated women's position have actually led to their downfall (1991:vxiii).

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[4] For a fuller discussion of the reciprocal and inclusive nature of African feminisms, see Appendix #4 Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists.

She further describes these attempts as "counter-currents and treacherous undertones" which places feminists in a difficult position to continue furthering the equality agenda. Van Wormer also notes that:

> Resistance to feminism and to women's bid for equality is played out worldwide not only in religious fundamentalism but also in a backlash that accuses feminism of promoting anti-family ideologies that threaten the well being of children and communities (2009:4).

In South Africa for example, single mothers experience extreme difficulties in claiming maintenance from the fathers of their children. Despite the single parent grant alleviating some of the financial burden, they continue to struggle to get the financial commitment from these men. Their roles as mothers and the dominant parent further indicate victimisation by a court system that works slowly to secure the cooperation of these fathers.

Robert Morrell also notes that backlash organizations frequently insist that the man's position as head of the home be respected, a command which might restore the self-esteem of these men, but does so at the "expense of women's autonomy and their attempts to become decision-makers in the family" (2005:85).

Backlash feminism is also based on disagreement with presumable disproportionate attention that is paid to violence of men against women. These critics argue that men are also the victims of women's violence. Arguably, there are indications in domestic violence research that women too are perpetrators of violence against men (*cf.* Buttell and Carney 2005; Lupri 2004; Straus 2006).[5] However, we must remember that in a domestic violent situation, women are probably more likely to be injured or murdered

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[5] Recent research has shown that there are an increasing number of women who are violent (*cf.* Buttell and Carney 2005; Lupri 2004). Straus (2006:1091) makes the argument that influential men's movements will remove the politically based blockage of gender-inclusive research and programming that feminism has imposed. Straus goes on to accuse feminism (2006:1088) for the pervasive and persistent assault of men and the "cover up" of men as victims. Lupri (2004) maintains that feminism squarely promotes and exaggerates a false-gender specific picture of domestic violence, hence his call for opposition to "unconscionable and enduring depiction of men as oppressors and women as victims". His assertion of domestic violence is that it should be viewed as a human predicament rather than a gender problem.

as compared to men. Minaker and Snider (2006:755) also note that spousal abuse seen from a gender neutral lens can become the new "common sense" when combined with neo-liberal governance. Pertinent questions on equality beg investigation e.g., under the law should men and women receive the same sentence etc., or should allowances be made accordingly? And what will the repercussion of this be within the social cultural context? Personal backlash according to Katherine van Wormer (2009:8) is also a "form of displaced aggression on to another person" such as in the interpersonal context.

An assault of such a nature may have its origins in external stress that could be work or economically related. Hence as van wormer (2009:1) has observed, "the macro (institutional) and micro (personal)" forms of backlash is evidenced here, with the origins of culture also noted by the "basic prejudice against girls and women and minorities". Within some African cultural contexts for example, genital mutilation, virginity testing, honour killing, etc., furthers the agenda of the power of the patriarchy, which tips the pendulum again positioning women into further subservience and subordination. Faludi (1999:607) observes that men whose "sense of their own manhood flowed out of their utility in a society are often seen as fighting a world transformed by the women's movement". Van Wormer also notes that every social movement breeds a counter reaction, and "some individuals are losing their place in the world, even from forces that have nothing to do with women's increasing equality. Some men are lashing out at the most vulnerable people in their lives—women" (2009:12)

The critics of feminism portray themselves invariably as victims and accuse feminism of ridiculing men in a disempowering stereotypical sexist manner, which challenges their identities and contests their human rights. Indeed, this is central to the anti-feminist backlash contention yet feminism constantly asserts its egalitarian gender commitment to a social justice framework that addresses the intersection of poverty, class, culture and ethnicity. This constant declaration is not empty rhetoric especially for those living on the edges and margins of society.

Schüssler Fiorenza (1975: 608) highlights three areas why the *status quo* of women and men remain the same within the context of the church. First, they "deny the accuracy and validity of the feminist analysis and critique". Second, they "co-opt feminist critique by acknowledging some minor points of analysis"; and finally, "where co-optation of the feminist critique is not possible, outright rejection and condemnation often takes place" (1975:609).[6]

The backlash against feminism by many men is what is proposed as a justification for the development of the field of masculinity studies, which forms the basis for the next section.

5. Masculinity and Masculinities

Edley and Wetherell (1995:96) define masculinity as:

> The sum of men's characteristic 'practices' at work, with their families, in their communities, and in groups and in the institutions to which they belong.

Central to my understanding of this thesis is the definition of masculinity as put forward by Connell (2000:12) that "masculinity is neither programmed in our genes nor fixed by social structure prior to social interaction". Furthermore, Morrell and Ouzgane point out the shift in the concept of masculinities from mere masculinity:

> Masculinities allow understanding that not all men have the same amount of power, opportunities and similar life trajectories (2005:7).

Ampofo and Boateng also describe "hegemonic masculinities as a dominant form of masculinity in society that pertains to relations of cultural domination of men" (2007:54).

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[6] A detailed explanation is offered on this critique in Schüssler Fiorenza (1975).

Hegemonic masculinities are best described by Connell (1995:77) as being:

> [A] configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently acceptable answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. This is not to say that the most visible bearers of hegemonic masculinity are always the most powerful people. They may be exemplars, such as film actors, or even fantasy figures, such as film characters. Individual holders of institutional power or great wealth may be far from the hegemonic pattern in their personal lives….Nevertheless hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective if not individual.

Connell contributes to the understanding of "multiple masculinities" which according to Lindegger and Maxwell (2007:96) enables men to position themselves in "relation to hegemonic standards, women and other men-complicitious, subordinate and marginal masculinities". They continue that these are all defined in relation to dominant hegemonic masculinity, with the first being defined by its "identification with the hegemonic standard'', and the other two by their "distance or dis-identification with hegemonic standards" (2007:96). Connell also notes that a "vast majority of men are not likely to attain, live or embody hegemonic masculinity, but rather aspire towards it" (1995:90). I would argue that they are constrained by its many demands and because of the constant state of 'fluidity' they expected to negotiate around the many layers of what ideally it means to be a man. The dictatorial purpose played by hegemonic masculinity is also central and pivotal to understanding men's conduct.

Cornwall adds that the value of "hegemonic masculinity is showing that in each cultural context the ways of being a man are valued more than others" (1997:11). She further adds that "not all men have power; and not all those who have power are men" (1997:11). Cornwall advocates that we need to "move beyond static generalizations and instead of tarring men with the same brush work from a personal experience of men to create spaces for change" (1997:11). My research directly heeds this call in recognizing the imperativeness of deconstructing men's assumptions on masculinity and constructively confronting the redundancy and dysfunctionality of unrelentingly

pursuing violence as a means to resolve conflict. Moreover, my study does move beyond the static notion and lends itself to broadening and deepening the understanding of power in the social world of the marital dyad. I was also cognizant of ensuring that I avoid oversimplification of placing men in categories or furthering any stereotypic view of men. I have heeded the warning of Connell (1995:76) when she writes:

> We have to examine the relations between them. Further, we have to unpack the milieu of class and race and scrutinize the gender relations operating within them. There are, after all gay black men and effeminate factory hands, not to mention middle-class rapist and cross-dressing bourgeois. A focus on the gender relations among men is necessary to keep the analysis dynamic, to prevent the acknowledgment of multiple masculinities collapsing into character typology.

From a true critical space, it is imperative to be consciously aware of some of the criticism hegemonic masculinities has had levelled against it. Although there is wide acceptance of the concept of Connell's hegemonic masculinity, Lindegger and Maxwell note some poignant reservations. They quote theorists such as Frost who in criticizing Connell, makes the comment that hegemonic masculinities "does not consider the possibility of both conscious and unconscious subjectivities—i.e., the micro-context of masculine subjectivity" (Frost cited in Lindegger and Maxwell 2007:97).

Margaret Wetherell and Nigel Edley, in their 1999 article "Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho-discursive Practices", proffer the idea that men's identity can be described in three basic positions namely "heroic, rebellious and ordinary" and contend that within these positions "complicity and resistance can be mixed together" (1999:352). The notion of masculine identity discussed in the previous chapter also informed how the men in my sample constantly demonstrated how the formation of their superior identity became a challenge when attempting to resolve conflict within the marital dyad.

The work of Wetherell and Edley raises two other concerns about Connell's concept. Firstly, they spell out that it does not "provide an adequate understanding of how boys/men negotiate masculine identities and identity strategies"; and secondly, they question the idea that "boys either align themselves with hegemonic standards or are marginalized by them." (1999:335)

Drawing on other theorists, Luyt notes specifically the "reification of masculine experience through its emphasis on the structuring effects of social categories such as race, class and sexuality" (2003:49). This is mentioned again to reduce the complexity of individual male experience. Luyt continues that "despite this over-simplification Connell's theoretical scaffold offers a valid point of entry into the wilderness of societal masculine negotiation" (2003:49). I concur with Luyt's comment, that as much as viewing through psycho-social cultural lenses of how masculinities are emphasized in society, my study employed such lenses and easily demonstrates that these structural categories contribute to the maintenance of hegemonic masculinities.

Ampofo and Boateng (2007:52) propagate the thought that the:

> Study of masculinities is an effort to make sense of the relationships between individual males and groups of males as well as between males and females. It is seen as an attempt to "disrupt" so-called dominant or hegemonic masculinities. These allow us to understand the different kinds of masculinities and make sense of the power.

It is also within this construction of power that my study demonstrates how men use and abuse such power that masculinities afforded them not only within the marital dyad but beyond. Ampofo and Boateng continue that hegemonic masculinity's positionality relates also to cultural domination by men. They emphasise that although it is oppressive for women:

> Hegemonic masculinity silences other masculinities as well as creating opposition to itself in a manner that the values expressed by these other constructions of masculinity do not have legitimacy, and it creates a scenario of how men should behave and putative 'real men' do behave as culturally the best (2007:54).

Ampofo and Boateng claim that the concept of hegemonic masculinity expounds interestingly that although numerous masculinities coexist, a particular version has supremacy and emphasizes societal legitimacy. Ampofo and Boateng emphasize that:

> Challenging men to understand and change their behaviour and attitudes has enormous potential for reducing problems created by the excesses of masculinity (2007:55).

It is within these exact 'excesses' of physical dominance for example in my study that men felt that they were victimized by the police and the criminal justice system.

6. Sociology of Religion

As Adriaan van Klinken (2011:22) has ably pointed out:

> The study of men, masculinities and religion seeks to investigate the intersection of religion and masculinities.

Drawing on the work of Steven Boyd, van Klinken (2011:22) asserts that central to his study on the links between masculinities, HIV and religion was the question: "How does religion impact upon and interplay with the ongoing process of the construction of masculinities?" Although this question forms the basis of my inquiry here, I extend it by including the construction of violent masculinities.

My study does not intend to be a theological approach towards religion, but rather a sociological interpretation of religion. According to van Klinken, a theological approach to the study of masculinities:

> …may examine how theological symbols…legitimize male domination. It could be for example that the idea of God as a father provides Christian men with a model of fatherhood as effects agency (either destruction and constructive) (2011:22).

My study does not explore these deeply theological questions, but rather seeks to emphasize how religion constructs violent masculinities. As Krondorfer and

Culbertson (2005:5861-5862) rightly express it, the objective is to study men "as gendered beings in relation to religion". Men's studies in religion are therefore:

> …a new field of scholarly inquiry. It reflects upon and analyses the complex connections between men and religion, building upon gender studies, feminist theory and criticism (Krondorfer and Culbertson 2005:5861-5862).

Being outside my immediate speciality, theological interpretation clearly falls beyond the scope of my present interest in this study. Moreover, my purpose was to elicit an interpretative stance of religion in the context of violent men's space and to ascertain if it plays any part in men's thoughts, practices, choices of behaviour and beliefs. These are clearly distinguishing factors from the philosophical or theological study of religion. My field of expertise is as a social worker by training and a social scientist within the academy, and this is the space from which I write and theorize. While I do not seek to evaluate the validity of the men's religious beliefs, I do want to study how it possibly impacts on their violent domestic lives. Similar studies such as that of Harper (2002:24), also note that religion has been "closely intertwined with the socio-economic realities" in the South African context. Theorists thus view the sociology of religion as integral to broadening the understanding of the nature of society. This is pivotal to my study since I attempt through the narratives of the men in my study to broaden an understanding of why they do what they do.

The theorising of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber has contributed substantially to the development of theory of the relationship of religion and the social structure of society. Robert C. Tucker's (2001) book, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx* (Third Edition. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers), emphasizes the relationship between religion and the economic structure of society. On the other hand, Emile Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, published in 1912, concentrated on the impact of social change upon moral and ethical unity. Durkheim considered religion was an expression of cohesion and unity that is found in society. Accordingly, Durkheim views religion as a unifying shared system of beliefs.

Perhaps the most influential scholar of the sociology of religion is that of Max Weber (1951 and 1958). Weber viewed religion as influencing and shaping a person's image of the world they inhabit. It is this image that informs and affects their welfare and ultimately these impacts on the choices they make and the actions they take. Classism from Marx and Weber and culture from Durkheim lend depth to my study in furthering the understanding of the intersection of men, religion and domestic violence.

Religion is often viewed as an influential factor in the lives of many people, contributing greatly to the shaping and managing of social interaction. The inherent meaning it gives to a person's life, both on an interpersonal and intrapersonal level, provides a certain coherence of existence with contemporary society. To some extent, this meaning eventually should shape their religious expression. Plainly, the ever-evolving nature of society dictates modern responses to saturated traditional challenges often within a contested environment. In our modern society, religion is viewed as containing relevant resources for many, as noted in the previous chapter. Ronald Johnstone (2007) in his chapter on the sociological perspective on religion asks a number of pertinent questions which are related to my study. These include:

i. To what extent does [religion] contribute to transformation of identities, particularly for those who maintain privilege and power at the cost of those who are vulnerable?"

ii. To what extent do religious beliefs inform and subsequently improve the quality of the lives of men?

iii. How does religion assist in maintaining cohesion within a gendered society?

iv. To what extent does religious belief provide reflective and reflexive critical space for dialogue on contested realities of vulnerable members of society and how will this impact on social justice and change?

v. Do congregants' have a culturally interpretive grasp of the basic tenets of religion practice which could be articulated within their lived subjective experiences and how does it contribute to expanding the scope of our understanding?

These questions find expression in the narratives of the men in my study when they engage with how religion contributes and facilitates their understanding of maintaining violence within the marital dyad.

Accordingly, Johnstone notes the characteristics of the sociological perspective separate it from the non-scientific approaches of religion in two specific ways. First, the sociological perspective is empirical. Empirical evidence is key to sociological interpretation, "with verification of images and explanations of social reality by experimental or experiential evidence" (2007:6). Theorists attempt to answer the question as to what larger phenomenon this particular situation is an example of. This was used in the analytical process of my study where the narratives of seven men who were violent towards their wives framed my conclusion of the power relations evident in hegemonic masculinities in South African society.

Second, the sociological perspective makes a claim to objectivity. While my feminist standpoint may be a bit troubled by this claim, the functionality of it is important for my study. This is because the "interpretation of religion does not attempt to evaluate, accept, or reject the content of religious belief. In fact within a sociological analysis of religion, often religious belief is temporarily suspended" (Johnson 2007:6). This statement bears reference to my analysis of the focus group discussion on religion as a resource for the men in my study. Here I did not expect them to 'evaluate' their religious beliefs, but rather reflect (if at all) on their religious positions towards the present violent behaviour towards their wives. Moreover, I was also seeking to locate from their own interpretations any religious connotations such violence may have. Within this context, I must as the researcher set aside my personal opinions about religion and attempt to be as unbiased as possible in order to observe and interpret any patterns of religious phenomenon that may emerge. As a result, I am acutely aware that one religion is not superior to another. Moreover, I cannot assume the virtues of

religious over non-religious approaches. By definition the sociological perspective does not include faith, which is an essential quality of religion:

> A believer accepts particular beliefs and meaning of faith, which implies taking certain meaning or practices for granted, trusting implicitly and not questioning (Johnstone 2007:6).

Here, the sociologist does not take the individual believer's meaning for granted but takes them as an object of study. According to Johnstone (2007:8) the purpose of sociological definitions is to:

> Bring order to a vast array of social phenomena. How one defines religion shapes one's explanation of its role in society. It is useful to approach sociological definitions as strategies rather than as "truths".

In addition, Johnstone (2007:8) offers that instead of viewing definitions as "truths" we should approach it as "strategies". He lists two major strategies used by sociologists of religion. Firstly, a "substantive definition" to establish what religion is; and secondly, a "functional definition" to describe what religion does.

My study is located within the latter concept, since it attempts to understand the impact religion has on the men who maintain violent relationships with their wives. Moreover, my study anticipated that since all the men were religiously affiliated and attended services that religion will be used as a resource in engaging them to halt their violent actions.

7. Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the broad theoretical constructs that inform the analysis of my study on men who are violent within the marital dyad. The fundamental theories were critical theory, masculinity studies, feminist theory and the sociology of religion which frames the analytical constructs of my study. The next chapter will provide the methodological process of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH PROCESS AND METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to sketch both the nature and process of my research project. This is important because it will lay the foundation for the next chapter which deals with the analysis of the men's narratives of their violence and the process by which they came to dialogue about their violence. This chapter will also provide detailed information of the necessary considerations that need to be addressed when research of this type is undertaken. As with most social science research, the nature of the research is often described in detail. While this is admitted, the research process often seems to be taken for granted in such studies as if it was self-explanatory. Feminist scholarship calls this assumption to account and asserts that the research process is as important as the research product (Nnaemeka 2003:363). This scholarship emphasizes that epistemology is created within a context and does not exist within a vacuum.

In this chapter, I do not merely describe the nature of my research, but also include the process of my research study. In other words, my role and identity as a researcher and the role and the identities of the men in my study will be interrogated in so far as it affects the outcome of my study. Our respective identities cannot be taken for granted. Furthermore, critical theory dictates that there is no one version of truth. Instead, all truth is subjective, and all claims to knowledge must be analysed in respect of its origin and social context. In this chapter I will thus commence by describing the nature of my study and thereafter provide a detailed account of the process of my research study.

2. The Research Process and Methodology Utilized

2.1. Empirical Exploratory Research

This is an empirical, exploratory study that will use primary data obtained from a focus group discussion supplemented by a demographic questionnaire, to construct a philosophical and sociological analysis of how religion and culture promotes or deters violent masculinities. Janet Ruane (2005:12) notes that exploratory research is typically conducted in the interest of "getting to know" or increasing our understanding of a new or little researched setting, group, or phenomenon, used to gain insight into a research topic. Such research tends to utilize relatively small samples of subjects to permit the researcher to get 'up-close' first-hand information.

Exploratory research affords in-depth understanding, while the descriptive design provides an opportunity for describing situations or events. The respondents described in uncensored detail their subjective narratives of their violent relationships. This research provided spaces for men's reflective accounts of their violence and offering insightful interpretations of the social construction of domestic violence. This was multi-faceted, ranging from issues of substance abuse, to issues of religion and culture. In true critical theory tradition, the "authoritative discourses"[1] on the social realities were meaningfully interrogated and analysed.

2.2. Qualitative Research

In addition to being empirical and exploratory, my study will be qualitative. Babbie and Mouton note that the primary goal of qualitative research is defined as "describing and understanding rather than explaining human behaviour" (2009:270). Qualitative research typically uses qualitative methods of gaining access to the research subjects. Among others, qualitative methods of data collection consist of

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[1] Discourse is described best by Fook (2002:63) as "drawing attention to the whole language and cultural context which shapes the way individuals see themselves, and thus their places in society".

participation observation, semi-structured interviewing and the use of personal documents to construct life stories. Qualitative methods of analysis also involve methods such as "grounded theory approach, analytical induction, narrative analysis, discourse analysis" (Babbie and Mouton 2009:273). Of particular interest to me as the researcher was one of the main strengths of comprehensiveness contained within narrative and discourse analysis that has become synonymous with qualitative research which is compatible for my study. It is especially effective for studying the subtle nuances of attitudes and behaviours and for examining social processes over time. As such, the chief strength of this method lies in the depth of understanding it permits. Finally, flexibility is a major advantage, since it allows me to modify the research plan at any time and adapt the methodology, time frame, and other aspects of the study to suit the object of the study. This not only increases the "validity of findings, but permits flexibility when managing the research process" (Babbie and Mouton 2009:271).

According to Scott and Wolfe, qualitative techniques are used at the beginning of an "innovative area of research to generate theories, models and hypotheses" (2000:829). They cite a pertinent study undertaken by Edward Gondolf and James Hanneken (1987:177) who interviewed twelve men who were successful in varying their violent behaviour through their involvement in a feminist-oriented treatment programme. Gondolf and Hanneken (1987:173) included a wide range of open-ended questions on issues such as job history, education, family of origin, nature of past abuse; help seeking, abuse-stopping strategies, and personal change.

From the responses elicited, Gondolf and Hanneken made three conclusions about the nature of change in the men's abusive behaviour. First, they asserted that men explain the development of their abuse in terms of a "failed machismo" (1987:181). Second, the men in Gondolf and Hanneken's study "interpret group counselling as reinforcement for their previous intent and motivation to change" (1987:181). Third, they reveal how the "men describe their behaviour change as personal growth experience" (1987:181). Despite these observations in Gondolf and Hanneken's study, Scott and Wolfe (2000:829) alert us to the nature of the change experienced by the men, whereby little personal change was noted. Based therefore on the findings of

Gondolf and Hanneken, Scott and Wolfe (2000:829) recommend that research programmes should "concentrate on social-cognitive, feminist, or personality-oriented interventions" (2000:829).

While my intention in this research study is not to recommend suggestions or interventions for the Khulisa Social Solutions programme in which the men in my study participated.[2] The research by Gondolf and Hanneken conducted with twelve men in a treatment programme certainly provides much methodological experience to learn from. Qualitative paradigms provide the opportunity for the descriptions of processes and at the same time maintain links to the "rich body of literature characterized" typically in quantitative methods (Scott and Wolfe 2000:829).

Similarly, my study will seek to take advantage of the latter use of the qualitative paradigm. The reflective accounts of the men who engaged in violence will thus seek to provide invaluable and comprehensive data which will contribute significantly to furthering the understanding of domestic violence, culture and masculinities within the South African context.

2.3. Defining and Choosing a Sample

The research method chosen and the sample chosen must move beyond superficial descriptions of men who engage in violence. Critical theory encourages an exploration of unquestioned or unspoken areas of intersection between the personal and private. This is critical when choosing a sample. Furthermore, as Erik Hofstee (2006:125) agrees, critical theory is "explicitly political" since it questions the assumptions that give shape and structure to our reality.

Janet Ruane (2005:104) notes that sampling refers to the process whereby we study a "few in order to learn about the many." Similarly, Babbie and Mouton state that in purposive sampling, the researcher may study a "small subset of a larger population, to further understanding of fairly regular patterns of attitudes and behaviour"

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[2] See Appendix #5: The Khulisa Restorative Justice, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking Programme.

(2009:166). Bearing in mind the dictates of critical theory, the sample was purposively chosen from the married men who had completed the programme offered by Khulisa Social Solutions on perpetrators of intimate partner violence.[3] Purposive sampling according to Babbie and Mouton is appropriate since I have prior "knowledge of the population" (2009:166), its elements and the nature of the aims of the study, i.e., violent men who have been Court-mandated to attend the programme.

Claire Bless and Craig Higson-Smith (1995), hold that purposive sampling has pragmatic advantages. Accordingly, purposive sampling can "save time and money and the disadvantages of such sampling can be reduced by enlarging the sample or by choosing homogeneous populations and they are thus frequently used in the social sciences" (1995:88). The sample was chosen from men who were Court-mandated into attending group sessions facilitated by Khulisa Social Solutions which included self-image, assertiveness, communication, three levels of violence, the theory of violence and conflict resolution.[4]

2.4. Demographics of the Sample

A total of 57 men of all races from the Khulisa Social Solutions programme were invited to participate in this study. Only seven responded and successfully attended all four focus group sessions. My study therefore makes no claim to be representative of all violent men in South Africa. The criterion for selection was not dictated by race; age, etc., but rather the consent and availability of the men. All of the men who consented to attend were South African Indian, and domiciled in a geographic area predominantly populated by South African Indians. Concerning religious affiliation, 6 were Christian and 1 was Muslim. Sessions were held in the English language. The ages of the seven respondents ranged from 34-61 years. Their years of marriage ranged from 3 to 36; three respondents were in their first marriages while four were married for the second time. Five respondents were matriculated; while one had a

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[3] See Appendix #5: The Khulisa Restorative Justice, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking Programme.
[4] For a full description, see Appendix #5: The Khulisa Restorative Justice, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking Programme.

post-matric qualification and one had completed Standard Six at High (Secondary) School (formerly, Grade Eight).

The fact that ethnically, the men were all South African Indian depicts the demographic of both the area and geo-political province where South African Indians predominantly reside.[5]

The majority of South African Indians live in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal,[6] and specifically within the metropolitan boundaries of the city of Durban, situated on the Eastern Seaboard of South Africa.[7] This means that the majority of the South African Indian population resides in KwaZulu-Natal, thereby explaining to a certain extent the demographics of the sample of my study.

While it was not my intention to specifically study South African Indian men, only South African Indian men responded to my invitation to participate. Despite the fact that this may be perceived as a limitation, it is nevertheless in line with the nature of exploratory research. According to Babbie and Mouton, exploratory studies are most typically undertaken for the following reasons:

1. To satisfy the researcher's curiosity and desire for better understanding;
2. To test the feasibility of undertaking a more extensive study;
3. To develop the methods to be employed in any subsequent study;
4. To explicate the central concepts and constructs of a study;
5. To determine priorities for future research, and,
6. To develop new hypotheses about an existing phenomenon (2009:80).

My study is thus not meant to draw general conclusions of all men based on this particular sample. Such would be required in a quantitative study. My study is

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[5] Indian nationals were first brought to South Africa from India by the British colonial government as indentured labourers to primarily work on the sugar plantations of Natal *cf.* Mishra (1996).
[6] According to recent South African Government statistics, South African Indians represent 2.5% of the South African population and more than one-third of the entire population of KwaZulu-Natal. See <http://www.statssa.gov.za/> [Accessed 20 December 2011].
[7] Comprising of an area of 12, 297 sq. km (or 4% of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal), the Metropolitan City of Durban possesses a landscape raging from rural to urban and has an ethnically and racially diverse population renowned for its multicultural richness of varied beliefs and traditions. See <http://www.ethekwini.gov.za/> [Accessed 20 December 2011].

qualitative and exploratory and therefore seeks an in depth understanding of why men do what they do. The fact that all the men who responded to my invitation happen to be South African Indian indicates that my study conclusions invite a more extensive study of other South African population groups, which is outlined above. Exploratory studies are designed precisely for this purpose (*cf.* Babbie and Mouton 2009:80). My sample of seven men was adequate for the focus group discussions despite a warning from Babbie and Mouton that a focus group could "fall flat if some members choose to remain silent" (2009:292). From my experience however, all seven men were extremely cooperative and willing to share their experiences at length.

Given that the sample generated such comprehensive data, I maintain as a researcher that my research intention was fulfilled and that studies of other South African population groups could be encouraged for further research.

2.5. Primary Method of Data Collection: Focus Groups

While I made use of a questionnaire and focus groups to gather data, my primary method of data collection was that of focus groups. In total, I facilitated four focus group discussions and administered a brief questionnaire which included socio-demographic information. As a registered social worker and trained academic, I was able to effectively and successfully conduct both. The brief demographic questionnaire included basic socio-demographic information pertaining to the age, income, years of marriage etc., of each of the respondents, with a majority of closed-ended questions, with the exception of a few open-ended questions. My choice was validated by Gray (2009:213) that in a complementary mixed method of study (demographic information) and qualitative methods (focus groups) are combined to "measure different elements of the phenomenon". Smithson (2008:359) adds that focus groups are "often used in conjunction with questionnaires" and therefore supports my choice of the feminist approach. This approach is best suited for a focus group which views reports gathered in the research process as narratives. Moreover, the question of "how to represent these stories particularly which questions to ask, and

which reply to prioritize in analysis, and how to analyse" (Smithson 2008:367) is vital.

The bulk of my data collection came from the focus group discussions. There are numerous reasons why focus group discussions were the most appropriate method of data collection for my research. These are related to both form and content.

2.5.1.   The Form and Content of Focus Groups

With regard to the nature of focus groups, Ruane comments that focus groups are "guided discussions on selected topics" (2005:157-8). The focus group potentially allows for space in which respondents may create meaning among themselves, rather than individually. Moreover, it expands on pertinent themes such as the interrelationship of religion, gender and culture, matters which were not specifically covered in the brief questionnaire. Similarly, I was encouraged in my choice of data collection by Brooks (1998:104) who states that if "men learn to be men in front of other men", then, it is in front of other men that men "can unlearn some of the more unproductive lessons about manhood and relearn and reinforce some of the positive lessons".

In order for this possible unlearning to take place, Smithson suggests that a useful strategy is to start the focus group with a list of 'do's and don'ts', "including asking participants to respect each others' confidences and not repeat what was said in the group; however this cannot always be enforced" (2008:361). Luyt adds that focus groups are better attuned to the "production of conceptual understanding than conventional interviewing approaches, aiding an account of male embodied experience" (2003:55).

Alan Bryman (2004:346) provides a helpful summary of three areas of suitability and pertinence of focus groups within a feminist paradigm, which is my primary method of research which I shall discuss below. These include:

1. There is greater opportunity to derive understanding that chime with "lived experience".
2. Feminist research promotes the study of individuals within a social context, hence de-contextualization is circumvented.
3. Participants' points of view are much more likely to be revealed than in a traditional interview. Feminist researchers are suspicious of any method that is exploitative; here participants are able to take over much of the direction of the session than the moderator.

Janet Smithson (2008:366) supports this contention that using focus group in feminist research is a "collectivist method that stresses multi-vocality of participants' attitudes, experiences and beliefs" (2008:366). For her, the main concern for a feminist focus is to ensure that the "participants voices are heard without distortion and taking account of the 'unrealized agenda' of class, race and sexuality" (2008:366).

Bryman (2004:348) enumerates the following inherent benefits of focus groups, all of which were clearly implicated in my study. First, it permits respondents the chance to probe each other's reason for being violent. Second, it is helpful in the elicitation of divergent views. Third, respondents convey within the session what is viewed as significant for them. Fourth, as a facilitator I am not restrictive and hand over some degree of control to the respondents, which is clearly an imperative in the context of qualitative research; what is more, I can make sense of how they construct meaning to the episodes of violence. Fifth, it is envisaged that respondents challenge each other's viewpoints, which portray and reflect a realistic account of what they think and how they attach meaning of the violence within the marital dyad.

The social interaction between men in the group produced a dynamic and insightful exchange of information that would not be possible in any one-on-one interview situation. The 'give and take' of the focus group exchange provided me with a chance to learn more about *what* men's thoughts were on domestic violence as well as to learn more about *why* they thought as they did. These were all facilitated through my feminist lenses and commitment to embodying the principles of feminism within my research which I will discuss in greater detail below.

3. Feminist Research and Reflexivity

Feminist research claims that what a person knows is substantially determined by their social position. Brayton mentions that the feminist researcher must not be "abstract and removed from the subject of investigation but must have the commitment to working towards social change" (1997:8). For her, research cannot be simply to "present data and information". As the researcher, I acknowledge that the various components of my identity contribute both to the dynamics and process of the research as well as affecting the final outcomes of my study. Critical theory allows for the subjectivity of the research process. This however does not mean that the level of academic integrity is compromised; if anything, it is enhanced since I declared my identity both to the respondents during the research process and in the subsequent dissemination of the research findings. I am here reminded of the measured assessment of Sandra Harding:

> Our identities appear to defy logic, for "who we are" is at least two places at once: outside and within, margin and centre. Learning to think from these "outsider within" social locations has generated startling and valuable understandings in the social and natural sciences (1991:277).

At numerous points of the research process, I straddled the roles of both outsider and insider. As a qualified social worker, I am committed to a social change agenda and concede extensive interaction with the domestic violent clientele who sought the services of social work agencies wherein I was employed for nine years. The majority of the clients were men and their wives with whom they had been abusive to. Here again, I declared my motivation and my own experiences of working and researching on marital violence and with particular focus on husbands. For this reason, they understood how their contribution would lend recognition to transforming the violent gendered social world we inhabit. The invisibility of their private experiences allowed for the visibility of their undistorted public voices. Again, language and its meaning, an inherent factor of domination and power were addressed, whereby no editing of the respondent's experiences occurred throughout the transcription of the focus group discussions.

Another important aspect of my identity that bears relevance to my study is that of my religious identity. Concerning religious identity, I am a Hindu and would describe myself as more philosophical than ritualistic. By this, I mean that I concentrate on spirituality rather than religiosity. This focus is borne out of the other aspect of my academic identity which constantly interrogates systems for its claims to truth. This is what it means to subscribe to critical consciousness. This inevitably points to the holistic nature of our identities that feminism directs us to.

I also recognise that many of the men in my study were more religious than spiritual; hence we inhabit different spaces of understanding on this issue. This was not an impediment to my study, but instead contributed to a richer and more diverse conversation. The constant motion between insider and outsider thereby afforded a large degree of flexibility within the research process. Alasuutari et al. also note that feminist researchers "relational space of outsider and insider extends even to data that is produced" (2008:266). Nevertheless, my experience was by no means threatening. Liz Walker also validates my experience. As a researcher facilitating a men's only group, she too experienced the respondents in a "non-threatening, facilitative rather than a restrictive space" (2005:229).

As a South African Indian female, another noteworthy dynamic I shared with all the respondents in my study was a similarity in racial background. While we shared the same racial background, the differences in class and gender could not be ignored for the purposes of my research study. Again, I did not view this as an impediment or as contributing to the exploitation of any of my respondents. This is because feminist research ethics expects mutuality and respect. Indeed, the cultivated feature of feminism research which guided my study expressly acknowledged the matrix of gender privileging, thereby negating exploitation of any form and providing an acute awareness of empowerment.

My feminist gaze ensured that I was constantly cognizant of the research techniques, processes and ethics which I used to explore the men's discursive social realities. Clearly, what emanated was the recognition of a complex agenda of the gendered power postulated by the men within the focus group discussions. Consistent in my

research was the adherence to feminist research protocol. Awareness of the power differentials was acknowledged as again I was guided by Doucet and Mauthner on non-hierarchical relationships in feminist research. They invite researchers to be reflexive about their research practices by "recognizing, debating and working on these power differentials" (2008:333). Reflexivity, according to Gray is a concept used to describe the "relationship between the researcher and the 'object' of research" (2009:498). In the opinion of Jan Fook, this offers another "perspective of knower and how it influences what is known and how it is known" (2002:33). This has particular relevance to my study where the men were readily identified as 'knowers' of marital violence, their narratives containing implicit illustrations of its 'what' and 'how'.

Within a feminist reflexive space, Fonow and Cook (2005:2211) identify the following five defining features in feminist methodology. First, the "acknowledgment of gender" as the focal point; second, the importance of consciousness raising (a "feminist researcher inhabits a double world of women/researcher and brings feminist knowledge into the process)"; third, "the rejection of subject and object (between the researcher and participants-valuing the knowledge held by the participants as being expert knowledge)"; fourth, a "concern with ethics (use of language and research results)", and finally, an "intention to change inequity (new knowledge is generated when one challenges the inequalities in society)".

Since the 1980s, there appears no privileging or bias of any particular research methodology within feminist thinking. Instead, what is present is the appropriateness of the method within the area of investigation, resulting in a multiple approach (*cf.* Fonow and Cook 2005; Doucet and Mauthner 2008:329). Moreover, feminist research prioritizes an agenda that addresses broader issues of socio-cultural change towards social change and justice.

4. Considerations for the Research Process

There are a number of considerations that need to be taken into account for a research process of this nature. These include:

i.   Permission;
ii.   The role of the researcher;
iii. The respondents accounting and explaining violence;
iv.   Various historical and thematic dynamics.

4.1. Permission

The groups were conducted with at the Phoenix Durban offices of Khulisa Social Solutions.[8] Permission to conduct these sessions was sanctioned by the Programme Convenor once all ethical and logistical considerations were managed. Prior to embarking on the study, all respondents were informed of the purpose of the study, being guaranteed of their anonymity, privacy and confidentiality throughout the research process (as far as it can be maintained in focus groups), with every conceivable precaution being taken to ensure such. The respondents were reassured that since their participation was voluntary they could withdraw from the study at any time. Moreover, I reiterated that withdrawal or absence from the group sessions would have no impact on the services they receive from Khulisa Social Solutions. Written consent was also obtained from the respondents once the pertinent ethical clearance procedures were fulfilled as stipulated by the Ethics Committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.[9] I was guided by Gray who stipulates the following ethical principles which were meticulously adhered to by ensuring the "avoidance of harm to participant; obtaining informed consent of participants; respecting their privacy; and circumventing deception" (2009:73).

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[8] It is appropriate here for me to gratefully acknowledge the generosity of Khulisa Social Solutions in allowing me to conduct my research at their premises.
[9] See Appendix #3 Consent Form.

4.2. The Role of the Researcher

As the researcher, I was guided and aided in critical reflection in the focus group discussions without overly directing it. In addition, I occupied two roles which were inherent in the facilitation process. First, I occupied an expressive role: Here I attended to the socio-emotional expression of the group and closely attended to the content and themes of the focus group discussions. All respondents were treated as equals and a tone of friendliness was maintained throughout. Second, I occupied an instrumental role in that I ensured the ground rules for the group were discussed, mutually agreed upon and abided by all respondents in the group. As the facilitator of the group, I informed all respondents that each opinion was valuable, that no one respondent should dominate or manipulate the discussion. Moreover, no cross-talking or verbal put-downs were permitted or appreciated. The initial discussion of the duties and roles of each person within the research process ensured that the research agenda was followed and that group committed itself to the agreed schedule.

In line with my feminist research consciousness, once transcribed, I verified with a respondent the accuracy of the narratives in order to ensure not only ownership, but originality and authentication. Again, important here was ensuring that the balance of power was maintained as men retain the authorship of their lived violent experiences. It was also of crucial importance that I as the researcher was not viewed as 'owning' their narration. Reasserted here was also the notion that the respondent was the expert of his own experiences.

In order to address and negotiate the inherent power imbalances, at the inception of the research process I shared with the respondents the pertinent details of my social location (e.g., my age, location as a feminist researcher, my educational institution and supervisor's contact details, the research focus of my work, as well as how the information was to be gathered, analysed and presented). Here again, I am reminded by Doucet and Mauthner that as feminists we have "deepened our reflections on issues of empathy, rapport and reciprocity on how we navigate positionality" (2008:333).

4.3. Respondents Accounting and Explaining Violence

Prior to the session, some limitations of focus groups were contemplated and anticipated. I was guided by the list of (Bryman 2004) which includes encountering reticent participants, the control of the group recordings which are often time-consuming, attendance of respondents, expression of culturally-expected macho views, discomfort and revealing intimate details of their private lives.

Having acknowledged all of the above, my experience is documented within the analysis chapters that detail how I successfully overcame some of these challenges and obstacles in facilitating a successful group session. Furthermore, Hearn's (1998a:60) pro-feminist guidelines offered me a contextual understanding when dialoguing with men who had been violent. He alerted me when gathering data to "anticipate defensiveness, denial, diversion as well as directness and even bragging" (1998:60). Moreover, key to my understanding of our gendered landscape is the intersection of race, class and culture, which locates itself in the system of privilege of one person over another. These cultural constructed categories may appear distinct and discrete, yet their interconnectivity cannot be overemphasized within a pronounced inequality of a gendered society that promotes violent behavioural patterns. It is therefore apparent that all narrative discourse is located within a social context. While these positions may differ, in that they are often biased, ever-changing, conflicting and diverse, there nevertheless exists an established pattern that men and women position themselves differently within a violent marital context.

There are many ramifications in men consenting to dialogue about their interpersonal violence within a focus group discussion. In this context, an environment which accommodates an empathetic milieu for a homogenous group to reflect, confess and hopefully commit to sustained change is important. Consenting to talking, without being coerced, after they having been charged for the violence they perpetrated against their spouses could also provide another occasion to minimize or justify their violent choices. Men may feel this affords them an opportunity to demonstrate a willingness to change their violent behaviour. Moreover, dialogue about their past violence could imply their commitment to authentically become non-violent.

Dialoguing about their own violence encourages the reflective self which could diminish feelings of guilt, although this may not totally eradicate the effects of the act of violence itself. While the concepts of reflectivity and reflexivity are often erroneously used interchangeably, there are some important differences. Although these may be related to each other, as Fook notes, reflectivity refers to a "process of reflecting upon practice, whereas reflexivity refers to a stance of being able to locate oneself in the picture and to appreciate how one's own self influences the research act" (2002:43). It is collectively within this reflective and engaging space that men can contemplate their future non-violent relationships with their spouses. Yet, as Jeff Hearn notes, while men may consent to discuss their acts of violence, this does not "completely pay off the debt of violence" (1998a:70).

A key feature in men explaining their acts of episodic violence is their need to establish themselves as credible husbands. This was evident for all the men in the group who had confessed to being violent. For me as the facilitator of the group, the men often portrayed themselves as being not totally of a violent persuasion. Once again, the scripts of masculinity are evident. They are even repetitious of this, despite discussing or recounting at length their own episodic violence against their wives. Two respondents painstakingly and constantly conveyed to me as the facilitator "I am not a violent man" in order to establish their credibility. Another respondent, in order to minimize his role, tried to argue persuasively that he could not understand why he was invited to the group since his criminal charge was a "small thing". Perhaps it is not surprising that yet another respondent implied that "although you are a woman, you can understand how unreasonable my wife can be", thereby inferring some degree of conspiracy against other women. One respondent in particular proffered the opinion that because I was educated "maybe you will understand", presumably communicating collusion of some sort with my educational status, thereby predisposing me to vindicating his actions instead of his wife's vilification of him. Appreciatively and admittedly, such collusion would not have been intentional in all scenarios. In terms of positionality, the respondent viewed himself as being a victim, vulnerable enough to elicit some sympathy against the tyranny of this unsympathetic wife. The pervasive implication throughout the session was the need for me as the researcher to constantly identify that these men were apparently the unwilling victims

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of their own wives, the police, other family members and society in general. My prior anticipation of the social distance between myself and the respondents was duly dismissed upon commencement of the focus group discussions.

The established pattern of communication during the session displayed a sense of propriety, pleasantness, graciousness, cordiality and moments of humour intended to neutralize the emotion, especially when the men described their violent incidents. The sense of cultivating an atmosphere of amiability and affability thereby implied the normalization of themselves.

Evidenced during the session was the prevailing contextual strategy of respondents to brag about some of their violent incidents; with others giving their support while the narration was in progress. Condemnation of the violence was conspicuous by its absence during all the sessions; instead, domination and fragments of power were once again being asserted and validated by the other respondents. Despite being alarmed and challenged at some of the gender-unconscious statements, in order not to interrupt the process of communication, I did not communicate my own personal thoughts, or otherwise 'flex my feminist muscle!' This would potentially have rendered the environment non-conducive and non-facilitative. Reminding myself that this was not only a research endeavour, but a rare glimpse into the inner thoughts and lived experiences of violent men, it afforded me an excellent opportunity to confront my own views on domestic and partner violence. I am here cognizant of the outlook of Eve Kosofsky-Sedgwick who maintains that:

> As a woman, I am a consumer of masculinities, but I am not more so than men are; and, like men, I as a woman am also a producer of masculinities and a performer of them (1995:13).

It is essential to drive a wedge early and as often as possible between the men and masculinity, whose relation to one another is often difficult to presume. In examining my own presumptions, I had to question their relation to one another. Logically, the keeping of a journal became a cathartic and necessary tool of managing my emotions, thereby affording me the reflective space to name and analyse some of my conflictual and often errant thoughts. For the purposes of creating my own critical space, I

habitually question myself and the possibility of whether my feministic lens may in any way cause myopia on masculinities and the posturing of the privileges of patriarchy. As a result, important questions come to the fore, including: "To what extent has masculine discourse imposed itself into my thought process?"; "How have I contributed to mindlessly maintaining and sustaining it?"; "Have I become a 'silent consumer'?" If so, "What impact does this have on my social relations?"

Yet another factor of contemplation was the accuracy of the details the respondents provided during the focus group discussions. I seriously considered whether respondents would tell the truth? Here I was reminded by James Clifford "I am not sure I can tell the truth…I can tell only what I know" (1986:8).

Contributing to my understanding of accuracy, Ann Goetting (1996) offers three areas worthy of mention: First, the accuracy in recalling: On occasion, memory can be defective and selective where we recall only particular aspects of the past, which subsequently we adjust and alter into some degree of coherence. Goetting claims that it is not that these are incorrect and false, but rather they are "interpretations constructed around a string of imperfect recollections" (1996:19). She accepts the claim that lived experiences are "mediated by language that can be imperfect also" Goetting (1996:19). Within the focus group discussions the men shared and repeated their experiences which were again mediated by the group context. Second, concerns accuracy in reporting and the distortions of the lived experiences. Here, Goetting notes that "there is certainly a critical element attached to the experience but perhaps it is not merely a 'true' interpretation of an objective "reality"; instead, memory, language, the context of the telling, and the interpretations combine to create a scrupulous view of reality" (1996:20). To some extent, these disclosed accounts do approach the truth. Goetting goes on to hold that these truths do not reveal the past "as it actually was by some arbitrary standard of objectivity; instead, they are reconstructed and, therefore, superior truths" (1996:20). In our total communication with others, it is "about gaining an understanding of old events from a "new position" (1996:20). When we purposively engage in this communication process we present an additional depth of understanding to the original incidences. Goetting warns that it is not "whether it is truth or fiction but what it can teach us about human feelings,

motives, and thought processes, it does not supply us with verifiable truths; rather, it offers a special kind of impassioned knowing" (1996:21). Finally, there is accuracy expressed in "telling his side of the story". Would the wives of the respondents narrate the identical account of the violence as their husbands? This is a pertinent and essential question worthy of yet another vital question. If the men in my study were confronted, would they deny or minimize what they were accused of? Here too, I am conscious of the fact that when a violent husband and his wife, independent of one another, reflect on their shared violent episodes, certain differences and discrepancies of recounting should be anticipated.

As a feminist researcher, I am also acutely aware of being exploitative in the focus group discussions, affording men appropriate control over the direction of the discussion. This is particularly important when reminding myself of the complexity of the dynamics of domestic violence. My contradictory position afforded me an opportunity to bear witness to the consistent devaluing of the men's wives, which portrayed them as curtailing their actions and limiting their own choices of resolving conflict that would be mutually beneficial. The multiplicity of power relations extant between them were nuanced and layered, embedded in their daily routines and relationships. These constantly produced behaviours reinforced mutual disrespect and disharmony. The power play became particularly evident in the three choices the wives were ultimately faced with: to accept, accommodate, or reject the violence (*cf.* Dominelli 2002). These interactions resulted in their wives being held within an oppressive and discordant context.

What became predominantly apparent was the respondents need to establish themselves as narrators of their violence of the past, either in great detail or in an occasional cursory description. They usually presented themselves as being non-violent and were especially vague about discontinuing any future violence towards their wives. During the first session, I found myself repulsed, yet restrained. Did I have to silence the inner critic? I was constantly reminded of Smithson (2008:366) who argued that this is a collectivist method that stresses the multi-vocality of the participants' attitudes, experiences and beliefs. For Smithson, the priority of the feminist focus is to make the participant's voice heard without distortion, being

careful to take account of the "unrealized agenda of class, race and sexuality" (2008:366). Smithson (2008:366) further mentions that the feminist approach is best suited for a focus group which views accounts gathered in the research process as narratives. Moreover, I was aware of my multi-contradictory positions, i.e., female, feminist, and researcher. It was therefore vital how I was to represent these stories, ask the right questions, prioritize the replies for analysis, and importantly, how such analysis should be undertaken. As Alasuutari et al. (2008:266) also note, under such circumstances, power moves the researcher to make the necessary links with theory, the transcription, interpretation and the writing up of research reports. I am thus constantly reminded of the mutual respect that is central to feminism.

5. Historical and Thematic Dynamics

In order to establish how men understand their own violence it is vital to explore how they talk about their violent behaviour. I am here guided in my understanding by Hearn (1998a:61) in asking pivotal questions about the past, present and future of violence. These included:

> The past: "What happened before the violence? What preceded it? What social circumstances led to the violence? What kind of history does violence have?"
> The Present: "What happened during the violence? What form does it take? What is done by whom to whom? What actions and behaviours are involved?
> And the Future: "What happened after the violence? What follows the violence? What effects, consequences and responses are there to the violence?"

For this reason, in my study the above talk as behaviour was framed in terms of the background, act and subsequent responses to the violence. The four models of violence and talk about violence presented in Table #8 below refers to the analysis of the narratives of the men. Additionally, the above also contributed to the formulation and content of the focus group discussions which were guided, framed and facilitated by the following broad themes:

i. Gender and the Social Constructions of Masculinity

Sub themes:

   a. Benefits of masculinity-social and cultural roles
   b. Understanding the marital relationship
   c. Interpretation of men on men violence
   d. Women rights and your rights?
   e. Realities on socialization and gender
   f. Thoughts on sexual sub-texts (heterosexual or homosexual)

ii. Reflections on Power and Control

Sub themes:

   a. Recounting witnessing parental violence
   b. Details on incidences of spousal violence
   c. Causes of violence and unpacking provocation
   d. Encounter with the Criminal justice system

iii. Religion, Masculinity and Domestic Violence

Sub themes:

   a. Ways in which religious beliefs promote or discourage domination
   b. Assistance from faith Based Organizations (FBOs) for the violence in marriage
   c. Details on the nature of assistance
   d. Evaluation of the services received
   e. Preferences of the sex of faith based leader or counsellor
   f. The use of sacred Scriptures within the encounter

A copy of the questionnaire which guided the discussions is attached as appendix.[10] The next step after facilitating the focus group discussion was the analysis of the narratives.

6. Qualitative Data Analysis

Before I move on to the analysis chapter, the final consideration in the research process is to consider the ways in which I analysed the data collected.

Data analysis includes a discursive and narrative form framed by critical feminist theory. Collett (2003:21) states that qualitative research, with its focus on "rich descriptions of lived experiences, emphasizes the properties and nature of the relationships, activities and situations" in the lives of the men who formed part of my research investigation. In the true nature of qualitative analysis, an "interpretive reading" of the narrative text is thus pivotal.

To preclude potential errors in this study, the Brief Questionnaire was pre-tested and focus group themes were piloted with willing potential participants. All necessary changes in the Brief Questionnaire were effected. The duration of the focus group sessions ranged between two and a half, to three hours each, with a short rest break. All sessions were audio-taped with the consent of the respondents.

The data gathered from the socio-demographic questionnaire was transcribed and carefully analysed by myself. Validity in qualitative research has a great deal to do with description and explanation, which must be credible (*cf.* Collett 2003:20). This measure is particularly important, not only to review the data, but to ensure accuracy in recording the lived experiences of the respondents. Credibility checks ensured that I enlisted the assistance of one group member who read through the transcript to validate the correct capturing of the narratives, whereupon negligible editorial changes were duly effected. To ensure the veracity of the process, I listened twice to the audio-recordings against the detailed transcripts.

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[10] See Appendix #1. Brief Questionnaire.

Data emanating from the richness and wealth of the narratives informed the coherence between the aims and rationale of the study. The critical feminist theoretical framework employed in this study logically guided how the data was analysed, thereby identifying possible resistances, challenges and changes that men contemplate in order for the cessation of violence within the marital dyad to be effected. Critical theory reiterates the concept of deconstruction and reconstruction. Reconstruction offers the opportunity of creating new climates for discourse with men and to renegotiate masculinity and its inherent complexities. In addition, reframing assumptions about their relationship with their wives also contextualizes their lives in a gendered-nuanced society that deviously propagates a violent agenda. When engaged within the reflective process of deconstruction and reconstruction the pervasive dynamic of power and control within the marital dyad is thereby uncovered.

Descriptive statistics were used to summarize the socio-demographic data with relevant correlations adding meaning and coherence to the narratives. In order to relate sacred Scripture to statements made by respondents, particularly with the section on Christianity, I consulted a trained theologian who verified possible correspondences within the Bible. This further authenticated and established some degree of understanding on the relationship between the sociology of religion and domestic violence.[11]

6.1. Discourse Analysis

Following transcription, the narratives were analysed into thematic categories as discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven of this research project. These narratives locate the identities of the men in their violent relationships with their wives, which frames our understanding of their lived experiences.

Foucault is widely known for his contribution towards developing an understanding of discourse. Foucault views discourse not merely as a form of thinking and producing

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[11] As discussed earlier, the description and discussion of religious doctrine is beyond the scope of this present study.

meaning, but as a means of revealing feelings that communicate an explanation of what has occurred. Foucault aptly coined the concept "regime of truth" which "entails what might/may be known and how it is unknown" (Bradley 2005:103).

Hall goes on to define discourse as a "group of statements which provide a language of talking about— i.e., a way of representing a particular type of knowledge about a topic" (1992:291). These interrelated statements are connected to offer "discursive formation" to construct in my study an explanation of men and violent masculinities within the marital dyad. From the narratives of these men we are clearly offered countless shades of meaning depending on how they account or explain their choice of being violent. The plethora of nonverbal cues was particularly interesting since they sometimes conveyed contradictory mannerisms. Mann (2008:48) also notes that discourse "not only compels the researcher to attend to the diverse and multiple experiences" of these men, but views this diversity as an effect of the socio-cultural matrix within which human subjects are located. Moreover, he emphasizes that it looks at "specifics of interactional and social contexts to explore how gender and power relations are produced and deployed" (2008:48). Mann asserts that in a domestic violence context, the researcher is required to attend to the "ambiguities and contradictions of meanings, motives and impacts on victimized, defending , offending women and men including the variety of patterns produce, or fail to produce, fear and control" (2008:48-9). The context affords the researcher to attend to how "gendered practice interacts with class, race, and other statuses and practices to produce a constellation around which domestic violence occurs" (Mann 2008:49). As noted in my study, many of these narratives bear testimony to the normalization of violent reactions within the text of masculine scripts. It is within these texts that I did not envisage any editing of the meaning the men attach to constructing the violent relationships with their wives. This is their 'truth' and 'reality'.

According to my research agenda, the status of the data is suitable to my methodological approach. This is evident in Chapters Five, Six and Seven where I provide a critical analysis of the narratives of the men. I therefore find agreement with Antaki, where:

> Generic discourse analysis, merely without strong commitment to restrictive technicality of epistemologies and ontologies, but adhering and not digressing from its basic premise of the text being natural and not invented (2009:432).

The concept of interpretative text is well known in gender analysis studies. I have not merely explained the 'talk', but instead have attempted to chart the social interpretations. This was undertaken in a critical spirit, where actual sentences were not paraphrased or altered in anyway whatsoever. The simple interpretations provided represent the subjective realities of how I interacted with the analysis framed within my own critical African feminist perspective. My awareness of reflexivity added to the depth of understanding within this interpretative process and demonstrated no artificial presentation either by myself or the respondent's testimonies. Smithson (2008:364) reminded me that the "analysis is not seen as natural discussions but within a context of understanding" the respondents interaction with being violent. Moreover, because masculine identities are in a state of fluidity, the social construction of power and control, central to the objectives of this study became increasingly evident throughout the analysis. Again, my feminist priority was to ensure that the men's voices were heard without exploitation or manipulation and analysed without unfair distortion, while simultaneously realising class, race and sexuality. Evident also in the analysis was the rhetorical discourse on male hegemonic masculinities reasserting its complexities.

Despite the ethical and procedural concerns that are associated with analysing the narratives of focus groups—particularly with misrepresentation of the experience—I made a conscious effort to take every conceivable measure to ensure research rigour.

The content of the narrative of the respondents was analysed thematically and is reflected within some of the conclusions and recommendations in this study. It is imperative however to conceptually understand the framework of the relationship of violence and then talk about it. In summarising the four models of violence and the talk of violence, Hearn (1998a:62) provides an explanatory framework for how the analysis is constructed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

	Behavioural/realist approach		Behavioural/ representational approach	Textual/constructionist approach	Material/discursive approach
Focus	(1) Violence	(2) Talk of violence	Talk of violence	Text of talk of violence	Violence, talk of violence, and violence of talk
Contexts (PAST)	Contexts of violence	Contexts of talk about violence	Representation of contexts of violence	Contexts of violence as constructed within text	Contexts as acts/ representations/texts and responses
Acts/representations/ texts (PRESENT)	Acts of violence	Acts of talk about violence	Representation of acts of violence	(1) Text of violence (2) Subtexts of violence	Acts/representations/ texts as contexts and responses
Responses (FUTURE)	Responses to violence	Responses to talk about violence	Representation of responses to violence	Responses to violence as constructed within text	Responses as contexts and acts/ representations/texts

Table 2

Four Models of Violence and Talk about Violence

Source: Hearn (1998a:62)

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The talk of violence also allows for the interpretation of the subtext contained in the narrative of the respondents lived experiences which further informed the analysis of my study. This will be further developed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven on the analysis of the data generated during the four focus group discussions.

7. Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to detail both the nature and the process of my research methodology. I have argued that in terms of my commitment to feminist research practice, and in line with the scholars like Nnaemeka (2003) and Phiri and Nadar (2010), the process of research is as important as the product of research. It is for this reason that in this chapter I have paid particular attention to the notion of reflectivity and reflexivity. Finally, this chapter was important in setting the foundation for the next and subsequent two chapters which deals with the analysis of the data collected during the process of my research.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS I:

THE PRIVILEGES OF PATRIARCHY

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the methodology employed in my research was outlined. It reflected on the choice and size of the sample and the necessary method of gathering the data. The latter consisted of focus group discussions with men who had been violent within the marital dyad. Finally, I discussed the method of analysis chosen for the data. The four focus group discussions generated the data which will now be analysed in this chapter and the two subsequent chapters. These will consist of:

    i.   Data Analysis #I: The Privileges of Patriarchy;

    ii.   Data Analysis #II: Religious Belief and Male Privilege;

    iii.   Data Analysis #III: The Clash between Religious Belief and the South African Criminal Justice System.

The objective of this present chapter will be to present the first of the three meta-categories of analysis that emanated from the extensive narratives of the men in my study.

In should be noted that these three categories interconnect and overlap on numerous levels due to the complexities and complex "web of factors" that are inextricably linked to the intersecting socio-cultural themes that constitute the narratives of the men.

The privileges of patriarchy which men enjoy include several thematic subsections that were extrapolated from the narratives of the men. These subsections will include: headship and ownership; respect; domestic devotion; economic power; blame and justification; heteropatriarchal benefits, and substance abuse. Since one of the main objectives of my study was to assess the extent to which religion contributes to construction of violent masculinities, this will be discussed in a separate chapter. The third and final meta-category will concern itself with an analysis of the research data with respect to the clash between religious belief and the criminal justice system. Further, it will be devoted to the reflection of the men's encounter with the police and the criminal justice system within South Africa.

Fundamental to the analysis are the words and statements of the respondents. These have not been altered in any way, and are here reported verbatim. The textual analysis offered is meditated through my interpretative, interactive and reflexive thoughts to augment the discursive theoretical nature of my study. Moreover, research collaborative with the study is included to validate, refute, or extend the debate on the dominant metamorphosed emergent themes. Although rigid and discreet representations of the themes are attempted, it became evident that the exact style of representation demonstrated once again the complexities of masculinities. It attests to the intersectionality of the socio-cultural context. Any attempt to format the data into a linear representation proved artificial and reducible to incomprehensibility and incoherence. For ease of reading, all of the respondent statements cited in this chapter and the subsequent two chapters have been placed in italic font and block formatted in order to distinguish them from the textual analysis which follows.

Again, the interlinking of locating hegemonic masculinities within the South African context brings to the fore the intricate and nuanced lived experiences of why domestically violent men do what they do. This is captured in the textual analysis and discussion that I present below. Tables and figures are also included where applicable.

2. Socio-demographic Analysis

As indicated in the previous chapter the sample comprised of seven married men who resided in Phoenix, a large township, north of the City of Durban. According to racial profile, all were South African Indian. Their ages ranged from 34 to 61 years, while their wives were between 35 to 60 years of age. Years of marriage ranged from 3 to 36. Three respondents were in their first marriage while four were married for the second time. Five respondents had matriculated; while one possessed a post-matriculation qualification and one had completed Standard Six (present High School Grade Eight). Concerning their religious affiliation, six of the respondents were Christian and one was Muslim.

3. The Textual Narrative: Accounts of Violence

Jonathan Watson (2000:142) declares that researchers on domestic violence are accustomed to examine men within a single gender category which neglects to account for their wider position as a gender, and therefore has "rendered masculinity a poorly understood and inadequately operationalized" concept. My commitment as an African feminist scholar is also "to understand the ideology of patriarchy" as stipulated by the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists.[1] My engagement therefore with men's narratives of their lived experiences of domestic violence was purposefully intended to further the present understanding of the dichotomous gendered world we populate as human beings. My thoughts are ably echoed by Dean Peacock when he states:

> Despite pessimistic declarations that men will never change or have nothing to gain from ending patriarchal violence, men do indeed have a stake in creating a world where women and men are able to live free from threat and the trauma of violence (2010:2).

Post-modernist thought and dominant feminist thinking converges and stresses the complexities of the exploration and understanding of our gendered identities within

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[1] See Appendix #4: Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists.

our social world. It is within this context that the textual narratives of the men within my study provide and give meaning through a non-linear glimpse of themselves as a gender with regard to their social relations within a hegemonic masculine world that they contribute to.

4. The Privileges of Patriarchy

An informed understanding the landscape of the gender discourse necessitates the deconstruction of meaning which men attach to their gender. Chitando and Chirongoma support this idea when they write that the "social construction of manhood needs to be interrogated, where men have imbibed cultural values that threaten the well being of women and children" (2008:58). The deepening of the initial insights offered by these men in a non-linear dialogical manner, signal their patriarchal stereotyping, facilitated and reproduced as it is within a hegemonic society. The narratives indicated the unquestioned power of patriarchy. I find much agreement with Nyambura Jane Njoroge when she points out that the:

> Reductionist ways of understanding gender inequality demonstrate either naivety or a deep-seated ignorance of the oppressive and dehumanising nature of patriarchy and the sexism in our families, societies and religious communities. It is of great importance that when we engage in gender discourse in theology, in the search for the recognition, reconciliation, healing, justice and fullness of life, that we confront the fundamental problems of patriarchy and sexism (2009:3).

Elicited from the narratives of these men were the salient oppressive spaces patriarchy afforded them. What emerged in the process of unpacking the notion of privilege and entitlement in the men's dialogue was the process that lent wider societal justification of maintaining male dominance. As Russell Luyt maintains, it is imperative to understand and "(re)constitute the self, gender, knowledge, social relations and culture" (2003:66).

In addition, the "hegemonic metaphors" within the narratives of the men lends substantive depth and understanding of men's socio-cultural violent realities. The

reliability and credibility of some of these accounts, while obviously divergent, nevertheless detail their justification. Jeff Hearn (1998a) has worked extensively to analyse the varied manner in which men describe, deny, justify and excuse their violence. Figure 2 below captures how men talk about their violence.
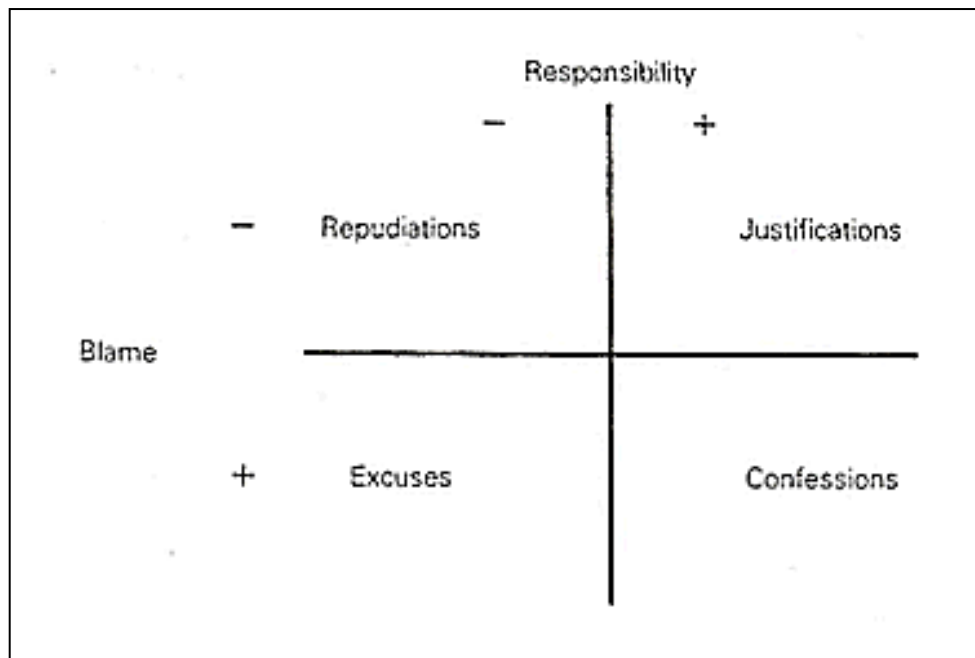
Figure 2
Excuses and Justifications
Source: Hearn (1998a:108)

Hearn (1998a) summarizes succinctly how these men validate their violent choices. My study also noted resonance with Hearn, in that the men in my study typically recognized and labelled their acts of violence in their attempt at providing an explanation of how they construed harm and blame and/or accepted responsibility. Usually, explanations are provided in terms of the "dividends of patriarchy" whereby "men gain dividends from patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command" (Connell 1995:82). Connell's conceptual framework in terms of such "dividends of patriarchy" provides a helpful basis for my interpretation of the data throughout this chapter. To further this conceptual framework, I utilize the term "privileges of patriarchy" because it extends the notion of dividends. While "dividends of patriarchy" points to an understanding that men earn benefits from patriarchy, the notion of "privileges of patriarchy" suggests that men have a right to

use these dividends even in ways that inflict harm. In other words, the dividends are perceived to be a right.   In what follows, I will discuss these various dividends and the manner in which they find expression as privileges.

4.1. Headship and Ownership

One such dividend is the concept of headship which became a central and pervasive factor throughout the several themes of the analysis of all four focus group discussions. Men in the group related at length, either directly or in a nuanced matter, how headship affords them the privilege to do what they do, often without reprisal or remorse.   This attitude then preserves and sustains their patriarchal relationships within their families. Ezra Chitando calls this the "myth of male headship" (2007:124), which he warns will ultimately subsidise gender-based violence.[2] Within the narratives of the men in my study were visible acknowledgements from the men who utilize headship to uphold patriarchy and justify their violent actions.   This mutually beneficial relationship between headship (as a "dividend of patriarchy") and violence (as a "privilege of patriarchy") gains further sanction and recognition beyond the home into a very receptive hegemonic masculinised society.

A society committed to "non-sexism", captured within the South African Bill of Rights[3] ensures equality under the law, human rights and dignity for all. In asserting their constitutional rights under the law, women nevertheless remain constantly challenged by the socio-political cultural realities which still operate within a masculinized hegemonic ideology. Deeply etched in our memories as African feminists are the unforgettable words spoken by President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela in his 1994 State of the Nation Address before Parliament:

> It is vitally important that all structures of government, including the President himself should understand this fully. That freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of

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[2] In this article, Chitando raises a number of significant thoughts on how headship promotes and maintains patriarchy. In particular, a "patriarchy of love" does not promote gender justice (2007:122).
[3] See chapter two of the 1996 South African Constitution (Juta's Statutes Editors 2011:7-25).

oppression. All of us must take this on board, that the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) will not have been realized unless we see in the visible and practical terms that the conditions of women in our country has radically changed for the better, and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any member of society.[4]

In theory, as Harper (2002:3) rightfully echoes, while through these "legislative reforms, the status of women has improved…these rights have not transformed the lives of women in substantial ways as patriarchal values and customs continue to dominate the social and cultural lives" of women in South Africa. Indeed, it would be somewhat detrimental and naïve to assume that the by-product of democracy in South Africa *de facto* guarantees the total emancipation of women in the country. Unfortunately, South Africa is known for possessing some of the world's highest crime statistics, inclusive of rape. As discussed in Chapter One of this dissertation, Jewkes et al. (2009) clearly indicate these disturbing trends. These realities provide the justification for the continuing and deliberate efforts in dismantling the headship/subservient hierarchal gender structures which are endemic within South African society, an on-going struggle which this present study hopes to make a positive contribution and give its unqualified support.

Mercy Amba Oduyoye writes on the notion of headship that it:

> …does not affect marital relations only; for the whole of human relations suffer because headship is still cast in the mould of ancient political systems with their despots and kings and queens (1996:42).

These diverse expressions of patriarchal views on headship continue to prevail. These notions of male privilege were abundantly visible in remarks made by respondents in the study:

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[4] Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, South Africa, 24 May 1994. <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/special%20projects/mandela/speeches/1990s/1994/1994-state-nation-address.html/> [Accessed 22 December 2011].

Sometimes woman's rights is [sic] when you tell her something and she would tell you to mind your own business…she forgets that you are the head of the home.

It means being responsible, because I am the head of the home, therefore my wife has to respect me.

If the man is in the house they [women] can't do what they want to do.

They [women] want you to leave the house; they want it all to themselves.

The understanding of headship in the family as demonstrated by the respondents' statements indicates a belief that is unequivocally a male domain. For this reason, when male headship is challenged in any form, male hegemonic status is reiterated to ensure that women are reminded of their 'place', despite women's desire to strive towards gender equality. Seemingly from what the respondents indicate, their identity as men is devalued when confronted by women asserting their rights, thus posing the possibility of women being disrespectful to them. The following comment by a Christian respondent highlights this well:

They want to be the boss…when she is leaving the house for example she should always tell you where she is going, because I am the boss in my home, not her.

McMullen supports the line of reasoning that:

Teaching a man that he is the head of the family as Christ is the head of the church would raise no eyebrows, because men were accustomed to behaving in their own family in a similar way to a patriarchal god (2003:199).

Somewhat eloquently, Sedaris holds that:

> Meaning attached to the notion of head extends beyond paternal authority to include responsibility to meet the financial needs of the family (2003:5).

As a consequence, once again women have to contest their rights whereby even their movements are controlled by their husbands.

Within the discourse of headship, positionality thus becomes a tacit concept. These men who occupy a privileged position in relation to their wives almost take it for granted, while their wives are constantly reminded that the same privileges are not actualized or afforded to them. Such a situation must inevitably frustrate productive negotiations in violent homes. Positionality is one form of male power discussed in-depth by Whitehead and Barrett (2001:17). Within this notion of positionality, they argue that it is almost obligatory that men are leaders, heads of states, chief executive officers of companies, managers, priests etc. In other words, headship in the home is not only a privilege, but a dividend of patriarchy.

In terms of the respondents understanding of headship, issues of power and control become central to their relationships with their wives. Feminism asserts a distinct and considered interpretation of such especially viewed via a patriarchal lens. The traditional dichotomous relationship between the spouses dictates the differential and complex prevailing power imbalance. In an attempt to comprehend the nuanced nature of power and powerlessness, Brid Featherstone (1996:184) extrapolates how power operates, within a "hierarchical, fixed" position and also notes its possessive qualities which are evident in several statements made by the men where headship affords them all facets of power.

While most times this male power is regarded as absolute, many of the respondents displayed feelings of ambivalence about this kind of absolute power. Their ambivalence is echoed by Michel Foucault who advances the notion, that "power is neither a possession, fixed nor absolute" (1998a:97). Contextually within the narratives of my study, the power men demonstrated was viewed as contested by their

wives and themselves, hence its evolving location seems disconcerting to them. Foucault further emphasizes interrogating the 'how' rather than the 'why'. One of the criticisms of Foucault's notion of power is that he focused on how people used power but did not further contemplate the systems that undergirded that exact power—patriarchy being one of them. As a result, a naïve, linear and unsophisticated analysis of power does not do justice to the complexity of power and hence, neither does it offer a comprehensive and sustained response to the issues of domestic violence.

Patriarchal power is demonstrated through the acquisition of things both material and otherwise. The respondents repeatedly demonstrated that they felt that they possessed their wives. Jeffords notes that this idea is to be found in traditional ideologies across cultures where a "woman is viewed as property of her father and later of the husband" (1984:543). Invariably, being regard as chattel or personal property, a woman's rights are compromised, especially her protection from an abusive spouse who asserts his authority and perpetuates the *status quo* of maintaining power over her. One of the respondents articulates the perceived betrayal to his marital vows:

> *When you get married she promises that she will be with you 'til your*
> *dying day; but if there is even a small issue she will leave.*

Hearn identifies that:

> [the] two most frequent forms of justification is the response to
> woman's relations with others, particularly actual, potential, assumed
> or suspected sexual relations; and the woman's perceived
> 'provocation' of him by her not obeying the rules of marriage, or him
> as the head of the home (1998a:127).

The gendered script below concisely illustrates this point. The respondent makes the implication that the gender deferential roles should be conformed to especially when he goes to work, which should guarantee his wife's faithfulness. The second quotation from the respondent is certainly no reason for authenticity or evidence of his wife's alleged infidelity, but hearing from the neighbours validates his violent response. His

statement indicates his understanding that his wife is his possession including her body:

> *A man goes to work and a woman takes advantage. She sees another man who looks better and takes him into the house.*

> *You feel betrayed…That is when the man gets violent because he has already heard from the neighbours. You see her guilty reaction because of what she did wrong.*

> *When you are married, because you are registered to her,[5] she wants to over power you. She wants to take advantage of you. She had nothing in the beginning but because of you, she got a house. Now she wants to bring another man in there….That's where the conflict starts. That's when a man gets disheartened. He encounters problems because that's what the woman does....They want easy money like they want an easy life.*

It is important to note that as the so-called head of the home, both the marital home and his wife are regarded as his chattel or personal property.

The socio-cultural and economic implications of masculinity are demonstrated in the admitted views held by the respondents. Not only do they reiterate the need for dominance, power and control, but they are vehemently opposed to not being accorded the appropriate respect by their wives. The subtext concurs with Luyt's observation that this "religio-cultural ideal is related to the concept of hegemonic masculinity that ultimately serves to sustain male power, both in relation to women and with respect to subordinate masculinities, encouraging most men to support its perpetuation" (2003:49). Hearn and Whitehead observe that men's violence towards women "appears to stem from the normal but impossible pursuit of manhood by men" (2006:52). This impossible utopian position that men place themselves in, perhaps serves to paralyse any sustained effort towards change in their behaviour. Cultural

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[5] This is a colloquial phrase often used to indicate legal marriage.

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dictates even within the South African multicultural society affords equal status by giving recognition to its diversity.[6] Despite these rights, women continue to be challenged by outmoded or obsolete, traditional, customary and cultural practices, most of which regard men as being the head of the home. Often, women's expression of their rights is contested within the socio-economic, cultural and religious space they occupy. Harper thus warns that "universality of rights has sometimes become confused with universality of experience" (2002:13).

These cultural expressions are yet another issue worthy of exploration within the feminist view. African feminism is particularly confronted with the delicate tension between cultural rights and women's rights. Indeed, as Molyneux and Razavi proffer, some feminists maintain that "multiculturalism is bad for women because it subordinates women's individual rights to masculine privilege enshrined in group rights that are legitimized by "culture, tradition, and religion" (2002:13). Group rights find particular resonance within African and South African Indian communities such as where the present study is located. Many scholars have indicated the communitarian nature of such cultures (Oduyoye 2001:17; Kanyoro 2001:36-56). Here again, hegemonic masculinities serve men well, where women's individual rights become subsumed within a communitarian cultural and traditional expectation that monitors and sustains women as obedient. It is thus under the pretext of tradition that women's assertion of their rights becomes construed by men as challenging their headship within both the nuclear and extended family. Robert Morrell presents the alternative in "recognizing diversity, by protecting collective rights (inclusive of women's rights) but not excluding other collective rights" (2005:84). He continues that a balance be "maintained between gender rights and those based on custom and tradition located within indigenous knowledge systems" (2005:84).

The need for compliance and being subservient is paramount, even under the guise of 'respect' and 'obedience' as outlined in the following two statements. These emphatic statements also serve to demonstrate disciplinary measures that are employed by the

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[6] See in particular, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: §15 Freedom of religion, belief and opinion; §30 Language and culture; §31 Cultural, religious and linguistic communities (Juta's Statutes Editors 2011:9-10; 16-17).

men in asserting their rights as head of the home. From these statements one can detect a certain paternalist undertone of acquiescence; should this be resisted, then violence becomes a logical repercussion:

If I put order in my house if my wife disagrees with me then I would definitely have a problem with that. If she doesn't accept it then we will have a problem because she is not listening to what I am saying.

I need her to listen to what I tell her to…. it's that simple.

Here again, within the statements above Whitehead and Barrett's (2001) notions of power become evident. The way in which male power is maintained discursively, is ably demonstrated in the statement:

I need her to listen to what I tell her to…it's that simple.

This clearly highlights the effect of language in the maintenance of dominance. Dysfunctional communication is justified as a right. The need for explanation and negotiation is obviated because of the right of men to simply be listened and obeyed.

The following statement by one of the respondents illustrates the simplicity by which he understands the issue of his socializing with his male friends:

They are not confident when we spend time with our male friends. They do the wrong things and blame us, which isn't right at all. It is not right.

Here, his attempt at an explanation is almost a sovereign declaration captured by the words: *"…which isn't' right at all. It is not right."*

Anne Goetting agrees when she states that:

> Men's privilege derived from a patriarchal social structure to coerce a woman, sometimes through fear for her very life, into an exploitive intimate relationship that holds her hostage and in servitude to his needs and desires (1996:4).

This justification of linguistic power that is accorded to men is yet another factor of the privileges that systemic patriarchy affords men.

The inseparable connection of male dominance and power usually commences in the family of origin, as was noted earlier in the study by Paranzee and Smythe (2002) which referred to men who justified their violent actions towards their partners by declaring and reiterating their status as being the head of the household. Here, men witnessed their fathers as being the head of the home and their mothers as occupying a role of being docile and domesticated. In the view of the respondents, there is no reason to digress from such traditionally produced gender roles which seemed amicable and acceptable to their parents. Christopher Harper thus notes that headship was viewed as "the man's alone and nothing could alter this" (2002:15).

In order to further our understanding of male headship, it is imperative here to understand the relationship between machismo and well-being. Joseph H. Pleck's (1981) Gender Role Strain model proposes that men experience stress because of the contradictions between male-type roles within society and the demands of culture (e.g., masculine attitudes, behaviour and beliefs) and the naturally occurring desires, emotions, and drive within a man. As Casas et al. (2001:763) can state:

> The internal experiences and drives (e.g., the urge to express emotions) clearly are contradictory to expectation (e.g., stoicism) hereby presenting a conflict-related dissonance experienced by the man.

These socially cultivated gender-specific role expectations have multifarious effects especially in the perpetuation of the cycle of violent actions within the marital dyad. Moreover, it is within an emotional inexpressive environment that dysfunctional communication between the spouses thwarts any effort to eradicate the threat of

imminent violence from occurring. Gratification to establish control through violence reaffirms their entitled position and neutralises any potential of their power being challenged by their wives. The indifference and stoicism that headship affords these men leaves negligible room for non-violent negotiations and deliberations between the spouses. The intensity and nature of the exchange is often determined by the anger levels that prevail. A concomitant factor of legitimizing their violent outlet towards their wives is the expression of anger, which although in effect communicates an emotion, nevertheless remains an unhealthy and deleterious emotion. The possibility of such anger serves as fertile ground for violence to occur which ultimately creates a distancing mechanism within the marital relationship.

In summary, headship seems to be a pervasive theme that appears repeatedly in this analysis, not only in the context of gender roles but also within the context of religion. Abrahams et al. (1999:22) support my findings that the men who were active in religious activities strongly asserted headship and argued that this was "supported by their religion". This area will be further investigated in the chapter which follows.

4.2. Respect

Another inherent privilege is that of respect. Respect is gained not through particular acts, but simply by virtue of being a man. Clearly, when men's sense of entitlement surpasses responsibility towards their wives, respect is difficult to establish and maintain. The rationalisation for demanding respect refers to their role as being devalued and undermined. The following statements by the men reflect this entitlement to respect, even citing Islam to embellish their argument:

> *A man can't always respect a woman. Men need to be respected. The woman can't be nasty and nagging; saying you can't go with your friend.*

> *In Islam, Adam was the first man on earth so the women should have respect for men.*

The following comment reveals how one respondent demands respect, even when inebriated by alcohol and almost infers that he was incited into violence because his right to fishing, playing cards and drinking alcohol should be viewed as hobbies:

> *I need to be respected by my wife at all times, whether I am intoxicated, sober or if I am unemployed. I must always be respected in my house. If I see that there is no order in my house then I must instil order at all times.*

> *I feel like sometime, yes, we would do our things, like fishing, we like to drink and play cards. Don't scream at us when we are drunk, talk to us nicely, when we see them pulling their faces and acting funny[7] and screaming then that makes us aggressive.*

> *Fishing is a sport; you know what I am saying.*

Again, the heightened sense of masculine identities is recognized within the context of claiming common territorial male space, such as fishing, drinking alcohol and playing cards for further bonding to occur. The statement *"Fishing is a sport; you know what I am saying"* is not mere male banter, but directs us to an acceptance of multiplicity of identity that informs and asserts their gender. Hobbies therefore provided another area of contestation for the respondents. The study of Abrahams et al. (1999:22) therefore support my finding, with men citing that their wives attempted to have power over them by invariably controlling their activities such as playing too much sport:

> *You tell her you are going fishing; they tell you that you are going to meet other women…"*

> *"They want you to sit at home…"*

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[7] This is a South African colloquial expression that refers to strange expression and/or behaviour.

> *It is a man's right to have a sport than to be bored in the house putting up with this kind of hardships, so when he says that he was fishing with his friends so she shouldn't start screaming and getting frustrated, overpowering and over-controlling. Women have their TV.*

The trade-off with the television suggested in the above statement gives recognition to what women have in lieu of fishing. So women's choice of watching television is fundamentally flawed since in a statement made later which alluded to the negative influence television has had on informing women of their rights, here is offered by the respondent as an attractive alternative!

Respect is also understood in intergenerational terms as the following statement reflects:

> *I looked at how my father worked and how he provided for us with the very little that he had. So I do the same thing. We make our families happy. But I don't want to go home to get insulted. Just to have one small drink and the woman takes advantage. They have to leave us and not interfere. So we learnt the respect from our parents. And that is why we are men today and we can stand on our own two feet and we look after our families.*

> *Today, women do not appreciate how we go out to make lives for them because we saw how our fathers provided for us. So our wives mustn't treat us like dirt. They must treat us like how our parents treated us too.*

Notably, here only fathers were cited, and not mothers. White (1997:16) also notes that the "good girl/bad boy' stereotypes present women as resourceful and caring mothers, with men as relatively autonomous individualists, putting their own desires for drink and cigarettes before the family's needs". Here again is perpetuated the concept of continued domination of women who merely serve to 'guide'. If left unchallenged, the inherent socio-cultural scripts stereotypically assigned to men

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continue to maintain patriarchal privileging. For example, when asked whether it was possible that their mothers taught them to be men, the men in the study unanimously asserted that their mothers only served a 'guiding' role in the development of their masculinity. They affirmed that it was the fathers who were important in this role of instilling their beliefs regarding respect. Respect was not just confined to them socially but also physically, because they were men. The respondent below also cites his Divine Creator in furthering his declaration of being respected:

> *We are created by God's image. We respect our bodies.*

> *Women must respect us and we respect them and our bodies when they don't respect us is why we get angrier and bash them.*[8]

Clearly, the men saw respect for their bodies as an inherent benefit that patriarchy had afforded them; yet this respect did not extend to their wives, hence the ease with which they could *"bash them"*. Absent also from these statements was acceptance of the contradictory position their violence and respect occupied within their marital relationships. Once again, men's disproportionate access to power is pivotal in understanding how they justify their need to be respected. Indeed, it is almost inferred that it is at men's own discretion to exercise such power; hence, the possibility of relinquishing power becomes an impending threat in their schema of control. The inference to be paternalistic is also present; hence the punitive measure to modify their wives behaviour:

> *Let's say my wife and I are having an argument and she starts swearing at me and say you're a **** [profanity removed from transcript]. Now you don't want to hear someone swear at you. By then, you go for that person. You respect your mother.*

> *If you look after your mother well, you go to heaven so you must treat your mother nicely.*

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[8] A common expression meaning to (physically or otherwise), beat on, or abuse someone or something.

When you go into jail and come out after two days, when everything is resolved, that is the same man you are going to be in bed with, it doesn't make sense.

Respect, the respondents dictated, should be demanded from women which ultimately can be a deterrent in inciting further violence. He implies that his impulse control is determined by her lack of respect for him and for his mother. Yet again, this alludes to masculinities dictating power and control. Sideris (2003:9) and others refer to this as "maintaining masculinity and respect through aggression". The respondent saw "spiritual reward" for treating his mother well, but not the same for treating his wife well. When encouraged with the question about his wife also being a mother, i.e., the mother of his children, this was the received response:

She becomes like your mother the only time that she is not, is when you are in bed with her. Your wife is like your mother, she does everything for you; she washes your clothes, she cooks for you. If you were not married, your mother would do that for you but now that you are married, then she should do things for you. We respect that.

Again, here stereotypical gender roles are demonstrated. Teasing out the patriarchal interplay reveals pervasive dominant gendered authority. Morrell warns that masculinities should "steer away from the claim that fatherhood gives men power over women and children and justifies authority and tyranny" (2001:23). For him, it is within the fatherhood role that the man is expected to assimilate "into families, instead of separating from children, women and other men" (2001:23). This will further the agenda of men respecting the diverse roles they occupy in the lives of significant others. One of these ascribed roles for their wives is domesticity. Domestic devotion is another privilege of patriarchy.

4.3. Domestic Devotion

Anne Goetting remarks that "men want women to attend to the details e.g., preparing his meals, attend to the children, basically to sanitize his world and sustain servitude to him" (1999:7). When this is not done, then violence occurs. When questioned about the reasons for being violent, the majority of men in my study cited lack of domestic compliance on the part of their wives:

> *When I was working I would come home and the food would be ready I would only have to wash my hands and sit down. Now the tables have turned, I have to help myself to supper.*

> *When the husband comes back from work he is tired and he expects his cup of tea made.*

> *That is a woman's responsibility when the man comes from work, his food has to be ready, his tea has to be ready and his clothes has to be ready. It doesn't count as responsibility as such because she can't do what she is set to do for the home, meaning that she is not good for the man.*

> *She started it [a fight]. She stays at home the whole day and when I come home and the food is ready I help myself. She and the children were watching Indian movies so I pushed her the one day. She tried to grab an ornament and tried to hit me, and I blocked it, but I never hit her.*

> *My wife would say that I should be at home and help with the child all the time. I tell her that for seven days I can't sit and look at her, which is the problem. I tell her that I want to sit somewhere else and do other things....She is just suspicious.*

Again, the cultural, sexist expectations of the division of duties are emphasized by this respondent. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza aptly notes that "in a sexist society woman's predominant role in life is to be a man's helpmate, to cook and work for him, whereas his role is to earn money" (2001:606). It is within this cultural image that feminism demands the growth and development of men and women where they are not separated by their sex, but acknowledged for their capabilities and weaknesses. Rationally, if women's role in society is to change, then it is necessary "for men and women's perception and attitudes towards women to change simultaneously" (Schüssler Fiorenza 2001:608). These gender role interchanges may appear daunting to a traditional male since it requires the unlearning of a lifetime of differentiated culturally ascribed roles. When not negotiated effectively by the couple, the obligation of domestic duty incurs resentment and frustration which is a perfect breeding ground for violence to occur. Sideris has also noted that the division of labour is significant in "maintaining domestic harmony" (2003:14). Hence, rethinking and relinquishing traditional beliefs requires flexibility in consciously dialoguing around the fixed, yet outmoded, repetitive and obsolete gender arrangements.

Pamela Cooper-White has also asserted "that self-worth becomes confused in the violent man with being able to extract compliance from a women (or child) who he believes, should be servicing his needs" (1995:207). She continues that "men's socialization appears strong and invulnerable which paradoxically works against their ability to express legitimate needs and desires" (1995:207). This paradox is particularly noted when the burdens of domestic dependency are tacitly expected. While this remains true, we must acknowledge that there are minor notable changes where the division of labour is renegotiated and dictated by structural changes within impoverished South African communities:

> *When my children were born they used to use towelling napkins not*
> *like now they use diapers.*

Another common feature of men's privilege is being selective of the tasks they undertake. While some statements may appear trivialised, they nevertheless allude to the sex-role expectations that the power of patriarchy affords them. Moreover, as

Grieg et al. (2000:4) are at pains to point out, they "draw incremental benefits from the cultural prohibitions of what masculine identity propagates". Among the statements made by the respondents were the following:

> *Helping around the house is okay, but not washing clothes and cooking food.*

> *I would not like to dish up food.*

> *I would not wash clothes, I would not cook, I would not dish up food, and I would not do anything that is drawn up on the list of a woman that she is supposed to be catering to her man.*

> *There are many things that you can do at home in case when they are sick then I help around. I am willing to help.*

> *I do help when she is not well.*

> *I can wash my own clothes and iron my own clothes if she is not there. But if she is there, then she must do it.*

> *I do not like cooking, but I can do it but it must not be a habit. Once you show them you can do a thing then they get lazy.*

> *They say that if he can make his cup of tea, he can wash for himself and clean the house.*

Despite present claims that some domestic chores are shared, the above comments provide evidence that the division of domestic duties are culturally ascribed within a gendered context. Gender role attitudes can be categorized on a continuum of other research which also supports that women continue to assume the major responsibility of housework and children, even when both partners are working. Although male unemployment is on the rise, traditional ideologies of masculinity continue to dictate,

as was illustrated in the above gender-specific division of labour. These men in the majority support, endorse, and perpetuate the traditional male role, although they are forced to renegotiate the division of domestic duties. Liz Walker captures well the sentiments shared by the respondents by acknowledging that the "older versions of masculinity are at odds with newer ones with very unsettling results" (2005:233). Feminism recognizes that this familial, patriarchal ideology promotes and sustains female dependency. One such dependency is related to the economic differentials that exist within the marital relationship.

4.4. Economic Power

Economic power is another privilege of patriarchy. It has been established and evidenced even internationally that poverty and domestic violence share strong correlations. Those who are financially disenfranchised are predisposed by the fact that limited access to resources compounds their situation. As Dawes et al. (2006:239) have confirmed, in South Africa, the "co-occurrence of race and class establishes poverty as a risk factor for domestic violence". It is an accepted fact that interpersonal violence is framed within structural oppression of inequalities of race, class, gender and age. Grieg et al. (2000:13) also rightfully acknowledge that South African culture:

> Naturalizes violence, rendering it 'normal' (in itself, an act of violence against those who have come to accept violence), and a history of colonialism (2000:13).

It is within this backdrop, that the "male breadwinner mentality" prevails which contributes to a "process in which masculine identity often reflects composite as well as contradictory images of what it is to be a man" (Luyt 2003:65). This challenge is further constrained by men who have "fewer resources in hand in constructing masculine identities that reflect the changing structural and ideological demands of the current social-historical period" (Willott and Griffin 2004:53).

This constrained financial environment is evident also from the respondents of my study. The tables below indicate the employment status of both the respondent and their wives.

Unemployed, looking for work	2
Pensioner (aged/retired)	1
Unemployed: Temporarily sick	1
Self-employed—part-time	2
Self-employed—full time	1

Table 3

Respondent's Current Employment Status

Unemployed, not looking for work	2
Unemployed, looking for work	2
Pensioner (aged/retired)	1
Self employed—part-time	1
Employed part-time (if none of the above)	1

Table 4

Spouse's Current Employment Status

Income	Household	Personal
R 501 –R 750		3
R 751 – R 1000	1	1
R 1001 – R 1500		1
R 1501 –R 2000	3	
R 2001 –R 3000	1	
R 3001 –R 5000		1
R 5001 –R 7500	1	

Table 5

Monthly Household and Personal Income[9]

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[9] For example, gross income before tax and other deductions, specifying all sources of income, i.e., salaries, pensions, income from investments, etc

Interestingly, only two respondents noted a joint household income of R 3, 001-R 7, 500[10] with the remaining five respondents reporting a figure of R 3, 000 and below. The meagre income levels clearly compounds and further exacerbates daily living standards within their households. All of the respondents live in KwaZulu-Natal, with the majority from Phoenix, a township area which predominantly consists of average to low income housing projects. While poverty and hunger escalates, it is expected that their diminished capacity to engage around the rudimentary and basic household expenses becomes a constant quest for survival.   Negotiating around these rudimentary needs invariably becomes even more challenging for families with children whose access to education, healthcare etc., becomes more complicated. From my study, all respondents had children with only one respondent having no children. Of the seven respondents, two respondents and four of their wives were unemployed. The serious impediment of unemployment in South Africa is seen by Walker as an "unanticipated dimension of post-apartheid where political liberation was expected to bring material reward and entitlements not increase deprivation" (2005:235). This depleted economic environment enables and facilitates difficulties in negotiating a financially stable and viable home environment. On a related note, from my study, when questioned about abuse related to finances, four respondents reported direct abuse while three respondents could not conclusively state that the abuse emanated from discordant thoughts on finances, but had some impact on their arguments.

Upon being requested to elaborate on finances as a contributory factor to violence, the respondents offered the following:

> *She often nags about the money not being enough, thereafter a fight starts.*

> *We sometimes do not agree with what should be done with the money.*

> *She wants to tell me what to do with the money.*

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[10] Approximately US$ 360-900 at the prevailing exchange rate of 1 US$ = R 8.18070c on 23 December 2011.

Sometimes she spends unnecessarily.

It is within such a financially constraining environment that the respondents' interaction with the dynamic of classism cannot be ignored. For Harper, South Africa's *per capita* income is described as being upper-middle-income. Despite this, he contends that "our distributive income and wealth is amongst the most unequal in the world" (2002:17). Evident also in my study were three respondents who reported an income of R 750 and below per month, which is below the official poverty line, which is currently determined at R 800 per month per household (*cf.* Simelane 2010:33). Simelane (2010:12) notes from a recent poverty analysis that "children are most adversely affected and the levels differ significantly by province, with the Eastern Cape and Limpopo province registering the worst levels of poverty". As acknowledged by the Minister of Social Development, Mrs Edna Molewa, in a speech delivered on 29 October 2010, currently 48% of the South African population are estimated to live below the poverty line and 65% of female-headed households are poor.[11]

In my study, only two of the women were reported to be gainfully employed with one only working part-time. This positions the other wives within an economic dependent relationship with the respondents of my study. Despite South Africa's excellent Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998,[12] legislatively securing women's legitimate rights of protection, their financial vulnerability still continues to marginalise them. It is this marginalized position that keeps them hostage in an abusive marriage, with fewer options open, thereby negating whether it is prudent to lay a charge, consider divorce or leave the marital home. Consequently, for many economically disenfranchised women, these legislative reforms do not automatically translate into securing a non-violent alternative. Moreover, the power imbalances continue to subjugate them into a position of subservience, which is also well-captured by

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[11] Remarks by the Minister of Social Development, Mrs Edna Molewa on the occasion of Foodbank South Africa Gala Dinner, Premier Hotel, Pretoria, 29 October 2010. <http://www.dsd.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=276&Itemid=82/> [Accessed 23 December 2011].
[12] See Appendix #6: Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998.

Mosoetsa that "poverty and unemployment intensify the unequal power relations that have always characterized the households" (2011:77-78).

Recent scholarship suggests that there is an undeniable link between partner violence and unemployment. Hence, Dawes et al. (2006:228) maintain:

> Where the social expectation is that men should be providers; unemployment is experienced as a deep failure both at a personal and societal level. There seems to be a dislodgement of masculinity as well as the loss of power and control.

Again, the loss of power is mentioned which is also alluded to by the respondents in my study. This loss of power is experienced by both the unemployed spouse who is dependent on her husband, and the respondents who are challenged by hegemonic cultural dictates of being the breadwinner. This unsettling intersection of socio-economic cultural rights position women as vulnerable within their marital circumstances.

In South Africa, women continue to be marginalized. Indeed, these are propitious times to address the false 'equality trap' which remains deeply contested and controversial. On the occasion of the 2010 National Women's Day, President Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma confirmed that the South African Government's primary focus was to improve access to socio-economic rights as enshrined by the country's Constitution. To give effect to the Constitution, President Zuma noted that socio-economic rights focused on emancipation of women who are inextricably linked to the fight to eradicate poverty and improve the access to basic services:

> For scores of poor women, emancipation means access to electricity, water, decent shelter, access to income generating activities or decent jobs, roads and transport, education and training for themselves and their children.[13]

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[13] Address by His Excellency, President Gedleyihlekisa Zuma on the Occasion of National Women's Day Celebrations, Absa Stadium, East London, 9 August 2010. <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2010/jzum0809.html/> [Accessed 23 December 2011].

The Tenth Commission of the Employment Equity (CEE) Report released by the South African Department of Labour in July 2010 revealed that transformation in the workplace remained very slow. Ten years after the introduction of the Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998,[14] and sixteen years into democracy, white males conspicuously continued to hold 63% of top management positions in the private sector. African females were at least less than 3% and Coloured and South African Indian females were 1%. The report also revealed that white females still benefit the most from affirmative action measures, while people with disabilities, and African and coloured females have benefited the least.[15]

Despite the remarkable feminist political advancements on paper, the same gender patterns are observable and persist in privileged patriarchal positions, dominated by men with women continuing to be challenged by domestic labour, sexual harassment and violence, particularly for those who live below the poverty line. Even for women in a more affluent work environment, they negotiate around predetermined paternalistic norms and controls that continue to inform and dominate their work arenas. Hence, their marginalization by men with exclusionary policies to maintain gender hierarchies continues to further the agenda of inequality.

It is noted by Statistics South Africa that the expanded unemployment rate in the third quarter of 2010 was up by 0.8 of a percentage point from 35.8% to 36.6 %. The latest Labour Force Survey indicates in the third quarter of 2010 that joblessness stood at 25.3%, with 4,396 million unemployed. Employment contracted by 86, 000 jobs, between the second and third quarter.[16]

The men in my study who were unemployed also expressed feelings of being discouraged, frustrated and annoyed that the pressure to support their families was constantly under threat and that their dire economic plight placed tremendous tension on their marital relationship with their wives. Susan Faludi offers the explanation that:

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[14] Available at: <http://www.agsa.co.za/Portals/1/ACTS/EEA.pdf/> [Accessed 28 December 2011].
[15] See the Tenth Commission of the Employment Equity (CEE) Report 2009-2010. Available at: <http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=130553/> [Accessed 23 December 2011].
[16] See Statistics South Africa, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 3, 2010. Statistical release P0211. Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02113rdQuarter2010.pdf/> [Accessed 23 December 2011].

> …the men had probably felt in control when they beat their wives, but their everyday experience was of feeling controlled. There was something almost absurd about these men struggling, week after week, to recognize themselves as dominators when they so clearly are dominated, done in by the world (2000:9).

This contradiction of women's powerlessness in the public sphere extends to the private sphere of their lives; hence, power and control are inextricably linked and contaminate and invariably toxify their relationships in the home, resulting in domestic violence. Their failure to maintain hegemonic masculinity, consequently leads to what Hearn and Whitehead (2006:38) describe as "being collateral damage", which their wives are recipients of. This economic vulnerability may implicitly mean "neutralizing the wife's ability to reflect back to him his inability to conform to masculinity" (Hearn and Whitehead 2008:47). As with the respondent in my study who reported being offended that his wife expected him to listen to her on how to utilise "*his money*". The interplay of the power dynamic is again evident even in circumstances of stressful financial constraints.

A further contradiction as to why men are driven to be violent is identified by Hearn and Whitehead. They maintain that while it serves the cause of patriarchy, "it may be absurd to assume that violent men are motivated by an ideological choice to create conformity by the other gender, i.e., women" (2006:44). The choice that hegemonic masculinities afford these men portrays them as maintaining their positions at extraordinary expense to both themselves and their significant others. Clearly, in the words of Alan Grieg, the incremental cost of sustaining "this privilege is the dissonance between power that they expect and the powerlessness that they experience" (2003:3). It is within this aspect of power and control dissention that I am constantly confronted by the prevalent concern that not all men are violent. Nevertheless, I still question why and how these other men then resist domestic violence?

Another pertinent factor is globalization which has positioned women within a contested work environment. Masculine discourse informs and shapes the gendered power of labour within the inextricable relationship of access and control of resources.

Feminist thought advances the idea that these men contribute in the maintenance and control of disproportionate and obscene amounts of power and money. According to Saranel Benjamin the "capitalist driven outcome of globalization for the North, namely profit is dependent on the availability of cheap labour of the South" (2001:68). These unemployed women in countless underdeveloped markets provide a perfect space for such continued exploitation. Again, Benjamin maintains that:

> Capital accumulation is achieved on the backs of poor working women of the South; hence, globalization has led to the feminization of the global labour force and invariably to the feminization of poverty (2001:68).

As a result, many women experience further levels of inequality within a gendered labour environment. Maria Mies has helpfully coined the term "capitalist patriarchy". In so-doing, she contends that:

> The exploitation of women needs to be located within an economic analysis that recognizes that economic processes are not gender-neutral (1986:104).

Benjamin extends this thought by asserting that:

> Capitalism cannot function without patriarchy and visa versa and are contingent on each other (2001:69).

Consequently, such interdependent relationships provide support wherein "patriarchy sustains itself by maintaining dominance over women" (2001:69).

Mies goes further to caution that if we endeavour to detach the two we will be presented with the "possibility of women's exploitation in the private sphere from the performance of productive labour in the workplace" (1986:107).

One example bears noting in South Africa where women are remunerated differently, especially for those who work in casual employment. They are affected adversely by poor salaries, deplorable working conditions, and invariably they forfeit other concomitant work benefits. Harper (2002:12) also warns that "social equity will

never be achieved until economic justice and women's participation in decision making is ensured". If not, he cautions that "the splitting of women's lives into public and private spheres denies them the opportunity to enjoy the full spectrum of rights which will not afford women a complete social existence" (2002:12).

Interestingly, the four spouses (women) cited in my study who are unemployed are women who according to the respondents are "housewives", and who are primarily responsible for childcare in the home. The hours spent on household chores are seemingly not quantified as work. Benjamin validates my findings when she contends that:

> [The] feminization of labour and poverty has steadily continued despite democracy, with these women compelled to take on a great share of the social costs entailed in capitalism through unpaid and unvalued domestic work (2001:72).

Mies (1986:107) blames the plight of poor women on globalization, who to ameliorate their financial status often "engage in income generating activities or small workshops totally unprotected by labour unions or legislation". This is similar to the one respondent in my study who categorizes his wife as being self-employed part-time because she "*runs a tuck-shop*" from their home. It is within this gendered work environment that Greig et al. (2000:10) contend that gender politics of masculinity can assist "to link broader dimensions of human poverty (such as freedom, self-perception, and violence) to the distribution of political, economic and cultural power between and within the genders". That said, it must be conceded that that not all men have access to equal power. Here again, when questioned whether it was pressurizing to be a man, the unequivocal prompt response by all the respondents was a unanimous and distinct, *"Yes!"*

One such daily challenge faced is finding the monetary support for the respondent's family in an environment of ever-rising consumer prices. The respondents acknowledge that it is demanding to provide adequately for their families. For example, one respondent reported on the financial vulnerability he experienced at the hands of the South African fluctuating economy:

Yes, with the recession, the food and petrol prices…

This respondent references his economical disenfranchisement which positions him into contemplating taking drastic and injurious measures:

I was working in a good job. The problem started when I got unemployed and if I can do all that, you can't keep on nagging at me in such rude manner. So I was thinking that I would do something stupid and get a firearm and shoot her.

Like you never used to worry about prices but now you worry about all the expenses you have.

Hearn however declares that:

Several studies exist on the impact of lower household incomes and financial difficulties of households and domestic violence, it by no way means that such violence is only committed by those with less financial resources; nor does it suggest justification or excuses, or simple cause and effect but it does point to the interlinking of men's violence with economic and material circumstances (1998a:21).

The pressure on men to be the economic providers often becomes *"too much"*. As a result, the men in the group while recognizing that it was their privilege to be breadwinners, often felt pressurized and therefore resorted to violence, as the following statements indicate:

To support my family financially is very pressurizing.

When you are born a man, your responsibilities are so much more than women who don't give you a break even when you make a mistake….Sometimes it's an argument…even a slap.

The job don't [sic] pay that much. Any job that you get by the time you
pay for the bus fare, petrol for the car, your wife she thinks you are
bluffing[17].

Women want money only.

She has a child with you and after that you have to pay maintenance.
They [women] want easy money like they want an easy life.

The socio-economic impact is also articulated by the response below by a respondent
whose authority is challenged in maintaining his status as head of the household*;*

Well I wasn't happy; when you are unemployed they keep on nagging
at you.

It is clear from the above that while economic power is a privilege of patriarchy it can
also be a contributor to men's insecurity which leads to violence. This notion is again
ably demonstrated by the respondent's feeling of being disenfranchised since he is not
contributing financially to the home:

It is a silly thing, when I was working there was no problem. It was in
2007 then I retired. Because I was at home I did some work and money
was coming in. I don't think that you should stay at home I think you
should look for a part time job or whatever.

This statement contains overtones of boundaries that are culturally constructed. The
respondent was the oldest in the group and it is clear how the values with which he
had grown up—about being the provider—compelled him to assert that men should
always have a job, even if it is part-time. This respondent also saw his age as being
disadvantageous to him. Harriet Bradley notes that there is "little doubt that women
suffer a double jeopardy of age and gender, their longevity also seems like one
advantage over men" (2005:173). The South African study undertaken by Luyt

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[17] A South African colloquial term meaning to tell a mistruth or lie.

(2003:49) also demonstrates that as "men got older, deep conservative narratives on masculinity increased" Age was thus significantly and positively correlated to masculine toughness.

Jennifer Lemon (1995:62) also infers that the demands of the "male sex-role has become an 'invisible straightjacket' which keeps a man bound to antiquated patriarchal notions" of what is exactly expected of him so that he be can attest to what it is to be a man. The demand to obey and follow these traditional roles places them further into an ambiguous and conflictual position. Lemon also concurs that the "contradiction between the hegemonic male image and the real conditions of men's lives leads to a "patriarchal hangover" (1995:62). Such a "patriarchal hangover" finds its greatest expression in the needs of men to feel like they are the heads of their homes.

The respondents' comments below refer to women as being demanding. This found resonance in a study conducted by Sara Willott and Christine Griffin, where female partners were seen as "demanding, while the men were expected to provide for the family" (2004:64). Hence, the telling retort, *"Women want money"*.

Against the backdrop of the present bleakness of employment opportunities and rampant globalization, traditional culturally-ascribed roles within the family unit clearly impact on the sense of the conflictual self of manhood in this study. Their narratives cannot be trivialised as they contribute substantially to how economic deprivation within the marital dyad challenges the power relations that exist between the spouses. As Hearn aptly notes, "work does contribute to their identity as men" (2001:11). Integral to their identity as men is privilege and the privilege to assert that things are *"just the way they are"*.

4.5. Justification of Privilege: "I Just Slapped Her"

The narrative below illustrates how the word 'just' communicates minimization and some degree of justification on the part of men for their behaviour. Hearn (1998a:84) confirms that the word conveys a lack of responsibility. James Ptacek (1988:141)

defines justification as "those accounts in which a batterer may accept some responsibility but denies or trivializes the wrongness of his violence, referring instead to his inherent right to behave the way he does". Dobash et al. (1998), Ptacek (1988) and Hearn (1998a) focus on how men account for their violence. Indeed, Hearn (1998a:109) demonstrated how excuses and justification are closely related. By so-doing, he identified five broad clusters of accounts, which is again evident in the narratives of the men in my study:

   i.   Repudiations;

  ii.   Quasi-repudiations

 iii.   Excuses and Justifications;

 iv.   Confessions;

  v.   Other Composite and Contradictory Accounts.[18]

Hearn explains in detail the different components of justification, when he writes:

1. Repudiations include either the entire or a fraction of the violence being refuted, denied or missing. Repudiation encompasses full denial; taking away of the "self and intention; and diversions.
2. Quasi-repudiations are related since they comprise a vital element of repudiation, but in addition essentially it gives recognition of particular types of violence. These consist of not knowing; minimization, reduction and relativisation; distinction and debate; and naturalization.
3. Excuses and justification include the recognition of violence but denial for either responsibility (excuses) or blame (justifications). These could be interpreted as 'conceptual opposites', but are sometimes interlinked in practice.
4. Confessions comprehensively they contain the recognition of violence and the acceptance of both responsibility and blame, which could be uncommon in practice.
5. Composite and contradictory accounts include a mixture of all of the above components (1998a:108-110).

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[18] These, together with their inter-relationships, are well described in Figure 3 below.
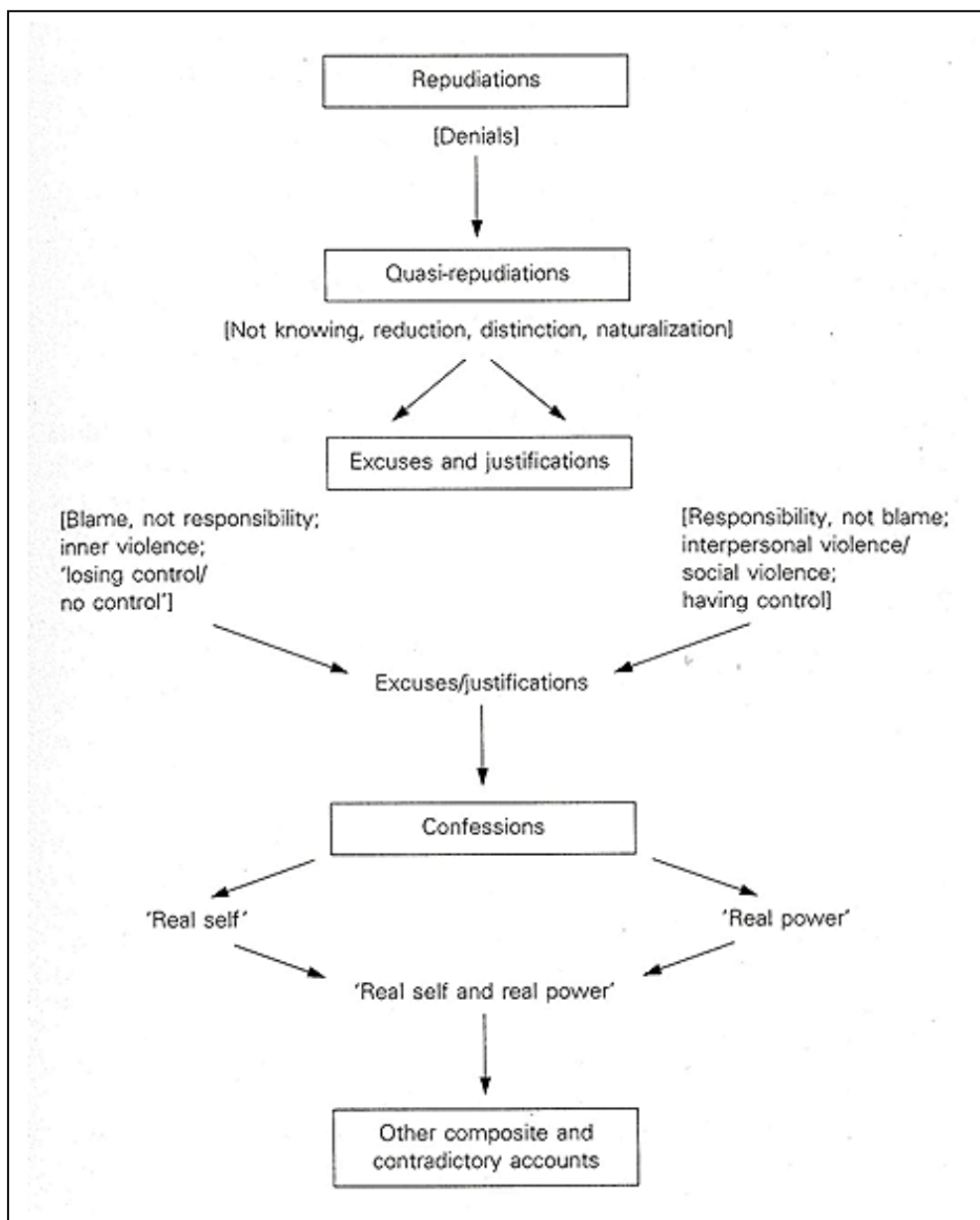
Figure 3

On Repudiations, Quasi-repudiations, Excuses and Justifications, Confessions, and other Composite

Accounts

Source: Hearn (1998a:109)

The following statements by the respondents find continuity with at least one, if not more, of the five components of justification as outlined by Hearn above:

> *When I get home she nags. When I go to sleep she comes into the room*
> *and starts poking me with her finger, and then she pushed me as if she*
> *wants to hit me, so I just slapped her.*

The same thing happened to me. Sometimes you come home and they want you to touch them so you can go to jail….It is completely wrong.

They provoke you.

If someone puts you in jail you don't forget.

All the time she provokes me so I get very angry so I went and drank and I took the chair and broke all the windows but I can't hit her, unless she is a dead body, because of the interdict.

My wife has a big mouth. She says that I am a very aggressive person so when I see that something is wrong, I scream and she screams back. So I would scream at her occasionally. She would use it to her advantage and she would disappear and when I ask where she was, she would say that she was in a safe house. I would say that it was a small thing and you are making a big thing. You screamed at me and I screamed back at you. So to shut you up I would just slap you. Then she would go to a safe house and I would say that she is making a big thing out of nothing and I would say that she is bluffing. Why is she treated special because there are people that are involved in serious crimes and they need the safe house, not her? Why are you so special? Basically that is how it started.

Evidently, the account above relates to justification where the respondent seeks to apportion blame on her, almost externalizing his response to her. Obviously for him, the logical step was to slap her in anticipation of her response. Stereotypically, the implication of possession is made and his implied right to respond violently. Another critical dimension by Hearn (1998a:126) posits that "in justification an absence is sealed and instrumentally 'correct' by the man's intervention as violence." Justification is not as common as excuses. Figure #4 below depicts this point concisely.
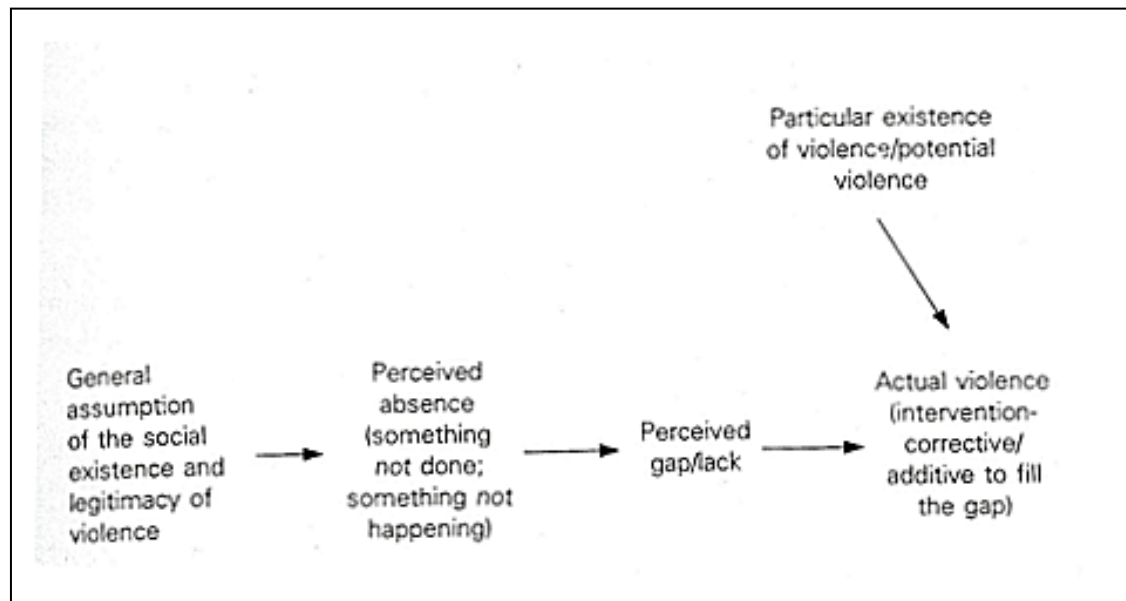
Figure 4

Interpersonal justification-based Account of Violence

Source: Hearn (1998a:127)

The men in my study group demonstrated distinct descriptions of two violent incidents, sometimes in the form of a detailed description or that of a cursory description. It seemed that the selected detailed accounts were not as popular since it required some degree of acknowledgement and confrontation of the wrongness of the violent act in question. Likewise, there was little acceptance of responsibility and the men constantly alluded to being victims at the hands of their wives. Evident also was the need to find fault in their wives actions and communications with them. Their descriptions further illustrate their wives as being typically irrational and hysterical.

One respondent thus describes:

> *I was under the influence. She was busy nagging me....she was behind the door at that time and I pushed the door against her and her whole toenail was out. I was drunk at that time so my daughter had to take her to Mahatma Gandhi Hospital.*

A popular strategy often employed by many of the respondents was to speak to what

occurred prior to the incident, hence affording them more distancing and also justifying their violent actions.

Here the respondent casually and convincing noted how he maintains coercive control:

> *She came with the interdict and she said I want you to hit me and I will*
> *put you behind bars. She swore at me and said take your things and go*
> *out of my house, then I slapped her because she was insulting me.*

As already discussed, the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998,[19] and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (See, Juta's Statutes Editors 2011), affords women access to the right of protection from violence. The spouse of this respondent was clearly asserting her right to be protected by sounding a warning to her partner that should he assault her, the interdict which offered her protection would be the means of imprisoning him. Instead of seeing this as her ability at reclaiming power, the respondent interprets it as an insult on his power and therefore he reacts violently.

What is also evident in many of the narrations is that the violence is portrayed as distant and impersonal. As a result, many of the respondents refer to themselves in the third person. One respondent captures this well:

> *That's when a man gets disheartened. He encounters problems*
> *because that is what a woman wants.*

Interestingly, one respondent suggested the possibility of the television in influencing women in asserting their rights. He mediates the influential link between TV 'soapies' and lived experience:

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[19] See Appendix #6: Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998.

We live in modern times when the TV came all this started and that is a fact. The soapies in certain houses are spoiling the women; it is telling them to do things…

The quotation cited below illuminates the link of justification of violence and the immediate consequence, i.e., the interdict, a right of women which perhaps remains one of the most progressive resources for abused women in South Africa. Edin et al. (2008:234) therefore assert that "a threat is experienced in proportion to the amount of fear and is, accordingly a trigger for aggression and violence". Whether viewed as a swift deterrent for the cessation of violence or as a measure of control over violent men, this powerful piece of State legislation does communicate some degree of safety:

When a man can't take it, he would hit her and an interdict would come immediately.

Clearly, the above statements by the respondents indicate the degree to which they feel justified in their "patriarchal privilege" to maintain dominance over their wives. Patriarchy affords them this justification and hence they constantly deflect responsibility for their violent actions on to women, because their actions are justified by the unwritten rules of patriarchy, i.e., the privileges that are accorded to them simply because they are men. Edin et al. (2008:232) note that men "consider themselves innocent and often blame someone else". Included in the narrative here is the oppressive text of hegemonic masculinity. Of particular note is the way they frame their violence according to the challenges present in their own lives. Little reference (if any) is made to the challenges of their spouses or of the injuries inflicted on them as a consequence of the violence. One of the significant aspects of masculinity which was evident in my study was the links between heterosexism and male violence.

4.6. Heteropatriarchal Benefits

The context of heteropatriarchal benefits is pivotal to the understanding of the social context of masculinities. Hence, while heteropatriarchal concepts may not always be explicit in their reports of violence, they nevertheless become increasingly implied or noticeable within the subtext. Sometimes it is deeply embedded, hidden or merely forgotten. Below are some relevant statements that capture and give expression of the heteropatriarchal context. Connell's phrase concerning "patriarchal dividend" is also consistent in their descriptions. Heteropatriarchy is characterised by the notion that not only are men superior to women but to "other men". This is demonstrated in three definitive ways:

i. By the respondents accounts of violence against other men;

ii. The description of the violence in their family of origin particularly from their father;

iii. Through great disdain shown towards men of homosexual orientation.

With regard to violence against other men, two respondents stated the following:

> *When I was about thirteen or fourteen, I fought with a coloured guy.*[20]
> *He started the fight; I had no choice but to fight back, that was my first incident.*

> *In my childhood I also was involved in a fight with a coloured guy who thought that he was very tough.*

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[20] A South African term referencing a person of mixed racial heritage.

I have fought with quite a few men. My father used to make burglar guards and so I saw a guy taking three soldering wires which he was not supposed to take. I was sitting against the wall and he came and gave me a slap. I took a knife and stuck it in his knee; I think he will remember it for the rest of his life.

The above respondent justifies his violence and is aligned with typical hetero-patriarchal machismo discursive patterns. David Bruce (2010:397) addresses the circumstances that give rise to such situations. He notes that it appears that many conflicts are related to "mundane disputes". He adds that cognitive patterns, feelings of humiliation or threatened self-esteem are factors that necessitate a violent reaction as the respondent reveals. He notes further, that some men are "highly selective about those whom they want to aggress" (2010:397). Usually, they do so with those who are weaker or less capable of inflicting harm on them:

I was involved in with other three friends. We were playing football and these guys didn't have a ball so we allowed them to play with us. After the match they were stealing our ball. So I and my three friends, we threw stones at them…they were badly injured.

Another respondent narrates his encounter and subsequently justifies the lack of nonviolent alternatives in conflict resolution:

I used to get involved in fights when I was very young and with my friends.

When someone wants to hurt you, you can't walk away from that…you have to fight back.

This interpretation of 'men on men' violence almost infers maintaining respect, yet the exact maintenance of such respect has many ramifications. Barry (2003:62) mentions that the "dehumanization and humiliation of the perpetrator only serves to maintain the rising number of violent men". Anderson and Umberson (2001:372) also

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support my findings that men volunteered stories about their "prowess in fights with other men". The study by Abrahams et al. (1999:11) confirms that men who are involved with fights in the neighbourhood were twice as likely to have abused women. Again, this coheres with reports of relationships connecting the physical abuse of women and the utilizing of violence in conflict resolution.

The second characteristic of heteropatriarchy as noted above refers to respondents experiencing violence in their family of origin, particularly with their fathers. Four respondents in my study cited being physically and verbally abused by their respective fathers, demonstrating the intergenerational transmission of violence. Abrahams et al. (1999:12) study also corresponds and correlates with my finding, whereby they observe that men related "severe discipline in their childhood in which their fathers had a central role".

Three respondents noted violent relationships between siblings, while one respondent reported on a violent and volatile relationship he shared with one of his siblings. The sibling violence was predominantly physical in nature. This suggests that violence is often normalized within childhood and later becomes a tool and strategy for resolving conflict. To a large extent, this validates how violence can be learned and not abandoned in adulthood, which social learning theory attests to. However, what is learned can be unlearned if mutually beneficial for both men and women, so as to foster healthier, respectful relationships. Moreover, maintaining such dysfunctionality costs these men more if they do not correctly engage and interrogate the repetitive nature of such futile behaviour. This cyclical nature of violence needs to be immediately arrested because if it is not systematically dismantled it will continue to support the *status quo* of obsolete and outmoded, repetitious violent behaviour through the generations.

My study supports the assertion of Steve Biddulph that the pattern of violence is very predictable in boy's lives. Hence he states unequivocally:

> It is known that men who hit their wives habitually are easily diagnosable by mid-primary school" (2002:127).

For example, three respondents referred to being involved with the criminal justice system during their childhood for offences pertaining to selling/possession of dagga [Cannabis] and the assault of a neighbour. Five of the respondents noted some degree of involvement with the police at some point during their childhood, with no particular charge being brought against them.

Interestingly, the following was observed by one respondent in his present violent relationship with his wife, which was witnessed by his stepson:

> *I assaulted her in front of her children. I told her children "I am the one who married your mother; you people did not marry her. I did, so her problem is ours".*

> *My stepson came and hit me and his mother came and pushed him away. For hitting me I took a brick and klapped[21] him with it. Today he does not come between our problems. He just stays in his room or listens to music.*

From the above statement, the respondent positions himself as being blameless. He is unrepentant, blatantly oblivious that the child's violent intervention "was a logical step in assisting his mother." Hence the repetitive intergenerational cycle continues unchallenged.

When questioned whether his stepson charged him for the incident, he responded:

> *I told him if you go to the police you sleep with your mother. It was not your problem.*

Hearn (1998a:78) agrees that these are "confessions with remorse, which can easily slip into repudiation". From these responses, it becomes imperative to note that the interconnection of responsibility, blame and repudiation becomes normalized within the family where the violence occurs. Often, the violence is attributed to being

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[21] This is a colloquial Afrikaans phrase often used to indicate being physically slapped.

problematic purely when challenged by the person who is inflicted by the act and not by the person performing the act of violence. This respondent also does not hesitate to blame the stepson for his violent response, again reasserting the normalization of their violent choices. It thus seems that in order to correct the dissatisfaction in his marriage, at least in his mind, his violent choice is logical.

Dawes et al. (2006:229) observe that violence is particularly likely when men have a "history of violence in their own families of origin". Rachel Jewkes (2006) also notes that studies show that "boys who are emotionally traumatized, abandoned and abused are more likely to rape as adults". She continues that there is the assumption that we need not worry about boys:

> Because they are not going to be raped or abused, and they often aren't expected to do any household chores, so they are allowed to run around in the community all day. After school, they aren't given a lot of attention because people don't think harm will come to them (2006).

According to Jewkes:

> If they are left in the care of relatives, very often very little attention is paid to their emotional needs, making them under-prepared for a stable and quality marriage and family relations because they have never experienced such relationships first-hand (2006:2).

Abrahams et al. (1999) also found that men who had witnessed the abuse of the females (mother and sisters) in their family of origin demonstrated a higher likelihood to use violence within their own marital relationship. Likewise, Daljit Singh's (2003) study also stressed that women in violent relationships were of the opinion that their spouses witnessed violence in the family of origin. Similarly, Liz Walker's study is also consistent with this view, with her respondents graphically "claiming the presence of childhood violence which left deep scars" (2005:232). Accordingly, the essence of fatherhood is seen as an integral element in constructing of masculinity" (Richter and Morrell 2006:23).

In my study, five respondents reported witnessing violence among their parents, while two did not. The following statement validates one respondent's childhood experience as justifying his current violent behaviour:

> *I think it is a childhood thing, once you start; you do the same thing when you are an adult.*

This intimate, discernable link seems a sure predictor, which is incubated and cultivated during childhood. If a parental home continues to offer a site for children witnessing violence as a pronounced means of conflict resolution, then the perpetuation of the cycle of violence will continue to feed into the constellation of causes.

South African studies conducted in 2004-2005 by Abraham et al. validate this conclusion and are consistent with my own studied sample. In addition, the 2008 South African study of 834 domestic violent males by Gupta et al. further elucidate and echo this point. Gupta et al. also noted a high prevalence of men who witnessed or experienced physical abuses during their childhood were at a greatest risk to continue such into their adult lives. Similar studies conducted in South Asia, and the United States of America also found that exposure to parental violence was a significant predictor of physical violence in adulthood. The study by Walker et al. (2010) eloquently demonstrated that 76% of men reported seeing abusive behaviour, detailing yelling or name calling, breaking or smashing things, or hitting by adults in their household at least annually.

The third characteristic of heteropatriarchy as noted above was the disdain expressed by many men in the study of other men of homosexual orientation. This is captured by the oft-repeated statement by respondents when referring to gay men: "*It is just not right*".

The South African all-encompassing and liberal Constitution and the progressive Bill of Rights expects us to embrace diversity and simultaneously vexes and annoys dominant and traditional mentalities over gender order and identity. Being the first

country in Africa to constitute gay and lesbian rights as integral to a Bill of Rights while other African States chose not to, signalled progressive thought. The Equality Clause enshrined in the Bill of Rights ensures that no person can be unfairly discriminated against (directly or indirectly) by anyone on grounds of gender, sex, race etc. Liz Walker (2005:225) is of the "opinion that the inherent gender/power relations embodied in the Constitution have exacerbated a crisis of masculinity". She continues that while "constitutional sexuality" seems to have shut some doors for men by shrinking the "patriarchal dividend" (at the legislative level) it has simultaneously opened up spaces and created opportunities for men to construct new masculinities." Connell also notes that men gain a dividend from "patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command" (1995:82). Women have substantially gained by the dictates of democracy and pertinent legislative reform; nonetheless they continue to occupy vulnerable and subordinate socio-economical and cultural positions since 1994. The identities of both women and men were called for close scrutiny and renegotiation to lend credibility to the much-lauded Constitution of the newly created democratic State. The matrix of gender order, implicitly advocates interrogation of the merits and demerits of privilege and hegemony. South Africa's colonial and oligarchic history of domination, discrimination and violation is a constant reminder of democratic positions with regards to gender. However, articulating this transition has been sluggish in the extreme and slow to materialize particularly for those who are vulnerable. Walker again notes the "irony that the liberalization of sexuality appears to have been accompanied by an increase in gender violence" (2005:227). The alarming child and infant rape statistics attest to this. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) have also recognized the link in South Africa between violence, male sexual entitlement and oppression of women.

Many of the respondents in my study display hetero-normativity on what a real man is supposed to be, which is dictated to by their cultures and religions. Our positioning in a social context intersects with systems of power (e.g., race, class, gender and sexual orientation) and oppression (e.g., prejudice, gender inequality, homophobia, financial disenfranchisement). These are not simplistic notions of how culture shapes, informs and sustains gender identity. It is thus vital that prescriptions of culture should not be

conflated with patriarchy. Rhea Almeida and Ken Dolan-Delvecchio offer an explanation on the distinction:

> …that wife battering is not culture; dowries; wife burning, and female infanticide are not culture; the forced use of *purdah* or veiling for women are not culture; foot-binding and the practice of concubines among the Chinese are not culture. These are traditional patriarchal customs that men have practiced, and women have accepted, for generations (1999-667).

The inextricable link in the South Africa context of colonialism, race, ethnicity, religious affiliation and economic exploitation also informs our understanding of how patriarchy operates within multiple cultures. The South African Indian men from my study clearly frame their responses according to their understanding of occupied gender roles within their culture; a culture which encourages a fair degree of tradition and subservience, combined with an overarching conservative ethos. This conservative ethos is often demonstrated in homophobic rhetoric.

Steve Biddulph warns that:

> Non-acceptance of gays exacts a severe price on every straight young man. It could lead to self-censoring of any kind of warmth, creativity, affection or emotionality among the entire male gender (2002:156-157).

This homophobic rhetoric fosters and inculcates a spurious space for men.

Raewyn Connell also states that "gay men are excluded from the authority and respect attached to men who embody hegemonic forms of masculinity" (2002:142). Feminists engage purposefully in this controversial and moot area of homosexuality. Pivotal to its philosophy is the requirement to address the awkward, unpopular and vexing stance of homophobic masculinity that keeps men trapped in a vacillating mode about their identities.

While Greig et al. (2000:7) caution that "we must be aware that patriarchy becomes a less useful concept when applied to questions of intra-gender equity and equality", I

agree when they argue that notwithstanding these dividends, "most men remain disempowered in relation to the elites (both men and women)" (2000:7). Greig et al. further maintain that:

> It is this experience of disempowerment that potentially connects some men and women across the patriarchal divide, and offers the possibility of linking a gender political system that challenges patriarchy with a wider politics of social transformation (2000:7).

The popular hetero-normative mentality that prevailed among the respondents in my study was one of collective disdain against those men of homosexual orientation. Furthermore, the respondents consistently displayed discomfort during the discussion on a possible splintered identity. They were vehemently opposed to viewing gay men as men and thereby reiterated the interplay of a hierarchy of straight men against homosexual men who clearly were relegated to a lower social order on the heterosexual ladder:

> *They are men, so they need to behave like real men.*

> *I think that if they come to me, I will tell them I am not that way, as long as they are respectful.*

Despite South Africa recently witnessing increased visibility of multiple sexual identities in the media, for example in the case of Mokgadi Caster Semenya, the South African middle distance runner and world champion, there is still a reluctance to engage with stereotypical dominant views. Such refusal serves to underscore the complexity of the inherent tension when contemplating diverse sexual identity. As is captured by the statement of one of the respondents:

> *They can't be like that.*

Harriet Bradley confirms that:

> Feminist thoughts on heterosexuality being prevalent in society because it is socially constructed and learned as a norm of sexual behaviour. The narrowness of their interpretation means a costly investment into maintaining hegemonic masculinity which has little returns when considering aggression and violent choices that men make (2005:96).

Raewyn Connell further reminds us that:

> Homophobia is not just an attitude. Straight men's hostility involves drawing boundaries, rejecting and oppressing as its larger enterprise of maintaining authoritarian social order (1995:40).

Scholars such as Andrienne Rich (1980) and Connell (1987) have contributed extensively to the debate on sexualities being socially constructed. Masculine men are socialized to view the differentiation of sexuality with some degree of suspicion and scorn, as evidenced by some responses:

> *It doesn't make sense for men to even hold hands and walk on the street.*

The marked overtone of this response seemingly demonstrates how these men experience their gender by marginalizing homosexuality and normalizing heterosexuality. These responses are filtered through cultural lenses coupled with male scripts.

Susan Rakoczy thus reminds us that:

> Cultural norms and values are very important in our lives, but they are not absolute. Cultures are not static, but undergo change over both short and long periods of time (2000:17).

Likewise, Sternberg describes maleness as "a heady mixture of paternalism, aggression, systematic subordination of women…coupled with a rejection of homosexuality" (2001:61).

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As the respondents in my study were to remark:

I am not into those things.

Honestly, I think that it is a curse.

Kopano Ratele offers a plausible alternative to the above intolerance, when he writes:

> When society is looked at through the view of men as transgendered, bisexual, straight, or HIV-Positive subjects, in addition to being poor/rich, African/American, it is enabled to understand that masculinities change with circumstance, history and culture, that in fact one can only talk about several masculinities within a society. Politicising masculinities offers society to see that at any point in time there is no single idea of how to be a man. Knowing that there are dominant masculinities, and alternative and subordinate ones, a challenge can then be mounted (2005:4).

Again, in South Africa we need to be cognisant of identity formation, and not generalise or paint everyone with the same brush. To do so, would be to trivialise the human dimensions of those who not only have to daily negotiate their social positions, but who also face the constant challenge of other factors inclusive of race, class and culture.

Ratele further emphasizes the multiplicities of masculinities:

> We must acknowledge that in the hierarchical gender order that society will always be populated by financially secure older heterosexuals who occupy and position themselves differently from a financially challenged younger, bisexual man, and a violent heterosexual white urbanite in direct contrast to a pacifist bisexual Muslim villager (2005:4).

By so-doing, we extend our understanding of the many facets of masculinities that exist within a highly-gendered political society.

According to Robert Morrell (2002:12) South African men's responses to gender transition can be ordered into three categories:

i.   Those protecting privilege;

ii.   Those responding to a crisis; and

iii. Those fighting for gender justice.

The narratives locate the respondents mostly in the first category with some relevance to the second. Gender justice is relegated marginally and only if men are the recipients and beneficiaries. Pervasive gender ordering is evident in the statement below, typifying again the subordination of women's role in a normative male entitled space:

> *I can't say that, God made a man for a woman and a woman for a*
> *man; he didn't make a man for a man. A woman has her virginity for a*
> *man; what does a man have? It is a wrong thing.*

The respondents below note their collective disapproval. Deborah Posel captures this well when she asserts that:

> [The] new visibility of sexuality coexists with the combination of angry outburst and stern objections on one hand, and resistant silent, denials and refusals, on the other (2003:12).

From among the responses within my study, the following are of particular relevance:

> *It is not nice at all.*

> *They are made that way.*

Despite the progressive constitutional rights that homosexuals enjoy, their translation into concrete reality is both slow and seemingly contradictory. These dominant scripts infer to a large extent 'fear of the other'. Social, racial, structural and cultural

contexts imply fluidity in gender identity formation as communicated by one respondent who narrates from a particular zone of discomfort;

> *When you see two women holding hands you don't think anything while if you see two men holding hands then you frown at it…it is wrong.*

> *Sometimes you see a man who is dressed like a woman….I just look the other side.*

The intolerance noted by this respondent, who is domiciled in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, cites another South African city and province (Johannesburg, Gauteng) as being more liberal. Typically, such intolerance has the potential to lead to homophobic attacks in South Africa. Reid and Dirsuweit concur that:

> Sexual assault and rape are progressively increasing and a marked visibility of homosexuality is attributed as a possible factor. A more public homosexual landscape has been enabled through the post-apartheid constitution which subverts the heterosexual landscape of Johannesburg. Gay men and lesbians are victimized in response to this subversion (2002:121).

This was confirmed by one of the respondents:

> *I read that they have a special place for them in Johannesburg where they meet. We hear about it all the time….It is terrible.*

The respondent below cogently registers the redundancy of women should gay sexual orientations be widely accepted:

> *I don't think that it should be legalized. Why would we have women in the world?*

> *Some of the lesbians are so beautiful but they don't want me…*

Ironically, this respondent tables his anxiety and alarm about a positive role model:

What example are they setting for our children?

All the respondents animatedly and emphatically made disparaging and denigrating comments about lesbians in particular. Not only did they communicate their gender bias and unequivocal condemnation, but they inferred that lesbians prevented them as men from benefitting on the sexuality dividend of patriarchy. Beyond this, they also suggested that they "*lose out*" as not being beneficiaries as a gender.

Little or no engagement was demonstrated of the infringement of these women's rights which in South Africa is clearly afforded. Within the respondents understanding, lesbians were viewed negatively and their status was relegated to a lower social order:

Lesbians just want women for themselves.

The lesbians also behave badly.

The respondents' disapproval and discomfort is further exacerbated by the religious sanctioning of such as a relationship which succinctly captures his normative beliefs on the role of the clergy. Perhaps here, the respondents views of sexuality and religion as mutually exclusive:

I see these gay couples and the priests are even marrying them too…

This respondent reflected his ambivalence and ambiguity which was also evident in many of the other responses. In the location of hierarchy is the inference that his opinion conceals itself as a concern. Again, the hyper-masculinised text is evident:

I don't think that they should dress like that because if you are a man how can you dress like a woman?

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The respondent's 'hetero-normative' view below notes a clear deviation from the norm of male attire as being unacceptable and contemptuous:

> *Even if you look at them you just think look at this man dressed like a*
> *woman.*

> *God created you as a man so you must be a man.*

As Ratele sardonically notes, "some men present a particular version of being a man, which is equated with being straight and imbued with God-given social power" (2005:3), as signalled by the respondents comment above. For him, the assumption is that "only prayer can help bring society back under control" (2005:3).

In sharing her thoughts on gender typology, to which the respondent above subscribes, Rakoczy notes:

> Societal norms for boys and men dictate that they are to be leaders, authority figures, independent, strong and aggressive, sexually assertive and successful, ambitious and competitive while girls and women are to be followers, obedient, dependent, weak and passive, chaste, gentle, nice and kind (2000:17).

Here again there is no possibility of crossing the gender-role divide, let alone any crossing of the gender-dress divide.

The following statement illustrates the hetero-normativity and rigidity that the respondent subscribes to evidenced by the supposed gender dilemma. In addition to many of the comments, were pronounced definitions of masculinity and femininity:

> *Do you watch Oprah?*

> *There is a man who has three children. He was a doctor and he*
> *became a woman. So what do his children call him now because he*
> *was their daddy…and now..?*

Here, the deviation from popular mentality resigns the respondent to dispensing it as hideous:

These sex changes are just wrong!

The respondents in engaging with the case study from Oprah Winfrey (a recently discontinued U.S. syndicated TV talk show) introduced by a fellow respondent, shifts blame squarely to the female and has little patience for the diverse expression of sexuality:

I think that if a woman that he loved left him, maybe that is the reason he becomes gay.

Maybe he watched a blue movie. I don't know what came into his mind or some evil came to him and he decided to test it out.

Homosexuality is evil.

There was collective disdain expressed by the respondents not only towards the homosexual orientation but also to transgendered identities. In fact, I would venture to mention that they did not understand the difference between the two. Further, what was common among all the respondents was their citing of religious reasons for their non-acceptance of homosexuality. The Muslim respondent for example, mentioned the following at various points of the focus group discussion:

My religion doesn't accept all this, it is very clear.

We never exercise this here and in Gods mind, my holy book is the Qur'an

Even if you read a Bible and the Qur'an there isn't a chapter where it says that men should be gay and women lesbians there is nothing in

those books that says that a man should deal with those evil things.
You can't get used to all this.

In our religion, we don't accept it but sometimes it is their choice not
ours.

The Christian respondents expressed similar sentiments:

My religion says that a man should be with a woman. If you read the
Ten Commandments, you will understand.

In the Church of Worship too they state men with other men is wrong.

In summarizing this section, I have argued that heteropatriarchy as a "patriarchal dividend" possesses direct links to male violence. The three areas in which this was evident were:

i.   Men-on-men violence;

ii.   Violence of fathers in the home;

iii.   An overwhelming disdain for homosexuality;

To reiterate this link, Barry powerfully concludes that "the way males treat males has a lot to do with the way males treat females" (2003:59).

Although the key objective of this dissertation is to assess the links of religion and domestic violence, one of the contributing factors that featured most prominently in the focus group discussions was substance use and abuse. All seven respondents belong to religious denominations and groupings which forbid the use of alcohol and substance use. While alcohol is not expressly forbidden in certain mainline Christian denominations (e.g., Anglican and Roman Catholic) it is anathema in the Pentecostal and Charismatic tradition to which the majority of the respondents belong. It is also

forbidden within Methodism and Islam. Hence, it is imperative to examine the links the respondents make between substance abuse and their violent actions. I argue that while women also use and abuse certain illegal substances, substance abuse within the South African Indian community is presumed to be a "patriarchal privilege", as evidenced by the table below.

4.7. Substance Use and Abuse

The table below captures the frequency and participation of the respondents and their wives in the drinking of alcohol and the use of illegal substances:

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Drink alcohol	2	4	1
Smoke cigarettes	5	1	1
Smoke Dagga	2	2	3
Use Mandrax		1	6
Inject drugs into the body			7

Table 6

Respondent's Use of Substances

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Drink alcohol		1	6
Smoke cigarettes	2	2	3
Smoke Dagga[22]			7
Use Mandrax[23]			7
Inject drugs into the body			7

Table 7

Wife's Engagement with Substances

From table #7 above, it is clear that the majority of women do not consume alcohol or illegal substances, hence the consumption of alcohol and illegal substances remain the particular privilege of men.

Two respondents reported that they would consume alcohol often while four reported that they would sometimes consume alcohol as compared to one respondent who noted that his wife consumed alcohol. Consumption of alcohol within this sample therefore demonstrated a distinct gendering. As noted by one respondent:

Dinking with my friends and coming home late.

This is one of the issues that initiate violence in his home. Alcohol consumption is a strong feature of their masculinity and also constitutes a ritual recreational male peer group activity.

The drinking culture of one of the respondents with his friends is viewed as integral to his overall socialization:

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[22] South African slang for Cannabis.
[23] South African slang for Methaqualome.

I remember when my friend came to visit me and she knows he drinks.
So she says that I drink all the time. She swears you in front of your
friend, you are so embarrassed. So you have to give her a slap.

Again, the gendered right to be punitive to his wife purely because she reprimanded him in front of his friend was humiliating to him. Seemingly, his wife's prior knowledge of his friend's alcohol consumption should have informed her reaction towards him differently. Moreover, the socio-cultural context of alcohol consumption can be seen to foster harmful conflict resolution and thereby exacerbates the already existent tumultuous relationship between the couple. Here, the respondent also communicates his lesser accountability because he was under the influence of alcohol and almost shifts blame to his wife. His masculinity was clearly under pressure since his wife attempted to usurp his power in front of his friend. However, it is not the consumption of these substances, but the abuse of them, which researchers demonstrate has a direct link to men's behaviour.

Sarah Mosoetsa stresses that in South Africa:

> Alcohol and drug abuse and the feelings of powerlessness and shame
> can produce and contribute to the escalating incidence of domestic
> violence in most households (2011:72).

The comments below explore the interplay between the awareness of being a man especially when it seems under threat (e.g., when his wife swears him), and when affirmed with bonding activities such as drinking alcohol and fishing. Here there is a pronounced sense of logical masculine behaviour of assault.

The acceptance that their identity as men is informed by culture, class etc. demonstrates an understanding of multiple marginalizations:

You know like when you are drinking we calm down. When you keep
quiet people take advantage of you like they start swearing.

*I don't think you can forget, after you have a drink it comes back. You
never forget.*

*If I had a small drink she would nag me…She would take my stuff and
throw it away….she locked me up then.*

*When we have dagga and alcohol…the priest…he prays for
us…sometimes it works…it takes time for your mind to say that alcohol
is not good.*

The respondent below categorically states his intention to quit when he chooses to do
so, suggesting that he would not be coerced by his wife, again, asserting hegemonic
masculinity:

*You see I drink and smoke dagga [Cannabis]….When I want to quit I
will quit on my own.*

The respondent below notes the inherent health benefit to justify his alcohol
consumption and smoking of dagga [Cannabis]:

*Alcohol is not bad for the body; it is good; it makes the heart stay
strong.*

*When I was eleven years old I started smoking dagga [Cannabis]….I
have been smoking it for decades….I am now fifty years old.*

*Dagga [Cannabis] is the tree of knowledge…when you smoke, it makes
you cool.*

*Alcohol makes you aggressive not dagga [Cannabis], it keeps you
calm.*

The government should legalize dagga [Cannabis].

They say you are not supposed to take any drugs. I started smoking
dagga [Cannabis] in Standard Six [present High School Grade Eight]
and gave it up for ten years…then I picked it up again.

My wife says I should not smoke dagga [Cannabis] in the yard.

Often my children will go and tell her that I had a drink.

South African studies by Abrahams et al. (1999), Singh (2003), and Padayachee and Singh (2003) have reported that the majority of abused women were assaulted by an intoxicated partner.[24]

There is yet another factor or symbolic meaning, which alcohol consumption may communicate at a cultural level:

> Excessive drinking may be regarded as acceptable and indeed
> appropriate masculine behaviour, which assists in the man asserting his
> power and control in the marital relationship. (Dawes et al. 2006:231).

While alcohol abuse cannot be categorically viewed as being a direct cause of violence, it nevertheless can be "seen as an amplifier of an existing conflicting marital situation" (Padayachee and Singh 2003:109).

In this latter regard, a vast majority (six) of the respondents smoked cigarettes. The role of male peer culture has perhaps to some extent promoted smoking not only for recreational purposes, but also in establishing a link with their expression of masculinity (e.g., the Marlboro Man). In this study, the respondents noted that only two of their wives smoked cigarettes.[25]

In addition, there is evidence of the relationship between men's substance abuse and their gender identity in the area of economic and societal inequalities. While

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[24] The Padayachee and Singh (2003) and Abrahams et al. (1999) studies noted in particular that more than 60% of abused women reported that their husbands were intoxicated when they were assaulted.
[25] Globally, tobacco use has increased among women in recent years. The reasons thereof are beyond the scope and purpose of this present study.

masculine identity is specifically constructed and developed to maintain powerful images, it should be noted that it is an intricate and complex relationship. Indeed, it is tacitly accepted that not all substance abusers are male. Moreover, their counterpart's use of illegal substances may differ, e.g., female use/abuse of prescription drugs such tranquillizers. The socio-economic and cultural context is influential when men and women choose substance abuse. The prevailing dominant masculine dictate of taking risks is pivotal to the understanding of substance abuse.

Robert Morrell contends that in the South African context:

> Men have often not responded well to the stressful and challenging economic situation, and notes that alcohol and women have all too often been their refuge, with relationships with family, spouses and children being duly neglected (2005:85).

In summary, the excuses entail accepting blame but not responsibility. Responsibility according to the above comments is firmly placed elsewhere, namely the consumption of alcohol being the "trigger". This is well-illustrated by Hearn in Figure #5 below.
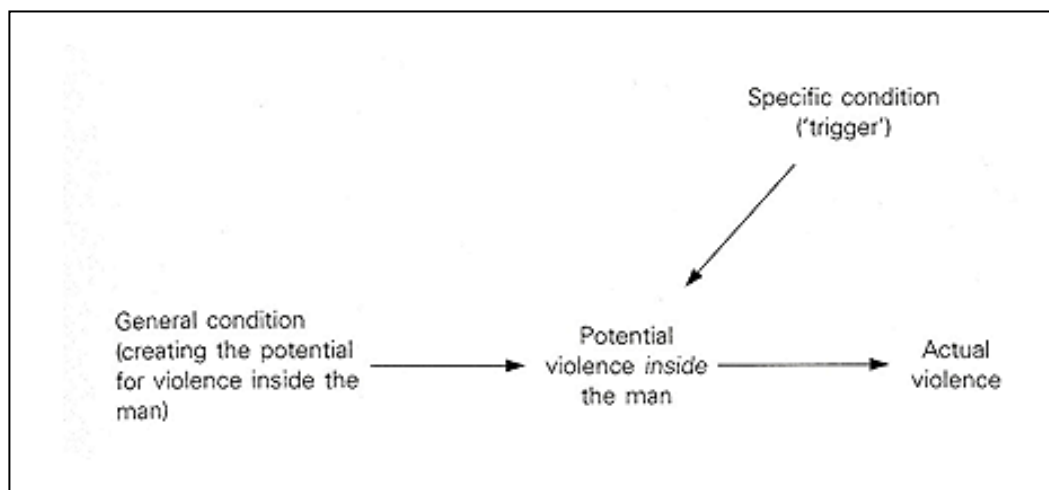
Figure 5
Internal/Excuse-based Account of Violence
Source: Hearn (1998a:123)

5. Chapter Summary

To conclude this chapter on the "privileges of patriarchy", I would argue that what my research with this group of men has shown is that the privileges which men obtain by virtue of being born biologically male are certainly contributing factors to the violence that they inflict on their marital partners. This can be summed up in five points: First, with regard to the privilege of being the "head" of the home, it was clear that the men in this study understood this to mean being "the boss". Second, they felt that respect was not only something that was their privilege, but was something that did not need to be earned; instead, it simply meant that it was intended "to be that way." This was reflected most clearly in one respondent's statement:

> *I need to be respected by my wife at all times, whether I am intoxicated, sober or if I am unemployed.*

Third, while economic power is often meant to translate into masculine power, the fact that these men had very little economic power also seemed to contribute to their violent disposition. It would be safe to mention that many felt emasculated by their lack of economic power—which again is socially and culturally constructed to be the sole privilege of men. Fourth, blame and justification also seemed to be a privilege that men enjoy—the *"she made me do it"* principle came up in many of the group discussions. Fifth, there seemed to be a strong link between the heteropatriarchal privileges which men enjoy and the violence which they inflict on "others"—whether these others are "weaker" men or women. An understanding of domination and oppression "intersectionally" is thus of particular importance (*cf.* Collins 2008).

Finally, while women also abuse alcohol and illegal substances (as well as prescription drugs), the men in the focus groups seem to view this as their privilege. Moreover, none viewed themselves as alcoholics and all of them seemed to use alcohol or drugs in the same way which Hearn describes in his justification model. Common to all of these "privileges of patriarchy" was the perception that their patriarchal privileges were all undergirded by their religious and socio-cultural

beliefs. This important correlation will be discussed in greater depth in the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS II:

RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND MALE PRIVILEGE

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter the privileges afforded to men by patriarchy were discussed through close reference to the focus group discussions of the men in my sample. As indicated there, religion and culture were variables that were evident in all the focus group discussions. In this chapter, I will turn my attention to the ways in which some of these privileges may be sustained and fortified by religious beliefs and sacred texts. The two privileges that emerged predominantly and consistently during the focus group discussions were male headship and respect. I will pay particular attention to each of these privileges and their corresponding validation within sacred religious texts and religious traditions. My decision to engage with the sacred texts with all respondents demonstrated a deep respect and commitment on their part, thereby indicating their determination to live according to the Scriptural injunctions of their particular faith group. This is supported by some of their statements as indicated below:

> *A man should follow his Ten Commandments.*

> *And you have to carry a Bible, to show respect.*[1]

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[1] The belief in the sanctity and divine origination of sacred Scripture is attested by Scripture itself as is indicated by two often-cited biblical texts: 2 Tim. 3:16 "All Scripture is God-breathed and is useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting and training in righteousness, so that the man of God may be thoroughly equipped for every good deed" [*New International Version*]; 2 Pet. 2:20-21 "Above all, you must understand that no prophecy of Scripture came about by the prophet's own interpretation. For prophecy never had its origin in the will of man, but men spoke from God as they were carried along by the Holy Spirit" [*New International Version*].

The above view is supported by the survey conducted by the US-based, Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life[2] which indicated that about 60% of Christians in South Africa and 62% of Muslims in sub-Saharan Africa believe that the Bible and the Qur'an "ought to be the law of the land" (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2010:11). Given the role of religion, I will conclude this chapter by questioning whether the Christian or Muslim religion can be a resource that provides hope in the struggle against domestic violence or whether its teachings and practice render it more of a hindrance.

As has been constantly reiterated throughout this research study, domestic violence can only be understood through positing a complex 'web of associated factors'. Each factor is inextricable linked to the other. My analysis in this chapter is therefore based both on what the men said directly, as well as what I inferred to be the connection between what they said and how this possibly found resonance in their sacred texts or religious tradition. It is imperative to state again that this analysis is based on a Sociology of Religion approach rather than a theological or doctrinal schema. As a qualified social worker and academic within the field of social work, this is where my field of expertise lies. Nevertheless, I maintain that my perspective as both a practitioner and academic adds an important dimension to this discourse.

As mentioned earlier, six out of the seven respondents are Christian and one is Muslim. Although it may seem somewhat unusual that a predominantly South African Indian sample yielded a religion affiliation that was largely Christian, this is not out of line with the religious statistics of South Africa. As Harper (2002:24.) notes, "Christianity is practiced by the majority of people in South Africa" and my non-purposive sample which did not explicitly seek out particular religious affiliated respondents affirms Harper's observation.

Each respondent of the study declared their religious affiliation in the questionnaire used to determine their socio-demographic details. The affiliations were adapted from the Human Sciences Research Council's, South African Social Attitudes Survey.

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[2] See their comprehensive website: <http://pewforum.org/> [Accessed 29 December 2011].

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey documents not only categorises religions, but also categorises religious denominations. Within my study, all seven respondents reported that both they and their wives were affiliated to organized religion. Some respondents declared their commitment to regular church attendance, e.g., four citing their attendance more than once a week. Of the remaining three respondents, one cynically verified that he only attended once a year. The other respondent almost contritely and regretfully mentioned that when forced by his wife he will attend church twice a year. The final respondent who is a devout Muslim attends mosque for prayer five times a day.

The table below illustrates the affiliation by denomination of the respondent and their wives:

Religious Affiliation	Respondent	Wife
Full Gospel Church of God	5	5
Methodist	1	1
Islam/Muslim	1	1

Table 8
Religious Affiliation

In order to establish attendance, the following religious observance was reported by respondents. Besides special occasions, such as weddings, funerals etc., the frequency of attendance at religious service of worship are demonstrated in the following table:

Frequency	Respondent	Wife
Once a week or more	4	4
Once in two weeks		1
Once a month		1
At least twice a year	1	1
At least once a year	1	
Five times a day	1 (Muslim)	

Table 9

Frequency of Attendance

It is evident from Table #9 above that the majority of the respondents attend services regularly if not, periodically. What is significant, even though it was a non-purposive sampling, is that six out of the seven South African Indian men in my study were Christian and five out of the seven men belonged to a Pentecostal denomination known as the Full Gospel Church of God in Southern Africa[3], referred to by the men as the Full Gospel Church (FGC), a popular convention maintained by many others both inside and outside of the denomination.[4]

A crucial empirical research held by Isabel Apawo Phiri (2001) in the community of Phoenix and with South African Indian couples within the FGC in Phoenix, has obvious and particular resonance with my own study, and will therefore be constantly referred to in this chapter. While Phiri's study was undertaken from a theological perspective, and mine is from a sociological perspective, her study nevertheless is pertinent to my own work at the very least for the similarities in that all the women referred to in her study were from the FGC in Phoenix, and so were six out of the seven respondents in my study. The difference between her study and mine is that the variable of Christian church denomination in her sample was purposively chosen from a particular church group, while in my study the variable of religion and denomination was non-purposive. In my study, the men were invited to participate in the focus group discussions. After conducting workshops in this church on domestic violence,

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[3] See <http://www.fullgospelchurch.org.za/> [Accessed 31 December 2011].
[4] For the sake of convenience, this study will refer to this Christian church denomination as the FGC.

Phiri made a call for further conversation on the topic as part of her on-going research. Twenty-five women responded to this request. One of the set requirements for her sample was that both the husband and wife had to be practicing Christians. (Phiri 2001:89). Further, her study focused on the women's perceptions of the violence they were experiencing, while in my study I was interested in finding out "why men do what they do."

While Phiri's research was predominantly with women and about the ways in which women perceive the root causes of the violence meted out to them, her study bears relevance to my own in seeking to understand how the men who were violent made sense of their lived experiences. Some 84% of the women who were interviewed in Phiri's study confirmed that they had experienced domestic violence according to the categorisations provided by Phiri (Phiri 2001:93). These categorisations were according to the PACSA (Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness) factsheet on Domestic Violence. Domestic violence was put into the following categories: physical, sexual, economical, spiritual, emotional, verbal and psychological (Phiri 2001:94). In Phiri's study, all the women understood the men to be the heads of their respective homes, and the "priests" in the family.

2. Religious Belief and Male Privilege

In what follows, I will evaluate the extent to which some of the privileges discussed in the previous chapter found resonance with the respondent's religious belief systems, as well as to explore the possible links with injunctions found within the sacred texts namely, the Bible and the Qur'an.

2.1. The Privilege of Headship

The first privilege that I will give attention to is the privilege to headship.

> *A man is the head of the house.*

This emphatic statement by the respondent is supported by key scriptural injunctions. For example:

> But I want you to realize that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God (1 Corinthians 11:13 *New International Version*)

This is further supported by other sacred texts:

> Submit to one another out of reverence for Christ. Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands as you do to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the Saviour. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything (Ephesians 5:21-24 *New International Version*)

This popular statement was reiterated by all the respondents throughout the duration of the focus group discussions on religion.

Shannon-Lewy and Dull (2005) and Phiri (2001) note in their respective studies that it was revealed that some women have tolerated abuse in their marriages because of their understanding of wifely submission due to their religious belief in submitting to their husbands' demands. They understood this not only in terms of a requirement of their Christian faith, but as a sign of their own commitment and submission towards God. Failure here would signify deliberate disobedience, and therefore constitute an act of sin. They further noted three concepts that have an inextricable link: wifely submission, suffering and forgiveness. One respondent interpreted the notion of headship as inflexible, while his role as a patriarch could not be compromised. The patriarchal role as head of the household positions him within an entitled space of respect and tenders that Christianity validates his proclamation of subservience of his wife towards him.

From the narratives of the focus group it became increasingly evident that the men often used their understanding of religion and headship only when it served to illustrate the ways in which they perceived their own headship was being undermined by their wives, therefore rendering the men victims of their own wives insubordination.

Pervasive headship rears itself up once more as stated in the previous chapter. Yet again, the socio-cultural religious rationalization for its use of headship as a defining feature of the marital relationship has resulted in feminist contestation throughout its continued existence. Indeed, Mercy Amba Oduyoye (1979) has constantly reiterated her call for Christian feminist scholars to deconstruct the necessity of headship. As one respondent remarked:

> *When the woman wants to be the head that's where the problem starts.*

In communicating this succinct statement, the respondent almost infers this unquestioned position. Any attempt I made to engage the men further on the terms and conditions of headship was met with an unequivocal and unquestioned response that they had the hierarchical edge over their wives. In my effort to further engage them I questioned them on the possibility of women sharing responsibilities within the marriage, their prompt yet ambivalent response was almost too radical to consider as the statement below reflects:

> *He is the king of the house. You are in charge; you are the main person*
> *of the house.*

Moreover, the message of headship was reiterated when they attended religious worship, hence cementing their authority over their wives. From a Christian Womanist perspective, Madipoane (ngwan'a Mphahlele) Masenya (2003:119) puts it well when she maintains:

> The view that the headship of men is viewed as God-ordained assigns
> all authority and power and control to men. This includes the control

of women's bodies. The understanding that the wife must be subject to her husband in everything..."

Evidently, this *carte blanche* patriarchal ideology is firmly fixed within the family communication patterns. The adverse effect of dysfunctionality of communication is further perpetuated and cements the abuse of power. If healthy headship is expected to ensure household authority then men concomitantly expect submission instead of ruthless retort. The power of patriarchal privilege is made manifest in the biblical injunctions of headship and submission, hence the call by Christian feminists to eradicate this notion.

In summary, socially constructed notions of patriarchy finds resonance in religious beliefs and sacred scriptural texts such as the Bible.

In the next section I will concentrate on an interrelated concept of headship, namely respect.

2.2. Respect

Women must respect men.

Religion says in the old days....I am a Christian. In Christianity it says that a woman should worship her man and submit to her man, and wash his feet when he was working. Woman now will never do that. They do not even worry about it.

The above respondent who declares his religious affiliation as Christian seems to retrieve a romanticised past where women 'knew their places' not only in the home but in society as a whole. Furthermore, it is indisputable in their understanding that men must be respected by women. For the respondent, this is not present in modern day society, where instead women worship their husbands and wash their husbands' feet. This is found profoundly offensive to him. His statement echoes the struggle by

many men to reconcile modern day living with the patriarchal past. Studies have shown that this is evident in the Arab world too. Mia Ghoussoub's work on the autobiographical narratives of the socio-cultural construction of masculinities in the Middle East, found numerous signs of the swift transformation of popular culture in the Arab world. Men's traditional gender identities continue to challenge them as they encounter various dilemmas caused by the increased status of women in Arab societies. Ghoussoub calls this "a chaotic quest for a definition of modern masculinity" (2000:234). The same is evident for other world religions (Connell 2003:14), including those within South Africa. The Muslim respondent in particular notes that women have rights too when he states:

> *Even in Islam they have to respect men and they also have certain rights for them too. The men are not supposed to hit her.*

> *You are not supposed to abuse a woman according to Islam. After the first incident I said in my mind "leave it to God, God will show you".*

While this respondent recognises that women have rights, he is clearly constrained by what his religion teaches regarding the status of women, so for example he also notes that women must still follow their religion:

> *They must follow their religion.*

> *If they do not follow the religion then they will have to answer for it in their graves.*

He is further unable to explain v. 4:34 Surah an-Nisa from the Qur'an (a verse devoted to the marital relationship in Islam) which has generated divergent thoughts among Islamic scholars and devout followers alike. The controversy in this regard is that this verse is often "interpreted to mean that beatings are acceptable after disloyalty, disobedience or ill-conduct" Roald (2001:166). According to Anne Sofie Roald, v. 34, maintains when disloyalty, disobedience or ill-conduct occurs, then the following steps need to be followed:

> The husband is to admonish his wife, after which (upon unsuccessful earlier corrections); He may separate from her (if upon unsuccessful earlier corrections); then He may hit her (2001:166).

Here again, divergent thoughts prevail among theologians, who accentuate that the "beating" should not be harsh, "more or less symbolic" and a "non-violent blow with a *siwak* (small stick used to clean the teeth) or similar". Any other form of "beating" is prohibited according to Roald (2001:169).

Islamic scholars add that the Prophet Muhammad is attributed in his Final Sermon as saying:

> O people! Accept the advice regarding good treatment of women and [accept it] because they are duty bound [to fulfil your marital rights]. You have no other authority on them except this. And if they commit open sexual misconduct you have the right to leave them alone in their beds and [if even then, they do not listen] beat them such that this should not leave any mark on them. Then if they obey you, take no further action against them. Indeed you have rights over women and they also have rights over you. You have the right that they do not permit into your homes nor sleep with anyone you dislike. Listen! their right upon you is that you feed and clothe them in the best way [you are able to] (Sunan Ibn Maja 1841).[5]

Islamic scholars such as Roald have indicated their disquiet over these Qur'anic verses which purportedly give the necessary authorization for husbands to beat their disobedient wives, pointing rather to the Prophet's reluctance when he encountered such (Roald 2001:167).

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[5] Cited at: <http://www.faithfreedom.org/forum/viewtopic.php?t=681&start=495&sid=f27f8f5d5b66 340cd1361de2740cdc39/> [Accessed 31 December 2011].

Interestingly, according to Ahmad Shafaat:

> If a husband beats a wife without respecting the limits set down by the Qur'an and Hadith, then she can take him to court and if ruled in favour of her she has the right to apply the law or retaliation and beat the husband as he beat her (2000).[6]

He continues by maintaining that:

> The wife has no religious obligation to take the beating. She can ask for and get a divorce any time (2000).[7]

It is clear that this particular verse on beating is open to misinterpretation as many scholars have maintained. Furthermore, this entire surah on women is debateable and contentious. For example, Dunn and Kellison (2010:24) note that despite extensive debate that there is "no consensus at this point of the correct interpretation" of the said surah.

In Islam, men are viewed as both the guardians and caregivers of women. Because men are understood to possess more physical strength they are supposed to support and protect women. For this reason, women are expected to be virtuous and respectfully compliant and obedient within their marital relationships.

These contending perspectives become the critical focus of many Islamic feminists. They are critical of the patriarchal lens employed in interpreting those religious texts which subject women to abuse. This again raises the broader question of whether it is the religion itself which is patriarchal or the interpretation of religion that is patriarchal?

A further contentious issue for feminist scholars is the discrepancy that exists between what precisely is practiced in culture (i.e., what actually occurs to embodied women) and "the pure Word of God" as Anna King cogently points out (2009:292). They

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[6] *Cf.* Wife Beating in Islam. <http://answering-islam.org/Silas/wife-beating.htm/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].
[7] *Cf.* Wife Beating in Islam. <http://answering-islam.org/Silas/wife-beating.htm/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

rightfully challenge the cultural/ethnic traditions, patriarchal notions and misinterpretations of the Qur'an that oppress women and justify domestic violence. Some note that initially Islam improved the lives of women. Yet, following the Prophet's death, conditions deteriorated towards "silence, submission and seclusion" (King 2009:305). Islamic women around the world engage with the lived experiences of their rights and responsibilities framed by "the Word of God".

Interestingly, in Saudi Arabia in 2004 for the first time in a country where *shariah* (Islamic Law) reigns, a successfully prosecuted domestic violence landmark case of Rania al-Baz received worldwide attention (*cf.* Al-Jadda 2004). More recently, September 2011 witnessed yet another announcement by the Saudi government that it was considering giving women the right to vote (*cf.* Chulov 2011). Ironically, to date in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, even a woman's right to drive a motor vehicle continues to be prohibited.

However, some Islamic women have successfully entered government and even appointed the first female Prime Minister in 1988, President Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan. She died violently and was known for her liberal values although some Muslim activists remained unimpressed by her lack of commitment towards the implementation of anti-discriminatory laws. Nevertheless, Bhutto is known to have declared:

> It is men's interpretation of our religion that restricted women's opportunities, not our religion itself (Misiroglu 1999:34).

This lauded success does not mean that the patriarchal hyper-vigilance of women's transgressions goes unnoticed. It continues to contribute to debates and is popular fodder for fundamentalists who do not hesitate to imprison women activists. Among them includes the feminist author and lesbian activist, Irshad Manji (who lives in a bullet-proofed home) and the writer, Taslima Nasrin. Nasrin pertinently articulates her identity as a feminist Muslim as being impossible. She asserts that "religion is made for men, for their own pleasure" (Nasrin 2002:5). She also has had three death warrants issued against her and was subsequently exiled.

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Again, the paradox of equality versus hierarchy is highlighted by the Muslim respondent in my study as well. He enjoys the position of headship which Islam provides him as indicated in previous statements and yet at the same time he says that:

Islam says that we are equal.

Nevertheless, he is constrained by his role as a care provider for his wife (which comes with respect) that headship demands of him. Hence his statement below:

When you are a man and made nika [marriage ceremony], you should look after you wife and provide food and shelter and clothing for her but they are not happy about that, they want more and more.

Here the respondents' Islamic identity dictates equality, and yet at the same time the respondent feels the burden of patriarchy of being a provider. The division inherent in class and gender again becomes evident in his comment. Economic dependency by his wife perhaps leaves little room for her to negotiate around her identity as a housewife, but the privilege of patriarchy provides traditional dictatorial advantage over his wife, thereby allowing him to demand respect. This economic polarization leaves her increasingly vulnerable to continued abuse by him. Indeed, women in South Africa have been known to be the face of poverty, hence increasing the burden of their gendered identity. Feminism notes these unequal, disproportionate and classist realities of women's lives that continue to remain difficult and hierarchical. Harriet Bradley (2005:112) therefore recommends that:

Feminism would do well to recover some of its initial zeal in exposing material inequalities rather than retreating too completely into theoreticism!

Clearly, the struggle for those Islamic feminists who advocate for social justice and gender equality is to acknowledge the blurring of the lines of the construction of culture and religion. Such blurring and the subsequent paradoxes are clearly identified by the respondent when he refers to respect that is evident in Surah al An' am 6:151:

> Do not take any human beings life, the life which God has declared to
> be scared—otherwise than in (the pursuit of) justice: this He enjoined
> upon you so that you might use your reason.

Here the sanctity of life of every person regardless of age, gender, nationality or religion should be respected.

Furthermore, it is not only human beings in general who are granted protection and respect, but the Qur'an makes a clarion call particularly for women to be protected and respected under all conditions, with affection and mercy being central within the marital relationship:

> And of His signs is that He created for you from yourselves mates that
> you may find tranquillity in them; and He placed between you
> affection and mercy. Indeed in that are signs for a people who give
> thought. (sūrat l-rūm 30:21).[8]

In this verse it is also clear for harmony to be maintained in marital relationships and a strong message of mutuality and respect, as captured by the words "love and tenderness". However, within the same surah there are clear pointers toward mutuality and hierarchical authority. This can however be misunderstood or indeed misinterpreted, as seems to be the case by the respondents in my study. For example, the Muslim respondent stated:

> *In Islam, Adam was the first man on earth so the women should have*
> *respect for men.*

Equally within Christianity, it reads the Hebrew Bible creation narratives in Genesis 1-2 in precisely the same hierarchical manner. Hence, as one of the Christian respondents remarked:

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[8] English translation of the Arabic original taken from the Sahih International. <http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=33&verse=53/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

> *It [the Bible] says God took one rib and made women and for this*
> *reason women should respect men.*

The biblical passage that this respondent is referring to is found in the Book of Genesis 2:21-23:

> So the LORD God caused the man to fall into a deep sleep; and while
> he was sleeping, he took one of the man's ribs and then closed up the
> place with flesh. Then the LORD God made a woman from the rib he
> had taken out of the man, and he brought her to the man. The man said,
> "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be
> called 'woman,' for she was taken out of man" [*New International*
> *Version*].

Concerning these creation texts, Phyllis Trible has noted that:

> Throughout the ages people have used this text to legitimate patriarchy
> as the will of God. They maintain that it subordinates women to man
> in creation, depicts her as his seducer, curses her, and authorises man
> to rule over her (cited in Kvam et al. 1999:439).

While Christian believers often quote this text literally to support patriarchy, Judeo-Christian feminist biblical scholars have been working closely with the text to find more liberating meanings from critical perspectives. For example, Azila Reisenberger, a Jewish feminist scholar has worked extensively with this text applying a feminist hermeneutic. She has argued that the Hebrew word *zela* which is often translated 'rib' is actually a mistranslation. According to Reisenberger, *zela* appears a total of 33 times in the Hebrew Bible, "16 times in the singular form and 17 times in the plural" and actually means "side" and not rib. She asserts that wherever this word is used, it can refer either to the side of a building [Exod. 26:26, 27; 1 Kings 6:5; Ezek. 41:9] a tree (1 Kings 6:15) or even the side of the mountain (2 Sam. 16:13) (*cf.* Reisenberger 2009:89)

Reisenberger therefore concludes:

> This unfortunate error brought much suffering to women in the extra-biblical world throughout the ages. The belief that God created the first woman as an afterthought, from a non-essential part of Adams' body, assigned them to perpetual inferiority. Had the Hebrew understanding of the word *zela*—meaning 'equal side'—been kept, women might have attained equality many years ago (2009:90).

Apart from the way in which the respondents linked the issue of respect with the belief that women were created second from Adams rib, they also saw respect being related to a dress code. For example, the Muslim respondent made the following statements:

> *In our religion, you are not allowed to cut your hair and make it short. When you die, the hair covers your breast and chest so you are not allowed to cut your hair.*

> *My wife wears anything; she just says she does not care about anyone, I cannot tell her what to wear. I do not know where is the ïzzat [honour/respect].*

> *And they wear small tops and they tell you it is modern day now.*

> *They must dress respectfully.*

> *In Islam it says women should not show the shape of their bodies and that they should not wear jeans. They should wear a cloak; they are not allowed to attract a man that is why they should wear a cloak. When a man goes pass the women they will not be able to admire the women's beauty.*

> *She dresses like that when she goes to classes, but at home she wears jeans.*

The respondent was clearly offended that his wife did not dress *"islamically"*. This particular respondent attended all the focus group discussions attired in traditional "Islamic garb". He therefore contrasted himself with his wife, who he perceived to be disrespectful in the manner she dressed as is captured by his statement:

> *I do not know; where is the izzat [honour/respect]?*

Ironically, his next statement promptly alludes to not being a strict adherent to Islam when he smokes dagga [cannabis] etc.

> *Yes. I dress according to Islam, I wear a hat. I am Muslim. When the people see you they know that you are Muslim. I am not strict, like the cigarette and things like that dagga [cannabis].*

> *She does not like it when I must pray she said "you are wasting your time because you are pulling the dagga [cannabis] pipe".*

In the Qur'an, sūrat I-nisāa 4:43 has particular relevance here, where with reference to women intemperance is prohibited:

> O you who have believed, do not approach prayer while you are intoxicated until you know what you are saying or in a state of janabah, except those passing through [a place of prayer], until you have washed [your whole body]. And if you are ill or on a journey or one of you comes from the place of relieving himself or you have contacted women and find no water, then seek clean earth and wipe over your faces and your hands [with it]. Indeed, Allah is ever Pardoning and Forgiving.[9]

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[9] English translation of the Arabic original taken from the Sahih International. <http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=4&verse=43/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

Furthermore, the irony of smoking cannabis between prayers and being arrested between prayers is not recognised by the respondent as is illustrated by the following respondent:

> *I did my evening prayer and they arrested me thereafter, and when*
> *I returned I also did my morning prayer.*

Levitt et al. also found that the men in their study mentioned that:

> God was thought to want the perpetrator to become a better person and tended to be described as all knowing, powerful, kind, and just (2008:423).

In response, they noted that the perpetrators tended to:

> Try to pacify God via prayers but their distress did not move them into a process of religious self-examination or critique of their morality (2008:423).

Similarly, one of the Christian respondents also prescribed a dress code for his wife:

> *She must dress appropriately to church. They should wear black pants*
> *or a skirt, a white shirt. A man can use a black pants and white shirt;*
> *also he can wear a tie.*

While a dress code is clearly an issue for this particular Christian respondent, the others did not cite it as being a pertinent issue of respect. However, the Muslim respondent spoke at length about his thoughts on the link between a set dress code and respect.

The feminist writer, activist, physician and psychiatrist, Nawal El Saadawi notes:

> Women know that their authentic identity is based on unveiling their minds and not on veiling their faces. The veiling is the other side of the coin of nakedness or displaying the body. Both consider women as sex objects (1997:170).

As Director of Public Health, El Saadawi published her seminal work in 1972 entitled *Al-Mar'a wa Al-Jins* (*Woman and Sex*) where she confronted and contextualised various aggressive cultural practices perpetrated against women's bodies, including female genital circumcision. While the book became a foundational text of second-wave feminism, it also led to her dismissal from her government post. In her important body of written work, she acknowledges that the capitalistic patriarchal system is to women's detriment. She is the founder of the Arab Women's Solidarity Association, whose famous slogan "Unveil the Mind" also brings into focus the domination of cultural and religious traditions as defined by men and attempts an intellectual redefinition of Islam. Her thoughts on female identity are thus vital in furthering our understanding:

> The authentic identity of an Arab women is not a straightjacket or dress, or veil, it is an active, living changing process which demands rereading of our history, and a reshaping of ourselves and our societies in the light of present challenges and future goals (El Saadawi 1997:97).

Divergent views continue to prevail here too, particularly about the social construction of how clothing and attire for Islamic women both shape and inform their identities. Of late, the Western world has been fairly vociferous and vocal about their contentious thoughts on the *hijab*, with France having banned its use in public spaces.[10] In Turkey, headscarves were previously banned but they are now allowed with many women who now adorn it, including the President's wife. In North Africa and the Middle East its use is non-negotiable, with non-compliant women known to be "persecuted, whipped and jailed" (King 2009:299-300). Some advocate its voluntary use as a cultural, ethical and political symbol.

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[10] Legislation banning the wearing of full-face covering, including but not limited to burqas and niqābs was passed by the French Senate on 14 September 2010, and confirmed by the National Assembly of France on 13 July 2010. As of 11 April 2011, it is illegal to wear a face-covering veil or other mask in public places such as the street, shops, museums, public transportation, and parks. For those who violate the law, a fine of up to €150, and/or participation in citizenship education will be imposed. See: Voile intégral: une amende de 150 euros pour une femme des Mureaux (78). <http://www.ouest-france.fr/ofdernmin_-Voile-integral-une-amende-de-150-euros-pour-une-femme-des-Mureaux-78-_6346-1761681-fils-tous--22050-abd_filDMA.Htm/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

To what extent some women claim imposition, control, and subordination to authority of a man under the careful guise of observance of religion and ultimately oppression continues to be debated within the cultural and religious landscape of identity.

Clearly, grandstanding and generalizations apart, without understanding the socio-religious cultural context will imply further gender oppression and the disempowerment of women and their choices. The work of Islamic feminists becomes even graver as they attempt to create a balance between cultural dictates and essential human/women rights.

Illustrated above is a double standard by the respondent, where his wife's dress is construed as un-Islamic and her lack of adherence to the faith is the ultimate display of disrespect of the religious dictate. His lifestyle of smoking dagga [cannabis] etc., is certainly not viewed as being un-Islamic:

> *Women in Islam must maintain family izzat [respect/honour].*

Again, patriarchy sets distinct rules for these women who are expected to adhere to gendered identities that have deferring rules that govern them and their husbands. I must concede that culturally, women are expected to dress appropriately; in addition, a sizeable number of women consent to and willingly wear Islamic dress (head scarf, veil etc.). This informs their identity as Muslim women and does not necessarily understand their dress code as being oppressive. For example, the work of Lama Abu-Odeh (1993:33) reveals that women "welcome the protection the veil offers them against male intrusion in the form of sexual abuse and harassment". Dress codes are controversial with scholars arguing the commandment with respect is applicable only to the "Mothers of the Believers":

> O you who have believed, do not enter the houses of the Prophet except when you are permitted for a meal, without awaiting its readiness. But when you are invited, then enter; and when you have eaten, disperse without seeking to remain for conversation. Indeed, that [behaviour] was troubling the Prophet, and he is shy of [dismissing]

you. But Allah is not shy of the truth. And when you ask [his wives] for something, ask them from behind a partition. That is purer for your hearts and their hearts. And it is not [conceivable or lawful] for you to harm the Messenger of Allah or to marry his wives after him, ever. Indeed, that would be in the sight of Allah an enormity (sūrat I-ahzāb 33:53).[11]

This text suggests proper and appropriate conduct for men when they are interacting with women.[12] Some Islamic scholars suggest that this verse can be read as a divine rule of the differing positions of men and women and the granting the use of public space exclusively to men. Others such as El Saadawi (1997) and King (2009) proffer that this instruction pertains to the wives of the Prophet within his home and is erroneously interpreted in subjecting and confining women to their kitchens during dinner parties etc. Nevertheless, we should accept that the discourse of masculinity presented here promotes male dominance. Hence, this is not about the protection of women, but it is about assisting men in their desire as the respondent below indicates:

A Man must not lust for another woman. They must not commit adultery.

By way of summary, this section has demonstrated the various ways in which the privilege of respect for men is founded on religious and cultural beliefs which ultimately sanctions the violent choices they make. What however is also evident is that this sanctioning is open to misinterpretation and hence feminist scholars of religion have worked tirelessly to find more transformative and life affirming interpretations for women.

Given this paradoxical role of religion in the violent choices that men make, in the section which follows, I will discuss the extent to which it can provide hope and to what degree it is a hindrance in situations of domestic violence.

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[11] English translation of the Arabic original taken from the Sahih International. <http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=33&verse=53/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

[12] Note that the respondent below makes reference to sūrat I-ahzāb 33:55 which prescribes only a veil to cover the bosom and diffidence in dress.

3. Religion: Hope or Hindrance?

A crucial study by Nancy Nason-Clark (2004: 305) addresses this pertinent question, namely:

> How and why would mandated intervention for batterers become more effective if the courts recognised the potential and power of religion?

Of even more relevance to my study is Nason-Clark's question as to the "religious batterer's abilities to manipulate their victims dependence on specific features of their religious belief system" (2004:304). The foregoing analysis has clearly answered her question in the affirmative. However, she also recognises as does my study that "woven through the narratives of abusive men who are travelling towards justice and accountability are the roles of religious congregations and their leaders in supporting the men as they seek help" (2004:304).

The role of the clergy in intervening in situations of marital violence was clearly noted by the respondents, as can be seen in the following example:

> *Speaking about that in my religion it says that if you are having problems in your marriage you need not go to different departments but you got to go to your pastor, even if we are having problems with drinking.*

While the need for clergy intervention is important in addressing violence in the home, the nature of this intervention is neither always clear nor helpful. For example, almost all the abusive men in the study by Levitt et al. (2008:438) thought that:

> God was disapproving of domestic violence, but they could not recall learning any strategies that would help them resolve conflict during their attendance in religious institutions.

This claim is also borne out in my study where some of the respondents indicated minimal assistance, and if assistance was given the nature of such assistance was on a

sermonising level than on addressing the gendered conflict. The following statements of the respondents illustrate this point well:

> *They just tell you not to abuse women.*

> *Sometimes, they pray for me, because of the cigarettes and dagga [cannabis].*

> *I go to the Mullana [Islamic Spiritual Leader] all the time; he does not come to me.*

The above statements by the Muslim respondent infer that the intervention by the clergy is generic rather than specific to domestic violence. They are simply told in general not to abuse women. Further, the clergy addresses as a priority issue that of substance abuse rather than marital violence. Finally, from the above statement is found the respondent's dissatisfaction with the unavailability of the clergy to him. In addition, the Christian respondents also highlighted the ways in which intervention by clergy was minimal or unhelpful in specifically addressing domestic violence:

> *They tell us not to abuse women.*

> *They speak about problems in general.*

> *We don't spend too much time on that; it is always about the Word of God.*
> *There are issues also that are more important.*

> *They talk about families.*

Padaychee (2003:109) reports that in South Africa a battered women remains in an abusive relationship "for approximately ten years and experiences physical violence of an average of thirty-nine times before seeking assistance". Hence, if the vast

majority of the population are religiously inclined, then their faith communities and clergy support becomes a helpful resource to effectively tap into.

Recognizing the relational religious roles, rights and responsibilities is vital to the portfolio of the clergy. Greig et al. (2000:50) maintain and allude to the "ramifications beyond just working with only religious, familial, educational and cultural institutions". They demonstrate that the effects will be far reaching in that it will "assist to socialize boys into men which creates an entry point for increasing men's commitment to gender equality" (2000:50).

As noted by Nason-Clark above (1997; 2004) it has been consistently noted that clergy play a considerable role in assisting people in a crisis, particularly those of their own congregations. Kroeger and Nason-Clark (2001:20) mention that consistently in research on family violence abuse "across all religious sectors both inside and outside the walls of church are similar." Skiff et al. (2008:103) note that because "clergy are accessible their role is viewed as consultative; parishioners living in abusive relationships seek advice and counsel". Some respondents in my study also noted the important role of the clergy in counselling, this being in contradiction to what they asserted earlier about the minimal assistance offered by the clergy:

> *When the pastor comes to counsel you he will hear both sides of the story he will not take sides.*

> *When I went to a pastor, he gave me three days of fasting; I had to pray very hard. Then on the third day I had to ask for all his forgiveness.*

> *My wife went to the pastor first. She told the pastor and then he came home; we started working out a day for counselling. When we went for counselling we had ten minutes first and the second time was another twenty minutes.*

> *When he counsels you, in that session he is able to find who is right*
> *and who is wrong through his prayers. He tries to build the family*
> *instead of breaking the family. It has to be both the parties who should*
> *be prepared to build the family. The children will be broken away and*
> *you are going to have trouble in your work you are going to lose*
> *interest in your work and your boss is going to fire you, that is when*
> *you have all the problems. So to avoid all these things you rather get*
> *counselling from a pastor.*

As mentioned above, there is a noted ambivalence by some respondents on the role of the clergy. Such ambivalence points to the fact that the assistance that is being offered may not be as substantial as required. For example, ten and twenty minutes respectively is inadequate an amount of time to counsel appropriately. From these responses it appears that the issue of domestic violence is spiritualized as the respondent is requested to fast and pray and another respondent is told that the pastor is able to spiritually discern who is right and who is wrong through his prayers and devotions. Furthermore, the issue of forgiveness which is often intrinsic to these discourses takes on a new meaning when the pastor is endowed with the power to forgive.

Besides the issue of inadequate assistance, Kroeger and Nason-Clark (2001:15) have also noted that at times there is no assistance at all. In other words, there is a silence about issues of domestic violence on the part of the clergy. Hence, from their feminist perspective they call for the liberation from the "HOLY Hush" and make a clarion call for compulsory training of the clergy on partner violence. Moreover, they suggest adherence to anti-patriarchal positionality.

The respondent below reports that he does not go to church. It would seem that if the spouses do not share the same involvement, it would result in more tension and disagreement, which could lend itself to more discord within the marriage relationship. Vaaler (2008:81) views these differences in religious involvement as "symbolizing discrepancies in the commitment the couple may have towards a religious lifestyle".

The statement of the respondent further questions the credibility of the qualifications of the pastor, who he clearly has little respect for:

> *I do not go to church; I pray at home, I have no reason for going. When the pastor came home, to me he looked like a self appointed pastor. He came at a difficult time; he came and started talking other stories.*

The inadequacy of the counselling is further illustrated in the following statements:

> *When the pastor comes to your house he has a cup of tea and before he leaves he says "Let us pray". One day when he was in the house I saw a police van outside and I went out to call the police and then the pastor called me back in and said he will not sort this problem out any more. He said we must give it [the problem] to him when you have a problem. What kind of pastor knows that you are going to hit her when you have a problem? Since then I do not go to church although he has asked me to come to church. He is not right. This weekend there was three days of service, but I did not go.*

The above respondent clearly has little faith in the intervention offered by his pastor. In the study by Levitt et al. (2008:440) the men thought that domestic violence was "not important to religious leaders and those leaders would not understand them or would blame them rather than help them learn relationship strategies". Skiff et al. (2008:103) also note that current research on the "rates of the effectiveness of clergy intervention seems inconclusive".

The respondent below who is sixty-one years old and possibly sees himself as the spiritual head of the family, sought the assistance of his pastor. Vaaler (2008:84) notes that "age certainly influences whether or not help is sought from the clergy to address" marital discord that exists between the couple. Vaaler continues that it is likely that the "longer people are members of a congregation, the greater their trust, and familiarity with the clergy" (2008:84).

> *I talked to the pastor; he came to my house with the elders. They knew about the problems and about me getting locked up. They said I must stop it and respect the family now.*

While the majority of the respondent's admitted that their wives made first contact with the clergy, the respondent above was the only one who personally initiated contact with the clergy. The study of Vaaler (2008:85) also notes that "older adults may have greater confidence in established institutions and sources of authority, which could translate into greater respect for insight of the clergy". Hence, her study established a positive relationship with age in seeking help from the clergy.

Nason-Clarkson (1997; 2004) in her study notes that wives use their faith and seek assistance from their clergy when emotional challenges exist in their marriage. Moreover, the assistance is viewed with some degree of hope towards resolving the marital discord. Vaaler (2008) and Veroff et al. (1981) also maintain that many of those seeking assistance for psychological distress hold the clergy in high regard compared to other possible resources of care:

> *When we have a slight problem then my wife calls for help from the pastor and that on its own cause's problems. He comes to speak to us; most of the time he says he would like for me to come to church.*

> *For me it depends on what you intend to do with the help. It depends if you accept it in your life. When they talk to you, you can use it as help in your life, but are you able to say that in two months later the talk the pastor gave you helped?*

Nancy Nason-Clark (1997) asserts that the religious clerics are generally optimistic about the marital relationship and are slow to suggest the dissolution of the marriage, preferring instead the option of a temporary separation in order to work things out amicably.

Again, the extent of their assistance is often restricted to prayer:

> *When the pastor comes to your house thereafter he wants to see if you are improving your life, when he prays so hard, he is praying so that you fix things and get things back to normal together again.*

> *I think they just want to see you together again.*

Supporting the above, Vaaler (2008:87) also notes that the clergy "recommend prayer often as a means of coping in a violent context, to the exclusion of other intervention strategies".

> *When the pastor came to see me he told me that my wife is complaining about me, and that I started drinking. I admitted that I smoke [Tobacco] and drink [Alcohol]. I smoke grass [Cannabis] also.*

> *A few days after his visit she started swearing and shouting, I walked out again. So there was no help there. I even approached the pastor after that and told him about the problem at home, he only told me the times of the service on Sunday. I told him listen here there is a problem at home.*

> *When I went to the church the pastor asked me why I did not come with my wife and then I told him I told her but she did not want to come. He asked if she was at home and I said yes, I gave him her number and called her. She swore at him on the phone and put the phone down. He asked what is wrong with your wife is she mad? I said that is how she treats me and why I do not like living at home.*

> *Sometimes the pastor quotes from specific chapters of the Bible, but I don't remember them.*

As noted above, Nason-Clark (1997) suggests that church leaders, who use Scripture texts, should give further attention to the context. The study by Levitt et al. (2008:442) also note that the majority of men wanted religious leaders to clearly indicate to them the answers to their problems as they are written in biblical texts:

> *He took words from the Bible and summed them up into his own words*
> *and then he talked to us, cooled us down and put our minds at ease.*
> *Makes us forget all that has happened.*

When questioned about being counselled by the clergy on appropriate male behaviour, they noted that:

> *There was little time spent on that.*

> *They don't talk to the men alone.*

> *When we talk to him we cannot tell him the truth…it's just difficult.*

The respondent above infers that honesty is not at a premium for the fear of being judged. Steven Tracy (2003:4) also urges churches to "aggressively confront abusers and pursue all means possible to protect vulnerable women".

The importance of the church in helping to achieve what Tracy (2003) alludes to is also reflected in the following statement:

> *In church you think about good things in life. You do not go back*
> *thinking what you went through. You have a new life that God wants*
> *you to live by.*

The respondent above alludes to his positive relationship with God. This respondent's feelings resonate well with Walker (2005:235) who also found that men described their experience as "being in the hands of God", and "providing a sense of purpose".

While the respondent notes the importance of church, he also understands that the church is not the solution to all his problems. Thus he notes:

> *Everything is nice because of God but you cannot go home because of the devil. She swears right after coming from church and I tell her you should not go to church.*

Finally, respondents also discussed their counselling preferences in terms of gender, as well as their levels of education and attitudes. All the respondents cited were counselled by women outside of their faith communities. They maintained that it was:

> *Actually [it's] easier talking to a woman because it relates to them. If you would sit here and talk to a man he would probably judge you.*

The above respondent reiterates an earlier concern elucidated by another respondent of being judged. It would seem that this leading issue is worthy of further investigation.

All the religious based leaders were men. In his study, Harper found the influence of male religious leaders was very distinct and their pronouncements carried great authority. Moreover, he elicited that the "clergy supported the idea of male dominance within the home and society" (2002:25).

In the study conducted by Skiff et al. (2008)[13] three focus groups were held with religious leaders including Christian, Jewish and Muslim clergy. The following findings emanated from their discussions with the clergy:

> Faith leaders speculated that partner violence is rare in religious groups, although they conceded that the possibility of underreporting could exist purely because of the shame associated with the act of

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[13] In their study, Skiff et al. (2008) conducted three focus groups with clergy with the purpose of identifying a. how clergy persons address partner violence; b. assist in finding the clergy's scope of practice, and c. understand the dynamics behind clergy reluctance to participate with community providers in ending partner violence.

violence. They reported that preventive/deterrent factors included religious values as teaching/modelling empathy, respect, emotional/spiritual support, awareness, self-esteem and allowing for healthy expression of anger for victims of partner violence. By affording an approachable, educative and forgiving atmosphere, they could curtail the effects of partner violence. With regards to intervention they noted their challenge on how exactly to resolve the tension between their beliefs regarding the sanctity of marriage and the concerns for the safety of these congregants (Skiff et al. 2008:105).

Clearly, the last findings would be contentious for feminists who view the issue of submission as a by-product of patriarchy, an inference which enjoys the firm support of many religious leaders who copiously quote their sacred texts to substantiate their interpretation and even to justify abuse. Hence, Skiff et al. (2008:106) note the "polarization of values between feminist and clergy ideology".

Again, as Skiff et al. (2008:106) maintain:

> Clergy training or practice and adherence to anti-patriarchal perspectives positions the female victim, her spouse, and her pastor in a tension-filled position, particularly when she would not like for her husband to be arrested and wishes to remain in the marriage while she prays for the violence to cease.

The clergy's position is also perhaps compounded when it becomes necessary for him to refer with confidence to an organization where the sacredness of the marriage will be appreciated and also respected. Usually, advocacy groups are of the opinion that religious leaders are themselves products of patriarchy who preach from the pulpit and who are strong adherents in maintaining the male *status quo*. Religious leaders also view advocacy groups with some degree of trepidation claiming their insensitivity to the significance of the sanctity of marriage. It is evident that mutual trust is yet to be established between the two groups to promote reciprocity. Putnam (2000:19) suggests that in order to engage holistically with the religious community with the purpose to develop a coordinated response, they should have a "shared vision and collaborative spirit".

One respondent scornfully recommends counselling for his wife:

Yes. They should be attending this discussion that we are attending here instead of acting so ragged.

When questioned on their preference of being counselled by a pastor, priest, Mullana or social worker, they responded:

The pastor and mullah have no time to do all this; better other people who have the time for it.

I think the pastor or the mullah will refer you to a social worker if needed.

Before I got married I was counselled so when I started having problems I went back to get counselling.

Again, the study of clergy by Skiff et al. confirms this. They note that clergy training is viewed as "inadequate, not in-depth and that it was unclear how ill-equipped we are" (2008:111). They continue that limitations and barriers pertain to common clergy experiences in addressing partner violence with individual congregants and couples. Such barriers included:

    i.   Church politics
    ii.   Overcoming the image of "Judge, "reflecting congregants 'fear of clergy disapproval,
    iii.   Clergy's lack of confidence in partner violence- related services,
    iv.   Clergy's lack of training partner violence,
    v.   Fear of not being helpful,
    vi.   Personal experience with partner violence that paralyzed some clergy from intervening effectively,
    vii.   Lack of clarity regarding responsibilities to partner violence couples,
    viii. Fear of the violence and ramifications of getting involved,

ix.   Difficulty identifying and managing partner violence, and finally

x.   Low frequency of exposure to the problem (2008:111).

Drumm et al. (2003) also note that ministerial training is pivotal and that inadequate education and consultation could seriously impact on the congregants coping ability of future violence. Phiri (2001:98) also recommends that pastors need to receive ministerial formation (training) in order to be equipped with the necessary skills in marriage counselling.

Here the respondent relates his concern about the pastors credentials and prefers the services of a trained counsellor:

> *I do not prefer counselling from a pastor. Another fellow got counselling from a pastor and he went for counselling a number of times and then counselling was enough, now he is back in phase one where he started.*

> *I think I will prefer to go to counsellors. They got their degrees and so you know that they know what they are doing and it is not going to fail.*

In conclusion, it is clear that each of the respondents value religion, despite their choice to be violent.

4. Religious Commitment

While all the respondents declared some degree of religious belief, the following statements by the Muslim respondent succinctly captures the general level of religious commitment present among the respondents:

> *I pray five times as day. She tells me not to pray because I am like this and I say do not judge the man above is judge and he will judge you.*

I encourage my children to go to mosque at least once a week on a Friday.

When I told people about that, they asked me if she was Muslim and I said yes, and they said how she can do that. I said God will punish her one day.

The one time she took out a Qur'an and destroyed it and I said to her she is not here to judge me. A Qur'an is not my thing. It is a God's thing; if she is not going to worry about it then…

Yes I prayed; I call the children together and we sit in the living room and pray.

Given the levels of religious commitment among the respondents, the question that many feminist scholars of religion have asked becomes even more pertinent. The contradiction is expressed in the question: "How can men simultaneously be religious and violent?" Drawing on the work of Heggen, Phiri concludes that it is because religion is used selectively and discriminately. She goes on to cite four religious beliefs that contribute towards violence against women. These are:

> The belief that God intents men to dominate and women to submit; the belief that women are morally inferior to men and do not trust their own judgement; the belief that suffering is a desirable quality for a Christian and women in particular have been chosen to be "suffering servants" and the belief that all Christians are commanded by God to hurriedly forgive and be reconciled with those who sin against them. (Phiri 2002:21).

Of the four religious beliefs cited by Phiri, the first, second and fourth are most pertinent to the findings of my study. While this demonstrates that religion can be a hindrance to situations of marital violence, this chapter also sought to show the ways in which religion could provide hope in such situations as well. The details of such hope will be discussed in the final chapter of this present research project. For now, it

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is imperative to note some pertinent thoughts from other scholars and religious leaders in this regard.

First, some scholars maintain that it is important to retrieve the liberating aspects of religion. For example, Chitando and Chirongoma assert that:

> Jesus and Muhammad were revolutionary in their approach towards women. Jesus took risks by recognizing the humanity of women in ministry and was unafraid to befriend women, healing them, listening to them and according respect. Similarly, Muhammad accorded respect to women inclusive of halting the killing of a girl child soon after birth (2008:66).

Second, Sara Rogers asserts that:

> Christianity could do more both to acknowledge its responsibility for the conditions that give rise to domestic violence, and to help to eradicate it (2003:190).

Third, Ivan Abrahams, the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (MCSA), is one of the few religious leaders of note who has openly declared that he and his church are committed to working with a diversity of faith and civil society groups in order to give expression to overcoming patriarchy and building a community based on dignity, equity and ubuntu for all (*cf.* Abrahams 2009).

5. Chapter Summary

This chapter reflected both the hope and the hindrances of religion in its effort to engage with domestic violence. At the inception of the chapter the ways in which the men's violent behavior is sanctioned by their religious beliefs was discussed at length. The chapter which follows will explore what happens when the religious beliefs held by the men in the study are confronted by the South African criminal justice system.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DATA ANALYSIS III:

THE CLASH BETWEEN RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

1. Introduction

In my previous chapter I presented an investigation into the role of religious and cultural beliefs in sustaining men's patriarchal privileges. In this chapter my objective will be to demonstrate the clash that can occur when the religious belief of male superiority come into contact with the South African legal system.[1] The repercussions range from claiming victimhood to perceptions of dispossession of power and control.

This chapter is thus devoted to an exploration of the respondents' encounters and experiences of the legal system in South Africa. It is vital to initially establish that all of the respondents in my study were arrested at some point in their marriages. Elicited from their narratives of their encounter with the South African Police Service

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[1] The appointment of Judge Mogoeng Mogoeng as the Chief Justice of South Africa in 2011 illustrated the tension between religious beliefs and the legal system most poignantly. There were several objections to his appointment as Chief Justice because Gender activists claimed that he would not leave his religious beliefs outside the door of the Court. His controversial ruling with regard to cases of gender violence seemed to be rooted within his religious beliefs. See <http://constitutionallyspeaking.co.za/justice-mogoengs-judgment-in-partner-abuse-case/> [Accessed 03 January 2012].

Mogoeng Mogoeng is a member of a Pentecostal/Charismatic church grouping known as the "Winners' Chapel International" who are known for their conservative views of women as well as gay, bisexual, lesbian and trans-gender people. He was also criticised about his inappropriate comments in a rape case of a young girl where he was quoted as saying that the girl suffered "minor injuries" and in another case of a brutal assault of a female by her boyfriend he was known to reduce the jail sentence of the male perpetrator from two years to a fine of R 2, 000 because the female had "provoked" her boyfriend <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Mogoeng-called-arrogant-short-tempered-20110903/> [Accessed 03 January 2012].

(SAPS) they clearly communicated their own sense of victimhood not only through their wives and the police, but also the criminal justice system as a whole. This chapter will thus seek to show that even after the men have been convicted for the crime of domestic violence and have been court-mandated to attend anger management programmes, they perceive this to be an unjust punishment. In other words, they still feel justified in their actions of violence against their wives.

2. The Responsibilities and Duties of the Police in Terms of the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998

Far from providing a complete understanding of all men in South Africa, the men in my study clearly provide fertile narratives that depict the fact that little has dramatically changed despite South Africa's much-lauded introduction of excellent and stringent legal legislation in an attempt to reduce domestic violence. These include the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998[2] and the National Instruction 7/1999[3] which details the responsibilities and duties of the South African Police Service (SAPS) whose assistance is sought by those who are abused. As mentioned in Chapter One, The Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 affords maximum legal protection against domestic abuse in South Africa. This distinctive piece of legislation recognises and acknowledges the enormity and gravity of interpersonal violence.

Section 3 of the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998[4] and Section 40 (1) (q) of the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977 (As Amended)[5], empowers a South African Police Officer to arrest without warrant any person who is or has been in a domestic relationship with the complainant and whom the member (i.e., a South African Police Service Officer) reasonably suspects of having committed an offence containing an

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[2] See Appendix #6: Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998.
[3] See Appendix #7 National Instruction 7/1999.
[4] "Arrest by peace officer without warrant. A peace officer may without warrant arrest any respondent at the scene of an incident of domestic violence whom he or she reasonably suspects of having committed an offence containing an element of violence against the complainant".
[5] "Arrest by peace officer without warrant. (q) who is reasonably suspected of having committed an act of domestic violence as contemplated in section 1 of the Domestic Violence Act, 1998, which constitutes an offence in respect of which violence is an element".

element of violence against the complainant (thereby including the offence of common assault).

The flow chart below (Figure #6) by Lebo Malepe of the Legal Advocacy Centre and Justice College demonstrates the anticipated process that affords the abused access to numerous options to obtain a protection order (*cf.* Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre: nd). This flow chart lends depth of understanding to precisely what the respondents in my study constantly object to being victimized by. The respondents in my study referred to the protection order as an interdict. It is also essential to establish at this stage that all seven respondents had a protection order (interdict) against them.
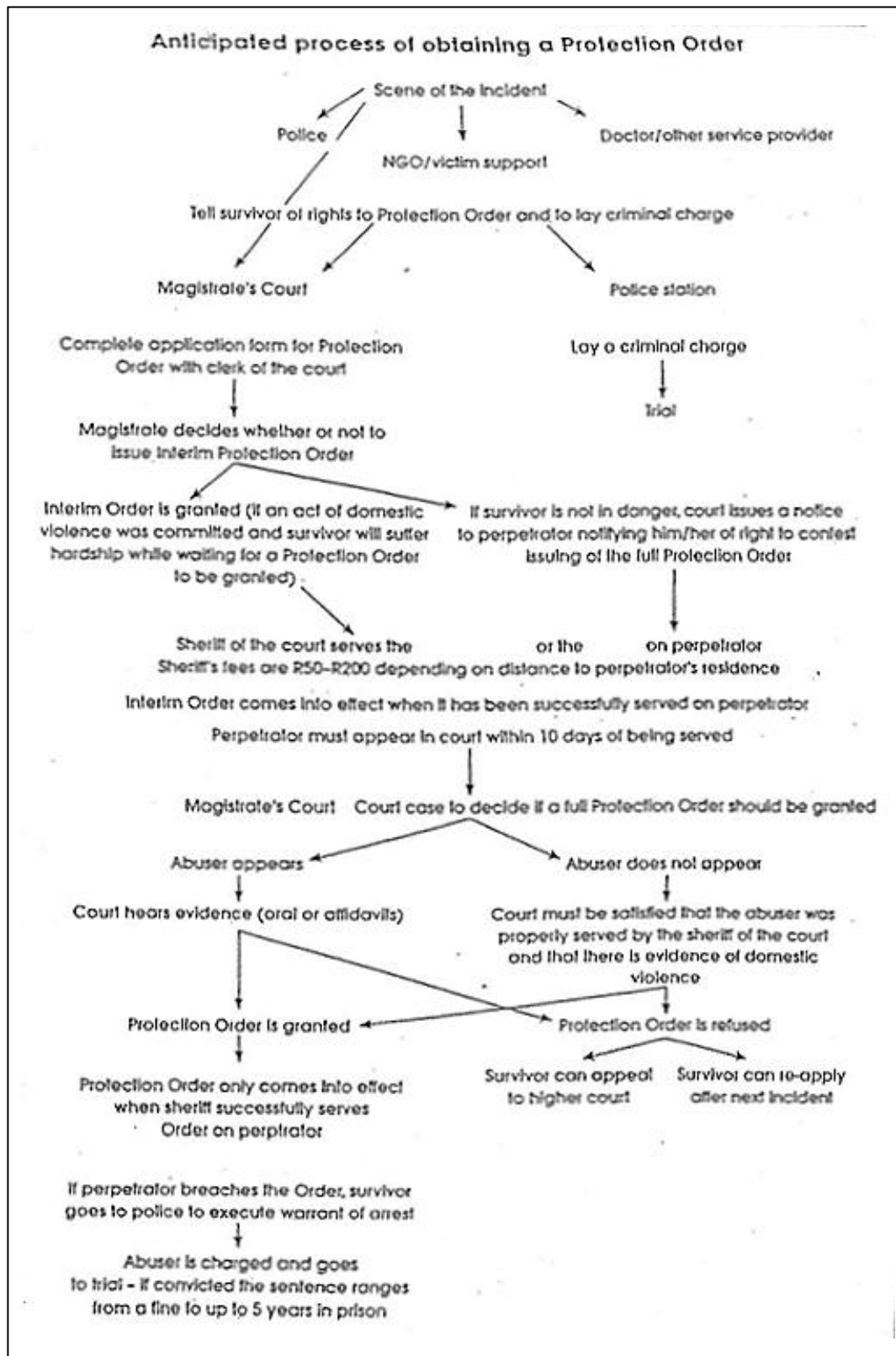
Figure 6

Anticipated Process of Obtaining a Protection Order
Source: Lebo Malepe, Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre and the Justice College, Pretoria

The legal ramifications of an arrest are supposed to communicate some degree of deterrence and to prevent further abuse from occurring.

As Sandra Horley (2000:214) has noted, the process of arresting and charging an individual delivers four strong messages:

1. To the woman the message is that she is not to blame. She is no different from someone who has been mugged or burgled. It shows her it is important, that she deserves better and that she can regain some real power to put an end to her suffering.[6]
2. To the abusive man the message is that what he is doing is wrong, that he has no justification for controlling women and that there is a price to pay. But making men accountable for their actions will ultimately increase their self-esteem.[7]
3. To society as a whole the message is that the abuse of women is un-acceptable, criminal behaviour. Once that is universally recognised, police, health care professionals, neighbours, friends and family can feel that it is their right and duty to intervene when they suspect that a woman is being abused in the home.[8]
4. To the next generation, the children. They must be brought up knowing that violence towards women is not the norm, but a punishable crime. That there are ways of handling problems other than being violent and abusive.[9]

From the above it is apparent that personal culpability of the violence is imperative in an attempt to communicate intolerance not only by the State but by others who allow domestic violence in society to continue. Feminist thinking also values the dynamic of accountability. As Linda Mills confirms:

> Mainstream feminists have legislated that he (abuser) be taken out of the context of his biography and into an automatic legal process in which he be held absolutely accountable for any violence he committed. He will be defined as a product of patriarchy, and his masculine privilege will account for the sole source of his aggression (2003:3).

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[6] The men in my study deflected blame onto their wives and painstakingly reiterated that they were victims at the hands of their wives who indeed were to be blamed for having them arrested.

[7] Many of the respondents in my study often justified their actions as being provoked by their wives.

[8] This is where the role of clergy becomes important in that the legal system makes it compulsory to intervene, hence breaking what Nancy Nason-Clark calls the "Holy Hush".

[9] As I have sought to show in Chapter Five, intergenerational violence was a significant factor for some of the respondents in my study.

Here again is evidence of how the privileges of patriarchy can impact on those women who encounter domestic violence within their marriages.

Below are many of the typical statements respondents shared on their encounter with the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the criminal justice system. One respondent consistently and yet unconvincingly pleads for his alleged innocence. Evident in his declaration is his repeated sense of virtue and lack of comprehension of his wrongdoing. He even records his lack of defence and projects his emotionally vulnerable position:

> *I feel like crying.*

> *Yes, I have been arrested many times but I didn't do anything. When the police come I feel like crying because I didn't do anything. The rest of the time she is cross and the police would come.*

As discussed in Chapter Five, the privilege of justification is afforded to men who are violent through their association with hegemonic society. The statement *"I didn't do anything…"* is similar to the statement alluded to earlier where one of the respondents declared *"I just slapped her.'* Hearn (1998a:107) clarifies that this justification by the man minimises accountability for the act(s) of violence.

The respondent below details allegations of police brutality and mistreatment, citing his state of inebriation as being the main reason for further abuse by the police officer. He also communicates that the callousness of the police officer prevented any further explanation of his innocent plight as a victim. This respondent makes allegations of repeated physical assault in both police stations that he was taken to:

> *They took me to Durban North Police Station and then to C. R. Swart [Durban Central Police Station] and when I go there I asked what I am charged with. They [Police Officers] started to hit me. You know the policeman you can't speak to them; if you speak to them when you*

are drunk you are always wrong even if you try. When I ask them what
was my charge they started to hit me again.

Yet another respondent articulated his state of inebriation as a reason for the police not attempting to understand him. Moreover, he draws a distinction by the police's response rate as compared to when a shooting incident takes place. He almost makes the implication that domestic violence should be ranked or relegated to a minor offence in comparison to a shooting. This dynamic of minimizing the act of violence in comparison to other crimes was popular among all the respondents who nonverbally during the focus group discussions appeared to support this respondent. All respondents without hesitation viewed police intervention as being partial and biased:

> *They [Police Officers] don't give you a break, especially if you are*
> *drunk. Sometimes I wonder how quickly they come when there is a*
> *fight, yet if you call them when there is a shooting they will take longer*
> *to arrive.*

> *Officers are very quick to come but when you tell them that there is a*
> *shooting they don't come. But if it is domestic crime they are quick to*
> *come, under five minutes they are there.*

One respondent clearly believes he had not transgressed the law and makes the implication of overreaction by the police:

> *Yes, I was arrested for no reason! I wasn't caught with any illegal*
> *thing on me.*

Yet another respondent habitually minimizes his violent action and relegated it to a lesser crime which in his view should not warrant undue attention. For him, his violence is merely viewed as incidental to his relationship with his wife:

I would scream at her occasionally so she would use it at her advantage and she would disappear and when I ask where she was she would say that she was in a safe house. I would say that it was a small thing and you are making a big thing. You screamed at me and I screamed back at you. So to shut you up I would just slap you. Then she would go and say she was in a safe house and I would say that she is making a big thing out of nothing and I would say that she is bluffing [lying]. Why is she treated special because there are people that are involved in serious crimes and they need the safe house? Why is she so special? Basically that is how it started.

This respondent expresses his understanding of the reputation of the police officers and infers their lack of leniency when he is inebriated. As he indicated at the beginning of his narrative, all the police officers were male, thereby perhaps assuming that because he is also male he should enjoy some compassion and consideration of his circumstances. This respondent also reiterated (as noted by a previous respondent) the prompt response by the police officers for assistance, when his wife called the police station. Moreover, there is evidence of the minimization of the incident as a *"small problem"*:

The officers were all male. We don't have money to go up against them. The next time, when there is a small problem she would call the police and say please come. Sometimes when I am sober, I would speak to them and they can understand; but when I am drunk they would get angry saying that I am drunk. Why is that when the woman calls the police they come, when the police get there they are there for her what about me?

Again succumbing to the stereotypes they maintain of police officers, one respondent remarked:

They take the side of the woman.

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The respondent below infers his notorious reputation with the police and continues that the counsel received by the police officer was for him to continue to assault his wife:

> *They [Police Officers] just know me like that. The last time the police said to me you are a big man, come and sit with her. He sat with me the whole night. I explained to him my problem. He said to me next time don't come here because you are going to go to jail. He said "next time you must catch her and pull her by her hair outside and give her a good hiding".*

The disturbing narrative between the police officer and the respondent indicates the importance of more holistic training for police officers who are expected to implement the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998. Clearly, this officer was not acquainted with the prescribed duties that are expected of him as outlined by the National Instruction 7/1999. The statement *"you are a big man"* infers that the respondent typically is not acting in line with the privileges that his male gender affords him.

The comment below by another respondent details the inconsistency and perceived lies by his wife to merely detain him even further:

> *The day of the case she doesn't come. She goes to the investigating officer and says I got another job in Cape Town and came with an affidavit. The officer told me to go home and relax. She came late and she wanted me inside and came there crying and they told her that she must get a divorce this is no place to cry. Second time again she didn't come to court, it's the same thing.*

The respondent below reminisces about his prior marriage and instantly draws the comparison between the two; the second wife being the given cause of his detention in a police cell for a night:

> *I got married to my first wife. She was very nice. We were married for ten years. She died of cancer, so I got married again. This one [wife] made me get detained in a cell. She called the cops[10] and she told them that I hit her. I told them that I didn't and they said its okay and they took me and locked me up in a cell for one night.*

The same self-sabotaging respondent persists in pleading his innocence and continues his pervasive "us vs. them" mentality:

> *Sometimes you come home and they want you to touch them so you can go to jail.*

He astutely confesses of yet another incident with a weapon, but justifies and imputes his further violence when provoked by this wife. His scant and remorseless explanation lacks pertinent information of the actual nature of the injuries sustained by his wife. Central to his narration were allegations of the deliberate lies of his wife which resulted in his arrest.

> *They speak lies….There was a weapon; it was a big chopper [axe]. I use it to cut trees and sometime I use it for big trees. I was working on the ceiling and she took out the ladder. I took it seriously. The two cops [Police Officers] came and she said this is the weapon, which was taken away from us. They locked me up in the van. She made a wrong statement and I got arrested.*

Yet another respondent infers that his wife lied:

> *I had to go to court; my big son and my brother came to the house. So my son says "I don't see my father around here", and she says "you know your father takes a walk on Sunday he doesn't stay at home". My son believed her. She did not mention that I was in jail. He got to know later and paid my bail.*

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[10] A colloquial term for Police Officer.

This respondent makes the claim that the interdict is almost totally beneficial to his wife and infers its applicability over time.

Once you get an interdict she knows that she can use it against you.

Another respondent also notes his wife's insistence in acquiring the interdict:

She insists on it.

When questioned if they were afraid of the interdict they all answered in the affirmative. The comment below describes how the interdict is viewed as a swift deterrent for further violence, yet later it is cited as having a more paradoxical connotation:

It [the interdict] is the thing that keeps us in a respectable way.

The power they [wife] have over us is the interdict and the police, the police who usually take their sides.

As seen below, the respondent describes his reaction in terms of the effect the interdict has on him. Indeed, as cited earlier, exceptionality is a salient feature once again here. It was thus his wife's act of retaliation that had him arrested:

In my case I did not do anything to her, I cooled myself. She came and hit me and I moved back and she handled me but when I handle her now she will bring the cops [Police Officers].

The respondent below infers that although he is a good material provider he is not afforded any indulgence by the police. Yet again, the impression is made of his awareness of the deterrent effect of the interdict:

You put everything in the house. You see me I am smoking and drinking. The police come to my house and they tell me to go outside.

They can see that the grocery cupboards are packed. Now you try to see who is committing a crime, is it me? They take me in a van, book me and keep me for days. When I come back she is back to normal...neutral…she already has the interdict against me so she is just waiting for the next incident, when she is going to call the police.

The respondent below dismisses the notion that the legal system should hold him accountable and thereby views his victim status as being the result of an interfering and meddlesome criminal justice system. He not only trivializes the courts intervention as being unproductive, but simultaneously asserts being at the mercy of the court:

The court must stop issuing the interdict for unnecessary things and they must stop it, they must stop abusing men.

I even have had an incident like that, and I am expected to spend one night in a detention cell…how blind is the court?

Another respondent emphasizes the unproductive and contradictory nature of the interdict which again is reiterated as being to the benefit of women, with no apparent gain to them as men:

When you are living in the same house you are always violating that interdict....There is a part of the law that woman are using to their advantage.

The following thoughts were shared about being detained in a police cell. Evidently, these explanations do not demonstrate the interconnectedness of the interdict and subsequently being blatantly unrepentant of their unconscionable violent actions. These contradictory explanations contain not only justification and excuse for their violent choices, but despite being afraid *"of the interdict"* it does not mean that the non-violence will sustain itself in the future. Justification once again demonstrates itself as integral and indelible to the repertoire of a violent man:

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We don't want to go sleep inside [police cell].

You spend two nights of our life in there. It is a nightmare

This respondent even notes the ageing prejudice he had to succumb to. His identity of being unemployed is further compounded by his advancing and progressive age which is yet another facet of masculinity that is realized, recognized and acknowledged. The intersection of age, class and gender is thus once again evident:

You are not working and they take advantage of that. I am sixty-six years old...too old for jail.

Interestingly, three respondents registered their concerns regarding the sexual faithfulness of their wives in their marriages. Their wives actions to have them arrested were thus viewed with suspicion and mistrust:

We don't trust her, she got us inside she did wrong and we don't know what she has been doing while we were inside.

She knows that she can throw us one side and get another one. With her beauty she knows she can get another man. She throws us out and can get another man.

You are not the one who was meant to be inside and when you come back and you catch her with a man, why do you have to be the one to abide by the law.

The respondents below record the gravity of having them detained which almost infers how unforgiving such an action can become to them:

If someone puts you in jail you don't forget.

They [wives] would have us rot inside….That is unacceptable.

That is a fact….There must be a reason to be jailed.

They dismissively cite discrimination by the criminal justice system and deflect attention from their own perpetration of violence. Anderson and Umberson (2001:372) also found that the respondents in their study also claimed that the criminal justice system was specifically biased against men:

> *The South African law is not treating men fairly.*
> *Especially when a man goes to the police and report what she did, will*
> *the police go and arrest her? No, I don't think they would*

> *The law is always bias against men.*

The respondent below is also perplexed by the notion that the majority of the police officers are men. Although he initially raises doubt, he goes on to develop this thought a little further by almost inferring that despite the police officers being men they were not afforded any privileged reaction by the male police officers themselves:

> *Sometimes, it depends on which police come, but mostly the police are*
> *men.*

The following two respondents when released from jail disclosed their retaliation by withholding sexual relations from their wives. There are two imperatives in play here by the men:

  i.   By asserting their unique control;
  ii. Power which again manifests itself to communicate a counter-attack and the futility of such an action.

This becomes patently clear in the following statements:

> *When you go and come out after two days when everything is resolved that is the same man you are going to be in bed with; it doesn't make sense.*

> *I refuse to have sex.*

The following two statements conclusively point to the interpretation the respondents have of the interdict in their lives, i.e., purely for the benefit of their wives:

> *This interdict is a part of the law that woman are using for their advantage.*

> *When I was in Westville Prison I spoke to other men and realized that they too are there for nothing.*

Evident also from the narratives of the respondents was complete ignorance of the duties that are incumbent on police officers to perform once a case is reported. The National Instruction 7/1999 sets out the duties for police officials at the scene of domestic violence or when a domestic violence case is reported:

> 1. Background
> The Domestic Violence Act, 1998 (Act No. 1 16 of 1998), (hereinafter referred to as the Domestic Violence Act) imposes certain obligations on a member who receives a complaint of domestic violence. This instruction is intended to provide clear direction to a member on how to respond to a complaint of domestic violence in order to comply with the obligations imposed upon him or her in terms of the Domestic Violence Act.
>
> (5) Responsibility of a member
> (1) A member who attends a scene of domestic violence must first of all determine whether the *complainant* is in any danger and take all reasonable steps to secure the scene as set out in paragraph 6 (below) and to protect the *complainant* from any danger.
> (2) Once the scene has been secured, the member must-

(a) render such assistance to the *complainant* as may reasonably be required in the circumstances (this is more fully set out in paragraph 7 (below));

(b) if it is reasonably possible to do so, hand the Notice, contemplated in paragraph 10 (below), to the *complainant* and explain the contents of such notice to the *complainant*;

(c) assist the *complainant* or make arrangements for the *complainant* to find a suitable shelter and to obtain medical treatment, as set out in paragraphs 8 and 9 (below); and

(d) investigate the alleged incident of domestic violence and gather all available evidence in respect of any offence which may have been committed during such incident.

(8) Duty to assist the complainant to find suitable shelter

(1) In terms of the Domestic Violence Act, a member must assist the *complainant* to find suitable shelter or make arrangements for the *complainant* to find suitable shelter.

(9) Duty to assist the complainant to obtain medical treatment

(1) In terms of the Domestic Violence Act a member must assist the *complainant* to obtain medical treatment or make arrangements for the *complainant* to obtain medical treatment.

(10) Provide *complainant* with Notice and explain content to *complainant*

(1) In order to ensure that a *complainant* is informed of his or her rights as well as the remedies at his or her disposal in terms of the Domestic Violence Act, the member must, where reasonably possible to do so, hand to the *complainant* a copy of the Notice as provided for in the Domestic Violence Act (Form 1 to the Regulations in terms of the Act) in the official language of the *complainants* choice.

(2) The remedies at the disposal of a *complainant* in terms of the Domestic Violence Act, are as follows:

(a) the right to lay a criminal charge;

(b) the right to apply for a protection order; or

(c) the right to lay a criminal charge as well as apply for a protection order.

It is important to inform the *complainant* that laying a criminal charge is not a prerequisite for applying for a protection order.

(3) As the Notice must be provided to the *complainant* in the official language of his or her choice, the member must ascertain what language the *complainant* understands.[11]

The obligations and duties of the South African Police Service (SAPS) outlined above are distinctively stated and leave little (if no) room for misinterpretation. Should an officer be negligent in her or his duties in this respect there are immediate

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[11] See Appendix #7 National Instruction 7/1999.

consequences. Lisa Vetten notes that the obligation of a police officer to arrest an abuser if he does not obey a protection order made against him:

> Failure by the police to comply with these obligations constitutes misconduct and the National Commissioner of South African Police Services is required to submit six-monthly reports to Parliament detailing the number and nature of complainants against the police for failing to adhere to these statutory obligations (2005:5.)

It is vital to acknowledge that incidents of domestic violence in South Africa are not captured independently; rather, they are included among statistical information relating to assault, grievous bodily harm, assault common, rape, attempted murder, pointing a fire arm, etc.

According to the National Instruction 7/1999, once the South African Police Service (SAPS) has offered immediate assistance, the following are the specific duties of a police officer:

> 11. Specific powers and duties of members in terms of the Domestic Violence Act
> (1) Seizure of arms and dangerous weapons in terms of a court order
> (a) The court may, in terms of Section 7(2)(a) of the Domestic Violence Act, order a member to seize any arm or dangerous weapon in the possession or under the control of a respondent.
>
> (2) Arresting a person with a warrant who contravenes a protection order
> (a) Where a respondent has contravened any prohibition, condition, obligation or order contained in a protection order, a *complainant* may hand the warrant of arrest together with an affidavit, wherein it is stated that the respondent contravened such protection order, to any member.
>
> (d) If the member is of the opinion that there are insufficient grounds to arrest the respondent, he or she must immediately hand a Notice to the respondent as provided for in Form 11 to the Regulations. The member must insert the first court day thereafter as date of appearance on the form and complete the certificate, provided for in the Notice. The member must put the duplicate original of this Notice in the docket which is opened for the contravention. This docket must be taken to court on the first court day thereafter.
> (e) Whenever a warrant of arrest is handed to a member of the Service as contemplated in subparagraph (a) (above), the member must inform

the *complainant* of his or her right to simultaneously lay a criminal charge against the respondent, if applicable, and explain to the *complainant* how to lay such a charge.

(3) Service of documents

A member may be ordered by the court to serve an interim or final protection order. If a member is ordered to serve an interim protection order, the member must serve the order without delay as it only becomes binding on the respondent once the order has been served on him or her. As long as an interim protection order remains unserved, the *complainant* may be in danger. A final protection order becomes binding immediately upon it being issued even though it may not have been served.

(4) Accompanying *complainant* to collect personal property.

(a) The court may in a protection order, order a peace officer (which includes any member) to accompany the *complainant* to a specified place to assist with arrangements regarding the collection of the personal property specified in the order. It is important to note that the purpose of accompanying the *complainant* is to ensure the safety of such *complainant* and not to involve the member in any dispute regarding the ownership of such personal property. Such member must take reasonable steps to ensure the safety of the *complainant* during the collection of the property.

(b) The *complainant* and the member may enter the premises mentioned in the protection order in order to collect the personal property of the *complainant* as stipulated in the protection order. Before entering a private dwelling, the *complainant* and the member must however audibly demand admission and must notify the occupant of the purpose for which they seek to enter the dwelling.

(c) If, after having audibly demanded admission to a private dwelling, consent to enter is refused by the respondent, he or she contravenes the protection order and is therefore guilty of contempt of court. In such a case, the member may use such force as may be reasonably necessary in the circumstances to overcome any resistance against entry, including the breaking open of any door or window of such premises and enter the premises and arrest the respondent, whereafter the *complainant* may collect the said personal belongings.

(d) If a member is approached by a *complainant* to accompany him or her and it is not possible to do so immediately, the member must, if no other peace officer is available to accompany the *complainant*, arrange a reasonable time when it will be suitable to do so.

(e) If a peace officer accompanies a *complainant* in accordance with a protection order to collect his or her personal property, the peace officer must ensure the safety of the *complainant* while he or she removes the property specified in such protection order.[12]

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[12] See Appendix #7 National Instruction 7/1999.

Although these legislative dictates are effectively detailed within a legislative framework, the reality of their articulation in practice is both challenging and difficult. One of the reasons for this, I would argue, is that the State relies predominantly on the criminal law to promote gender justice, presuming that people will suspend their religious and cultural beliefs in favour of the law. This rarely occurs with perpetrators of violence, but officers of the law are not exempt from patriarchal practices that are rooted within their own religious and cultural worldview systems either. Nason-Clark (2004:305) thus addresses a pertinent question on "how and why would mandated intervention for batterers become more effective if the courts recognized the potential and power of religion?"

Managay Reddi (2007) also supports that the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 as an "unequivocal manifestation of the objective of the legislature towards ensuring that the State executes its constitutional duty and international commitment to eradicate violence against women". However, as Reddi points out, the "continued under-resourcing of courts and police stations combined with police ineffectiveness and judicial insensitivity has diminished the effective implementation of the Act" (Reddi 2007:509).

The men in my study consistently depicted themselves as helpless victims at the hands of the police. Indeed, they presented themselves as strong, rational and seemingly non-violent in the landscape of gender politics. Repeatedly, they placed the responsibility for their detention on the wives. Generally, the men expressed their fear of the police who for them clearly institute the law. They infer that the police are intolerant to their explanations, hence their victim status. Interestingly, here too is the fact that their roles as victims are emphasized where they are powerless when detained by the police. Within this role of victimhood the prevailing intolerable and deplorable prison conditions, which they have to endure for the duration of their stay of incarceration is also emphasized. Clearly they feel harangued by the police. The respondents continue their thoughts on their interaction with the police:

> *The police position is that of coming to the house locking us up and*
> *getting us to jail. They arrive at the house and do not wait to hear the*

man's side of the story—who is right and who is wrong. The first thing they do when they come is [to] listen to the women. Next thing is they [Police Officers] beat the poor man up and say come let us go.

When they [Police Officers] came he showed me his badge that he is a police man and he has an interdict against me. Then he said we have to go to the Police Station. At that time I never did anything. I was taken in.

When I came into my house and asked for a cup of tea, as the gentleman of the house the next moment the woman runs across and calls the police. I just asked for a plate of food. That was the accusation because I pay for the food. She takes it the other way round. She sees a police van coming and she takes all the groceries from the house and throws them away. I told them no, what the accusation this woman is making is a mouthful of lies. So who is right and who is wrong? It is not me.

They assaulted me in the at home. They put me in a detention cell for three days, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. I felt very sick and miserable.

I was also assaulted, when they came to pick me up.

Here the respondent notes his mutual hostility by being assaulted by a younger officer who discriminated and disrespected him. Again, age is viewed as integral to the masculine identity. In terms of social hierarchy, the two groups, the young officer (powerful) and the older respondent (powerless) negotiate an ageist inter-generational attitude. "Compassionate ageism" was clearly expected by the respondent:

The police came and they took me to the back of the van and they said to me, "You are wasting our time we have big things to do". I went and opened a charge of assault against the Police Officer. I said to the

policeman, "You are such a young fellow and you hitting me like this, you could be my son. Do you hit your father?"

You won't open a charge against a police man they will give you more hiding.

Another respondent narrated his initial encounter with police, which he traces to his childhood. Ironically and somewhat cynically, he concludes that his mother-in-law posted bail for him:

When I was young before I got married, I was naughty. I was smoking [cannabis]; I was sentenced when I was fourteen years. I stayed in custody. I was sentenced on the first of August and stayed the whole month of August until my parents came to fetch me.

I was still smoking dagga [Cannabis] when I got married. Whenever I had a small drink my wife will shout at me. She will take my stuff and throw it away. She locked me up once; I was asleep because I had no place to go to. It was a July holiday and we were at my Dad's house and I told her that I am taking the children. I came with my father's car. She started making noise with me. I said I wanted a jersey and she did not want me to go inside and get a jersey and started pulling me. That night it was cold. She said I was upsetting the child. That night she hit me and then the temper built up, the rage came and I hit her on her head and she cried and called the police. The police did not come same time so I took the child and we went back home and then 4 o'clock in the morning there was a knock on the door and we were fast asleep at home. I opened the door and they asked me my name and then I told them my name. They did not say anything else to me, I was arrested and had to appear in court. My son woke up when I was getting arrested and my sister saw the police taking me. I was suffering in my cell and I was wondering who is going to pay my bail. At that time I did not have enough money. Then I phoned my mother-in-law in

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Phoenix and told them to phone the police. I was in Westville [Prison] for three months in, awaiting trial and I had to pay R 1,300 bail just because a woman produced an interdict. When explaining it to the magistrate I said to him I am guilty under explanation even though there is no evidence. He said "No you cannot say that in court!" I spoke to the magistrate again and told him to release me. My poor mother-in-law came to visit and the person who caused me to be there was her daughter.

In my study, all seven men spent various periods of time in police detention or in prison. If this representative sample is any indication of the costs incurred by the State to maintain them in such a facility, which is not only financially constraining but equally a challenge to the fiscal wellbeing of South Africa. According to Chaskalson and De Jong (2009:90) imprisonment of an "awaiting trial detainee cost to a taxpayer is R 2.2 million". As a result, they recommend that "issues of bail should be investigated purely so that it can be determined if bail is not been taken up because the inmate cannot afford it" (2009:92), as noted by the respondent above.

Jeff Radebe, Minister of Justice addresses this concern in his speech on 04 March 2010, where he detailed his plans for addressing overcrowding in prisons and the "controlled release" of those who had been given a bail or R1, 000 or less, but were unable to make payment.[13] The argument advanced here by the above respondent, is should the cycle of poverty continue to imprison him only because he is disenfranchised? Logically and incrementally, the obvious spiralling cost to the South African fiscal and the ever-increasing prison population is a compelling deterrent for men who have been imprisoned previously to never return, as the two respondents below reveal:

I am never going back.

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[13] See, Media briefing for Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster presented by Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development J Radebe. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2010/10030410451001.htm/> [Accessed 03 January 2012].

I would not want to ever go back in there, it is not a nice life in there you cannot even smoke a cigarette inside there.

This respondent's narrative suggests being erroneously arrested since he does not view verbal abuse as serious enough to warrant detention. He justifies his physically violent interaction with his wife as almost being rewarding:

I was put in a detention cell for no reason because she told the police that I hit her and then the police came and took me to the station. The guy showed me that he is a cop [Police Officer] and I was in my pyjamas ready to go to bed at about 20h45. They said to me I am a mystery guy every time they search for me they do not find me. The next morning when I came out they asked me did I raise a hand to her and I told them no, I only swore at her.

Other respondent discuss freely about the unpleasantness of their time spent in jail:

Yes, I was detained, one night, one day, but I have never gone to Westville Prison, just in a normal cell.

I was there for three full days, including the weekend.

The respondent below communicates his fear and anxiety of being detained:

I was arrested on a Sunday at about nine o'clock in the morning until Tuesday, ten o'clock. That was forty-eight hours. It is like going into the lion's den. You go in there to be eaten. Whatever you have they will take it away from you.

Jeremy Gordin (2010:413) validates the above respondent's feelings. He notes three concerns about the experience in a South African prison. First, he contends that "no one should be subjected to even one night of detention in a local prison, given the conditions". Second, he maintains that it is "undesirable for prisoners who are

entitled to bail to be detained simply on grounds of poverty", and finally, he warns that even "a short spell in a South African prison can be a death sentence owing to the high incidence of rape and consequent HIV/AIDS infection". These legitimate concerns shared by Gordin were often raised by the respondents who dreaded their experience of prison. They add another dimension of prison life, namely, the presence of a perverse gang culture:

> *Yes, because we do not know anything about jail they have a lot of rules. So if you are in there you have to follow some rules. There are gangs in there so if you stay in there you had to follow the rules of a gang.*

> *The gang members try to force you to join. They want to know which side you are on, are you with the six's, seven's or the eight's. The six's are looking for crime and polish. And the seven's, they are looking for blades, where the man sleeps with another man.*

> *The guards protect you as well, when you have visitors and you got money they make sure that you are protected.*

Other respondents describe their exposure to prison experiences more graphically, whereupon they cite their introduction to the acceptable prison ethos that prevails among the prisoners:

> *Yes, we talk openly with the others in jail. We discuss why we in there.*

> *There is also business going on there so they ask you why you are there so they know how to treat you.*

> *When we in there we have to disclose our positions to each other.*

The respondent below almost construes an encounter that affords him the opportunity to share even his undesirable and distasteful experience with the police:

> *If they know that you were abusing your woman then they put you in the same cell with men with the same accusation. In the cell they ask you what you are there for and what is your encounter. You then tell them what happened and your encounter with the police who just come and take you without hearing the whole story.*

Again, here the respondent discusses that he is not alone in his negative experience with the police and that other prisoner's also encountered similar treatment, hence the inference of a supportive element becomes evident between them:

> *When the police arrest you, and you are in prison, you tell the other prisoners what happens and then they will also say I also had the same experience. So we support each other, we give advice to each other.*

The respondents below cite the appalling conditions within South African prisons that they are expected to endure:

> *When you are in there sometimes there is no food, no water, and no tea, no nothing. Other people get sick in that place; you sleep on a thin sheet. When the doctor came to give me a check-up, I could not breathe; my chest was tight and I was very, very sick.*

> *...and the toilet is right there. It is stinking. It is very bad.*

> *What the police do to you when you get there is another thing. They take your shoelaces, and they take your belt and watch and when they are done with you then they write your charge in white slip and give you a copy.*

Noting the complaints of the respondents concerning the adverse conditions in prisons is also observed by Gordin (2010:419) where in 2007-2008 the inspecting Judge of Prisons found the following conditions in South African prisons:

Prisoners at 21 prisons were required to eat with their hands and were not issued with utensils and containers; at several prisons, prisoners were required to sleep on the floor, share beds, or were issued with inadequate bedding; searches were conducted in a dehumanizing manner and male prisoners were required to strip in front of staff and other prisoners with not privacy afforded; there were no facilities in 94% of prisons to separate prisoners with contagious diseases; only 56% of prisoners were equipped with classrooms; only 40% of prisons were equipped with workshops—and only 2% of sentenced prisoners were involved in production workshops; 72% of prisons had dining halls, but the majority of halls were not used for this purpose and meals were taken in cells and more than 40% of prisons were without libraries, although access to adequate reading material is a constitutional requirement.

Beyond the unappealing conditions that the respondents had to contend with, they also found that the opportunity to declare honestly what transpired in the violent incidences, moreover the time spent with other prisoners offered a chance to prepare for court. One respondent in particular was troubled about the sex of the appointed magistrate, fearing that if the magistrate were female then a subjective experience at court was anticipated:

> *Each one of us has a problem and they are discussing it and when the truth comes out and you are with the magistrate you know what to say. You are prepared. But the problem arises especially if it is a woman magistrate, they side with the woman.*

When questioned whether they would prefer a male magistrate, they unanimously responded:

> *Yes, Yes, you see a man is not one sided.*

Here again the respondents were of the opinion that they will not be subjected to any biased treatment if the magistrate was male, almost implying as with the respondent below, collusion by another fellow male:

> *He will not side with the woman.*

With the police, they just come and take you without hearing your whole story, yet with the court the magistrate he sometimes give you a chance to talk, but not for too long.

Seemingly, in the context of justifiable indignation, the respondents perceive themselves justifying their violent choices without recognising the fact that they persistently exert power and domination over these women. However, they are also unmistakably viewed as being powerless in the hands of the South Africa criminal justice system. Within the context of the legal ramifications of their violent acts are the contested power relations that exist. These men appear to be in a contradictory position where at home they were able to demonstrate power that is religiously and culturally sanctioned over their wives, but when introduced to the criminal justice system they were powerless at the hands of the legal system.

3. Domestic Abuse and the Duluth Power and Control Wheel

Central to the understanding of any discussion of power and control is the famous Power and Control Wheel developed by feminist activists, which provides an excellent pictorial image after consulting with women who summarized their violent experiences. Subsequently, the Duluth Domestic Abuse Power and Control Wheel became fundamental to most intervention programmes around the world. Some critics of this model view it as one-sided since it presumes men are to blame for all domestic violence, clearly not a view shared by many feminists. Sardonically, a violent man from Susan Faludi's research group dubbed this wheel "the Powerlessness and Out-Of-Control Wheel" (2000:9).
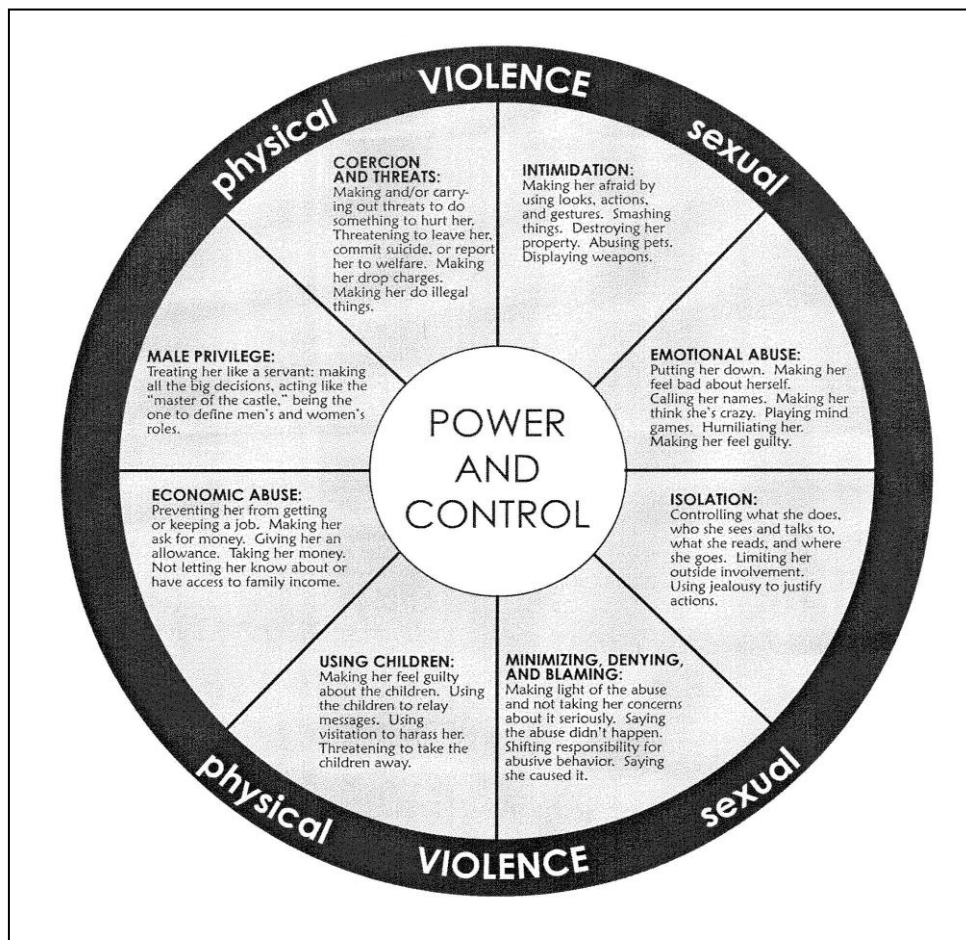
Figure 7

The Duluth Domestic Abuse Power and Control Wheel

Source: Milner and Myers (2007:88)

In my study, there was evidence of several aspects of the Power and Control Wheel (Figure #7 above), for example the use of isolation, where a respondent noted that because of the abuse:

My wife's family do not visit anymore.

The one category identified in the Power and Control Wheel (Figure #6 above) that was not substantially mentioned by the men in my study was that of children. Clearly, we must be aware that not all men are the same and hence they do not all fall into all the categories. Researchers such as Chitando and Chirongoma (2008) and Morrell and Ouzgane (2005) concur that we must also accept and acknowledge that not all

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men are afforded an equal quantity of power, or similar life prospects that they have to navigate throughout their lives as men.

Power is therefore contextually interpreted and shaped by those exact circumstances men find themselves in. There exists the opportunity within this context to either resist or accept its persistent presence in those whose lives are fraught with issues of control and domination. These power relations can be reshaped to create a more egalitarian relationship by spouses where violence is no longer an option. Demonstrated in the dialogue of the men in the study was the sensitive and controlling issue of the protection order (interdict) which circumstantially places them in a double bind, since their violent actions necessitates the issuing of the protection order [interdict], resulting in someone else having power and control over them. Some respondents eloquently cite this protection order as a tool utilized by their wives to threaten against any further abuse occurring within the marriage:

> *They [Police Officer] takes me in a van, books [charges] me and keep me for days. When I come back she [wife] is neutral. She already has the interdict against me so she is just waiting for the next incident, when she is going to call the police.*

> *This interdict keeps us in a respectable way.*

Here again, those that are powerless (wives) are also afforded the opportunity to exercise power and control, communicated by the issuing of the interdict, hence rendering their husbands powerless and oppressed by their wives, the police and the criminal justice system as a whole. The men register their measure of power by their wives only by the fact that they have to anticipate the repercussions of having the interdict issued to them. Their wives use the interdict to be empowered to negotiate around nonviolent conflict resolution.

Central and significant to our understanding of power and control within the marital dyad is the tacit concept that these men are not out of control; hence, they assume responsibility over their violent choices are their own. As seen below, the respondents

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inadvertently view themselves as victims of feminism, in that they feel that their wives have "stolen their presumed privilege of being stronger than women" (Fine et al. 1997:54). Moreover, they stress and discuss the moot issue of their wives physical abilities or inabilities when they attempt to compare themselves and their own physical prowess within a violent incident:

> *You underestimate them; they can put up a fight.*

> *They can do what men can do now but they are not as strong as men are. They are still weaker than men.*

> *They are not physically fit to do anything.*

Yet another divergent view is expressed by this respondent when he extends the debate on physical dexterity that may have fatal consequences, which he witnessed when viewing a motion picture:

> *I think it does not matter how strong a woman is. I watched in a movie the husband of this woman kept on drinking and abusing her and she was fed up and she burnt him. She then went to jail for burning him, but told a different story about this. She even took to lying to get away from accepting that she was a criminal.*

This respondent shifted blame onto his wife for retaliating which he details as a fault in her response to him. In response, he seems almost emasculated in her effort to hit him. Here again, the respondents view their wives as dominating and therefore perceive themselves as victims to a wife who appears masculinized:

> *They can retaliate; when I tried to hit my wife she tried to hit me back. She wanted to get hold of something, I kept on the corner and I caught her by the neck and bust her nose. I do not think she got more strength than man., I gave her a kick and she fell on the floor. She said "You are hitting me and you are making me stronger".*

The idea of women dominating or retaliating is clearly an assault on the men's religious and cultural sensibilities, particularly in terms of the privileges of headship and respect and the concomitant expectation that women should submit to their husband's authority. Even when respondents present more consistent and continuous patterns of violence, their threshold for violence is still taken for granted:

> *When a man can't take it anymore, he would hit her again and the interdict would come. It is always expected.*

The violence is often extended beyond the marital relationship to others. This respondent narrates an incident with an interfering neighbour, which also had him arrested:

> *I fought with quite a few men…when I was fourteen. I swore at my neighbour when I was under the influence of alcohol and he said "Look at how drunk this man is?" So I said "I am not drinking your money I am drinking my money, it is not your problem" That is how I got arrested again.*

Another respondent cites his experience of being arrested for public disturbance where he extends this explanation to his wife whose enlisting of the police is trivialised yet again:

> *About ten to twelve of us were drinking in public; they [the police] came and took us in. I was in for 1 day and paid bail of R100. But with my wife, she can call the police for every little thing; she really can drive you up the wall.*

Here, the respondent reports how a threat became an act of violence:

> *Recently, about six months ago she slammed the gate and locked me outside. She spat on me and she missed. I said to her "You treating me like dirt, I will show you". When she opened the door I took a broom*

and klapped[14] her on the head and then her eye was injured. There was some blood and she called the police.

Again, what is evident here is the respondent's wife is almost seen as merely the recipient of the violence where little reference is made to her being violated, almost communicating little by way of empathy and interest, even about the consequences of such violent action.

When questioned about his reaction when he saw blood, he responded:

I don't get frightened. She said she was going to call the police to come and pick me up, that night I did not sleep in the house. So when they came to pick me up I was not around.

When questioned how he would react if the tables were turned and his wife had assaulted him, he merely replied:

I would hit her back.

Another responded:

If she did that I would lock her up. She takes advantage of me, she is so small when you look at her but she stands up for her rights. If you do not listen to her then you have a problem.

When questioned whether they thought they could do without women, a prompt affirmative response was received by all. Other respondents elaborated:

You will miss the pleasures that you feel from a woman.

Women always drive you up the wall.

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[14] This is an Afrikaans word used to indicate being physically slapped.

Although the respondent below welcomes the opportunity to talk, the study undertaken by Walker et al. (2010:1685) acknowledges the fact that "the domestic violence field has struggled to find ways to talk to men who perpetuate intimate partner violence".

> *Maybe women should try to sit down and speak to us calmly, like we*
> *are talking right now. They think that we are not providing for them.*

4. Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how my study addresses the relationship of violent men within the marital dyad. In addition, I have tried to unpack and analyse the complexity of how this violence locates itself centrally within masculinities and how power is produced, maintained and sustained. The cultural construction of masculinities demonstrates classism and sexism within the criminal justice system which the men in my study were challenged by.

This chapter also sought to capture how the respondents constructed their inherent privileges of patriarchy as they emerged from the narrative identity of the men in my study. These 'patriarchal dividends' again demonstrate the 'web of associated factors' that positioned the men within a perplexing and contested environment. It is my considered opinion that although the judicial systems' intervention is invaluable, there is little input regarding the role religious communities can play in adding a religious dimension towards accountability and gender justice.

In the concluding chapter which follows, I will seek to show how these patriarchal dividends which are sanctioned by religion and culture continue to hamper resolving the issue of male violence. In so-doing, I will suggest some recommendations towards finding more holistic solutions to the prevalent problem of domestic violence.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Introduction

The objective of this final chapter is to present the main conclusions that emanated from the previous chapters of analysis of the study, and thereafter to present some recommendations and conclusions. It includes broader critical implications particularly with regard to unpacking the issues of power and control evident within the scripts of masculinity that pervade numerous facets of these men's violent lived realities. These scripts are framed within the 'web of associated factors' that constitutes the 'privileges of patriarchy' from a religious-cultural context. Within these privileges I discuss the three broad themes that emanated from the analysis of the study, namely, headship, religion, and the South African criminal justice system.

My African feminist and critical lens bears its imprint throughout this chapter, sometimes dimming and at other times magnifying the extent and human costs which the men ultimately pay for the maintenance of hegemonic masculinities. From broader to the specific conclusions in this chapter, I also anticipate proposals for instilling and inculcating a critical anti-oppressive gendered lens on male power and control which demonstrably has pervaded all facets of the respondents' lives. In addition, some recommendations are contemplated within a healing and non-violent milieu. These recommendations however are not presented in isolation, but are contained under each theme, thereby validating the 'web of associated factors' and the inextricable link with the socio-cultural religious context that was evident throughout this dissertation. Also included within this concluding chapter are pertinent and pensive thoughts by the

Syracuse Culture Workers (2005:14) on "How to End Violence against Women and Children" as cited by the masculine theorist Longwood (2006).

Before summarizing the findings of my study, elucidating its value and proposing recommendations, it is essential to acknowledge the limitations of my study.

2. Limitations of the Study

This study is certainly not without its limitations, these include the following:

i. The exclusive focus of the study was on men and their subjective experiences; hence there was no corresponding engagement of women or same sex couples. Moreover, the objective of the study confined the sample frame to men only.

ii. The study depended on the subjective experiences of the men whose integrity and accuracy on recalling and reporting could be questioned. In this regard, Anne Goetting (1996:19) cites Clifford who captures my reservations when she begs, "I am not sure I can tell the truth….I can tell only what I know".

iii. Because this research was methodologically designed to access a sample of men who are already enlisted on the breakthrough Khulisa Social Solutions, Restorative Justice, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking Programme, it excluded other men who have not been placed on the programme by the courts.

iv. The exclusion of men who are not religiously-affiliated may also be a limitation, but this is purposeful as this research sought to establish if any relationship exists between religion and domestic violence and by implication the constructions of masculinities. My exploratory foundational research affords not only the depth of understanding on the

magnitude and gravity of the 'privileges of patriarchy' within the religious cultural context, but demonstrates the necessity for additional comprehensive scholarly engagement beyond intervention programmes for men who are violent.

v.   Although all men in the sample were religiously affiliated, they were specifically confined to six Christians and one Muslim; hence other denominations or religious groupings were not represented. This inadvertent religious denominational profile dictates an engagement for future research with a larger sample also representing other denominations and religious groupings present within the South African religious landscape. The paucity of such studies has also been noted, hence my study attempted to logically fill this extant gap.

vi.   The seven men who constituted my sample may communicate some degree of inadequate representation; however as established earlier, while a total of 57 men were invited to attend who met the criteria of the study, only the resultant and committed seven respondents completed all four group discussions.

vii.   Yet another demographic factor was the racial profile of all the respondents in my study who were indeed South African Indian. This racial nuance invariably contributed to the culturally and ethnic understanding of domestic violence within this community. However, a more representative and diverse cultural and ethnic sample of other race groupings in South Africa will ultimately lend further input not only for intervention programmes that are culturally and ethnically designed, but will find its impact within the broader context, including, the education of boy children and the criminal justice system.

viii.   The fact that I am female, a South African Indian, an academic, registered social worker, and an African feminist may suggest some degree of bias. Here again I am mindful of Catherine MacKinnon's (1989:45) observation

that requiring women to work with violent men could be seen to put them once again in the role of nurturing men, and other popular feminists who provide the rationale for working with men. Other scholars such as Jalna Hanmer (1996:28) ask a pertinent question: "Why should women expend their energies on men who already receive a disproportionate share of social resources, when there is continuing work to be done with women to repair the damage done to them by men?"

Here, I acknowledge as an African feminist researcher that my study is ultimately about the broader issues of social change and gender justice. Moreover, I am reminded by the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists[1] of the following important principles:

a.   We must strive to inform our activism with theoretical analysis and connect the practice of activism to our theoretical understanding;

b.   At no time should we allow our institutional spaces to degenerate into sites of oppression and undermining;

c.   A spirit of mutual respect based on frank, honest and open discussion of difference must be maintained at all times;

d.   We must constantly reaffirm our commitment;

e.   We must claim the right to theorize for ourselves, write for ourselves, strategize for ourselves and speak for ourselves (Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:9-14).

ix.   The sample was accessed from only one residential area north of the city of Durban that renders services to men who use violence to resolve conflict/marital discord; hence the results cannot be generalized for the entire country. This said, I maintain that context specific good research

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[1] See, Appendix #4: Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists.

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practice can be replicated successfully across geographical and ideological settings.

In my study, normative gender ideology found unqualified and unwavering support with the respondents of my study whose utilization of justification and blame was pivotal to their reasons for being violent. There is also a substantive contribution to our understanding of how such responses captures men within the victim mentality at the hands of their wives and the legal system of South Africa. While this makes their vulnerabilities even more evident, it simultaneously resists the urge to move beyond to foster and pursue a healthier non-violent relationship with their wives. The sociological interpretation of the religious-cultural lives of the men in my study demonstrated consistent challenges of their unique interpretations of scriptural references in holy texts and their lived experiences of their marital violent relationship with their wives. According to the respondents, many of their wives elicited assistance from members of the clergy. This dissonance was not only disconcerting to them, but the seemingly unquestionable 'privileges of patriarchy' that religion affords these men were repeatedly contested in their violent interactions with their wives. Within this dissonance and difference of interpretation there exists potentially the opportunity to change situations of violence into non-violent conflict resolution.

It is within this transformative religious space that Phiri has asserted that:

> God is on the side of women and men who are working to transform situations of abuse. It has also been argued that while women have the primary responsibility to seek transformation, it is a shared task with conscientized men (2002:28).

Despite the fact that extensive narratives on patriarchy by the men captured in the previous chapters may occasionally appear simplistic, these narratives nevertheless serve to reaffirm the cyclical nature of violence that is supported by many religious institutions within our society. Moreover, my study demonstrated that although the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 was a great legal achievement for South Africa which aims to ensure accountability and punitive measures, there were few signs of remorse or regret shown by the respondents in my study for their violent

actions. As a result, I contend in my conclusion for the need to innovate and explore all entry points into the spiritual consciousness of each individual. Popular feminist thinking espouses re(constituting) the self. As consumers of hegemonic masculinities, we should reiterate our concern for the lack of movement into a space of equality. In all of our collaborative and concerted attempts—including my role as an academic and social work practitioner—I am constantly reminded of the prevalence and unacceptably high incidence of child rape, perpetrated predominantly by men. Young girl children, the most vulnerable group in South Africa, have to negotiate and become hyper-vigilant for their own safety, and later when they become mature women, the possibility exists that they will yet be threatened with domestic violence. Demonstrably, it is within the continuum of their lifetime that in South Africa the subjugation of girl children to horrendous gender crimes are becoming everyday occurrences. As discussed and explored in Chapter Seven, accountability and punitive measures have demonstrated limited success and recidivism abounds. Arresting an alleged perpetrator does communicate some degree of deterrence; nevertheless, the severity and enormity of domestic violence continues.

In this study, narratives and discourse functionally enabled the 'private' to become 'public' within the complex, intricate, structural, socio-cultural lives that violent men live. As an African feminist, I engaged with Jean-François Lyotard's famous dictum that "local narratives must replace grand narratives" (1984 cited in Bradley 2005:203). In my study this is endorsed where the "local narratives" of these respondents contribute to our understanding of how hegemonic masculinities continue to sustain themselves within an interlocking socio-religious cultural context.

My interest as an African feminist scholar, academic, and a registered social worker with incremental years of experience in counselling those in marital discord together with an allied resource of anecdotal evidence from years of practice, positions me to interrogate how the simultaneous intersection of the structural socio-religious-cultural masculinities emphasized by the narrative texts of the men promote and sustain hegemonic masculinities. This invariably adds to the detriment of men, in particular those men who choose to resolve marital conflict in violent and dehumanizing ways.

It is from this space, and not as a theologian that I offer critical observations and conclusions.

All subsections are not discretely presented and contain a fair degree of overlap since the intersection of race, class, sex, economic status and religion constitutes the self. If presented singularly, it will render our understanding as marginal and fail to capture the inextricable link of each aspect to the lived experiences of these men. Again, in the presentation of this chapter, the 'web of associated factors' will yet again demonstrate the inextricable interconnection of the 'privileges of patriarchy' and the religious-cultural interpretations of the men. From my study, there was distinct evidence from the narration of the men of an urgent and ever-pressing need to move towards a space of healing and reconciliation not only within themselves, but with their wives.

My recommendations are offered in the language of peace that is all encompassing, spiritual, and non-denominational and with general appeal for any person who is committed to fostering a healthy, rewarding and mutually beneficial relationship across the gender binary. Its applicability transcends all mainstream religions, but most significantly, it can and should have contextual adaptability. Moreover, I am cognizant that my sample was confined to Christianity and Islam, which typically fits the main demographic present in South Africa. However, I make recommendations that are applicable to devout believers and committed atheists alike simply because I am informed and influenced by the work undertaken by the Satyana Institute, particularly with regard to its gender reconciliation programme. Weaved into its modalities are psychological, therapeutic techniques, contemplative disciplines, experiential exercises and transpersonal and spiritual approaches.

Although numerous modalities are employed to address gender equality from different domains of society, I maintain that these efforts must be augmented by a more valorized, comprehensive and transformative modality with wider societal appeal. This squarely will attend to moving towards a space of forgiveness and mutuality for both genders. Again, I am reminded of King and Beattie's words that:

> Spirituality is about life; not merely about struggling to survive; it is also about the tremendous effort to live a fuller, more abundant and more meaningful human life (2001:11).

Hence, if we do not meaningfully engage in healing then we continue cyclically and ceaselessly to hurt. Interrupting this volatile motion can still us enough to contemplate our non-violent fruitful relations. The utility of transformation within the gender equation therefore cannot be undermined. Consequently, the move has to be towards more equitable relationships between the genders.

3. The 'Web of Associated Factors'

My study is further characterized by noting how empty the rhetoric and ambiguities surrounding the popularly held mentality that human rights are women rights. Evident throughout the narratives of the men is particularly how these exact rights of women are contested within the home and beyond. Clearly, within the narratives also emanated the often moot question of religion as hope or hindrance. Numerous accompanying factors of hope within this 'web' were mentioned by the men, whereby religion was interpreted as a resource when it served their stance of headship, but became a hindrance when the clergy were cited as being insufficiently trained and skilled in marital counselling. Any attempt in engaging the men further on reflecting critically on their concomitant thoughts on the question of religion was met with superficial and scant posturing. What was particularly apparent from the study was the extension of the 'web' into the societal implications of the criminal justice system. As a result, the respondents articulated at length their victimhood status that the legal and judicial system of South Africa positioned them in. The reversal of their roles within a punitive and accountable legal system afforded them negligible opportunity to exercise the role of headship. Not only were they expected to accept responsibility for their violent actions against their wives, but they viewed their charge of being issued with a protection order as form of collusion and conspiracy between their un-empathic wives and their perception of a harsh South African criminal justice system. The pervasive mentality that emanated from the narratives of my study was the implication that the men were socialized into assuming superior positions which often

were construed in terms of headship. Hereunder, I discuss how costly it was to these men to maintain and preserve this 'headship' position. This potentially is to their disadvantage and detriment.

3.1. Headship

3.1.1. Healthy Partnerships

The salient notion of headship which denotes superior or hierarchical status within the marital dyad was one pervasive issue that permeated all areas of the lived violent experiences of the men in my study. In similar fashion, the study by Phiri confirms and reiterates the dichotomous relationship between the spouses:

> There is no partnership in the relationship between husband and wife, but male domination and female submission (2002:24).

Unmistakably in my study, men were challenged by headship not only within the marital dyad, but this challenge was also extended towards domestic duties and childcare responsibilities. These challenges were also found within religious dictates and the legal system. I could not therefore employ the simple notions of culture without navigating my critical, African feminist lens of the lived multilayered socio-cultural lives of these men. This was demonstrated in my study by the relationship shared with men and their fathers and ultimately the relationships these men had with their own children. Implicit in my study are children who not only witnessed the violence of their fathers, but attempted (most times unsuccessfully) to come to their mothers' defence. These children become the casualties of this marital conflict. Within my study, men viewed their powerful positions as head to discipline not only their wives but also their children who challenged their authority. The intergenerational patterns of conflict resolution were thus sustained when respondents noted that they learned to be men from their fathers and that their mothers were merely relegated to a 'guidance' position.

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My study also indicates that domestic duties and the divisions of labour were determined within the gender binary. The position of power that headship affords men in the study was accompanied by the related responsibilities inclusive of domestic duties. Here they were decisive about adhering to prescribed traditional roles and were selective about the household chores that they were willing to participate in. Given the South African economic landscape and context, this near-obsolete view requires further negotiation between the spouses on the interchangeability of roles in the engagement of domestic chores. The diversity of working practices which women are often invisibly noted for undertaking as they straddle numerous roles within the home is yet another dynamic that married women are expected to manage.

Men in my study were challenged to secure paid employment in the open labour market. Within the context of South Africa's economically challenged developmental environment, this warrants a deeper understanding between them as a couple instead of viewing their marital lives within a simple binary of rigid gendered roles. Again, their meagre salaries became a decisive factor when the breadwinner persona could not be adequately maintained.

Before moving to the fatherhood roles, it is necessary at this point to address the broader implications of neo-liberal economic imperatives and the repercussions these have on the financial constraints men experience. As Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first democratically-elected president declared in his famous speech in front of Nelson's Column, Trafalgar Square, London:

> Overcoming poverty is not a gesture of charity. It is an act of justice…[2]

As outlined in Chapter Five above on the 'privileges of patriarchy', the men in my study were all gravely challenged by their poor economic status. It is well known that despite the emerging black bourgeoisie, many South Africans are becoming increasingly challenged in the present global economic downturn. Significantly demonstrated by the sample in this study was the growing insecurity of finding

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[2] Nelson Mandela's Speech to Trafalgar Square Crowd, 03 February 2005. <www.makepovertyhistory.org/docs/mandelaspeech.doc/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

remunerative work opportunities, hence the joint family income remains substantially low. As detailed earlier, this is fertile ground that can exacerbate conflict which so easily can lead to violent outcomes. Those multi-national corporations which control the purse strings of the world invariably impact the lives of ordinary poor households, particularly in the developing world. They may appear distant and all powerful and too large, yet they touch and control, by dictating the quality of the lives of these families. It may seem like a mammoth task, yet it is necessary in South Africa to mobilize policies and processes that restrain and contain corporate globalization that indirectly aid violence.

Alan Greig (2003) warns that evident is a crisis of self and identity, a "danger that a new orthodoxy is emerging and will only serve to re-secure established hegemonies".[3] Hence, the devious dynamic of control and power will continue to serve its purposes in maintaining its 'web of associated factors'.

The study by Willott and Griffin (2004) also notes that when men had less economic, cultural and social capital, re-packaged gender identities such as the 'New Man' persona in the face of new economic and political demands was seen as an imperative. They concede that the "discursive practice and access to capital resources could position the identities of working-class men in experiencing long-term unemployment" (Willott and Griffin 2004:65). In my study, the respondents have demonstrated how redundant they felt when challenged within South Africa's difficult economic realities. The respondents reiterated how their "breadwinner persona" was constantly challenged; thereby contributing to the many violent arguments they had with their wives. Angus Buchan, the famous South African Christian Evangelical-fundamentalist preacher who gathers hundreds of thousands of men to reinstate "Godly manhood" simply confirms the link between the "breadwinner persona" and respect in an interview with Devi Sankaree Govender on the South African TV documentary programme *Carte Blanche*:

> But what happens sometimes is that the husbands are not doing the job,
> they not protecting you, they are not putting bread on the table, they

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[3] See <http://www.ids.ac.uk/go/news/men-masculinities-and-power/> [Accessed 03 January 2012].

are not disciplining the children. It is very hard to respect a man like that.[4]

Beyond the family context there are broader implications of global capitalism in reshaping gender identity are well-captured by Connell when she reminds us that:

> Neo-conservatism appeals to toughness in the face of challenges, the quick resort to violence, the dogmatism, ethnocentrism and preoccupation with control, all signify (and are intended to signify) a restored masculinity, an authoritative, in-command masculinity (2007:ix).

She further maintains that we cannot regress in terms of equality and human rights. She clarifies that research:

> …cannot stop the bombs, (evident in the United States Iraq invasion, and mass bombing of Afghanistan) but it has a role to play in broadening our understanding of how such things happens, and creating a cultural climate in which they are less likely to happen (2007:ix).

It is clear therefore that the wider ramifications of South Africa's economic challenges invariably impact the lives of these spouses as they negotiate around prioritizing expenses.

Within this headship duty lays economic imperatives that are extended and interlinked to the fatherhood roles that men occupy. Broader implications are also present for men potentially assuming childcare responsibilities as South Africa contemplates the reversal of the traditional women's role of being the primary parent.

3.1.2. The Important Role of Fatherhood

South African researchers, Linda Richter and Robert Morrell (2006) also note that the inescapable AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa has displaced women as the

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[4] Devi Sankaree Govender. Mighty Men. 18 January 2009. <http://beta.mnet.co.za/carteblanche/ Article.aspx?Id=3523/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

dominant caregivers and requires men to step-in and take care of their children. It is within this role reversal that the opportunity is given to men to view their headship positions more positively, particularly by demonstrating themselves as a positive presence not only with their children but within the entire household. The study of fathers in KwaZulu-Natal conducted by Philippe Denis and Radikobo Ntsimane (2006:237) also attests to men playing a marginal role in the lives of their children. Likewise, Morrell (2006) extensively contemplates these gender traditional scripts of fatherhood. The relevance of understanding boy's relationships with their fathers is pivotal to maintaining any adult non-violent relationship, as outlined in my study. It is however imperative to also acknowledge that some boy children do not have their biological fathers present in their lives, hence my suggestion of the many benefits of men inculcating non-violent options when resolving conflict. I nevertheless support Tom Beardshaw's call for a more detailed study of "equitable use of time by fathers and mothers across domestic, caring, leisure and working activities" (2006:306).

These benefits are not alternatives during adulthood alone. Indeed, their incorporation within the State school teaching curriculum will readily ensure the reaffirmation of the diversity of gender roles. I would thus recommend that we should commence with this change at the school level on gender education of both boy and girl children. Together with this is the recognition of how the curriculum design and attended pedagogy perpetuate gender inequality. A substantial portion of the curriculum should be devoted to reflect on gender-role stereotyping. Within this space, the notion and meaning of headship can positively extend beyond just a "breadwinner portfolio" into considering the diversity of the fatherhood role. Such an effort will prevent the transmission and maintenance of stereotypical dichotomous roles of parents across the generations. Here too, it will invariably mean young boys will learn fathering from a space of nurturing compassion and care that can be communicated and typified in future relationships, not only with women, but with men also.

As noted by the respondents in my study, caring for their families is central to becoming a good provider, yet ironically they live violently. As altruistic as it may appear, Biddulph (2007:172) calls this "spiritually parasitic" for both the wife and children of these violent men to bear witness to the loss of self.

I continue to contemplate how we can purposefully transform the evolution of non-violent boys to non-violent men. This will help address patriarchal oppressive structures that introduce young boys to non-exploitative alternatives, thereby eventually producing, ensuring and maintaining, mutual respect and healthy conflict resolution options as a norm in their adult lives.

Indeed, our identities are "not free-floating" entities (Bradley 2005:212), but situated and located, with their limitations and advantages of ethnicity, gender, age etc. My study shows clearly how men learn conflict resolution skills from the family of origin. Hence, we should be cognizant that the violent blue-printing needs dismantling, commencing from the home, school, and faith-based institutions and society as a whole. Critical engagement and coherence of all influential institutions that impact on informing our moral compass will thus assist in mind-mapping the journey from boyhood to manhood. In this regard, an excellent South African collection of research, as mentioned previously in this study is the book, *From Boys to Men: Social Constructions of Masculinity in Contemporary Society*, edited by Tamara Shefer, Kopano Ratele, Anna Strebel, Nokuthla Shabalala, and Rosemarie Buikema, (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 2007), a text that bears South Africa's strong commitment towards acknowledging and contributing to men's pivotal role in aspiring towards gendering equality.[5]

The book by Linda Richter and Robert Morrell entitled, *Baba Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006) also addresses important themes and questions pertinent to this study. These include:

i.   How does fatherhood feature in the way men understand masculinity?

ii. How did apartheid affect fathers and patterns of fatherhood?

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[5] In this regard, an excellent South African collection of research is Tamara Shefer et al. *From Boys to Men: Social Constructions of Masculinity in Contemporary Society*, (University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town, 2007). This book bears ample witness to South Africa's commitment towards acknowledging and contributing to men's pivotal role in aspiring towards gendering equality.

iii. How do experiences of fatherhood affect the parenting practices of South African men?

iv. What do children want from their fathers?

Not only do the above questions contextualize the experiences of fathers within South African society, but they also reflect on the wider question of "how boys who have been deprived of the presence of a father will learn how to become fathers themselves?" (Denis and Ntsimane 2006:247).

Fatherhood should not be confused with headship. Within religion, the connotation of symbolic fatherhood should be extended to its nurturing and supportive qualities. Furthermore, the clergy should cultivate within their sermons the benefits of how leadership within their various congregations can meaningfully contribute to young men's non-violent development. Demonstrably, it will correct and appropriate references from sacred scripture on leadership and thereby augment an ethos of non-violence within the marital dyad and beyond.

In his contributed chapter to Richter and Morrell's *Baba Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*, Tom Beardshaw (2006:306-316) also raises the concern that social services are failing to engage fathers. I would add that these social services could also extend to those provided by faith-based communities. Beardshaw therefore recommends workshops and materials to help men and women examine the roots of distrust in their relationships, violence in their relationships and the implications of relationships that include children. These workshops, I advance, can be initiated and conducted by faith-based organizations that not only possess the infrastructure to accommodate such programmes, but who afford the clergy the confidence to engage more intelligently and concertedly with family violence. The notion of headship should become a firm feature within these workshops and discourses in order to effectively communicate any misinterpretation, as is evident in the narrative of the men in my study. Moreover, if healthy partnerships are contemplated and examined for their transformative features, both men and women need to be committed to such alternatives. These endeavours could also create opportunities for collaboration with

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other stakeholders on gender justice, thereby establishing further credibility in the skill-sets of clergy that the respondents in my study have pointed to.

Indeed, my study also revealed the multiplicity of masculinities as conveyed by the narratives of the men who constantly reaffirmed their hyper-masculine thoughts even when questioned about homosexuality. The popular hetero-normative mentality that prevailed among the respondents in my study was one of collective disdain against men of homosexual orientation. Furthermore, the respondents constantly displayed discomfort during the discussion on a possible splintered gender identity. They were vehemently opposed to viewing gay men as men and thereby reiterated the interplay of a hierarchy of straight men against homosexual men who clearly were relegated to a lower social order on the heterosexual ladder. They viewed any deviation from mainstream masculinity as an insult to their gender and cited their total and utter lack of tolerance to an alternate demonstration form of hegemonic masculinities. Their loyalty to masculinity clearly obviated any contemplation of further discussion or engagement on homosexuality. Here again, the clergy within a spirit of tolerance and recognition of constitutional rights can effectively create space for critical discussion to occur, yet with a difference. These efforts can demonstrate and inculcate mutual respect for healthy fulfilling relationships between men and other men, and affirm their relationships with women.

The men in my study also asserted their headship and hyper-masculine identity being transformed into victims by the criminal justice system once they have been arrested by the South African Police Service (SAPS). Obviously citing mistreatment by other male Police Officers, they fleetingly viewed their prison experience as a deterrent in engaging in further violence. They suggested dynamics of hetero-normativity were even present within the confines of the prison when they engaged with other men whose advice they solicited concerning their impending court appearances. Beyond being challenged by maintaining a hyper-masculine identity, they were "mistreated" by male police officers, who seemed to "take sides with the women", hence a betrayal by their own gender.

Another facet of maintaining hyper-masculinities from my study was that of substance and alcohol abuse by the men. Ruby Payne (2003:181) recounts that in machismo culture, men are expected to both "fight hard and drink hard". Nothing is more aptly captured by the respondents in my study. Although we cannot conclusively state that substance and alcohol abuse causes violence, research does show that it does predispose the person toward being violent. Substance and alcohol abuse can thus be viewed as mediating the expression of violence. Moreover, within an existing dysfunctional marital relationship, excessive substance and alcohol abuse will impede any progress towards attaining mutual resolution. In future studies it would be interesting to explore to what degree violence would abate once a violent man achieves sobriety.

If substance abuse is to temporarily suspend the inner connection of a violent man's actions then the possibility of reconnection becomes even more remote. Substance abuse is one alternative to temporarily render an anaesthetic to the gaping wound of domestic violence. This exacerbated situation will certainly short circuit the healing process. In contemplating available healing options, religion could also be a resource. Indeed, Christopher Ellison and Kristin Anderson (2001:273) maintain that those men attending religious services are less likely to have alcohol and drug problems. They advance the following reasons:

i.   The role of religious reference groups in guiding individuals towards positive health behaviours and lifestyle choices;

ii. The role of internalized religious norms and the threat of divine sanctions in discouraging deviant behaviour, including substance use and abuse;

iii. The role of religious faith in promoting hopefulness, a sense of purpose, self-control, and relief from personal problems, thereby reducing the risk of addiction;

iv.   The threat of social sanction, ranging from embarrassment to ostracism from religious communities, amongst other factors.

I also advocate that any treatment programme on domestic violence should identify within its treatment modality a segment that interrogates and determines the extent of the abuse of substances as a contributory factor. Even in individual counselling situations, initially establishing substance and/or alcohol abuse within the marital dyad will not only lend itself to an expedient and sustained change effort towards non-violence but avert distortion of communication between the spouses.

Other examples of hyper-masculinities littered across the current international political landscape include the current President of South Africa, Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran, Silvio Berlusconi of Italy[6] and Nicolas Sarkozy of France, who all have demonstrated the pleasures of power which they wield. Many scholars have argued that this must be viewed as a backlash to feminist attempts to engage on the sustained use of power and control, not only from the boardroom, but in the bedroom as well. Incrementally, the pressure these men place on themselves adds to the demise of their identity as hegemonic men. My African feminist principles urge me to "question the legitimacy of structures that keep women subjugated" (Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:4). As mentioned earlier in this research venture, one such recent legitimacy in South Africa was the contradictory and contested appointment of the Constitutional Court's Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng. Interestingly, on his social-networking, Facebook status page he states that he is "appointed by God" and that he testifies that he will comply with the South African Constitution since "it is the law made by my Government, which I must obey according to the Bible". His vexing and worrisome thoughts on the status of women, domestic violence, rape and marital rape appear referenced in Chapter Seven, where he appears to be informed by traditional interpretations of so-called Biblical law, which views women as the chattels and property of their husbands. His appointment to the highest office of justice in the country will be followed with keen and close interest by women rights and advocacy groups to assess how he negotiates issues of social justice. Moreover, his vociferous

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[6] Berlusconi resigned as Prime Minister of Italy, effective 16 November 2011.

views on homosexuality as a sin before God, which can be restored through prayer, may also find resonance with many religiously fundamentalist and politically conservative South Africans, as indicated by the response from the men in my study. South Africa is notorious for its hate crimes against gays and lesbians, where its citizens are grossly acquainted with "corrective rape". As South Africans, we recognize the proclivity for interpersonal violence is further compounded by introducing further atrocities, particularly against women, children, those living with disabilities, the vulnerable, and those living at risk.

As noted above, headship expects maintenance of the hyper-masculine identity despite the accelerating costs to men in the process. However, the possibility of a non-violent masculinity will augur well in negotiations towards a more egalitarian and harmonious relationship between the genders. Alan Greig (2003:13) gives us a glimpse into a world of "gender difference without gender hierarchy". My study does not make speculative assumptions, since the men offered ample examples which attest to their definition of being hegemonic men. Neither am I propagating the non-violence agenda exclusively for men only. More broadly implicated and tacitly communicated are the social relations of women also. Observed in their narratives were the oppositional social relations not only with women but also with homosexual men. Raewyn Connell (1995:40) points to the rarely acknowledged unspoken slogan in academic research of the sexualization of men's world whereby "every straight man is a target for gay liberation". The homophobia alluded to by the men in my study views them as challenged by their own sense of hierarchy in a popular gender-ordered society. Their thoughts extended in their narratives to male homosexuals who in their minds are relegated to a lower social order, simply because they do not ascribe to the common hegemonic masculine scripts. If left uncontested, misogyny will grimly be the next logical step. If homophobia and misogyny lay at the heart of the gender binary, they will inevitably compound our solutions around domestic violence, thereby becoming even more intricate, complicated and increasingly difficult to contemplate. The momentum of change is too slow and sluggish towards re-packing and re-defining in our gendered society. Clearly, if the pace to transform is not increased we will continue to live violent lives unabatedly. My impatience coerces me to shift my gaze from the victim mentality which was evident in my study where men

consistently saw themselves as being victims of their tyrannical wives, the unjust justice system and the deflating economy. Contemplating their wives as victims to their violence was conspicuously absent in the narratives of the men in my study! Here again, I suggest we move our discussion forward and relinquish the victimhood mentality that maintains headship and embrace a reconciliatory healing matrix instead.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, headship, which positions men in a challenging position of control and power, was easily tested on the legal and criminal justice encounters that the men were exposed to. This is yet another thread of the 'web of associated factors' which was revealed in my study and that is discussed further below.

4. Legal and Gender Justice Endeavours: Vacillating between Hope and Hindrance

As noted in Chapter Seven, all the men in my study encountered the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 via the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the Justice Department. To reiterate, the men narrated at length the ironic position that the Act placed them in. For them, they were the unwilling victims of their wives and the legislation of the country which did not recognize their superiority that hegemonic masculinities have afforded them. Although the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 is lauded as one legislated effort, it is not without its flaws and challenges, particularly evident to those who attempt to access it easily. Two studies undertaken to assess its implementation in the Western Cape by Parenzee et al. (2001) and Mathews and Abrahams (2001) have thus indicated the following challenges:

   i.   Ever increasing travel costs to police stations by women which are not always easily accessible especially in rural courts;

   ii.   The prohibitive costs of transporting witnesses;

iii. Many women experience difficulties, such as finding money for documents to be served;

iv. Some women withdraw their applications because of the overwhelming nature of the legal process;

v. The courts are unable to cope with administration requirements of the Act;

vi. Clerks of the court should assist women in completion of application forms; however, due to constrained resources, this is often not put into practice.

vii. Magistrates often express frustration with the staff shortages, which is a huge handicap in service delivery.

Lisa Vetten (2005:6) also laments that the Department of Justice is "unaware of their own staff shortages, despite being aware of the increase impact the implementation the Act will have on the courts".

Many NGOs such as the Black Sash and the Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre have stepped in to assist with facilitating access to protection orders, but although their assistance is essential it does not augur well for collaboration since it digresses from their core advocacy work and compromises their own capacity. Many of the social work students for example during their practice education are placed by NGOs in magistrates courts to assist in securing protection orders for those who seek them. Clearly here, the intersectoral collaboration will be welcomed by the already short-staffed courts to have volunteers from religious organizations assist with applications etc. Some critics have been quick to remind us that most of the NGOs are State-funded, thereby suggesting the State's intrusion in the legal justice system. Simultaneously, they need to be reminded that many NGOs are also heavily funded by international donors and as Vetten states, her concern is that these organizations:

> …cannot increasingly become the welfare and delivery arms of the State. There is evidence of fragmentized service and poorly managed statutory functions, with no comprehensive evaluative process to assess the courts performance in relations to the implementation of the Act (2005:7).

Vetten also notes in the one report submitted to the Independent Complaints Directorate to Parliament where the following concerns were regrettably tabled:

> Eight police stations in KwaZulu-Natal, the province of this study neglected to submit a record of complaints received from the public regarding police action or the lack thereof.. One hundred and fifteen reports were received by the Independent Complaints Directorate of the police not fulfilling their obligations as set out by the Act. Protection orders are believed to have piled up in Community Service Centres of police stations visited in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, again due to shortage of vehicles and the refusal of Sheriffs to assist the police in servicing protection orders (2005:8).

Interestingly, slight progress is even noted seven years later as quoted by Sipho Masondo in an article entitled "Domestic violence shambles" published in the 22 August 2011 edition of *The Times (South Africa)*.[7] He details an astounding report by the Independent Complaints Directorate which revealed that, of 132 police stations audited by the directorate, only 14 fully complied with the requirements of the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998.

According to Masondo,[8] the directorate's report, tabled in Parliament earlier in August 2011 found that:

   i.   Copies of protection orders were not filed;

  ii.   Copies of warrants of arrest were not filed;

 iii.   There was a shortage of women officers to deal with domestic violence cases;

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[7] Available at: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2011/08/22/domestic-violence-shambles/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

[8] See <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2011/08/22/domestic-violence-shambles/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

iv.   Incidents of domestic violence were not recorded in the domestic violence register;

v.   Protection orders were not served on abusers.

A dearth of training on the provisions of the Act, and insufficient and poor management by station commanders were cited as contributory factors in what amounted to a grave and disconcerting report. Again, according to Masondo, the Independent Complaints report maintained that:

> The lack of sufficient administrative teaching of the provisions of the Domestic Violence Act is apparent from the manner in which SAPS members complete the act registers and forms, and the lack of quality control by station commanders.[9]

When requested to comment, Lisa Vetten, who is presently the director of the Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre, a South African-based women's rights group, conceded that the report was "not surprising and that it has been the pattern since the implementation of the act". She continued further that the police failed domestic violence victims since they were ignorant about the procedures, despite the National Instruction 7/1999[10] that details clearly the duties they are tasked with. Johan Burger, a senior researcher from the Institute of Security Studies' concurs with Vetten. He blames station commanders and offers that, "at many stations there is no proper command and control, many commanders are incompetent. Group commanders and supervisors lack skills, experience, commitment and discipline".[11]

Police negligence and incapacity due to limited access of resources, including the lack of police vehicles etc., remains a constant restriction and hindrance. Ironically, in 2001, the then Police commissioner Jackie Selebi was shamefully quoted on his controversial comment about the Act when he publicly declared that the Act is "made for a country like Sweden not South Africa' communicating his lack of commitment

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[9] See <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2011/08/22/domestic-violence-shambles/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

[10] See Appendix #7 Instruction 7/1999.

[11] See <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2011/08/22/domestic-violence-shambles/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

and confidence in the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998. (*The Star (South Africa),* 14 August 2001). This message clearly communicated a lack of confidence in the Act itself by a then highly influential Commissioner of Police. Another restraint is that Protection Order application forms are only available in two official languages (i.e., English and Afrikaans) which is a particular challenge for those who are partially sighted or deaf since there are no Braille or sign language interpreters available at court.

The Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 obliges the police officer to find healthcare, counselling and shelter services for these women should they need it, but there has been no corresponding obligation on the part of the Department of Health and Social Development to make such necessary services readily available. Again, the financially challenged NGOs and faith-based organizations have to step-in to fill this gap in an attempt to afford women coherent service delivery. Other concomitant factors such as the present financially depressed economy make access for women even more difficult to navigate around, e.g., the cost of transport, separation, relocation, accommodation, childcare services etc. As Lisa Vetten has readily pointed out, perhaps "feminist engagement on the budgetary processes maybe one approach to ensure that these resources exist" (2005:11).

As much as the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 affords women a resource, its effective implementation into practice continues to be constantly challenged, as was shown in my study. What my study most clearly demonstrated was an over-reliance on the criminal justice system as a principal gatekeeper of the safety of women which is simply inadequate. I am therefore of the opinion that although detention communicates some degree of compliance with the law, these efforts should be sustained by constantly engaging these men more broadly than anger management programmes and the like. It would be to our detriment if these violent men return to a society with its 'addiction' to hegemonic masculinities which do not communicate un-equivocally a non-violent space.

In order to maximize on the potential that exists within the Act itself, intersectoral collaboration to promote gender equality becomes a necessity, offering a further

hopeful agenda. Again, commitment from the South African Government is crucial, hence the announcement on 10 May 2009 by the State President, Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma of the establishment of the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities (DWCPD):[12]

> A new ministry has been created for women, children and persons with disabilities, to emphasise the need for equity and access to development opportunities for the vulnerable groups in our society.[13]

Since its formation however, the DWCPD has been riddled with dysfunctionality, a deplorable and appalling track record of lack of accountability, and appears to be in what seems a state of constant inertia. In addition, the DWCPD has been accused of not submitting progress reports for two years in succession, as well as being unable to successfully fill 80% of its vacant positions. To date, these vacancies still remain unfilled. Moreover, it is common knowledge that the DWCPD is further accused of overspending its budget. Finally, the seeming lack of serious engagement on women's issues on the part of the DWCPD is hauntingly embarrassing for a country whose constitution demands gender equity.

My African feminism resolve remains committed to the ethos that men do possess the ability to change and arrest timeously the perpetuation of hegemonic patriarchy. Galvanizing, mobilizing, strengthening, and cohering efforts to eradicate domestic violence cannot be relegated to civil society alone, but commitment from Government must become increasingly relevant, particularly with funding programmes. Many NGOs have concentrated their efforts to work with boys and men; however they are constantly faced with challenges. Dean Peacock (2010) is equally perplexed by the question that if so many initiatives are evident by NGOs, why then have we not had greater success? Answering this question again validates my thoughts that this work is exclusively undertaken by civil society organizations which usually operate on a small scale (and budget) with limited impact and sustainability and reach, and influence only a few hundred or thousand men each year.

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[12] For a full description of this important South African Government ministry, see <http://www.wcpd.gov.za/about_us/> [Accessed 08 January 2012].
[13] See <http://www.wcpd.gov.za/about_us/> [Accessed 08 January 2012].

As a country, we have made measured strides in combating domestic violence. For the countless women who are abused there are an equal number of women who would refuse to be abused. I nevertheless remain concerned about the contradiction between rhetoric and practice. Peter Fawson (2009) is also concerned that a gap in the domestic violence community exists between researchers and service providers not collaborating to incorporate different approaches to end violence. There was an expectation that the gender machinery would bring a profound change and have broader implications not only for women and children, but coherence of services. Such coherence I believe by the DWCPD would afford many joint initiatives to prevent duplication and maximize on gender equality issues. Developing and sustaining public campaigns with other relevant departments including education, health, religious organizations, justice and social development is therefore recommended.

These joint initiatives can be extended to the Department of Basic Education (DOBE),[14] for example in reviewing and including within the school curriculum a critical focus on gender stereotyping and tolerance. This role can be extended in addressing and networking around oppression and advocacy that affect those who are vulnerable in society, inclusive of both men and women. It is within this social justice ethos that religious organizations can extend the dialogue beyond their religious communities and thereby become a voice for those who are beleaguered and disenfranchised, not only locally, but internationally, as an indelible feature in international consultation and policy formation. The DOBE possesses the expertise to increase skills-training and capacity building within the NGO and faith-based communities, inclusive of facilitating access to funding of programmes with an ethos of social justice. Funding of programmes for men has been a controversial issue in South Africa. Although it is well-known that both men and women commit violence, we must be cognizant that the severity and rate of women being abused remains high, as noted by studies in South Africa. The implication for funding programmes is a huge challenge, particularly in allocating services to both genders. It is thus imperative to note Fawson's warning that domestic violence should be viewed as "a

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[14] For a full description of this South African Government department which oversees basic (school) education (Grades 1-12), see <http://www.education.gov.za/> [Accessed 08 January 2012].

human problem which will not take away services from another gender" (2009:1). He succinctly suggests that if "funding is an issue, then policies should change", a view which I am supportive of in spite of the present funding challenges experienced by the National Department of Social Development.[15]

Finally, it is imperative, even mandatory, that an on-going evaluation of present programmes that are culturally relevant with local and contextual appeal becomes a commissioned task of the Ministry.

Interestingly, Peacock (2010:6) suggests using policy to transform "public perceptions of gender roles and practices, through the implementation of social welfare laws that encourage men to be more involved in family life and create social services that facilitate women's full participation in the labour force." Moreover, he suggests policies such as "gun control and laws aimed at reducing excessive consumption of alcohol can reduce risk factors for violence whilst also de-linking notions of manhood from alcohol and gun use" (2010:6). I would like to complement Peacock's suggestion, as evidenced in my study that the policy should be inclusive of all substances and not only alcohol.

Implementation is yet another challenge. Leadership, including senior policy makers, many of whom are men, should commit themselves to implementing and sustaining these policies. When they publicly endorse gender-egalitarian polices then they demonstrate their commitment to other men. Apart from hypocrisy, holding other men answerable for flagrant sexist statement and concomitant behaviour is essential. During the focus groups discussions in my study, the respondents repeatedly made disparaging and derogatory statements about their wives. I suggest that such decisive accountability will communicate to the general public, and all men, powerful or not, of the Government's intolerance in perpetuating male hegemony. Holding men from political parties accountable is also crucial. For example, the much-lauded effort of the Sonke Gender Justice Network[16] in winning the case against head of the African

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[15] For a full description of this important South African Government department, see <http://www.dsd.gov.za/> [Accessed 08 January 2012].

[16] Founded in 2006, the Sonke Gender Justice Network is a South African-based NGO that works across Africa to strengthen government, civil society and citizen capacity to support men and boys in

National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) Julius Malema, who was taken to the equality court when he made homophobic and sexist comments. This organization's co-director, Dean Peacock acknowledges "using the Equality Court to charge the leader" (2010:4). While this communicates accountability to young men who witness not only an advocacy group asserting their rights to produce outrage of such flagrant statements made by a leader of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), it also effectively demonstrates the efficacy of the Equality Court's commitment to gender justice.

Despite some anomalies with leadership in South Africa, another acclaimed effort supported by the Government was the Men's March. This National Men's March was held for the first time in South Africa in 1997 and was attended by former president Nelson Mandela; in subsequent years, the then State President, Thabo Mbeki gave it his tacit support through his active attendance.

The 365-Day National Action Plan to End Gender Violence was launched on 08 March 2007, by the then Deputy-President, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka to bring an end to the widespread violence against women.[17] Central to its implementation was intersectoral collaboration. Again, the progress and effective implementation was questionable. Seedat et al. (2009) also criticize the lack of impact and note the negligible evidence of allocation of resources, no coordinated roll out of interventions of proven effectiveness, and no evidence of best-practice based processes to advance cross-sectoral collaboration.

The 16-Days of Activism to End Violence Campaign is yet another opportunity to work collaboratively and simultaneously move beyond the allocated days of consciousness raising. The incremental gains made throughout the years are evidence however that we should constantly contemplate what happens after this march and after the 16 days. It is this degree of engagement and sustainability that I am

taking action to promote gender equality, prevent domestic and sexual violence, and reduce the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS. See <http://www.genderjustice.org.za/index.php/about-us/vision-a-mission/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].
[17] The booklet, 365 Day National Action Plan to End Gender Violence, 08 March 2007 is available at: <http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=72515/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

concerned with. Since 1997, South Africans have been conscientized about non-violence; however, our infamous contested rape statistics have not decreased. There is almost inadequate outrage produced and as a nation we seem to have internalized it intrinsically into our South Africa psyche.

I advance that it is this shattered, fractured and tortured national psyche that is beyond accountability and in dire need of healing and nurturing. Our past Black liberation struggle cannot be erased from our collective memories as South Africans and should be a constant reminder of creating and maintaining the culture of forming wholesome identities. Again, this is consistent with and contained in the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists[18] in its section "On Utilizing Positive Aspects of Our Cultures in Liberating and Nurturing Ways" (Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:7).

Another pertinent and integral element of intersectoral collaboration is that of articulating policy that informs practice. This all-inclusive recommendation will also have incremental benefits of informing practice, particularly with regard to NGOs, religious organizations and gender groups who are committed to reducing the rates of domestic violence in South Africa. Beyond the borders of South Africa, there is the commitment for example in 2004 by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women who adopted the first international document on the role of men and boy children towards accomplishing gender equality (United Nations 2004).[19] As noted in Chapter Two of this present research project, Connell (2007:ix) comments that we cannot be complacent that international research has afforded support for these moves and hence will continue to be important in turning such documentary commitments into practice on the ground.

As identified in my research, the disjuncture is between service providers and research, where the collaborative working relationship will yield mutual beneficiality, particularly towards increasing future prediction and informing contemporary

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[18] See, Appendix #4: Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists.
[19] United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. Agreed Conclusions on the Role of Men and Boys in achieving Equality. 47th Plenary, 21 July 2004. Available at: <http://css.escwa.org.lb/ECOSOCRes/2004-11.pdf/> [Accessed 04 January 2012].

programmes and present practice. One such organization is the South African NGO, Khulisa Social Solutions,[20] which continues to commit itself to constantly engaging in research to inform practice. Another instance of intersectoral collaboration is found between the Universities of South Africa and KwaZulu-Natal and the Department of Justice.

Collaborating with women's rights organizations, who share a vision and working ethos will prevent duplication of services and maximize implementation of effective services. An example of such work presently being undertaken is that of Sonke Gender Justice Network.[21] They have successfully utilized media advocacy and progress reports to illustrate the gap between policy development and implementation. This group has ably demonstrated that not many South African Governmental departments currently provide activities aimed at involving men and boy children towards attaining gender equality. Moreover, it reveals that none have budgeted work plans or coherent strategies to evaluate these programmes.

In addition to the excellent work of the two above mentioned organizations are a number of other civil society organizations. Significant among these are:

i.   Soul City Institute. An organization that promotes changes in sexual practices in men presents a television series with a viewership of millions in the country;

ii. Stepping Stones. This organization implemented a recent programme in the Eastern Cape which was evaluated by Medical Research Council of South Africa (MRC) demonstrated significant changes in men's attitudes and practices including some reduction in intimate partner violence and other practices that are high risk for HIV transmission. (*cf.* Peacock 2010:5);

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[20] See, <http://www.khulisaservices.co.za/> [Accessed 04 January 2012].
[21] See <http://www.genderjustice.org.za/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

iii.   Men as Partners (MAP. This organization offers multifaceted intervention programmes designed to engage men in reducing gender based violence;

iv.   NICRO KwaZulu-Natal. This organization is noteworthy for its Diversion Programme;

v.   The Ujamaa Centre for Biblical and Theological Community Development and Research. Based at the School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, this organization provides a much-needed interface between socially-engaged biblical and theological scholars and educators, organic intellectuals, and local communities of the poor, working-class, and the marginalised.[22] Tasked with developing biblical and theological resources for individual and social transformation, it runs a number of important interventions, including the Tamar Campaign as part of its Women and Gender Programme:

> Specifically, the project works primarily with women and young girls who are the survivors of gender violence. But it also addresses male socialization, providing resources to identify the complicity of males in gender violence. Furthermore, the project deals directly with the church, enabling it to become a safe site within which to talk about and deal with gender violence and gender socialization.[23]

It is thus imperative that we cultivate a consultative relationship with women's advocacy groups which are pivotal when engaging in programmes with men and boy children.

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[22] An important biblical and hermeneutical resource which aids local communities in their contextual reading of the Bible is that developed by the present Director of the Ujamaa Centre for Biblical and Theological Community Development and Research is Gerald O. West, *Contextual Bible Study,* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1993). Other significant biblical, theological and interfaith resources include, Ackermann et al. (1991); Børresen (1985); De Wit and West (2008); Dube (2000;2001); Dube and Kanyoro (2004); Oduyoye and Kanyoro (2006); Karam (2001); Njoroge and Dube (2001); Phiri et al. (2002); Phiri and Nadar (2005); Schüssler Fiorenza (1984; 1989; 1992; 1993; 1998; 2002); Sugirtharajah (2003; 2006); Trible (1978; 1984); West (1991; 2003; 2007). Finally, special mention should be made of the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV); published in 1990, it was the first English Bible translation to specifically use gender-neutral language in a thorough and systematic way.
[23] For a fuller description of the Tamar Campaign see <http://ujamaa.ukzn.ac.za/campaigns.aspx/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

Both genders full participation cannot be overstated, each committed to a working ethos which encompasses egalitarianism, respect and mutual trust so that human rights are realized. Despite the 'patriarchal precedent', men's stake in this commitment should be undoubtedly recognized as facilitative and necessary, with the ultimate recognition that their lives are dictated by class, age, race, religion and sex, as noted in my study. Men have to accept that the improvement in their relationships with their wives simultaneously improves the quality of their lives, the lives of their children, as well as many others within their social network—including other men.

An example of such an organization in South Africa engaged in work with men is that of Stepping Stones, who (as mentioned above) implemented a programme in the Eastern Cape. Their sample of 2776 men and women, between the ages of 15–26 years participated in a six to eight week programme. The programme engaged participants in role playing, drama and reflection exercises. Some of the programme content included how people act and what informs these acts, communication skills, motivations for sexual behaviour and gender-based violence. Following the intervention programme, participants were monitored after two years. Upon evaluation by the Medical and Research Council of South Africa (MRC) significant changes in the attitudes of men were found. Of particular interest, the study revealed that 38% fewer men in the intervention group than in the control group were involved in the perpetration of intimate partner violence. Significantly reported too, were lesser men noting attempts to rape than did the men who did not participate in the programme.[24]

The vision of advocacy groups and activists alike will be distorted and short lived if far larger numbers of men are not engaged and mobilized in considering non-violent options. Hence, all workshops should be augmented with outreach community education with the deliberate message that ending violence against women is to the benefit of all and not just confined to women. For example, in South Africa, campaigns such as the Non-Government Organization, Brothers for Life[25] use the

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[24] A more detailed account of this study can be accessed at <http://www.steppingstones.org/> and <http://www.mrc.co.za/> [Accessed 04 January 2012].

[25] Brothers for Life, is a national campaign mainly targeting men aged 30 and over. It was launched on 29 August 2009 in KwaMashu, KwaZulu-Natal and seeks to address the risks associated with having

media and community outreach to implement policies. While this is exemplary work, it is clearly inadequate. Due to budgetary constraints and logistical issues around smaller NGOs, its programmes are carried out on a smaller scale, reach fewer men, have only a partial impact and lack sustainability. I thus find agreement with Peacock (2010:5) when he unequivocally states "more needs to be done!"

Although much discussion was devoted in my analysis of the men in my study and their exposure and experiences within the legal system in South Africa, religion was also mooted as a resource for some of the men in my study.

5. Religion: Hopefulness and Hindrance

From Chapter Six on "Religious Belief and Male Privilege", two salient themes which emanated from the narratives of the men were firstly headship and secondly respect. The theme of headship is captured by the following statement that afforded men infinite access to their wives submission and was viewed as a patriarchal dividend and a non-negotiable feature that typified their relationship with their wives:

> *A man is the head of the home*

The men interpreted this notion to be supported by biblical and Qur'anic texts that foregrounded respect, submission and forgiveness. Any challenge to such authority was misconstrued by the men as questioning the hierarchical and authoritative positions they occupied in their respective families. This demonstrated the coherence of the social, religious and cultural aspects of masculinities that further maintains power and control which inhibits transformation towards non-violent options within the marital dyad. As a result, women theologians and feminist scholars such as Masenya (2003); Oduyoye (1979); Phiri (2001); Ghoussoub (2000); Nasrin (2002), and King (2009), call for the dismantling of such structures within the religious

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multiple and concurrent partnerships, sex and alcohol, gender-based violence and promotes HIV testing, male involvement in preventing mother to child transmission (PMTCT) and health-seeking behaviours in general. See <http://www.brothersforlife.org/about_b4l.html/> [Accessed 04 January 2012].

communities. Moreover, feminist scholarship conveys and essentializes what Obioma Nnaemeka calls the "scrutiny of the human agency implicated in knowledge formation and information management" (2003:363). This knowledge, I argue can be reflected on critically particularly by those who occupy positions of influence in faith-based communities. Clearly, headship becomes a hindrance within a transformative and hope-filled agenda. Hitherto, fragments of hope can be elicited if headship and respect is located for its multiple supplementary positive and mutually reconciliatory qualities. As such, many of those who manage and disseminate this information from the pulpit to their congregants are the clergy.

The men also shared their divergent thoughts particularly on the role of the clergy in their lived experiences. Not all respondents in the study cited the clergy as being helpful with some even citing their ambivalence in addressing marital violence. I maintain that these roles and responsibilities should be emphasized not only in promoting and sustaining healthy non-violent family bonds, but should also incorporate a committed safe space for categorically communicating, challenging and interrogating the inherent dysfunctionality of domestic violence. None of this should suggest empty platitudes from the pulpit or the championing of masculinities, thereby communicating feigned ignorance of the domestic dilemmas faced by their congregants. By addressing the lived violent experiences of both genders that gather for divine worship, this will advance the feminist agenda where ordinarily the disharmony and injustice within the marital home goes unnoticed and disregarded by the clergy. For Nnaemeka, the extension of this critical role will inevitably:

> Put a human face on what is called a body of knowledge and in the process unmasks this presumably faceless body (2003:363).

Not only will the clergy's message become more relevant to their congregations needs, but they will contribute immensely to the dismantling and demystifying of what are often sophisticated scriptural injunctions that communicate and uphold the domination, power and control of male hegemony as maintained by the men in my study.

Supplementing appropriate sacred texts to illustrate the commitment to non-violence will coherently demonstrate to congregation members the clergy's abhorrence in perpetuating domestic violence. There are many appropriate guiding metaphors that exist within sacred scripture as noted in my study that can be used to illustrate a source to preserve a pragmatic spiritual pathway. The social utility of these sacred scriptures will not only address domestic violence, but will further the social gender justice framework that can impact beyond the confines of any religious edifice into transforming violent lives into non-violent alternatives. This scriptural knowledge should be supplemented by training and skilling in counselling couples who are confronted by domestic violence. Again, a consequence of the criticism advanced by respondents in my study who noted the lack of counselling skills and questioned the credibility of the training of the clergy, was shown in their preference for *"a trained counsellor".* The acquisition of these skills can easily be attained outside of the religious community to forestall authentic engagement with all stakeholders whose common goal is towards eradicating domestic violence.

One such opportunity should be contemplating the possibility of intersectoral collaboration to supplement training as an expedient and worthwhile point of entry, beyond the religious community. I advance that this engagement could materialize for example by engaging with advocacy groups, training divisions who share a similar non-sexist gender focused agenda. It is also within this mutually beneficial relationship that 'suspicion and mistrust' will be addressed by the commonality of social justice that prevails between the activists and clergy.

While NGOs cannot assume total responsibility for articulating programmes on gender conditioning, religious organizations should become active in offering a similar service. If voice is given to the dilemma and contradictions that inflict men who are violent, then the religious organizations can facilitate this dialogue within a life skill group environment. This will not only be of valuable assistance to those men who relate to their violent positions that may perplex them, but it will be presented within a conducive, safe, and nurturing group environment. Both mixed and homogenous groups are recommended to improve mutual trust between the genders. Here articulating the challenges, contestations and honest appraisals of their gender

conditioning can be openly discussed without reprisals for either gender. Moreover, this service could extend to homosexual groups once the necessary facilitation skills are acquired. Ideally, gender reconciliation within a group environment can transform the roots of gender imbalance at multiple levels, e.g., on an individual, interpersonal and community level.

It is within this critical space that questions on the 'privileges of patriarchy' and the sacredness of the marital vows could be deconstructed for its social utility of lived experiences. It will further advance Robert D. Putnam's suggestion of a "shared vision and collaborative spirit" (2000:19). Moreover, to functionalize maximum learning, clergy persons, even those who are seasoned members of this fraternity, should be encouraged to deliberately improve and supplement their existing knowledge by enrolling in a training module on counselling skills. One such endeavour is presently undertaken by a colleague and me in providing lectures to religious leaders who enrol in the family therapy theory and practice module for non-degree purposes (NDP). Not only are these classes offered part-time, but they have an eclectic and trans-disciplinary student population of educators, social workers, nurses and medical practitioners. This teaching and learning experience is captured in a (2001) published article by Madhu Kasiram and Rubeena Partab, entitled, "Partnering for Success: Marrying Social Work with Religion and Culture", as well as a presentation of our curriculum in the same year at the 24th International Higher Education and Research and Development Society of Australia's Conference, University of Newcastle, Sydney, NSW, Australia.

It is also within the ambit of my duties as an academic to engage in community outreach. This commitment over several years has led to me being invited by religious and civil organizations to workshop counselling skills with both their lay pastors and other staff who encounter and are expected to counsel congregants on familial dysfunctionality. Another successful effort of intersectoral engagement by two social work academic colleagues (a religious cleric and I) in 2003, which was not only a trans-discipline collaboration, but attested to maximizing on our collective expertise. Together, we facilitated two days of workshopping with eighty-five caregivers from the health, social welfare, religious community and nursing sectors to address the

"Impact of HIV/AIDS on Marriage and Family Life: Concerns for Counselling, Supervision and Spirituality". This collaborative effort culminated in a publication of a manual funded by the National Research Foundation on "Managing HIV/AIDS: Guidelines for Counsellors, Caregivers and Faith-Based Practitioners" (Kasiram et al. 2003). It is within this recognition that religion and theology and the cognate discipline of social work have sustained a reciprocal and mutually beneficial relationship, with no evidence of territoriality of our respective professions.

As demonstrated above, successful collaborative efforts across the disciplines by those who operate within a space of mutuality and respect are a reality. Hence, I am encouraged that the vast majority of South Africans are religiously affiliated—a fact established by respondents of my study and resonated in the demographic of our country. Capturing the attention of congregants is ideal not only to concretely instil moral values, but to inculcate and incubate the elusive and basic non-violent ethos so evidently absent in our thinking about gender. The basic tenets of critical thinking should be initiated much earlier in training and skilling of the clergy in their religious curriculum and theological and clerical formation.

Ezra Chitando captures my concerns well in his (2011) article, "Equipped and Ready to Serve? Transforming Theology and Religious Studies in Africa". Here, he engages in critical and provocative thinking which can be summarised as follows:

i.   Chitando raises the issue "that religious studies and theology continue to be taught as abstract disciplines that do not have a bearing on the day to day lives of ordinary women, men and children" (2010:203). It is this exact criticism that I too wish to advance, that in the discipline of social work and within its curriculum is devoted an entire semester for compulsory community work practice and training. Besides demonstrating theory articulating into practice, it will afford student interaction with communities at risk beyond the confines of their lecture halls. Moreover, not attaining a pass mark of 50% in this module will prevent the student from attaining their degree.

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ii. "Limited research and publication" (2010:205), Chitando notes that "publications in religious studies in Africa is largely a consumer and not a producer of knowledge". In an attempt to address this dire situation and facilitate a publication ethos, the University of KwaZulu-Natal's postgraduate office has for example in 2011 implemented a much-lauded and bold effort to increase its research and publication record. A PhD. candidate, upon submission of her/his dissertation now has to simultaneously submit a copy of an accepted publication in an approved journal or the awarding of the degree will be compromised. Not only are postgraduate students thereby encouraged to publish, but they are initiated into the academic peer-reviewed publication world under the mentorship and guidance of their academic supervisors. Moreover, this stipulation will invariably increase the engagement, production and dissemination of local research, which will have mass appeal to practitioner and scholars alike. Yet another benefit is the building of research capacity and development on contemporary issues amongst postgraduate students. Here again I am supportive of the fact that as an African feminist the call to engage and produce will be adhered to (*cf.* Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:15).

iii. "Creativity and curriculum transformation" (2010:205). Academic relevance and coherence within a discipline is often cited when a module or programme is evaluated to maintain quality assurance of the qualification. The mechanism to evaluate modules by students is undertaken by the Quality Assurance Office of the University of KwaZulu-Natal and as an academic I have been subjected to such an evaluation annually of all the modules that I have taught. The result of such an evaluative exercise ensures relevance and space for innovation around curriculum development and design to meet emerging practice needs. To address contemporary challenges, this call has been heeded for example by the University of KwaZulu-Natal, School of Religion and Theology, where an entire post-graduate programme is dedicated to Gender Studies, which has not only had a local, but international appeal. Moreover, I advance that inter-disciplinary and trans-disciplinary study should be encouraged of which I am a product!

iv.   "Improving political and economic literacy" (2010:207), in any institution of higher learning instilling and inculcating critical thinking in their student population can be persistent and on-going challenge. Particularly within the human services professions it is expected for students to be acquainted with challenges that transcend the oppressive and exploitative existing circumstances that shape the realities that hinder those who are vulnerable and are at risk. Any system that challenges autonomy and promotes the empowerment of its citizens is worthy of interrogation and critical reflection. To engage with empowering practice, the School of Social Work at the University of KwaZulu-Natal includes in its structured curriculum a compulsory module at level three of the four year degree on "Critical Thinking and Anti-oppressive Practice", which has been taught by me and a colleague for a period of four consecutive years. In order to demonstrate successful articulation of theory into practice, guest lecturers are invited from other professions and disciplines to address and engage students on "Global and Local Discourses in the Development of Critical Consciousness".

v.   "Investing in leadership training" (2010:208). Leadership training is an indelible component of training and education of any human services professional, particularly because in practice it is anticipated that they will be involved with conscientization and advocacy for those who live on the edges or cusps of society. Ineffectual leadership will be identified as an impediment to their valued existence in the community with which they interact. In addition, I advance that leadership skills-acquisition places the clergy in a confident and self-assured position when expected to respond to critical issues such as social justice etc. The lack of such skills will become limiting with prospective relationships they wish to establish not only within their faith communities but beyond. This is particularly noted in the analysis of this study, where respondents doubted the skills capacity of the pastors that assisted them. Elsewhere, Chitando and Chirongoma confirm that:

> Given the popularity of religious studies in many African countries, it is strategically placed to build a new generation of

men who are not afraid of challenging violence against women (2008:66).

Beyond Chitando's thoughts above, the interrogation of existing knowledge should continue even after formal graduation (and ordination). The clergy can contribute to vital insights and practices by deliberately discussing the polarity and complementarities of the masculine and feminine. Again, the context can be adapted to any specific religion by making references to sacred texts that illustrate this perspective. Religious organizations can make positive use of and even maximize those traditions and different symbols which characterize their specific religion and which contribute towards harmonious gendered practice. An eclectic spiritual dimension with new insights on gender and its manifestations will move us beyond our own comfort zones to contemplate our present *status quo* of spinning on the spot as statistics of gender violence spiral out of control. In our present state of inertia for example, the atrocious rates of child rape in our country demand the injection of a speedier process to delve deeper into placing a halt on such appalling conditions in which the most vulnerable are treated in our country. I remain concerned whether our denialist and dogmatic attitudes about such injustice renders us incapable as human beings to respond differently? Clearly, innovating around the fluidity of our gender where masculine and feminine principles are evident can be a worthy starting point of interrogation not only by advocacy and human rights groups, but also faith-based communities. Identifying aspects that are positive from both masculine and feminine identities that are revered and respectful can be supplemented by other dimensions of spirituality. Biddulph (2002:172) holds that "like feminism has revitalized existing religions men can apply meaning to their lives by turning to spirituality". As we continue to interrogate and critically examine our gender identity it will inevitably lead to greater and more understanding of developing a true "spiritual identity".

There exists a plethora of research on the criticism that the intervention by clergy is sometimes vague and ambiguous, where empty platitudes from 'patriarchal pulpits' conspire and even promote gender inequality. My study also validates this accusation, since the men in my study did not unequivocally state that domestic violence was high on the agenda of those sermons given in their religious communities. It is imperative

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to further our engagement on how we critically reassert and extrapolate what is constructive, affirming, and what works within our humble and self-critical space. Contemplating the mixed blessing of religion, Ellison and Anderson suggests the positive psychological influences of religious involvement. These include:

> …church-based social and spiritual support; religious coping resources; religious meaning, purpose and sense of coherence; faith based hope and optimism; and religiously inspired emotions such as love and contentment (2001:273).

The influences suggested by Ellison and Anderson certainly raise the probability for religious communities to continue to facilitate a space for moral and intrinsic self-worth of each gender to be reasserted. Additionally, another salutary possibility is made by Chitando and Chirongoma who urge that religious studies in Africa need to capitalize on resources in the exposing of religion and culture. This call is heeded and engaged by my study. They further suggest "masculinities that respect the full and equal dignity of women need to be emphasized" (2008:62). By inspiring a novel and innovative method of thinking, it is vital that additional research within religion addresses how the sanctity of marriage can be capitalized upon, thereby ensuring non-violence within the marriage and family relationship.

Steve Biddulph (2007:171) asks the pertinent question: "Have the old religions let us down?" In his attempted response, he affirms that while traditional religions have much that is liberating and life-enhancing, their image has become tarnished and debilitated in the modern world. As noted by one of the respondents in my study, church attendance had become almost habitual. Another respondent cynically noted that he only attended worship services at church because he was "forced" by his wife to attend. Other respondents noted that clergy intervention was minimal or unhelpful in specifically addressing the problem of domestic violence. Indeed, it became evident from the narratives of the men in my study that they were in a state of vacillation, between ambivalence and ambiguity in an attempt to contemplate a deeper understanding of how the clergy could assist in ameliorating the violence in their marriages. No duplicitous and hypocritical positions can be occupied by the clergy in acknowledging and negating the gendered nature of power and patriarchy. As

evidenced in my study, reference to the sacred scriptural texts did not constitute engagement at any meaningful level for those respondents who minimized the role played by the clergy. In line with other research, my study confirms the poor credibility of the clergy as cited by some of the men in my study. Emanating from the study was the fact that intervention by members of the clergy was inevitably confined to individual discussions and to home visits, hence my recommendation for group work to be contemplated. The necessary skills training can be negotiated with local departments of social work at various State Universities across the country, who will welcome this invitation since it will be mutually beneficial for academics that are urged into community engagement. Moreover, as an African feminist, my commitment to effectively participate in building, organizing and networking to bring about transformation will be the overall gain. Indeed, such critical engagement and discourse with religion, culture, tradition and domesticity with a focus on the centrality of women's rights cannot be overemphasized. (*cf.* Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:10).

Raewyn Connell (1995:5) cynically reports that the priest of St. Barnabas in her study frequently used public bill-boards prominently placed outside his church to comment on scriptural messages from the point of view of earthy working-class hedonism. His most vexatious comment was:

> Gender order is ordained by God, and like other parts of the moral
> order is perilous to tamper with (Connell 1995:5).

This damaging and harmful statement captured by the priest definitely communicates not only intolerance but a warning that does not facilitate any further critical thinking around gender order. It is within such slogans that the distinct message of domination, control and fear is communicated to congregation members who have little room for interrogation of contentious areas that exist on the interpretation of their sacred scriptures. Feminist thinking also calls for such a critical safe space for questioning of what messages sacred scripture sends to congregants of domination, power and control. This prevalent and pertinent thought is supported by others, including, Skiff et al. (2008:105) who agree that feminist theory has long:

> …equated religious concepts such as submission with male dominance and acceptance of violence, and it seeks to change any and all patriarchal stances, including those supported by the church.

Sokoloff and Dupont (2005:57) also appeals for the church to be engaged in a "continual process of self-critique, focusing on removing any message that may be directly or indirectly reinforcing the acceptability of women abuse". In addition, Merle Longwood (2006:58) notes that for too long, ending male violence has not been identified as a pressing theological and ethical issue. He thus makes the recommendation for the:

> …exploration of the implications in relation to various aspects, including the doctrine of God, theological anthropology, the understanding of sin, the meaning of repentance, the process of reconciliation, the meaning of power, and our body-selves as sources of wisdom, the specification of justice and the delineation of love (2006:58).

He therefore calls on theologians to:

> Re-imagine that which is essential to provide men to develop a more expansive and non-violent understanding of what it means to occupy the layered roles of father, lover, husband, brother and son (2006:58).

While these recommendations are in no way meant to be exhaustive, I would include not only exploration but commitment by the clergy to use their pulpits to put gender inequality squarely on their sermon agenda. As cited by respondents in my study of their experience in church, sermonising on gender conflict was at a minimal level:

> *They just tell you not to abuse women.*

> *They speak about problems in general.*

> *We don't spend too much time on that; it is always about the Word of God.*

These responses communicate negligible attention by faith-based communities whose role beyond nurturing a favourable environment for hope and healing can be to use their pulpits to further a non-violent ethos of conflict resolution in marriages. Interestingly, Jan Pettit, a pastor from the Hennepin Avenue United Methodist Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA notes how maximizing on his sermons through exposure to the Tamar Campaign[26] can facilitate healing:

> I find that if I include in a pastoral prayer; a prayer for survivors of sexual abuse and incest…the next week I have probably three or four people coming into my office to share their story, to tell how affirmed they are, that we recognize that they exist and that we walk through the pain with them.[27]

This healing space is also cited by Sara Rogers who believes that:

> Christianity can still aid the healing process for battered women if the forms and patterns of belief are altered in such a way that they no longer coerce women into tolerating abusive relationships for fear of breaking with tradition, or being branded as wicked and selfish (2003:195).

Faith-based communities who embrace a human rights ethos will clearly be recognised as a valued resource, not only for women, but men as well.

Optimistically, my study has demonstrated that all the men from the sample attended religious services, hence the implication that religion does occupy at least some degree of influence in their lives. The gap identified in my study was the lack of impact by the clergy in comprehensively addressing domestic violence. As the respondents noted, the services were truncated and poorly coordinated. If the desired impact by the clergy is to be meaningfully translated into the lives of these men then a

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[26] With a particular focus on sexual and domestic violence, the Tamar Campaign seeks to challenge and equip the Christian church to break its silence concerning gender-based violence in society. Through the Ujamaa Centre for Biblical and Theological Community Development and Research, based at the School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, the project works primarily with women and young girls who are the survivors of gender violence, while also addressing the problem of male socialization, providing resources to identify the complicity of males in gender violence. See <http://ujamaa.ukzn.ac.za/campaigns.aspx/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].
[27] Quoted in Africa: A faith-based Response to Gender Violence. <http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?id=24341> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

more positive influence has to be inculcated. A deliberate effort in communicating the influence to change from outmoded and outdated dysfunctional strategies toward resolving conflict within a non-violent ethos would ultimately ensure the relevance of religion in the lived experiences of its congregation members. Clearly, translating and interpreting appropriate sacred scripture will point to the definitive utility in sustaining non-violent lives.

The empathetic milieu often synonymous with the clergy offers a perfect opportunity for engagement with men who are in violent domestic relationships. By asserting the potential benefits of empathy and by extending the message of emotional inexpressiveness, a singular dominant male characteristic would be emphasized and the alternative nurturing achieved when sermonising as well as concretely incorporating this ethos when working with boys and men of the congregation. Their vulnerabilities as men should be positively engaged so as to de-emphasize ridicule, shame, and powerlessness, and reassert identification with their inherent empathic capabilities. As the diversity of new family formations becomes increasingly evident in South Africa, gender roles create new opportunities to challenge traditional notions of gender. Again, a critical reflective space suggests transformability of arrangements, which could be incorporated and reiterated by clergy. Any faith-based community can play a pivotal role here by not conspiring to maintain hegemonic masculinities, but rather to encourage "democratic masculinities". Although complex, the assertion of an egalitarian, rather than oppositional gender stance will enable the move from a space of shame and humiliation to one of mutual respect. In this, I am reminded of the telling observation of Judith Kegan Gardiner when she wrote:

> There are no central emotional managers or masculinity marketers masterminding the construction of consumer individualist gender (2000:1261).

A consequence of this is that we are to be entirely accountable and responsible if change is desired! The desire to change and modify thinking needs to search for alternative resources so as to supplement those already existing. An engaged and contextualised spirituality offers such a supplement.

William Keepin et al. (2007:232) warn us that "gender crisis eventually leads to a collective spiritual crisis". Implicated in this gender crisis is the divergent views postulated by both women's and men's groups, who essentially adopt such ideology in their quest for the ultimate principle of gender justice. Conspicuously absent is the wider spiritual dimension. As we aspire to be spiritually aware, we eliminate from our psyche detrimental and negative influences that keep us hostage in unproductive and unfulfilled lives. This foundation as a feminist is an essential connection to the self. As the spiritual feminist Carol Lee Flinders suggests:

> Feminism catches fire when it draws upon its inherent spirituality—when it does not, it is just one more form of politics, and politics has never fed our deepest hungers (Flinders cited by Keepin et al. (2007:232).

Gerda Lerner in her cross-cultural research also implies that there is a fundamental link between "feminism and spirituality—a connection that has yet to be widely recognized or embraced" (1999:126).

Sara Rogers also relates how feminist theology is making some inroads towards a spiritual re-education. Rogers maintains that:

> A feminist Church can offer women the chance to gain self-respect through spiritual belief and that belief can be rooted firmly in a Christianity that speaks to, of and for the females concerned (2003:196).

While I concur with Rogers, I would like to extend this invitation to include men within this self-respecting belief. Failure here will result in their being little by way of engagement by the men on the pertinent issues of power and control that patriarchy affords them. These essential concepts of masculinities cannot be ignored or shrouded by disdained silence, as the *status quo* of superiority is sustained.

As demonstrated by a key objective of this study and authenticated by the narratives of the men in my study, power and control is pivotal in the relationships with their wives. If this power located within their fists could with the same energy be

transformed into a more meaningful and positive power of the divine then certainly men will become less burdened! Clearly, this may appear esoteric but it seems that present, traditional methodologies to manage violence have demonstrated poor to negligible results in the cessation of violence in marriages. Steve Biddulph therefore reminds us that spirituality simply means "the direct experience of something special in life and living" (2002:170). He thus emphasizes the importance of "religion as an organized group activity and ritual as an attempt to hold onto that feeling and make it last" (2002:170). Adding a spiritual depth will navigate us essentially to our inherent (or original) goodness, which all organized religions of the world propagate, although we may differ in how we choose to express it. As noted in my study of the entire four focus group discussions with men, there was no evidence of profound regret or remorse on the part of any of the respondents concerning the record of violent actions. Instead, they readily and extensively demonstrated their anger, distrust and betrayal not only of their wives, but the criminal justice system as a whole. The exact intensity of feelings within an environment of conflict makes it immeasurably more difficult to discover any goodness within the other. It is therefore imperative to interrupt such thinking and propose an alternative to the continued existence of hatred and anger. George Taylor summarizes well the need to reacquaint men with the Higher Being:

> We seek the connection beyond words with the holy masculine, the ineffable, and the unspeakable. It is through giving into the deep desire that we feel our grief, our joy and our anger. The longing for connection can take us out of our personal dramas and into our deepest feelings. Then we feel alive and human, full of rich emotional experience (Taylor cited by Biddulph 2007:171).

Others also write on the damaging and deleterious effects of not acknowledging the reconnection to the self. According to Keepin et al. (2007:233) "denying the sacred has long been the signature strategy of patriarchy". They further explain that "denial of divinity is the oldest patriarchal trick to deny the sacred, and take control" (2007:233). Hence, it is known to be employed by "religious institutions to ruthlessly eradicate mystical wisdom and feminine mysteries, replacing them with the ecclesiastical authority of priests and clergy". Again, the concept of control and power reappears, which was identified with the men in my study.

In his study with violent men, Bernard Tonkin (2001:5) found that reconnection to the self, mind, spirit, and others was essential when contemplating a continuum of change as noted and depicted by Table #1 Pathways of Change towards a Non-violent Life Style. The moral development argument gives impetus to my own thoughts on the attempt to recover from hegemonic masculinities.

Beyond questioning the legitimacy of existing structures, it is essential to contemplate how we acknowledge the deep physical and psychological wounds domestic violent men inflict on their wives who together have taken sacred vows of marriage. No ubiquitous band-aid and temporary healing balm solution will suffice as the multiplicity and matrix of wounds communicate a higher intervention, of a commitment never to humiliate and hurt again. In this, important questions arise: Will this social abscess heal? Can the paralyzing psychic internalized pain turn to pleasure by discovering the inner potential to be different? I am of the measured opinion that only by owning the extent of our fractured identity, can healing be contemplated. As Biddulph readily notes:

> [The] best therapists and most outstanding healers are often men and women who have overcome difficult families, horrible abuse or other concerted attacks on their psychic and physical being in early life (2002:184).

From Biddulph's statement I am reminded of three outstanding world leaders and Nobel Peace Prize laureates: former President Nelson Mandela, Archbishop (Emeritus) Desmond Mpilo Tutu and His Holiness, the Dalai Lama. These men repeatedly demonstrate those exemplary qualities that emanated from their lived experiences and their capacity to heal. A good example of this is found in the words of Desmond Mpilo Tutu when he articulates succinctly his unpretentious thoughts on injustice and healing:

> When we look squarely at injustice and get involved, we actually feel less pain, not more, because we overcome the gnawing guilt and despair that festers under our numbness. We clean the wound—our own and others—and it can finally heal (Tutu 2007:68).

It is within this healing environment that wounds between the genders can be acknowledged and healed. Although it may be initially viewed as an arduous and emotionally difficult task, the alternative would be to allow the *status quo* to be maintained. This would prove myopic and unproductive.

The above process lends credibility to the old adage that "God enters through a wound" and thereby makes for a fertile pathway towards healing. Such healing within a reconciliatory space will afford clergy the opportunity to utilize this concept when addressing domestic violence within their congregations.

From my experience of facilitating the focus group discussion with men on religion, any attempt I made to engage them critically about the role of religion in their lives was met with generic responses and dismissive statements. Some noted scriptural references, but the literary context and interpretation of these references were often lost on them, since they did not relate to its relevance in their circumstances. Despite this, they were selective in their use of scriptural references to validate and authenticate their own violent positions.

The collusion of the privileges, control and prestige of patriarchy often justify men's violent choices. As an African feminist, the centre of my analysis was to demonstrate how patriarchal social relations continue to oppress and exploit, even beyond the home into other systems and structures where they are embedded. My study abundantly documented the examination of the notion of the pleasures and power of "patriarchal dividends". This is eloquently noted and articulated by Njoroge when she observes:

> Patriarchy is a destructive powerhouse, with systematic and normative inequalities as its hallmark. It also affects the rest of the creation order. Its roots are well entrenched in society as well as the church—which means we need well-equipped and committed women and men to bring patriarchy to its knees (1997:81).

It is therefore incumbent to maintain that a constant feature of continued engagement will address how these contested patriarchal beliefs—if sustained—will have no

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concrete benefits. Despite our progressive historical past investment on advancing equal rights for all South African citizens, these sustained beliefs will ultimately retard our progress in placing gender justice on our agenda towards maintaining human rights. The clergy also have an important role to play in asserting and disseminating an egalitarian position within their sermons and discourses with their congregations, not only by putting patriarchy on the pulpit for interrogation, but continuing their quest for dismantling the *status quo* of power placed in the hands of men. Reiterating their commitment to their total abhorrence of violence will systematically and progressively contribute to the cessation of domestic violence not only for their congregation members, but beyond. Comprehensive research conducted in South African on violent men within the marital dyad and religion has largely been invisible. For that reason, it is of critical importance that the impact and influence of religion is explored in maintaining non-violent spousal relations. Cross-cultural, interdenominational thematic studies will benefit and inform policy makers, service providers and religious institutions on beneficial programmes.

I am constantly questioning what is missing in the mosaic of the human healing equation. Another prominent facet that impacts on the mosaic of healing is that of culture, since cultural conditioning is central to the adopted identities of men and women. This intersection has been amply demonstrated in my study where culture supported men's power and control status and became a dynamic pivotal to their existence. The origins and causalities of gender imbalances once interrogated move us towards embracing a more transformative space that accepts cultural impacts on identity formation. Longwood (2006:52) adds and urges "men to search for a more holistic identity which must come from within, rather than as a response to felt pressure from women". It is within this recommendation that dialoguing on the lived realities of both genders will afford greater understanding of the recognition of the hurt and harm inflicted on each other. Men require listening and acknowledging women thoughts on all forms of abuse, oppressive cultural expectations, exploitative and discriminatory circumstances and practices. Similarly, women also need to be acquainted with the male cultural conditioning and being emotionally inexpressive. It is within the healing environment that both could jointly explore their thoughts on

body image and issues of sexuality (*cf.* Greig 2003:5). Merle Longwood also asserts the necessity to:

> …help men develop their spirituality in ways that enable boys and men to address the dominant masculine ideals that do much to distort men as whole human being and bring much unhappiness in their lives and their relationships with others (2006:58).

The multifarious consequences of gender cultural conditioning liberally pervade every aspect of our lives, as demonstrated by the men in my study. Its ancestry is manifested, maintained or changed and determined by the suitability of the context. Historically in South Africa, apartheid was acknowledged and attended to by our path of healing from racism with which we were thoroughly acquainted. No amount of dialoguing can be achieved without delving deeper into heightened recognition that the embedded gender disharmony can be healed within an empathetic environment. These 'gender wounds' call for increased awareness of the hurt that can heal.

William Keepin et al. (2007:237) hold that their gender reconciliation work has found resonance with two prominent models of healing, by the theorists Dietrich Klinghart and Bert Hellinger. While their model may appear confining, it can have wider societal applicability. Essentially, when something is denied the consequence is a dysfunctional system that cannot recover until that element has been reclaimed or restored.

Again, William Keepin et al. (2007: 238) assert that this is easily found in their gender reconciliation work, i.e., to "reclaim the sacred dimension of gender and eros—the spiritual union of masculine and feminine". This can permeate from the most basic level—individual, the family, community and larger society. This conclusion alludes to my earlier point on the mosaic of healing that has extensive ramifications beyond the men to wider society. This concept is also supported by Hearn (1998a:222) who reminds us that ultimately the point is to firstly "change and improve men's personal practice" (on an individual level), and then to his "family" (intimate level); "friends" (community level), and "workplace, the media and throughout politics" (larger societal level).

Hearn urges broadmindedness and tolerance in not separating the parts of men's lives. Even in my study, the inextricable link between hegemonic masculinities and the socio-religious cultural lives of the men cannot be viewed in isolation. The dominant gender ideology the men in my study subscribed to was again demonstrated in my study of how it impacts negatively on all the significant aspects of their lives. As a result, a transformation agenda is important and necessary in order to yield gainful and credible results in our cessation of domestic violence.

As noted earlier, empathy within the matrix of healing is essential. The feminist author Judith Kegan Gardiner (2000:1259) writes extensively on how empathy is "paradigmatic of current reshaping of emotional responses". It potentially addresses the anguish of the oppressed and exploited which ultimately motivates the call for social gender justice. Important here is the telling absence of empathy from the narratives of the men in my study. Gardiner thus maintains that:

> Men in our culture typically prove their manhood by resisting impulses
> to empathize with victims and by showing themselves impervious to
> the insults of others (2000:1259).

From this it appears clear that anti-empathy training still seems an important component when addressing masculine gendering. It is within this framework that both the racial and gender healing can be afforded.

Additionally, Biddulph (2002: 200) reminds us of the process of "healing through healthy shame". We need to recognize that even when optimism prevails, the feelings of vulnerability may also be present. This vulnerability was distinctly noted by the men who were arrested by the police for their acts of violence. However, they viewed their arrests as being punitive and dehumanizing as victims at the hands of both their wives and the criminal justice system. Hence, they did not engage with how the "healthy shame" could have a healing effect. I nevertheless advocate for the position that compassion and empathy will deepen and assist towards maintaining authentic relationships with significant others.

Maybe the missing mysterious part of the mosaic is the blatant bleeding of the repressed emotions of the men. Despite the concern of Biddulph (2002:23) that although "feminism made huge gains in the outer world, but in the personal world men and women were often at sea—the genders could stand apart, but they could not often stand together." It is in Biddulph's claim that my study attempted to glimpse into the personal world inhabited by men who are engaged in domestic violence. Their narratives afforded an exploration of the contours and costs of maintaining power and control. Moreover, from the analysis of the study, the deep divide between the genders was both reasserted and sustained. Moving forward, I contend that while spirituality dictates that the shame has been named, labelled and interrogated, the logical move toward healing will ensure healthy coexistence is possible.

Ursula King and Tina Beattie (2001:3) remind us of the simple truth that "spirituality has become the universal code for the search for direction at a time of crisis." I suggest that it is in this constant state of human crisis that we revisit our analytical frameworks when seeking answers to questions that incorporate more complex and contextual realities in the country. Such engagement will afford deeper understandings of the emerging social processes we are encountering as a country. Any transformative process requires mutual respect and a commitment to honestly acknowledge past pain. Robert Morrell also recognizes that:

> African feminists believe that men and women depend on one another
> and that efforts should be put into creating healthy bonds between them
> (2005:85).

My study clearly supports and endorses Morrell's recommendations that in the:

> African context, models of masculinities which stress responsibility,
> protection, provision, wisdom and communal loyalty may well be
> better suited to sustain life and generate harmony (2005:85).

It is possible not to narrow our cognitive lens, prevent myopia and display foresight that typifies a comprehensive and broader vision for both violent men and women. As Ken McMaster (1992:113) contends "real men share power which is used to increase not decrease opportunities of others", a position which is also consistent with the

Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists (2006). It is within this transformative space that a strategic next logical step can be made towards building an honest harmonious relationship between the genders, a process that will be interrogated in the next section. Here, I discuss the Gender Reconciliation Model of the Satyana Institute and its relevance to my study. This model is utilized extensively by William Keepin in his work across the globe on gender healing.

The Gender Reconciliation Model developed by the Satyana Institute is a ground-breaking and innovative model,[28] which incorporates workshops over a five-day period:

   i.   Day 1-2: Preparation/Invocation;

   ii. Day 2-4: Immersion and Transformation;

   iii. Day 4-5: Consecration, Integration and Closure (Keepin and Dwyer 2007:6-11).

The model addresses the deeper levels of healing and bonding that moves beyond agreements and resolutions. These stages are sequentially laid out depending on the cultural context.

6. A Brief Summary of the Principles Governing Gender Reconciliation

6.1. Principle #1 A spiritual foundation is essential for gender reconciliation i.e., recognition of the existence of a larger presence or higher wisdom that is fundamental to all life existence.

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[28] Developed over a period of nineteen years by the Satyana Institute, the Power of Reconciliation programme (called Gender Reconciliation in South Africa and India) seeks to foster new dimensions of transformational healing and reconciliation between women and men. See <http://www.powerofreconciliation.org/about_us.html/> [Accessed 07 January 2012].

Spiritual practices are universal and non-sectarian, embracing universal love and permeating all existence. Here too, the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists promotes the thought that we should express our spirituality within and outside of organized religions (*cf.* Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:11). Important is the acceptance of the mystery that something 'out there' or 'in here' is all powerful and guides transformation. Moreover, it is open to atheists and non-spiritual persons.

6.2. Principle #2 Gender healing and reconciliation requires that equal value be placed on feminine and masculine perspectives, and that intrinsic differences between the sexes be honoured and appreciated.

Gender reconciliation requires a dynamic balance between the masculine and feminine perspectives to avoid any systemic bias towards either. As both men and women have been harmed, both require the other for true and complete healing to take place. It is therefore imperative to 'hold the tension of opposites' by giving equal support to fundamentally different or opposing perspectives in a collective container. This may work together to create a perspective that neither could accomplish on its own. This principle also has resonance with the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists in that it is supportive of the right to healthy, mutually respectful and fulfilling personal relationships (*cf.* Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:11). Here, every person embodies both masculine and feminine qualities. Each individual integrates masculine and feminine characteristics differently. To be a real man or real woman simply means to become more fully human. In my study, from the narratives of the men emanated a profound gendered cultural conditioning where the superior statuses of men were constantly reiterated and the role of their wives devalued. These dichotomous positions could be adequately addressed where their inherent differences could be honoured and respectfully appreciated.

6.3. Principle #3 Transforming the cultural foundations of gender imbalance is best achieved in groups of communities.

Gender disharmony is a cultural affliction that affects the collective social consciousness. Gender reconciliation is necessarily a collective work. Individual experiences, plus collective experiences that are brought to the group-boundaries expand and people benefit from the collective synergy. Many gender challenges are systemic. Faith-based communities are fundamental vehicles of spiritual awakening, evidenced through living together with kindness and awareness. Clearly, my study revealed that imbalances exist even within the apportioning of domestic chores etc. It is in the spirit of reconciliation that these cultural dictates will not only be subject to critical reflection, but collectively transformed so that harmony can prevail.

6.4. Principle #4 The process of gender reconciliation requires the fullness of our humanity, thereby integrating physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual dimensions so as to create the conditions for genuine transformation.

Society often ignores or sidesteps challenging truths, dilemmas, or difficult emotional expressions when they arise. Religious institutions, as well as political, academic systems may downplay intuitive/spiritual aspects and accuse them of not being scientific enough. This socialized repression keeps structural and gender imbalance in place; hence the need to challenge emotions of anger, grief, fear, sorrow, shame, despair and vulnerability. Gender reconciliation work requires skilful facilitation of emotional processes. The blocking of emotions means blocking reconciliation processes. Practice here includes contemplative silence, group meditation, breath work, psychodrama and non-verbal group work.

The Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists also offers a similar thought in reiterating that freedom of choice and autonomy regarding bodily integrity issues includes reproductive rights, abortion, sexual identity and sexual orientation (*cf.* Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:11). As noted in my study, the men were afforded the opportunity to reflect on their experiences on violence

within their marriages. Although their participation was to meet a research requirement, they welcomed the opportunity to share. Although they did not engage critically in areas of religion, the potential still exists within a group environment to consider the emotionally processes that they are confronted with. Moreover, it is in this reconciliatory, committed space that a mixed group of both men and their wives should be facilitated to ensure mutual transformation.

6.5. Principle #5 Transformation of gender relations is uncharted territory.

Bringing compassion and awareness to gender dynamics in groups is a good starting point. From my study there was clear evidence that gaps exist in men's awareness and experiences of their wives. As a result, they paid scant attention for example to the injuries that the women sustained. It is therefore imperative that men hear the experiences of their wives within this environment to inculcate compassion and care. The presence of a deepening awareness is transformative particularly as recommended by the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists. They raise the difficulties women experience in exercising their right as women to have access to sustainable and just livelihoods as well as welfare provision, including quality healthcare, education, water and sanitation (*cf.* Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:10-11). Failure by men to listen to these challenges women are confronted with, devalues and dehumanizes them further, and gender injustice will continue to be supported and perpetuated in society.

From the above five basic principles of gender reconciliation work, I will now discuss how this work was introduced in South Africa.

7. South African Gender Reconciliation Efforts

A pertinent question that warrants some attention is as follows:

> Do we as South African require a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to address the prevalent and pervasive injustice of gender in our country to facilitate the hurts of the past and move us to a space of healing?

A definitive positive answer will certainly initiate and facilitate the process towards Gender healing and Reconciliation.

In 2003, the work of the Satyana Institute was introduced to South Africa by the then Deputy Minister of Defence, Nozizwe Madlala Routledge. She invited the Satyana Institute to present the Gender Reconciliation work to invited members of the South African Parliament. The Minister envisioned that such an endeavour would begin transforming gender relations among Parliamentarians and thus would serve to foster a similar transformation in the larger South African society. She also referred to the excellence of such work in her 2009 paper at the "Evil of Patriarchy in Church, Society and Politics Workshop" (*cf.* Keepin and Dwyer 2007:6-11). The first of the six-day workshops was convened in 2006 in Cape Town with twenty-five participants comprising of parliamentarians, faith communities and non-governmental organizations. The second workshop, designed for two days for a group of sixteen participants was hosted by Ela Gandhi, granddaughter of the eminent Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. The success of this initiative led to a subsequent two-year programme to train professionals in gender reconciliation.

A poignant, but necessary narrative captured during the Cape Town Workshop by one participant who was a seasoned, mid-career pastor, eloquently provides her testimony on racism, hypocrisy and sexism (*cf.* Keepin et al. 2007:197-198). She recounted that sexual shenanigans were taking place among the clergy, particularly during retreats and conferences. She announced that many of her male colleagues from various churches were having affairs or having sexual intercourse with their junior colleagues.

Particularly targeted for seduction and manipulation were younger, attractive female ministers. She lamented that these male ministers would support each other by covering their tracks, while their wives remained clueless. She further shared that churches deny women the right to be who they are. She was required by her own church to wear bland formal clerical gowns, but she refused and instead wore more colourful, feminine attire. She concluded by emotionally declaring:

> I cannot cry in the presence of my colleagues in the clergy. I hate white people, I especially hate white men (*cf*. Keepin et al 2007:198).

Demonstrated in this women's testimony is the inherent contradictions that women have to navigate around, even within the confines of their own workplace.

Yet another participant who was instrumental in the battle of the Civil Union Bill for Same-sex Marriages spoke of the need for taking equality of women and men seriously. He maintained that the Constitution of the Republic South Africa [No. 108 of 1996] is the most advanced of any nation in the world regarding human rights and racial and gender justice. He expressed the view that the South African Constitution was a more powerful and effective tool than the Bible, and recommended the urgency for work of gender healing and reconciliation with the communities and religious congregations throughout South Africa (Keepin et al. 2007:205).

Taking into serious consideration his proclamation that as South Africans we have within our arsenal of resources not only the Constitution, but for the majority of those practicing Christianity, the Bible, then we should be called upon to commit more readily and easily to a human rights ethos.

The men in the group presented the following declaration to the women:

> Declaration presented by the men to the women in the men's ceremony for the women:

> Acknowledgement of Women's Pain and Struggles, and Our Commitment to bring down the Structures of Patriarchy.

We have met over the past five days in community as men, and in community with you as men and women. We have listened to each other's stories—some personal, others told on behalf of vulnerable, degraded, hurt, brutalized human beings—all for no other reason than they are women, sisters, mothers, and girl children.

We have heard, too, that through the social structures of power and decision making, many of our brothers have abused our intended roles of caring and protection—for selfish power, and personal pleasure and gain.

The bonds of humanity have been broken.
We acknowledge that we have shared in the unfair and unjust advantage that has upset the Creator's intended balance of human relationships for love, companionship, and cooperation.

We have been complicit in breaking the intended dream of equality.

So now we come forward to say to you: we are sorry. We affirm that we want to start anew. Therefore, we now mark our foreheads with ash—the dust from which we have come, and to which we shall return—as an act to symbolize our sorrow, our apology, and our atonement.
And we come with a willingness to express, not our guilt—because guilt weighs us down and gives a burden we cannot bear—but rather, our responsibility. So we ask, will you accept our offer to take responsibility, as we commit ourselves to live out and challenge and support all men everywhere to live and work for gender equality, and thereby seek reconciliation? (Keepin et al. 2007:209-10).

This declaration eloquently articulated by men is indicative of an urgent need for gender reconciliation to cement our commitment toward attaining some degree of transformation in South Africa. Moreover, the sentiments contained within this declaration speaks to the narratives of the men from my study and captures concisely where work still needs to be concentrated (i.e., the socio-cultural context), in order to begin in earnest the process of dismantling men's power and entitlement. The power of a sincere apology cannot be underestimated. Schneider and Feltley also support that "spirituality and forgiveness has been found to be critical in diminishing anger and distress" (2009:457).

In reflecting on the Durban workshop, Ela Gandhi reported that this was the first workshop she had attended where she experienced a programme that fully integrated

transformative learning and spiritual components in such a balanced manner (Keepin et al. 2007:216).

William Keepin et al. (2007:218) proffer that it seems that the current social and psychological climate in South Africa is ripe for gender reconciliation work. They list three contributory factors:

i. The unique healing process through the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission increases our "level of mature responsibility to heal and reconcile" our own racism that we encountered as a country. This was done through a "systematic programme of spiritual forgiveness which is unprecedented in modern history. Having embarked upon reconciling racism, the other, sexism naturally requires healing", which has been identified as gender. I agree with the need for such a programme and advance from the analysis of my own study that it needs to be seriously considered. Indeed, African feminism also echoes that support and nurture is pivotal to the practice of non-violence and the achievement of a non-violent society (*cf.* Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 2006:10);

ii. The Rainbow Nation is "supported by a new human rights constitution" that pledges gender justice and choice of sexual orientation to all its citizens. Although the "Gender Equity Commission" exists with its splendid vision, it nevertheless needs to make serious strides in realizing its mandate of addressing gender justice. "Gender reconciliation needs to be implemented sooner rather than later". As previously stated in this research project and from the narratives of the men, the danger is that traditional gender ideology and patriarchy will remain unabated and intact if not deliberated dismantled. Here again, the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists (2006:10) makes reference to the right of all women to live lives free of patriarchal oppression, discrimination and violence;

iii. Our widespread "sexual violence, rape, sexual harassment and HIV/AIDS" calls for radical and innovative responsiveness to arrest the already rising

statistics within the gender landscape. This consideration, reiterated earlier in this research project, cannot be ignored as a factor that influences our efforts to ameliorate the rates of abuse of those who are vulnerable and at risk.

These three contributory factors above can be framed within the context of the sample of my study, where all the men have lived with the realities of these factors. South Africa's racial and cultural diversity will benefit immensely from work of such a profound nature which virtually permeates race, religion, ethnicity, class, age and sexual orientation, possess widespread contextual applicability. It is logical to introduce compassion and the dimension of spirituality not only within intrapersonal relationships, but also to extend it to that of our interpersonal relationships. We need to concentrate our efforts on contemplating what prevents both men and women from experiencing peaceful relationships. As noted in my study, the oppositional, hierarchical relationship is not conducive to gender construction. Although I am acutely aware of our present broader social *status quo* of the majority of men who continue to occupy positions of authority and power as compared to women, engaging about these inherent differences with each other is imperative to facilitate sustained change. Even within the interpersonal context, as demonstrated in this study, men cannot decidedly move beyond rationalization and justification of their violence to a space of substantive change of rebuilding mutually beneficial lives, if not conscientized on breaking the cycle of violence.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is imperative to note that South Africa is presently rooted in democratic answerability, and hence is constantly being blamed for perpetuating inequalities whilst simultaneously mitigating solutions. Until mediocre efforts and tacit assumptions of patronizing the marginalized and vulnerable are critically engaged with the potential of alternative visioning, nothing of substance will come to fruition. Managing power and control from a privileged space, without due consideration of the blatant structural causes is both myopic and detrimental to the

dignity and prosperity of our country and will continue as a blight on our national wellbeing.

My study has demonstrated that no amount of legislation, awareness, education campaigns, inane drivel or shallow gender bantering and religious discourse will substantially alter the present *status quo* of power and control if we do not appeal to the inner commitment to non-violent conflict resolution in each individual to incorporate within their arsenal of resources. As an eternal optimist, I maintain that our resilience as compassionate human beings will assist us in navigating from violent choices to non-violence if we deliberately engage and constantly confront our own relationship with power and control that permeates all aspects of our lives. Emotionally wrestling with the tension in acquiring social justice within a harsh and punitively power played environment, often dictates even deeper and diligent rediscovery. If the texts of scripture can provide a framework to talk specifically to the text of lived experiences, as evidenced in the narratives and text of the lives of the men in this study, then our cognitive lens must reframe and refocus. Engaging in the ubiquitous demonising of violent men and not contemplating an asset-based, solution-focused lens will keep us spinning on the spot.

My thoughts are further captured by Longwood (2006:48) who cites the Syracuse Culture Workers (2005:14) on "How to End Violence against Women and Children" who published the following list of valid recommendations:

> Work for full equality between men and women in society and in personal relationships.
> Examine the ways we legitimatize male violence.
> Understand that what it means to 'be a man' is defined by society.
> Unplug boys and girls from violent media.
> Promote good sports etiquette.
> Hire coaches committed to non-violence.
> Do not use 'like a girl' or 'like a women' as a put-down.
> Encourage athletic activities that involve cooperation, fun, physical health and camaraderie.
> Teach children how to settle conflicts peacefully.
> Recognize that verbal and emotional cruelty is also violence.
> Understand that love does not involve control or ownership.
> Remember: anger is a feeling; violence is an action.

Do not express feelings with fists.
Teach boys and girls effective, respectful ways to express frustration, sadness and anger.
We are all role models.
Be nurturing, loving and caring.
Do not belittle, humiliate or hit children.
Know that fathers who are active in their children's lives make good dads.
Advocate for anti-violence laws and enforcement.
Recognize that the availability of guns increases lethal violence.
Teach your daughters that respect is just a minimum.
Teach your sons the same.
Teach boys and girls to communicate clearly in relationships, and that 'no' really does mean 'no'.
Question rape myths.
Recognize that alcohol and drugs feed violence.
Never excuse behaviour by saying 'boys will be boys'.
Confront homophobia—it pushes men into being tough.
Do not use 'gay' as a put-down.
Recognize that individual violence is supported by social systems based on power and control.
Understand war's effect on women and children and men.
Resist glorifying violence.
Create new stories, myths and heroes.
Praise gentle boys.
Encourage children to trust their instincts; believe victims and children.

As evidenced so eloquently above, it would seem as a wish list, or even a mammoth task for all humanity to incorporate within their psyche. Yet, I endorse the penchant of calling attention to assume responsibility and critical collaboration of the sexes on such an envisioned state of egalitarian utopia in society.

Ken McMaster pithily wrote (1992:113) that "what is learned can be unlearned and changed". This is a sentiment I strongly support and maintain as being central to any behavioural change that is anticipated.

Hopefully, I have inspired and stimulated new debates from my privileged access into understanding domestic violence from the cognitive lenses of these men who now have to challenge themselves to reinterpret their violent actions through human connections, reconciliation and healing. Hopefully, the process and exploration of

'challenging masculinities' begun in this research project will continue with critical engagement elsewhere.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX #1

BRIEF QUESTIONNAIRE

A. Socio-demographic Information

1. Race

Race	Self	Wife
Black		
Coloured		
Indian		
White		
Other		

2. Age

Age	Self	Wife
25		
26		
27		
28		
29		
30		
31		
32		
33		
34		
35		
36		
37		
38		
39		
40		
41		
42		
43+		

3. Years of Marriage

No. of Years	Response
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17+	

4. Number of Marriages

No.	Response
1	
2	
3	

5. Years of Courtship in Present Marriage

No.	Response
Below six months	
1 year	
2 years	
3years	
4+	

6. Number of Children in Marriage

No.	Response
None	
1	
2	
3	
4+	

7. Sex of Children in the Marriage

No.	Response
Female	
Male	
Total	

8. Children out of Wedlock

No	%
Yes	
No	
Specify number	

9. Your Current Employment Status

Unemployed, not looking for work	
Unemployed, looking for work	
Pensioner (aged/retired)	
Temporarily sick	
Permanently disabled	
Student	
Self-employed – full time	
Self employed – part time	
Employed full time	
Employed part time (if none of the above)	
Other (specify)	

10. Partner's Employment Status

Employed	Response
Yes	
No	

11. Current Employment Status

Unemployed, not looking for work	
Unemployed, looking for work	
Pensioner (Aged/Retired)	
Temporarily Sick	
Permanently Disabled	
Student	
Self-employed—Full time	
Self employed—Part time	
Employed Full time	
Employed Part time (if none of the above)	
Other (specify)	

12. Monthly Household and Personal income (income before tax and other deductions, specify all sources of income, i.e., salaries, pensions, income from investments, etc.

Income	Household	Personal
No income		
R1 – R500		
R501 –R750		
R751 – R1000		
R1001 – R1500		
R1501 –R2000		
R2001 –R3000		
R3001 –R5000		
R5001 –R7500		
R7501 –R10 000		
R10 001 –R15 000		
R15001 –R20 000		
R20 001 – R30 000		
R30 000 +		

A. Religion

Questions adapted from HSRC: South African Social Attitudes Survey: (2003) Past Year and Lifetime Prevalence of Partner Violence

13. Do You and Your Wife Belong to Any Organized Religion?

	You	Wife
Yes		
No		

14. If Yes, Specify Religious Group/Church Denomination

	You	Wife
Christian (without specification)		
African Evangelical Church		
Anglican Church		
Assemblies of God		
Twelve Apostles		
Baptist Church		
Dutch Reformed Church (DRC/NGK)		
Full Gospel Church of God		
Apostolic Faith Mission of SA		
Church of God and Saints of Christ		
Jehovah's Witness		
Lutheran Church		
Methodist Church		
Pentecostal Holiness Church		
Roman Catholic Church		
Salvation Army		
Seventh Day Adventist		
St John's Apostolic		
United Congregation Church		
Universal Church of God		
Nazareth		
Zionist Christian Church		
Other Christian		
Islam/Muslim		
Judaism/Jewish		
Hinduism/Hindu		
Buddhism/Buddhist		
Other (specify)		

15. Besides special occasions, such as wedding, funerals etc, how often do you and your wife attend services or meetings connected with your religion?

	You	Wife
Once a week or more		
Once in 2 weeks		
Once a month		
At least twice a year		
At least once a year		
Less often		
Never or practically never		

B. Health Status

16. Do you do the following activities? If yes, How often?

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Drink alcohol			
Smoke cigarettes			
Smoke dagga			
Use mandrax			
Inject drugs into the body			

17. Does your wife engage in the following?

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Drink alcohol			
Smoke cigarettes			
Smoke dagga			
Use mandrax			
Inject drugs into the body			

C. Childhood Violence

18. Were you as a child ever abused?

	Response
Yes	
No	
If Yes, by whom?	

19. What type of abuse did you encounter?

20. Did it occur more than once?

Yes	Response
No	

D. Witnessing Parental Violence

21. Who was the head of your parents' household?

	Response
Father	
Mother	
Both	

22. Were your parents violent with each other?

	Response
Yes	
No	
If, Yes, How often?	

23. Specify type of abuse?

Type	Response
Physical	
Sexual	
Economic	
Psychological/Emotional/verbal	

E. Frequency of Violence in your Marriage

24. Type of violence in your marriage

Type	Response
Physical	
Sexual	
Economic	
Psychological/Emotional/Verbal	

25. Were you ever involved with the police during your childhood?

	Response
Yes	
No	

APPENDIX #2

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The focus group discussions were guided, framed and facilitated by the following broad themes:

1. Gender and the Social Constructions of Masculinity

Sub Themes

   i.   Benefits of masculinity—social and cultural roles
  ii.   Understanding the marital relationship
 iii.   Interpretation of men on men violence
 iv.   Women rights and your rights?
  v.   Realities on socialization and gender
 vi.   Thoughts on sexual sub-texts (heterosexual and homosexual)

2. Reflections on Power and Control

Sub Themes

   i.   Recounting witnessing parental violence
  ii.   Details on incidences of spousal violence
 iii.   Causes of violence and unpacking provocation
 iv.   Encounter with the criminal justice system

3. Religion, Masculinity and Domestic Violence

Sub Themes

   i.   Ways in which religious beliefs promote or discourage domination
  ii.   Assistance from faith-based organizations for the violence in your marriage
 iii.   Details on the nature of assistance
 iv.   Evaluation of the services received
  v.   Preferences of the sex of faith based leader or counsellor
 vi.   The use of scriptures within the encounter

APPENDIX #3

CONSENT FORM

University of KwaZulu-Natal
Horward College Campus
Durban
4041

Mr. _____

2 August 2009

Dear Sir

I am pursuing a doctoral degree in the School of Religion and Theology University of Kwa Zulu-Natal and am conducting research on the following topic:

CHALLENGING VIOLENT MASCULINITIES: A CRITICAL FEMINIST INVESTIGATION ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND RELIGION.

The study is envisaged to be worthwhile and necessary in understanding the male perspective on domestic violence as it will serve to contribute to the existing knowledge on the intersection of masculinity, violence and religion.

The sample in this study will comprise of married males who have been court mandated to engage in the "Justice Restoration Programme" facilitated by Khulisa. You will be expected to complete a brief questionnaire, and thereafter participate in focus groups discussions. These sessions will be scheduled as negotiated and will be held at Khulisa's offices.

Your participation in this study is essential and shall be valued. The study will be undertaken under the auspices of the School of Religion and Theology at University of KwaZulu Natal (PMB). I will not at any point in the study or the research report identify any participant by name etc. Moreover, all ethical considerations as stipulated by the University's Research Policy in working with potential research participant will be strictly adhered to.

There will be no payment for participation in the study and you have a right to withdraw from the study at any stage and for any reason with no penalty.

Should you wish to add any further comments or clarify any of the above information, kindly contact me.

Kindly complete the consent paragraph below.

Thanking you for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully

_____

Rubeena Partab
Tel: 0827087353

_____

Supervisor: Dr. S Nadar
Tel work: 0825707177

I, _____ the undersigned understand the contents and conditions of the study and further understand that my rights will be protected at all times. I hereby agree / do not agree to participate in the study under the conditions mentioned above.

_____   _____

Signature of participant   Date

APPENDIX #4

CHARTER OF FEMINIST PRINCIPLES

FOR AFRICAN FEMINISTS

**The African Feminist Forum is being hosted by the African
Women's Development Fund (AWDF)**

AFF Working Group Members

Ayesha Imam (Senegal)
Bene Madunagu (Nigeria)
Muthoni Wanyeki (Kenya)
Sarah Mukasa (Uganda)
Jessica Horn (Uganda/UK)
Sylvia Tamale (Uganda)
Codou Bop (Senegal)
Everjoice Win (Zimbabwe, South Africa)
Demere Kitunga (Tanzania)
Mary Rusimbi (Tanzania)
Alice Karekezi (Rwanda/Sweden)
Bisi Adeleye-Fayemi (Nigeria/UK)
Hope Chigudu (Zimbabwe)
Shamilla Wilson (South Africa)

Charter Of Feminist Principles For African Feminists

Introduction

The African Feminist Forum took place from 15th -19th November 2006 in Accra, Ghana. The meeting brought together over 100 feminist activists from all over the region and the diaspora. The space was crafted as an autonomous space in which African feminists from all walks of life, at different levels of engagement within the feminist movement such as mobilizing at local levels for women's empowerment to academia, could reflect on a collective basis and chart ways to strengthen and grow the feminist movement on the continent.

A key outcome of the forum was the adoption of the Charter of Feminist Principles, which was agreed by the Regional Working group for the Forum, to be one of its principle aims. It was felt that we need something to help us define and affirm our commitment to feminist principles, which will guide our analysis, and practice. As such the

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Charter sets out the collective values that we hold as key to our work and to our lives as African feminists. It charts the change we wish to see in our communities, and also how this change is to be achieved. In addition it spells out our individual and collective responsibilities to the movement and to one another within the movement.

With this Charter, we reaffirm our commitment to dismantling patriarchy in all its manifestations in Africa. We remind ourselves of our duty to defend and respect the rights of all women, without qualification. We commit to protecting the legacy of our feminist ancestors who made numerous sacrifices, in order that we can exercise greater autonomy.

The Charter is an inspirational as well as an aspirational document. Mechanisms for operationalising it were also drawn up at the meeting. Key recommendations were:

- The dissemination and popularization of the Charter as a critical movement building tool. This requires such inputs as, translation of the charter into as many languages as possible, communication of the charter through different mediums such as radio, websites, television, and so on.

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- The Charter was viewed by many as an accountability mechanism for feminist organizing. As such it was recommended that it be developed into a tool that women's organizations can use for monitoring the own institutional development as well as peer review with other feminists.

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Preamble

Naming Ourselves As Feminists

We define and name ourselves publicly as Feminists because we celebrate our feminist identities and politics. We recognize that the work of fighting for women's rights is deeply political, and the process of naming is political too. Choosing to name ourselves Feminist places us in a clear ideological position. By naming ourselves as Feminists we politicise the struggle for women's rights, we question the legitimacy of the structures that keep women subjugated, and we develop tools for transformatory analysis and action. We have multiple and varied identities as African Feminists. We are African women we live here in Africa and even when we live elsewhere, our focus is on the lives of African women on the continent. Our feminist identity is not qualified with `Ifs`, `Buts', or `Howevers'. We are Feminists. Full stop.

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Our Understanding Of Feminism And Patriarchy

As African feminists our understanding of feminism places patriarchal social relations structures and systems which are embedded in other oppressive and exploitative structures at the center of our analysis. Patriarchy is a system of male authority which legitimizes the oppression of women through political, social, economic, legal cultural, religious and military institutions. Men's access to, and control over resources and rewards within the private and public sphere derives its legitimacy from the patriarchal ideology of male dominance. Patriarchy varies in time and space, meaning that it changes over time, and varies according to class, race, ethnic, religious and global-imperial relationships and structures. Furthermore, in the current conjunctures, patriarchy does not simply change according to these factors, but is inter-related with and informs relationships of class, race, ethnic, religious, and global-imperialism. Thus to challenge patriarchy effectively also requires challenging other systems of oppression and exploitation, which frequently mutually support each other.

Our understanding of Patriarchy is crucial because it provides for us as feminists, a framework within which to

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express the totality of oppressive and exploitative relations which affect African women. Patriarchal ideology enables and legitimizes the structuring of every aspect of our lives by establishing the framework within which society defines and views men and women and constructs male supremacy. Our ideological task as feminists is to understand this system and our political task is to end it. Our focus is fighting against patriarchy as a system rather than fighting individual men or women. Therefore, as feminists, we define our work as investing individual and institutional energies in the struggle against all forms of patriarchal oppression and exploitation.

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Our Identity As African Feminists

As Feminists who come from/work/live in Africa, we claim the right and the space to be Feminist and African. We recognize that we do not have a homogenous identity as feminists - we acknowledge and celebrate our diversities and our shared commitment to a transformatory agenda for African societies and African women in particular. This is what gives us our common feminist identity.

Our current struggles as African Feminists are inextricably linked to our past as a continent   diverse pre-colonial contexts, slavery, colonization, liberation struggles, neo-colonialism, globalization, etc. Modern African States were built off the backs of African Feminists who fought alongside men for the liberation of the continent. As we craft new African States in this new millennium, we also craft new identities for African women, identities as full citizens, free from patriarchal oppression, with rights of access, ownership and control over resources and our own bodies and utilizing positive aspects of our cultures in liberating and nurturing ways. We also recognize that our pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial histories and herstories require special measures to be taken in favour

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of particular African women in different contexts.

We acknowledge the historical and significant gains that have been made by the African Women's Movement over the past forty years, and we make bold to lay claim to these gains as African feminists they happened because African Feminists led the way, from the grassroots level and up; they strategised, organized, networked, went on strike and marched in protest, and did the research, analysis, lobbying, institution building and all that it took for States, employers and institutions to acknowledge women's personhood.

As African feminists, we are also part of a global feminist movement against patriarchal oppression in all its manifestations. Our experiences are linked to that of women in other parts of the world with whom we have shared solidarity and support over the years. As we assert our space as African feminists, we also draw inspiration from our feminist ancestors who blazed the trail and made it possible to affirm the rights of African women. As we invoke the memory of those women whose names are hardly ever recorded in any history books, we insist that it is a profound insult to claim that feminism was imported into Africa from the West. We reclaim and assert the long

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and rich tradition of African women's resistance to patriarchy in Africa. We henceforth claim the right to theorize for ourselves, write for ourselves, strategise for ourselves and speak for ourselves as African feminists.

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Individual Ethics

As individual feminists, we are committed to and believe in gender equality based on feminist principles which are:

- The indivisibility, inalienability and universality of women's human rights
- The effective participation in building and strengthening progressive African feminist organizing and networking to bring about transformatory change.
- A spirit of feminist solidarity and mutual respect based on frank, honest and open discussion of difference with each other.
- The support, nurture, and care of other African feminists, along with the care for our own well-being.
- The practice of non-violence and the achievement of non-violent societies.
- The right of all women to live free of patriarchal oppression, discrimination and violence.
- The right of all women to have access to sustainable and just livelihoods as well as welfare provision,

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including quality health care, education , water and sanitation.

- Freedom of choice and autonomy regarding bodily integrity issues, including reproductive rights, abortion, sexual identity   and sexual orientation.
- A critical engagement with discourses of religion, culture, tradition and domesticity with a focus on the centrality of women's rights.
- The recognition and presentation of African women as the subjects not the objects of our work, and as agents in their lives and societies.
- The right to healthy, mutually respectful and fulfilling personal relationships.
- The right to express our spirituality within or outside of organized religions.
- The acknowledgment of the feminist agency of African women which has a rich Herstory that has been largely undocumented and ignored.

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Institutional Ethics

As feminist organisations we commit to the following:

- Advocating for openness, transparency, equality and accountability in feminist-led institutions and organisations.
- Affirming that being a feminist institution is not incompatible with being professional, efficient, disciplined and accountable.
- Insisting on and supporting African women's labour rights, including egalitarian governance, fair and equal remuneration and maternity policies.
- Using power and authority responsibly, and managing institutional hierarchies with respect for all concerned. We believe that feminist spaces are created to empower and uplift women. At no time should we allow our institutional spaces to degenerate into sites of oppression and undermining of other women.
- Exercising responsible leadership and management of organisations whether in a paid or unpaid capacity and

striving to uphold critical feminist values and principles at all times.

- Exercising accountable leadership in feminist organisations taking into consideration the needs of others for self- fulfillment and professional development. This includes creating spaces for power-sharing across-generations.

- Creating and sustaining feminist organisations to foster women's leadership. Women's organizations and networks should be led and managed by women. It is a contradiction of feminist leadership principles to have men leading, managing and being spokespersons for women's organizations.

- Feminist organisations as models of good practice in the community of civil society organizations, ensuring that the financial and material resources mobilised in the name of African women are put to the service of African women and not diverted to serve personal interests. Systems and structures with appropriate Codes of Conduct to prevent corruption and fraud, and to manage disputes and complaints fairly, are the means of ensuring institutionalized within our organizations.

- Striving to inform our activism with theoretical

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analysis and to connect the practice of activism to our theoretical understanding of African feminism.

- Being open to critically assessing our impact as feminist organizations, and being honest and proactive with regards to   our role in the movement.
- Opposing the subversion and/or hijacking of autonomous feminist spaces to serve right wing, conservative agendas.
- Ensuring that feminist non-governmental or mass organisations are created in response to real needs expressed by women that need to be met, and not to serve selfish interests, and unaccountable income-generating

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Feminist Leadership

As leaders in the feminist movement, we recognize that feminist agency has popularized the notion of women as leaders. As feminist leaders we are committed to making a critical difference in leadership, based on the understanding that the quality of women's leadership is even more important than the numbers of women in leadership. We believe in and commit ourselves to the following:

- Disciplined work ethics guided by integrity and accountability at all times
- Expanding and strengthening a multi-generational network and pool of feminist leaders across the continent
- Ensuring that the feminist movement is recognised as a legitimate constituency for women in leadership positions.
- Building and expanding our knowledge and information base on an ongoing basis, as the foundation for shaping our analysis and strategies and

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for championing a culture of learning beginning with ourselves within the feminist movement.

- Nurturing, mentoring and providing opportunities for young feminists in a non-matronising manner
- Crediting African women's labour, intellectual and otherwise in our work.
- Creating time to respond in a competent, credible and reliable manner to other feminists in need of solidarity and support whether political, practical or emotional.
- Being open to giving and receiving peer reviews and constructive feedback from other feminists

APPENDIX #5

THE KHULISA RESTORATIVE JUSTICE, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACEMAKING PROGRAMME

THE KHULISA RESTORATIVE JUSTICE, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACEMAKING

Programme Description

The Khulisa Peacemaking, Restorative Justice and Conflict Resolution Programme is a holistic and integrated programme that combines Khulisa's community development, rehabilitation and reintegration programmes with restorative justice, peacemaking and conflict resolution processes.

This programme has dealt mainly with serious violent crime and targeted incarcerated, pre and post release offenders. In its pilot phase the programme was initiated in the Kwazulu Natal Midlands from 2006 to July 2007. Facilitated dialogue brought together victims and offenders, offender's and their families, victim's families and offenders' families, offenders and their communities and numerous other combinations.

Programme Description

Restorative Justice is a philosophical approach for responding to crime. Its primary concern is the repair of harm caused by a criminal act or wrongdoing– including the harm that ripples out to affect secondary victims, families, and communities – and an offender's obligation to make amends for that harm. Restorative processes bring together those who have a stake in a particular offence to collectively and collaboratively identify harms, needs and obligations in order to heal and put things as right as possible. These processes include victim offender mediation, community conferencing and circles.

Benefits
Victims benefit from…
- Telling the full story of how the wrongdoing has affected them
- Expressing their anger and pain directly to the person responsible
- Feeling more powerful and in control of life
- The opportunity to receive restitution for damage and losses
- Getting answers to questions about the crime and why it occurred
- Putting a face to the person who committed the crime
- Seeing genuine remorse in the offender
- Decreased fear as a result of seeing the offender as a person
- Experiencing closure

Offenders benefit from. . .
- Seeing the human costs of his/her crime
- Expressing their repentance
- Taking responsibility for their actions
- Participating in decisions about how to make things right
- The self-respect that comes from making amends
- Decreased fear of retaliation
- Experiencing closure

Communities benefit from. . .
- A greater sense of connection amongst people
- Involvement in solving problems related to crime
- Community building, as they implement solutions
- Stronger and healthier communities in the long term
- Decreased fear of crime

The Criminal Justice System benefits from. . .
- Being better understood by community members
- Having practical alternatives to incarceration
- Having an alternative place to deal with difficult cases
- Reduce demand on probation officers and courts
- Lower caseloads from reduced recidivism
- Potentially lower court/probation costs

Collaborative Conflict Resolution

While restorative justice responds to wrongdoing, conflict resolution, or alternate dispute resolution, deals with disputes where people come together to deal with different points of view. Conflict resolution creates a safe space for people to deal with misunderstandings and difference in a productive non-adversarial manner. The most commonly used processes of conflict resolution include community mediation and negotiation. Collaborative conflict resolution helps the people involved in a conflict to work together toward a solution.

Benefits
- It helps each party explain what matters about the conflict.
- It helps each party understand, and be understood by, the other party in the conflict
- It provides an alternative approach to dealing with disputes to the adversarial court system
- It transforms the way disputants deal with differences

Peacemaking is used both as preventive measures as well as means of responding to conflict by building and nurturing communities of tolerance and mutual understanding.

Benefits

- It assists in creating understanding and a culture of mutual assistance and nonviolent means of communication
- It encourages and nurtures empathy
- It encourages collaborative and collective self-help
- It assists in the reintegration of both victims and offenders that have been affected by crime and violence
- It assists community development

Programme Aims and Objectives

- Reduce recidivism by assisting in the rehabilitation of incarcerated offenders
- Assist in the healing of victims, offenders, families, and community members who have been affected by crime
- Aid in the repair and rebuilding of relationships damaged by wrongdoing
- Facilitate the peaceful reintegration of offenders into their communities, through dialogue with their victims, families and communities
- Empower communities to assume more responsibility for dealing with conflict and crime
- Contribute to the development of standards of best practice, and to develop training materials that encourage best practice
- Share research finding with restorative justice advocates, practitioners and other interested parties
- Help make justice more meaningful and accessible to the public, particularly to disadvantaged communities and vulnerable groups such as women and children
- Participate in the formulation of an integrative model or justice more familiar with African values and customs

Programme Successes

- In its pilot phase the programme delivered an impressive 42 processes in one year.
- A study done by an eminent international restorative justice expert reveals a very high rate of satisfaction amongst all participants: victims, offenders, families and community
- It demonstrated that restorative processes are effective in bringing healing to all the above participants
- It demonstrated that restorative processes are capable of assisting in the rehabilitation and successful reintegration of offenders
- It demonstrated that restorative processes have the potential of decreasing recidivism
- It developed a model of practice more suited to the South African situation
- The programme demonstrated that restorative justice can be used to deal with very serious and violent offences such as murder, rape and hijacking.
- This programme has made a significant contribution to the development of best practice in dealing with serious violent crime in South Africa and internationally.
- The experiences of the pilot phase were widely shared with government departments and NGO's in an Imbizo on May 16, 2006.

Case Study

Seven years into his 25 year prison sentence for the murder of his wife, Johannes Jacobs met with Khulisa's Restorative Justice team and began the emotional journey to accept full responsibility for his actions and make amends with his wife's family. "Prison had made me so hard, hard enough to want to be violent again when I came out. But when I opened up to the Khulisa RJ team, they organised, together with DSC staff, for me to meet with my wife's family who told me how they had also suffered because of my actions, and what they needed to make peace with me. It was hard to hear, but not as hard as living with my guilt and having no way to make right. This way, we've all found closure."

APPENDIX #6

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ACT

No. 116 OF 1998

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

STAATSKOERANT

VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT	KANTOOR VAN DIE PRESIDENT
No. 1551. 2 December 1998	No. 1551. 2 Desember 1998
It is hereby notified that the President has assented to the following Act which is hereby published for general information:—	Hierby word bekend gemaak dat die President sy goedkeuring geheg het aan die onderstaande Wet wat hierby ter algemene inligting gepubliseer word:—
No. 116 of 1998: Domestic Violence Act, 1998.	No. 116 van 1998: Wet op Gesinsgeweld, 1998.

GENERAL EXPLANATORY NOTE:

_____   Words underlined with a solid line indicate insertions in
existing enactments.

_____

_____
(English text signed by the President.)
(Assented to 20 November 1998.)
_____

ACT

**To provide for the issuing of protection orders with regard to domestic violence;
and for matters connected therewith.**

PREAMBLE

RECOGNISING that domestic violence is a serious social evil; that there is a high
incidence of domestic violence within South African society; that victims of domestic
violence are among the most vulnerable members of society; that domestic violence
takes on many forms; that acts of domestic violence may be committed in a wide range
of domestic relationships; and that the remedies currently available to the victims of
domestic violence have proved to be ineffective;

AND HAVING REGARD to 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 Elimina-
tion of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Rights of the Child;

IT IS THE PURPOSE of this Act to afford the victims of domestic violence the
maximum protection from domestic abuse that the law can provide; and to introduce
measures which seek to ensure that the relevant organs of state give full effect to the
provisions of this Act, and thereby to convey that the State is committed to the
elimination of domestic violence.

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa,
as follows:—

Definitions

1. In this Act, unless the context indicates otherwise—
    (i) "arm" means any arm as defined in section 1(1) or any armament as defined   5
        in section 32(1) of the Arms and Ammunition Act, 1969 (Act No. 75 of 1969);
        (xxiii)
    (ii) "clerk of the court" means a clerk of the court appointed in terms of section
        13 of the Magistrates' Courts Act, 1944 (Act No. 32 of 1944), and includes an
        assistant clerk of the court so appointed; (xvi)   10
    (iii) "complainant" means any person who is or has been in a domestic
        relationship with a respondent and who is or has been subjected or allegedly
        subjected to an act of domestic violence, including any child in the care of the
        complainant; (xv)

(iv) "court" means any court contemplated in the Magistrates' Courts Act, 1944
(Act No. 32 of 1944) or any family court established in terms of an Act of
Parliament; (xiii)

(v) "damage to property" means the wilful damaging or destruction of property
belonging to a complainant or in which the complainant has a vested interest;   5
(iii)

(vi) "dangerous weapon" means any weapon as defined in section 1 of the
Dangerous Weapons Act, 1968 (Act No. 71 of 1968); (xi)

(vii) "domestic relationship" means a relationship between a complainant and a
respondent in any of the following ways: 10

    (a) they are or were married to each other, including marriage according to
any law, custom or religion;

    (b) they (whether they are of the same or of the opposite sex) live or lived
together in a relationship in the nature of marriage, although they are not,
or were not, married to each other, or are not able to be married to each   15
other;

    (c) they are the parents of a child or are persons who have or had parental
responsibility for that child (whether or not at the same time);

    (d) they are family members related by consanguinity, affinity or adoption;

    (e) they are or were in an engagement, dating or customary relationship,   20
including an actual or perceived romantic, intimate or sexual relationship
of any duration; or

    (f) they share or recently shared the same residence; (x)

(viii) "domestic violence" means—

    (a) physical abuse;   25

    (b) sexual abuse;

    (c) emotional, verbal and psychological abuse;

    (d) economic abuse;

    (e) intimidation;

    (f) harassment;   30

    (g) stalking;

    (h) damage to property;

    (i) entry into the complainant's residence without consent, where the parties
do not share the same residence; or

    (j) any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a complainant,   35
where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to, the safety, health
or wellbeing of the complainant; (ix)

(ix) "economic abuse" includes—

    (a) the unreasonable deprivation of economic or financial resources to which
a complainant is entitled under law or which the complainant requires out   40
of necessity, including household necessities for the complainant, and
mortgage bond repayments or payment of rent in respect of the shared
residence; or

    (b) the unreasonable disposal of household effects or other property in which
the complainant has an interest; (v)   45

(x) "emergency monetary relief" means compensation for monetary losses
suffered by a complainant at the time of the issue of a protection order as a
result of the domestic violence, including—

    (a) loss of earnings;

    (b) medical and dental expenses;   50

    (c) relocation and accommodation expenses; or

    (d) household necessities; (viii)

(xi) "emotional, verbal and psychological abuse" means a pattern of degrading or
humiliating conduct towards a complainant, including—

    (a) repeated insults, ridicule or name calling;   55

    (b) repeated threats to cause emotional pain; or

    (c) the repeated exhibition of obsessive possessiveness or jealousy, which is
such as to constitute a serious invasion of the complainant's privacy,
liberty, integrity or security; (vi)

(xii) "harassment" means engaging in a pattern of conduct that induces the fear of   60
harm to a complainant including—

     (a) repeatedly watching, or loitering outside of or near the building or place where the complainant resides, works, carries on business, studies or happens to be;

     (b) repeatedly making telephone calls or inducing another person to make telephone calls to the complainant, whether or not conversation ensues;   5

     (c) repeatedly sending, delivering or causing the delivery of letters, telegrams, packages, facsimiles, electronic mail or other objects to the complainant; (xx)

  (xiii) "intimidation" means uttering or conveying a threat, or causing a complainant to receive a threat, which induces fear; (xiv)   10

  (xiv) "member of the South African Police Service" means any member as defined in section 1 of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act No. 68 of 1995); (xvii)

  (xv) "peace officer" means a peace officer as defined in section 1 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act No. 51 of 1977); (xxii)   15

  (xvi) "physical abuse" means any act or threatened act of physical violence towards a complainant; (vii)

  (xvii) "prescribed" means prescribed in terms of a regulation made under section 19; (xxi)

  (xviii) "protection order" means an order issued in terms of section 5 or 6 but, in 20 section 6, excludes an interim protection order; (iv)

  (xix) "residence" includes institutions for children, the elderly and the disabled; (xxiv)

  (xx) "respondent" means any person who is or has been in a domestic relationship with a complainant and who has committed or allegedly committed an act of 25 domestic violence against the complainant; (xviii)

  (xxi) "sexual abuse" means any conduct that abuses, humiliates, degrades or otherwise violates the sexual integrity of the complainant; (xix)

  (xxii) "sheriff" means a sheriff appointed in terms of section 2(1) of the Sheriffs Act, 1986 (Act No. 90 of 1986), or an acting sheriff appointed in terms of section 30 5(1) of the said Act; (ii)

  (xxiii) "stalking" means repeatedly following, pursuing, or accosting the complainant; (i)

  (xxiv) "this Act" includes the regulations. (xii)

Duty to assist and inform complainant of rights   35

2. Any member of the South African Police Service must, at the scene of an incident of domestic violence or as soon thereafter as is reasonably possible, or when the incident of domestic violence is reported—

     (a) render such assistance to the complainant as may be required in the circumstances, including assisting or making arrangements for the complain- 40 ant to find a suitable shelter and to obtain medical treatment;

     (b) if it is reasonably possible to do so, hand a notice containing information as prescribed to the complainant in the official language of the complainant's choice; and

     (c) if it is reasonably possible to do so, explain to the complainant the content of 45 such notice in the prescribed manner, including the remedies at his or her disposal in terms of this Act and the right to lodge a criminal complaint, if applicable.

Arrest by peace officer without warrant

3. A peace officer may without warrant arrest any respondent at the scene of an 50 incident of domestic violence whom he or she reasonably suspects of having committed an offence containing an element of violence against a complainant.

Application for protection order

4. (1) Any complainant may in the prescribed manner apply to the court for a protection order.

(2) If the complainant is not represented by a legal representative, the clerk of the court must inform the complainant, in the prescribed manner—   5

    (a) of the relief available in terms of this Act; and

    (b) of the right to also lodge a criminal complaint against the respondent, if a criminal offence has been committed by the respondent.

(3) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the application may be brought on behalf of the complainant by any other person, including a counsellor, health service   10 provider, member of the South African Police Service, social worker or teacher, who has a material interest in the wellbeing of the complainant: Provided that the application must be brought with the written consent of the complainant, except in circumstances where the complainant is—

    (a) a minor;   15

    (b) mentally retarded;

    (c) unconscious; or

    (d) a person whom the court is satisfied is unable to provide the required consent.

(4) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, any minor, or any person on behalf of a minor, may apply to the court for a protection order without the assistance of   20 a parent, guardian or any other person.

(5) The application referred to in subsection (1) may be brought outside ordinary court hours or on a day which is not an ordinary court day, if the court is satisfied that the complainant may suffer undue hardship if the application is not dealt with immediately.   25

(6) Supporting affidavits by persons who have knowledge of the matter concerned may accompany the application.

(7) The application and affidavits must be lodged with the clerk of the court who shall forthwith submit the application and affidavits to the court.

Consideration of application and issuing of interim protection order   30

5. (1) The court must as soon as is reasonably possible consider an application submitted to it in terms of section 4(7) and may, for that purpose, consider such additional evidence as it deems fit, including oral evidence or evidence by affidavit, which shall form part of the record of the proceedings.

(2) If the court is satisfied that there is *prima facie* evidence that—   35

    (a) the respondent is committing, or has committed an act of domestic violence; and

    (b) undue hardship may be suffered by the complainant as a result of such domestic violence if a protection order is not issued immediately,

the court must, notwithstanding the fact that the respondent has not been given notice of   40 the proceedings contemplated in subsection (1), issue an interim protection order against the respondent, in the prescribed manner.

(3) *(a)* An interim protection order must be served on the respondent in the prescribed manner and must call upon the respondent to show cause on the return date specified in the order why a protection order should not be issued.   45

(b) A copy of the application referred to in section 4(1) and the record of any evidence noted in terms of subsection (1) must be served on the respondent together with the interim protection order.

(4) If the court does not issue an interim protection order in terms of subsection (2), the court must direct the clerk of the court to cause certified copies of the application   50 concerned and any supporting affidavits to be served on the respondent in the prescribed manner, together with a prescribed notice calling on the respondent to show cause on the return date specified in the notice why a protection order should not be issued.

(5) The return dates referred to in subsections (3)(a) and (4) may not be less than 10 days after service has been effected upon the respondent: Provided that the return date referred to in subsection (3)(a) may be anticipated by the respondent upon not less than 24 hours' written notice to the complainant and the court.

(6) An interim protection order shall have no force and effect until it has been served 5 on the respondent.

(7) Upon service or upon receipt of a return of service of an interim protection order, the clerk of the court must forthwith cause—

    (a) a certified copy of the interim protection order; and

    (b) the original warrant of arrest contemplated in section 8(1)(a),   10
to be served on the complainant.

Issuing of protection order

6. (1) If the respondent does not appear on a return date contemplated in section 5(3) or (4), and if the court is satisfied that—

    (a) proper service has been effected on the respondent; and   15

    (b) the application contains *prima facie* evidence that the respondent has committed or is committing an act of domestic violence,
the court must issue a protection order in the prescribed form.

(2) If the respondent appears on the return date in order to oppose the issuing of a protection order, the court must proceed to hear the matter and—   20

    (a) consider any evidence previously received in terms of section 5(1); and

    (b) consider such further affidavits or oral evidence as it may direct, which shall form part of the record of the proceedings.

(3) The court may, on its own accord or on the request of the complainant, if it is of the opinion that it is just or desirable to do so, order that in the examination of witnesses, 25 including the complainant, a respondent who is not represented by a legal representative—

    (a) is not entitled to cross-examine directly a person who is in a domestic relationship with the respondent; and

    (b) shall put any question to such a witness by stating the question to the court, 30 and the court is to repeat the question accurately to the respondent.

(4) The court must, after a hearing as contemplated in subsection (2), issue a protection order in the prescribed form if it finds, on a balance of probabilities, that the respondent has committed or is committing an act of domestic violence.

(5) Upon the issuing of a protection order the clerk of the court must forthwith in the 35 prescribed manner cause—

    (a) the original of such order to be served on the respondent; and

    (b) a certified copy of such order, and the original warrant of arrest contemplated in section 8(1)(a), to be served on the complainant.

(6) The clerk of the court must forthwith in the prescribed manner forward certified 40 copies of any protection order and of the warrant of arrest contemplated in section 8(1)(a) to the police station of the complainant's choice.

(7) Subject to the provisions of section 7(7), a protection order issued in terms of this section remains in force until it is set aside, and the execution of such order shall not be automatically suspended upon the noting of an appeal.   45

Court's powers in respect of protection order

7. (1) The court may, by means of a protection order referred to in section 5 or 6, prohibit the respondent from—

    (a) committing any act of domestic violence;

    (b) enlisting the help of another person to commit any such act;   50

    (c) entering a residence shared by the complainant and the respondent: Provided that the court may impose this prohibition only if it appears to be in the best interests of the complainant;

    (d) entering a specified part of such a shared residence;

    (e) entering the complainant's residence;   55

    (f) entering the complainant's place of employment;

(g) preventing the complainant who ordinarily lives or lived in a shared residence
as contemplated in subparagraph *(c)* from entering or remaining in the shared
residence or a specified part of the shared residence; or

(h) committing any other act as specified in the protection order.

(2) The court may impose any additional conditions which it deems reasonably   5
necessary to protect and provide for the safety. health or wellbeing of the complainant,
including an order—

(a) to seize any arm or dangerous weapon in the possession or under the control
of the respondent, as contemplated in section 9; and

(b) that a peace officer must accompany the complainant to a specified place to   10
assist with arrangements regarding the collection of personal property.

(3) In ordering a prohibition contemplated in subsection 1*(c)*, the court may impose
on the respondent obligations as to the discharge of rent or mortgage payments having
regard to the financial needs and resources of the complainant and the respondent.

(4) The court may order the respondent to pay emergency monetary relief having   15
regard to the financial needs and resources of the complainant and the respondent, and
such order has the effect of a civil judgment of a magistrate's court.

(5) *(a)* The physical address of the complainant must be omitted from the protection
order, unless the nature of the terms of the order necessitates the inclusion of such
address.   20

(b) The court may issue any directions to ensure that the complainant's physical
address is not disclosed in any manner which may endanger the safety, health or
wellbeing of the complainant.

(6) If the court is satisfied that it is in the best interests of any child it may—

(a) refuse the respondent contact with such child; or   25

(b) order contact with such child on such conditions as it may consider
appropriate.

(7) *(a)* The court may not refuse—

(i) to issue a protection order; or

(ii) to impose any condition or make any order which it is competent to impose or   30
make under this section,

merely on the grounds that other legal remedies are available to the complainant.

(b) If the court is of the opinion that any provision of a protection order deals with a
matter that should, in the interests of justice. be dealt with further in terms of any other
relevant law, including the Maintenance Act, 1998, the court must order that such a   35
provision shall be in force for such limited period as the court determines, in order to
afford the party concerned the opportunity to seek appropriate relief in terms of such
law.

Warrant of arrest upon issuing of protection order

8. (1) Whenever a court issues a protection order, the court must make an order—   40

(a) authorising the issue of a warrant for the arrest of the respondent, in the
prescribed form; and

(b) suspending the execution of such warrant subject to compliance with any
prohibition, condition, obligation or order imposed in terms of section 7.

(2) The warrant referred to in subsection (1)*(a)* remains in force unless the protection   45
order is set aside, or it is cancelled after execution.

(3) The clerk of the court must issue the complainant with a second or further warrant
of arrest, if the complainant files an affidavit in the prescribed form in which it is stated
that such warrant is required for her or his protection and that the existing warrant of
arrest has been—   50

(a) executed and cancelled; or

(b) lost or destroyed.

(4) *(a)* A complainant may hand the warrant of arrest together with an affidavit in the
prescribed form, wherein it is stated that the respondent has contravened any
prohibition, condition, obligation or order contained in a protection order, to any   55
member of the South African Police Service.

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(b) If it appears to the member concerned that, subject to subsection (5), there are reasonable grounds to suspect that the complainant may suffer imminent harm as a result of the alleged breach of the protection order by the respondent, the member must forthwith arrest the respondent for allegedly committing the offence referred to in section 17*(a)*.   5

(c) If the member concerned is of the opinion that there are insufficient grounds for arresting the respondent in terms of paragraph *(b)*, he or she must forthwith hand a written notice to the respondent which—

    (i)   specifies the name, the residential address and the occupation or status of the respondent;   10

    (ii) calls upon the respondent to appear before a court, and on the date and at the time, specified in the notice, on a charge of committing the offence referred to in section 17*(a)*; and

    (iii) contains a certificate signed by the member concerned to the effect that he or she handed the original notice to the respondent and that he or she explained   15 the import thereof to the respondent.

(d) The member must forthwith forward a duplicate original of a notice referred to in paragraph *(c)* to the clerk of the court concerned, and the mere production in the court of such a duplicate original shall be *prima facie* proof that the original thereof was handed to the respondent specified therein.   20

(5) In considering whether or not the complainant may suffer imminent harm, as contemplated in subsection (4)*(b)*, the member of the South African Police Service must take into account—

    (a) the risk to the safety, health or wellbeing of the complainant;

    (b) the seriousness of the conduct comprising an alleged breach of the protection   25 order; and

    (c) the length of time since the alleged breach occurred.

(6) Whenever a warrant of arrest is handed to a member of the South African Police Service in terms of subsection (4)*(a)*, the member must inform the complainant of his or her right to simultaneously lay a criminal charge against the respondent, if applicable,   30 and explain to the complainant how to lay such a charge.

Seizure of arms and dangerous weapons

9. (1) The court must order a member of the South African Police Service to seize any arm or dangerous weapon in the possession or under the control of a respondent, if the court is satisfied on the evidence placed before it, including any affidavits supporting an   35 application referred to in section 4(1), that—

    (a) the respondent has threatened or expressed the intention to kill or injure himself or herself, or any person in a domestic relationship, whether or not by means of such arm or dangerous weapon; or

    (b) possession of such arm or dangerous weapon is not in the best interests of the   40 respondent or any other person in a domestic relationship, as a result of the respondent's—

        (i)   state of mind or mental condition;

        (ii) inclination to violence; or

        (iii) use of or dependence on intoxicating liquor or drugs.   45

(2) Any arm seized in terms of subsection (1) must be handed over to the holder of an office in the South African Police Service as contemplated in section 11(2)*(b)* of the Arms and Ammunition Act, 1969 (Act No. 75 of 1969), and the court must direct the clerk of the court to refer a copy of the record of the evidence concerned to the National Commissioner of the South African Police Service for consideration in terms of section   50 11 of the Arms and Ammunition Act, 1969.

(3) Any dangerous weapon seized in terms of subsection (1)—

    (a) must be given a distinctive identification mark and retained in police custody for such period of time as the court may determine; and

    (b) shall only be returned to the respondent or, if the respondent is not the owner   55 of the dangerous weapon, to the owner thereof, by order of the court and on such conditions as the court may determine:

Provided that—

    (i)   if, in the opinion of the court, the value of the dangerous weapon so seized is below R200; or   60

    (ii) if the return of the dangerous weapon has not been ordered within 12 months after it had been so seized; or

    (iii) if the court is satisfied that it is in the interest of the safety of any person concerned,
the court may order that the dangerous weapon be forfeited to the State.

Variation or setting aside of protection order

10. (1) A complainant or a respondent may, upon written notice to the other party and   5
the court concerned, apply for the variation or setting aside of a protection order referred
to in section 6 in the prescribed manner.

(2) If the court is satisfied that good cause has been shown for the variation or setting
aside of the protection order, it may issue an order to this effect: Provided that the court
shall not grant such an application to the complainant unless it is satisfied that the   10
application is made freely and voluntarily.

(3) The clerk of the court must forward a notice as prescribed to the complainant and
the respondent if the protection order is varied or set aside as contemplated in subsection
(1).

Attendance of proceedings and prohibition of publication of certain information   15

11. (1) *(a)* No person may be present during any proceedings in terms of this Act
except—
    (a) officers of the court;
    (b) the parties to the proceedings;
    (c) any person bringing an application on behalf of the complainant in terms of   20
        section 4(3);
    (d) any legal representative representing any party to the proceedings;
    (e) witnesses;
    (f) not more than three persons for the purpose of providing support to the
        complainant;   25
    (g) not more than three persons for the purpose of providing support to the
        respondent; and
    (h) any other person whom the court permits to be present:
Provided that the court may, if it is satisfied that it is in the interests of justice, exclude
any person from attending any part of the proceedings.   30

(b) Nothing in this subsection limits any other power of the court to hear proceedings
in camera or to exclude any person from attending such proceedings.

(2) *(a)* No person shall publish in any manner any information which might, directly
or indirectly, reveal the identity of any party to the proceedings.

(b) The court, if it is satisfied that it is in the interests of justice, may direct that any   35
further information relating to proceedings held in terms of this Act shall not be
published: Provided that no direction in terms of this subsection applies in respect of the
publication of a *bona fide* law report which does not mention the names or reveal the
identities of the parties to the proceedings or of any witness at such proceedings.

Jurisdiction   40

12. (1) Any court within the area in which—
    (a) the complainant permanently or temporarily resides, carries on business or is
        employed;
    (b) the respondent resides, carries on business or is employed; or
    (c) the cause of action arose,   45
has jurisdiction to grant a protection order as contemplated in this Act.

(2) No specific minimum period is required in relation to subsection (1)*(a)*.

(3) A protection order is enforceable throughout the Republic.

Service of documents

13. (1) Service of any document in terms of this Act must forthwith be effected in the   50
prescribed manner by the clerk of the court, the sheriff or a peace officer, or as the court
may direct.

(2) The regulations contemplated in section 19 must make provision for financial assistance by the State to a complainant or a respondent who does not have the means to pay the fees of any service in terms of this Act.

Legal representation

14. Any party to proceedings in terms of this Act may be represented by a legal   5
representative.

Costs

15. The court may only make an order as to costs against any party if it is satisfied that such party has acted frivolously, vexatiously or unreasonably.

Appeal and review   10

16. The provisions in respect of appeal and review contemplated in the Magistrate's Courts Act, 1944 (Act No. 32 of 1944), and the Supreme Court Act, 1959 (Act No. 59 of 1959), apply to any proceedings in terms of this Act.

Offences

17. Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, any person who—   15
  (a) contravenes any prohibition, condition, obligation or order imposed in terms
       of section 7;
  (b) contravenes the provisions of section 11(2)(a);
  (c) fails to comply with any direction in terms of the provisions of section
       11(2)(b); or   20
  (d) in an affidavit referred to section 8(4)(a), wilfully makes a false statement in
       a material respect,
is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction in the case of an offence referred to in
paragraph (a) to a fine or imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years or to both
such fine and such imprisonment, and in the case of an offence contemplated in   25
paragraph (b), (c), or (d), to a fine or imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years
or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

Application of Act by prosecuting authority and members of South African Police Service

18. (1) No prosecutor shall—   30
  (a) refuse to institute a prosecution; or
  (b) withdraw a charge,
in respect of a contravention of section 17(a), unless he or she has been authorised
thereto, whether in general or in any specific case, by a Director of Public Prosecutions
as contemplated in section 13(1)(a) of the National Prosecuting Authority Act, 1998   35
(Act No. 32 of 1998), or a senior member of the prosecuting authority designated thereto
in writing by such a Director.

(2) The National Director of Public Prosecutions referred to in section 10 of the
National Prosecuting Authority Act, 1998, in consultation with the Minister of Justice
and after consultation with the Directors of Public Prosecutions, must determine   40
prosecution policy and issue policy directives regarding any offence arising from an
incident of domestic violence.

(3) The National Commissioner of the South African Police Service must issue
national instructions as contemplated in section 25 of the South African Police Service
Act, 1995 (Act No. 68 of 1995), with which its members must comply in the execution   45
of their functions in terms of this Act, and any instructions so issued must be published
in the *Gazette*.

(4) (a) Failure by a member of the South African Police Service to comply with an
obligation imposed in terms of this Act or the national instructions referred to in
subsection (3), constitutes misconduct as contemplated in the South African Police   50
Service Act, 1995, and the Independent Complaints Directorate, established in terms of
that Act, must forthwith be informed of any such failure reported to the South African
Police Service.

(b) Unless the Independent Complaints Directorate directs otherwise in any specific case, the South African Police Service must institute disciplinary proceedings against any member who allegedly failed to comply with an obligation referred to in paragraph *(a)*.

(5) *(a)* The National Director of Public Prosecutions must submit any prosecution   5
policy and policy directives determined or issued in terms of subsection (2) to Parliament, and the first policy and directives so determined or issued, must be submitted to Parliament within six months of the commencement of this Act.

(b) The National Commissioner of the South African Police Service must submit any national instructions issued in terms of subsection (3) to Parliament, and the first   10
instructions so issued, must be submitted to Parliament within six months of the commencement of this Act.

(c) The Independent Complaints Directorate must, every six months, submit a report to Parliament regarding the number and particulars of matters reported to it in terms of subsection (4)*(a)*, and setting out the recommendations made in respect of such matters.   15

(d) The National Commissioner of the South African Police Service must, every six months, submit a report to Parliament regarding—
- (i)   the number and particulars of complaints received against its members in respect of any failure contemplated in subsection (4)*(a)*;
- (ii)   the disciplinary proceedings instituted as a result thereof and the decisions   20 which emanated from such proceedings; and
- (iii)   steps taken as a result of recommendations made by the Independent Complaints Directorate.

Regulations

19. (1) The Minister of Justice may make regulations regarding—   25
- *(a)*   any form required to be prescribed in terms of this Act;
- *(b)*   any matter required to be prescribed in terms of this Act; and
- *(c)*   any other matter which the Minister deems necessary or expedient to be prescribed in order to achieve the objects of this Act.

(2) Any regulation made under subsection (1)—   30
- *(a)*   must be submitted to Parliament prior to publication thereof in the *Gazette*;
- *(b)*   which may result in expenditure for the State, must be made in consultation with the Minister of Finance; and
- *(c)*   may provide that any person who contravenes a provision thereof or fails to comply therewith shall be guilty of an offence and on conviction be liable to   35 a fine or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year.

Amendment of section 40 of Act 51 of 1977, as amended by section 41 of Act 129 of 1993 and section 4 of Act 18 of 1996

20. Section 40 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977, is hereby amended by the addition in subsection (1) of the following paragraph: 40

"*(q)* who is reasonably suspected of having committed an act of domestic violence as contemplated in section (1) of the Domestic Violence Act, 1998, which constitutes an offence in respect of which violence is an element.".

Repeal of laws and savings

21. (1) Sections 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7 of the Prevention of Family Violence Act, 1993 (Act   45 No. 133 of 1993), are hereby repealed.

(2) Any application made, proceedings instituted or interdict granted in terms of the Act referred to in subsection (1) shall be deemed to have been made, instituted or granted in terms of this Act.

Short title and commencement   50

22. This Act shall be called the Domestic Violence Act, 1998, and comes into operation on a date fixed by the President by proclamation in the *Gazette*.

APPENDIX # 7

NATIONAL INSTRUCTION 1999/7

No. *207*   3 March *2006*

National Instruction 7/1999 published in Government Gazette No. 20778, dated 30 December 1999, is hereby repealed and replaced by National Instruction 7/1999 Version 02.00 and is hereby published in terms of section 18(3) of the Domestic Violence Act, 1998 (Act No. 116 of 1998) for general information.

1

NATIONAL INSTRUCTION 7/1999

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

1.   Background

The Domestic Violence Act, 1998 (Act No. 116 of 1998), (hereinafter referred to as the *Domestic Violence Act)* imposes certain obligations on a member who receives a complaint of domestic violence. This instruction is intended to provide clear direction to a member on how to respond to a complaint of domestic violence in order to comply with the obligations imposed upon him or her in terms of the *Domestic Violence Act.*

2.   Definitions

In this instruction, unless the context otherwise indicates, –

complainant means any person who is or has been in a domestic relationship with another person and who is alleged to be or to have been subjected by such other person (hereinafter referred to as the *respondent)* to an act of *domestic violence* and includes any child in the care of the *complainant;*

domestic violence means any one or more of the following forms of conduct performed by a *respondent* in respect of a *complainant* which consists of:

(a)   **physical abuse,** consisting of any act or threatened act of physical violence;

(b)   **sexual abuse,** consisting of conduct that abuses, humiliates, degrades or violates the sexual integrity of the *complainant;*

(c)   **emotional, verbal and psychological abuse,** consisting of a pattern of degrading or humiliating conduct which may consist of –
–   repeated insults, ridicule, or name calling;
–   repeated threats to cause emotional pain; or
–   the repeated exhibition of obsessive possessiveness or jealousy which is such as to constitute a serious invasion of the privacy, liberty, integrity or security of the *complainant*;

(d)   **economic abuse,** which may consist of —
–   the unreasonable withholding of economical or financial resources from a *complainant* who is legally entitled thereto or which the *complainant* requires of necessity, including the withholding of household necessities from the *complainant* or refusal to pay mortgage bond repayments or rent in respect of the shared residence; or
–   the unreasonable disposal of household effects or other property in which the *complainant* has an interest;

(e)   **intimidation,** by uttering or conveying a threat or causing the *complainant* to receive a threat which induces fear;

(f)   **harassment,** consisting of a pattern of conduct which induces fear of harm to the *complainant,* including repeatedly –

-   watching or loitering outside of or near the building or place where the *complainant* resides, works, carries on business, studies or happens to be;
-   making telephone calls to the *complainant,* whether or not conversation ensues, or inducing another to do so;
-   sending, delivering or causing the delivery of letters, telegrams, packages, facsimiles, electronic mail or other objects to the *complainant,*

(g)   **stalking,** by repeatedly following, pursuing or accosting the *complainant;*

(h)   **damaging of property,** consisting of the wilful damaging or destruction of property belonging to a *complainant* or in which the *complainant* has a vested interest;

(i)   **entry into the residence of the *complainant* without consent where the parties do not share the same residence;** or

(j)   **any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a *complainant;*** where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to the safety, health or well-being of the *complainant;*

domestic relationship means a retationship between a *complainant* and the respondent where they –

(a)   are or were married to each other in terms of any law, custom or religion;

(b)   live or lived together in a relationship in the nature of a marriage (whether they are of the same or of the opposite sex);

(c)   are the parents of a child or have or had parental responsibility for the child (whether or not at the same time);

(d)   are family members related by consanguinity, affinity or adoption;

(e)   are or were in an engagement, dating or customary relationship: including an actual or perceived romantic, intimate or sexual relationship of any duration: or

(f)   share or recently shared the same residence;

residence also institutions for children, the elderly and the disabled; and

respondent means any person who is or has been in a *domestic relationship with* a *complainant* and who allegedly commits or has committed *domestic violence* against the *complainant.*

3.   **Responsibilities of station commissioner**

(1)   Every station commissioner must liaise with local representatives of the Department of Welfare, the local Community Police Forum and any other relevant local institution, to identify local organisations which are willing and able to provide counselling and other support services (including medical services and suitable shelter) to *complainants.*

(2)   After having identified the organisations referred to in subparagraph (1), the station commissioner must liaise with the said organisations to determine –
   (a)   the specific services that are rendered by each;
   (b)   whether the services are rendered after hours, during weekends and on public holidays;
   (c)   whether the services are rendered free of charge or at a fee; and
   (d)   the contact particulars of each.

(3)   The station commissioner must compile a list of the relevant organisations and include in it, in respect of each organisation, at least the information referred to in subparagraph (2) as well as information relating to hospitals, ambulance services and medical practitioners that may be utilised to provide medical treatment to *complainants.*

(4)   The original list referred to in subparagraph (**3**) must be kept by the station commissioner who must update it at least once every six months.

(5)   The station commissioner must ensure that a copy of –
   (a)   the *Domestic Violence Act;*
   (b)   the Regulations promulgated in terms thereof;
   (c)   this National Instruction;
   (d)   the station orders issued by him or her in terms of subparagraph (6); and
   (e)   the list referred to in subparagraph (3);
   are at all times available in the Community Service Centre and that a copy of the list referred to in subparagraph (3) is at all times available in each police vehicle at his or her station which is utilized to attend to complaints.

(6)   The station commissioner must, taking into account the unique circumstances prevailing in his or her specific station area, available resources, etc., issue station orders –
   (a)   requiring a member under his or her command to inform a *complainant* of the services rendered by organisations mentioned in the list and how to inform the *complainant* thereof (e.g. by providing the *complainant* with a copy of the list or allowing the *complainant* to peruse the list or reading the information from the list to the *complainant);*
   (b)   setting out the steps that must be taken by such member to assist the *complainant,* when requested thereto by the *complainant,* to gain access to any service rendered by an organisation mentioned in the list or to obtain medical treatment should this be required; and
   (c)   in general, instructing members under his or her command on any other matter relating to the treatment of *complainants* of *domestic*

violence which he or she deems necessary to determine in respect of his or her specific station area.

(7) Where a police station area forms part of a larger area consisting of more than one police station area and a radio control unit has been established to patrol and attend to complaints in such larger area, every station commissioner of a station in such larger area must, for information purposes, provide the commander of such radio control unit with a copy of −

(a) the list referred to in subparagraph (3) and, when he or she has updated the list, a copy of the updated version thereof; and

(b) a copy of the station orders issued in accordance with subparagraph (6) and, if he or she amends the orders, a copy of the updated version thereof.

4. Receiving complaints of *domestic violence:* responsibility of Community Service Centre commander

(1) Every Community Service Centre commander must ensure that copies of the documentation referred to in paragraph 3(5) (above) are at all times available in the Community Service Centre.

(2) If an incident of *domestic violence* is −

(a) telephonically reported to the Community Service Centre or to a radio control unit by the *complainant* or any other person; or is

(b) reported in person to the Community Service Centre by someone other than the *complainant,*

the Community Service Centre commander or member receiving the report must endeavour to obtain sufficient information concerning the incident to make it possible to comply with subparagraph (3).·

(3) If an incident of *domestic violence* is reported in the manner referred to in subparagraph (2), the Community Service Centre commander or person answering the telephone, must, −

(a) without any unreasonable delay, ensure that a police vehicle from the appropriate radio control unit or station is despatched to the *complainant* to attend to the matter;

(b) ensure that the crew of such vehicle is informed −

(i) whether any violence or threatened violence is allegedly or has allegedly been involved in the incident; and

(ii) who the *complainant* is.

(4) If a *complainant* reports an incident of *domestic violence* in person at the Community Service Centre, the Community Service Centre commander must ensure that the steps set out in paragraph 5(2)(a)-(d) (below) are taken.

5.   Responsibility of a member

(1)   A member who attends a scene of domestic violence must first of all determine whether the complainant is in any danger and take all reasonable steps to secure the scene as set out in paragraph 6 (below) and to protect the complainant from any danger.

(2)   Once the scene has been secured, the member must −

(a)   render such assistance to the complainant as may reasonably be required' in the circumstances (this is more fully set out in paragraph 7 (below));

(b)   if it is reasonably possible to do so, hand the Notice, contemplated in paragraph 10 (below), to the complainant and explain the contents of such notice to the complainant;

(c)   assist the complainant or make arrangements for the complainant to find a suitable shelter and to obtain medical treatment, as set out in paragraphs 8 and 9 (below); and

(d)   investigate the alleged incident of domestic violence and gather all available evidence in respect of any offence which may have been committed during such incident.

6.   Securing a scene of *domestic violence*

(1)   Due to the high risk inherent to and volatility of domestic violence incidents, a member must be extremely careful when responding to a call to a scene of domestic violence and should, whenever reasonably possible, not go alone to the scene.

(2)   Upon arriving at the scene, the member must attempt to locate the complainant and determine whether the complainant is in any danger.

(3)   If the complainant is located and he or she is not inside a building or similar structure, the complainant must be interviewed to determine whether he or she is in any immediate danger. If the complainant does not seem to be in any immediate danger, the steps set out in paragraph 5(2)(a)-(d) (above) must be followed. If the complainant is in any danger, the member must take the necessary steps to ensure the safety of the complainant.

(4)   If it is established that the complainant is inside a building or similar structure, the member must determine whether there are reasonable grounds to suspect that an offence has been committed against the complainant.

(5)   If a member has reasonable grounds to suspect that an offence has been committed and that the complainant may furnish information regarding the offence, such member −

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(a)   may, where necessary, if the complainant is inside a building or similar structure, exercise his or her powers in terms of sections 26 and 27 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act No. 51 of 1977) (hereinafter referred to as the Criminal Procedure Act), to enter the premises and building and interview and take a statement from the complainant, as this will enable him or her to determine whether the complainant is in any danger and what steps to take to protect the complainant from harm or further harm: Provided that a member may not, if the complainant is inside a private dwelling and the member is refused entry into the dwelling, forcibly enter the dwelling in terms of the said provisions;

(b)   must, if the complainant is inside a private dwelling and the member is refused entry into the dwelling, take reasonable steps to communicate with the persons inside the dwelling to determine whether any person inside the dwelling is in any imminent danger, and –

   (i)   may, if he or she has reasonable grounds to believe that any person inside the dwelling is in imminent danger and that a forcible entry *is* necessary to protect the person, use minimum force to gain entry to the dwelling in order to protect the complainant or any other person from imminent physical harm (Circumstances which may indicate to the need for such action include cries for help, visible injuries or weapons, obvious signs that a struggle has occurred or the account of a witness that a crime has been committed and that the complainant could reasonably be expected to be injured and in need of urgent medical attention.); or

   (ii)   must, if he or she is satisfied that there are no reasonable grounds to believe that any person inside the dwelling is in any imminent danger, withdraw and make an entry in his or her Pocket Book (SAPS 206) setting out the reasons why he or she is so satisfied.

(6)   If the member does not have reasonable grounds to believe that an offence has been committed and that the complainant is inside a building or structure (including a private dwelling), the member may not act in terms of sections 26 and 27 of the Criminal Procedure *Act* and must request permission to enter the building or structure and, –

(a)   if given permission to do so, enter the building or structure and interview the complainant to determine whether he or she is in any immediate danger. If the complainant does not seem to be in any immediate danger, the steps set out in paragraph 5(2)(a)-(e) (above) must be followed. If the complainant is in any danger, the member must take the necessary steps to ensure the safety of the *complainant,* and

(b)   if refused permission to do so, act as set out in subparagraph (5)(b) (above).

(7)   Securing a scene of *domestic violence* may require the separation of the *complainant* and *respondent* and may include arresting the *respondent* in terms of section 3 of the *Domestic Violence Act* and section 40(1)(q) of the *Criminal Procedure Act* if the *complainant* appears to be in danger of imminent harm unless the *respondent* is arrested.   In terms of the aforementioned provisions, a *member* is empowered to arrest without a warrant any person who is or has been in a domestic relationship with the *complainant* and whom the member reasonably suspects of having committed an offence containing an element of violence against the *complainant* (therefore including the offence of common assault). (See Standing Order 341 for general information concerning "Arrest").

(8)   Where a *member* has reason to believe that a person —
(a)   has threatened or expressed the intention to kill or injure himself or herself or any other person by means of a firearm or any other dangerous weapon; or,
(b)   who is in possession of a firearm and whose possession thereof is not in his or her interest or in the interest of any other person as a result of his or her physical or mental condition, his or her inclination to violence (whether an arm was used in the violence or not), or his or her dependence on intoxicating liquor or a drug which has a narcotic effect,

such *member* may at any time, in terms of section 110(1) of the Firearms Control Act, 2000 (Act No. 60 of 2000), without a warrant enter upon and search such place or search such person and seize any arm or ammunition, for the purposes set out in section 102(1)(a) - (e) of the said Act (which *inter alia* provides that the National Commissioner may declare a person to be unfit to possess a firearm).

(9)   A member who seizes a firearm in accordance with subparagraph (8), must ascertain whether such firearm is licensed and, if not, include the offence in the docket.

7.   Duty to render general assistance to the *complainant*

(1)   In terms of the *Domestic Violence Act* a *complainant* may approach the Service for assistance at any time, irrespective of when or where the incident took place. Where a criminal charge is laid by the *complainant,* it is the responsibility *of* the member receiving the complaint to open a docket and have it registered for investigation and the member may not avoid doing so by directing the *complainant* to counselling or conciliation services.

(2)   When a member locates a *complainant after* having received a complaint of *domestic violence* or the *complainant* reports an incident of *domestic violence* at the Community Service Centre, such assistance as may reasonably be required in the circumstances must be rendered to the *complainant.*

(3)   To comply with this duty, a member –
    (a)   must render such assistance as may be required by station orders provided for in paragraph 3(6)(c) (above) including assistance to the *complainant* to lay a criminal charge; and
    (b)   may, where it is reasonable to do so, contact a family member or friend of the *complainant* to render support to the *complainant.*

(4)   Any assistance rendered to the *complainant* in terms of subparagraphs (1) - (3) must –
    (a)   if it is rendered at the Community Service Centre, be recorded in the Occurrence Book; or
    (b)   if it is rendered at another place, be recorded in the Pocket Book **(SAPS** 206) of the member rendering the assistance.

8.   Duty to assist the *complainant* to find suitable shelter

(1)   In terms of the *Domestic Violence Act,* a member must assist the *complainant* to find suitable shelter or make arrangements for the *complainant* to find suitable shelter.

(2)   To comply with this duty, a member must comply with any station orders issued in this regard, as provided for in paragraph 3(6) (above), and must at least –
    (a)   provide the *complainant* with the names, contact numbers and/or addresses of any organisation in the area which may be able to provide suitable shelter and relevant support and/or counselling services;
    (b)   at the request of the *complainant* and, where it is reasonably possible to do so, contact on behalf of the *cumplainant* an organisation which may render relevant assistance to the *complainant;* and
    (c)   at the request of the *complainant,* assist in arranging transport for the *complainant* to a suitable shelter or an organisation that may be able to render relevant support and/or counselling (e.g. by contacting the family or friends of the *complainant* with a request to transport the *complainant,* arranging for a taxi at the expense of either the *complainant* or a willing family member or friend, etc.). A member may, only as a last resort, transport a *complainant* in a police vehicle to find a suitable shelter if such a vehicle is available and there is no other means of transport. In such an event the

complainant must be informed that he or she is being transported at his or her own risk.

(3) Any assistance rendered to the *complainant* in terms of subparagraphs (1) and (2) must –

    (a) if it is rendered at the Community Service Centre, be recorded in the Occurrence Book; or

    (b) if it is rendered at another place, be recorded in the Pocket Book (SAPS 206) of the member rendering the assistance.

9. Duty to assist the *complainant* to obtain medical treatment

(1) In terms of the *Domestic Violence Act* a member must assist the *complainant* to obtain medical treatment or make arrangements for the *complainant* to obtain medical treatment.

(2) To comply with this duty, a member must comply with any station orders issued by the station commissioner in this regard as provided for in paragraph 3(6) (above) and must at least –

    (a) ask the *complainant* whether he or she requires medical treatment; and, if so,

    (b) assist or make arrangements for the *complainant* to receive medical treatment; and

    (c) if a criminal charge has been laid, issue a J88 and SAPS 308 to the *complainant* for completion by a registered medical practitioner. (Where possible and provided transport is available, the member must arrange for the *complainant* to be taken to the registered medical practitioner.) **A** member may, only as a last resort, transport a *complainant* in a police vehicle to receive medical treatment if such a vehicle is available and there is no other means of transport. In such an event the *complainant* must be informed that he or she is being transported at his or her own risk.

(3) Any assistance rendered to the *complainant* in terms of subparagraphs (1) and (2) must –

    (a) if it is rendered at the Community Service Centre, be recorded in the Occurrence Book together with a description of any injuries to the *complainant* that the member may have observed; or

    (b) if it is rendered at another place, be recorded in the Pocket Book (SAPS 206) of the member rendering the assistance together with a description of any injuries that the member may have observed.

10. Provide *complainant* with Notice and explain content to *complainant*

(1) In order to ensure that a *complainant* is informed of his or her rights as well as the remedies at his or her disposal in terms of the *Domestic Violence Act,* the member must, where reasonably possible to do so, hand to the *complainant* a copy of the Notice as provided for in the *Domestic Violence Act* (Form 1 to the Regulations in terms of the Act) in the official language of the *complainants* choice.

(2) The remedies at the disposal of a *complainant* in terms of the *Domestic Violence Act,* are as follows:
   (a) the right to lay a criminal charge;
   (b) the right to apply for a protection order; or
   (c) the right to lay a criminal charge as well as apply for a protection order.
   It is important to inform the *complainant* that laying a criminal charge is not a prerequisite for applying for a protection order.

(3) As the Notice must be provided to the *complainant* in the official language of his or her choice, the member must ascertain what language the *complainant* understands.

(4) Once a member has determined what language the *complainant* understands, the following steps must **be** taken:
   (a) If the language is one of the official languages of the Republic, the member must –
      (i) if the member can speak and understand that language, hand a copy of the Notice to the *complainant* in that language and explain the contents thereof to the *complainant;*
      (ii) if he or she cannot speak and understand that language and –
         (aa) someone is available who can speak and understand that language, request such person to explain the contents of the Notice to the *complainant* in that language: or
         (bb) if no one is available who can speak and understand that language, take all reasonable steps to find someone who can speak and understand that language. If such a person is found, paragraph (aa) must be complied with.
      For the purpose of this paragraph, use must be made of the different translations of the Notice into the official languages **of** the Republic.

(b)   If the language is not one of the official languages of the Republic the member must −

       (i)   if he or she can communicate in that language, convey the contents of the Notice to the complainant in that language;

       (ii)   if he or she cannot communicate in that language and −

             (aa)   someone is available who can communicate in that language, request such person to convey the contents of the Notice to the complainant in that language; or

             (bb)   if no one is available who can communicate in that language]take all reasonable steps to find someone who can communicate in that language. If such a person is found, paragraph (aa) must be complied with.

(c)   Any steps taken in terms of subparagraphs (a)(ii)(bb) or **(b)(ii)(bb)** must −

       (i)   if they are taken at the Community Service Centre, be recorded in the Occurrence Book; or

       (ii)   if they are taken at another place, be recorded in the Pocket Book (SAPS 206) of the member taking the steps.

(5)   The member must request the complainant to sign in the Occurrence Book or in his or her Pocket Book, whichever may be applicable, at the relevant entry referred to in subparagraph (4)(c). By **so** doing, the complainant acknowledges that he or she has been informed of his or her rights and remedies in terms of the Domestic Violence Act and that he or she understands the contents thereof.

(6)   If the complainant refuses to sign in the Occurrence Book or in the Pocket Book or is unable to do so, a third person, who witnessed the rights and remedies being explained to the complainant, must be requested to sign in the Occurrence Book or Pocket Book to certify that he or she has witnessed this and that the complainant refused to sign in the Occurrence Book or Pocket Book, whichever may be applicable.

11. Specific powers and duties *of* members in terms of the *Domestic Violence Act*

(1)   **Seizure *of* arms and dangerous weapons in terms of a court order**

     (a)   The court may, in terms of section 7(2)(a) of the Domestic Violence Act, order a member to seize any arm or dangerous weapon in the possession or under the control of a respondent.

     (b)   Any such firearm seized must be handed in at the police station to be dealt with in accordance with section 102 or section 103 of the Firearms Control Act, 2000, whichever may be applicable.

(c)   Any dangerous weapon seized must be handed in at the police station and a SAPS 13 tag must be attached to such weapon and the weapon must be retained in police custody for such period of time as the court may determine and may only be returned to the respondent or, if the respondent is not the owner of the dangerous weapon, to the owner thereof, by order of court and on such conditions as the court may determine.

(d)   The normal procedures, as set out in Standing Orders 332-336, and which are applicable to exhibits or lost or stolen property must be followed, bearing in mind the provisions of section 9(3) of the Act which provides that such dangerous weapon may only be disposed of in accordance with an order of court.

(2)   **Arresting a person with a warrant who contravenes a protection order**

(a)   Where a respondent has contravened any prohibition, condition, obligation or order contained in a protection order, a complainant may hand the warrant of arrest together with an affidavit, wherein it is stated that the respondent contravened such protection order, to any member.

(b)   If, upon receipt of the warrant of arrest together with the affidavit, referred to in subparagraph (a) (above), it appears to the member that there are reasonable grounds to suspect that the complainant may suffer imminent harm as a result of the alleged breach of the protection order, the member must arrest the respondent for contravening the protection order on the strength of the warrant.

(c)   In considering whether or not the complainant may suffer imminent harm, a member must take the following into account:

(i)   the risk to the safety, health or well-being of the complainant;

(ii)   the seriousness of the conduct comprising the alleged breach of the protection order; and

(iii)   the length of time since the alleged breach has occurred: Provided that if the respondent is under the influence of liquor to such an extent that a Notice (referred to in subparagraph (d)(below)) cannot be handed to him or her, the respondent must be arrested.

(d)   If the member is of the opinion that there are insufficient grounds to arrest the respondent, he or she must immediately hand a Notice to the respondent as provided for in Form 11 to the Regulations. The member must insert the first court day thereafter as date of appearance on the form and complete the certificate, provided for in the Notice. The member must put the duplicate original of this Notice in the docket which is opened for the contravention. This docket must be taken to court on the first court day thereafter.

(e)   Whenever a warrant of arrest is handed to a member of the Service as contemplated in subparagraph (a) (above), the member must inform the complainant of his or her right to simultaneously lay a criminal charge against the respondent, if applicable, and explain to the complainant how to lay such a charge.

(3)   Service of documents

A member may be ordered by the court to serve an interim or final protection order. If a member is ordered to serve an interim protection order, the member must serve the order without delay as it only becomes binding on the respondent once the order has been served on him or her. As long as an interim protection order remains unserved, the *complainant* may be in danger. A final protection order becomes binding immediately upon it being issued even though it may not have been served.

(4)   Accompanying *complainant* to collect personal property

(a)   The court may in a protection order, order a peace officer (which includes any member) to accompany the complainant to a specified place to assist with arrangements regarding the collection of the personal property specified in the order. It is important to note that the purpose of accompanying the complainant is to ensure the safety of such complainant and not to involve the member in any dispute regarding the ownership of such personal property. Such member must take reasonable steps to ensure the safety of the complainant during the collection of the property.

(b)   The complainant and the member may enter the premises mentioned in the protection order in order to collect the personal property of the complainant as stipulated in the protection order. Before entering a private dwelling, the complainant and the member must however audibly demand admission and must notify the occupant of the purpose for which they seek to enter the dwelling.

(c)   If, after having audibly demanded admission to a private dwelling, consent to enter is refused by the respondent, he or she contravenes the protection order and is therefore guilty of contempt of court. In such a case, the member may use such force as may be reasonably necessary in the circumstances to overcome any resistance against entry, including the breaking open of any door or window of such premises and enter the premises and arrest the respondent, whereafter the complainant may collect the said personal belongings.

(d)   If a member is approached by a complainant to accompany him or her and it is not possible to do so immediately, the member must, if no other peace officer is available to accompany the

complainant, arrange a reasonable time when it will be suitable to do so.

(e)   If a peace officer accompanies a *complainant* in accordance with a protection order to collect his or her personal property, the peace officer must ensure the safety of the *complainant* while he or she removes the property specified in such protection order.

12.   Keeping of records relating to incidents of *domestic violence*

(1)   All *domestic violence* incidents which are reported to a police station must be recorded in the Domestic Violence Register (SAPS 508(b)) and it is the responsibility of the station commissioner to ensure that an accurate record is kept of all *domestic violence* incidents.

(2)   If a complainant arrives at a police station to lay a criminal charge resulting from a *domestic violence* incident and indicates that the incident was first reported at an office of a municipal police service the member must —

(a)   request the complainant to hand over the copy of the Report of Domestic Violence Incident-form (SAPS 508(a)) which was furnished to him or her by the member of the municipal police service. If the complainant does not have a copy thereof, the member must contact the particular office of the municipal police service to get a copy thereof;

(b)   record the incident of *domestic violence* in red ink in the Domestic Violence Register **(SAPS** 508(b));

(c)   in Column 6 (Pocket Book reference Column) of the Domestic Violence Register, record the monthly serial number of the relevant entry in the Domestic Violence Register of that specific office **of** the municipal police service (as captured on the copy of the SAPS 508(a)); and

(d)   open a docket and have it registered on the **CAS** system.

(3)   Members must fully document their responses to every incident of *domestic violence* on a "Report of Domestic Violence Incident"-form (SAPS 508(a)) regardless **of** whether or not a criminal offence has been committed. A file with reference 39/4/2/3 must be opened every month and all the forms SAPS 508(a) which are completed during that month, must be filed in it. The month concerned must be recorded after the reference number, for example all the SAPS 508(a) forms which are completed during January 2000 must be filed with the reference 39/4/2/3(1/2000).

(4)   If a member attends a scene of *domestic violence* and no charges are laid or arrests made, the member must record the reasons why this was not done in his or her Pocket Book (SAPS 206).

(5)   Certified copies of protection orders and of the warrants of arrest as provided for in the *Domestic Violence Act,* will be forwarded by the clerk of the court to the Community Service Centre of the *complainants* choice. Particulars of the protection order must be entered in the appropriate columns of the Domestic Violence Register (SAPS 508(b)) where an entry has already been made in respect of the *complainant.* Where no entry exists, a new entry must be made.

(6)   A copy of every protection order and warrant of arrest that is received, must be filed in a separate file (under reference 39/4/3/1) which must be opened in accordance with the Registration and Record Control Procedure which forms part of the Record Classification System. Every file must be allocated a case number to facilitate finding it (e.g. 39/4/3/1(1) Koos Nel). The number of the case (in the above example (1)), must correspond with the number appearing in the index system created as set out in the fourth paragraph under section **16.2** of the Registration and Record Control Procedure. These files must be kept in a place which is accessible after hours, to ensure that they are readily available for checking purposes in the event of an alleged breach of the protection order.

(7)   Disposal of the aforementioned files must take place in accordance with the approved disposal authorisation.

13.   Complaints regarding non-compliance by members and notification of such non-compliance to the Independent Complaints Directorate

(1)   In terms of the *Domestic Violence Act,* a failure by a member to comply with an obligation imposed in terms of the Act or this National Instruction constitutes misconduct. Disciplinary proceedings must therefore be instituted in accordance with the Discipline Regulations against a member who fails to comply with an obligation imposed in terms of the *Domestic Violence Act* or this National Instruction.

(2)   It is the responsibility of the commander of a member to institute disciptinary proceedings against such member who failed to comply with an obligation imposed in terms of the Act or this National Instruction, Where the commander is of the opinion that disciplinary proceedings should not be instituted against such member, the commander must apply to the Independent Complaints Directorate for exemption. Such an application must contain a full report, which includes the reasons for the

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application for exemption, and must be forwarded to the offices of the area commissioner within 30 days after the receipt of the complaint.

(3)   The area commissioner must, if he or she agrees that no disciplinary action should be taken, submit the application referred to in subparagraph (2) above, within **14** days after the receipt of the application, to the provincial commissioner, who must, if he or she agrees that no disciplinary action should be taken, immediately submit such application to the provincial office of the Independent Complaints Directorate.

(4)   The provincial office of the Independent Complaints Directorate has agreed to inform the provincial commissioner in writing, within 30 days after the receipt of the application for exemption, whether exemption has been granted or not and, in the event that the exemption has not been granted, of the reasons why such exemption was not granted.

(5)   Progress reports pertaining to disciplinary proceedings instituted against members in terms of section 18(4) of the Act, must on a monthly basis be forwarded by the station commissioner or relevant commander of a unit to the area commissioner.

14. Keeping record of and reporting on complaints against members

(1)   Every station commissioner must keep a record of –

(a)   the number and particulars of complaints received against members under his or her command in respect of any failure to comply with obligations in terms of the *Domestic Violence Act* or this instruction;

(b)   the disciplinary proceedings instituted as a result thereof and the decisions which emanated from such proceedings; and

(c)   steps taken as a result of recommendations made by the Independent Complaints Directorate.

(2)   Every allegation of misconduct regarding an alleged failure by a member to comply with any obligation in terms of the *Domestic Violence Act,* the Regulations in terms of that Act or the National Instruction issued in this respect, that was received during the previous month, must be recorded on the SAPS 508-form. This return must be submitted to the relevant area commissioner before the third working day of each month.

(3)   A consolidated return on SAPS 508 must be submitted by the area commissioner to the provincial commissioner before the seventh working day of each month. The provincial commissioner must furnish a consolidated return before the tenth working day of each month to the provincial office of the Independent Complaints Directorate and to the

Divisional Commissioner: Crime Prevention for submission to Parliament, as required by section 18(5)(d) of the Act.

(4)   If disciplinary proceedings against a member have not been completed, the return of the subsequent month must again contain particulars concerning the complaint. In such a case, the monthly serial number in the first column must remain the same. (Example: The February return **will**, once again, refer *to* a complaint received in January, but which was not finalized in January before the January return was completed. Such an entry must appear on the return before any new complaints that were received in February. The January complaint will keep the January serial number, example 13/1/2000.)

(5)   The Codes which must be recorded in column 6, are the following:

DS1   Remedial steps after initial interview (not serious)
DS2   Verbal warning after initial interview (not serious)
DS3   Written warning (not serious)
DS4A   Departmental investigation (serious): still under investigation
DS4B   Departmental investigation (serious): guilty (state sentence)
DS4C   Departmental investigation (serious): not guilty

15. Reporting on incidents of domestic violence

(1)   Before the third working day of each month, the station commissioner must submit a return to the relevant area commissioner containing the following information:

(a)   the number of incidents of domestic violence reported to that station during the previous month;

(b)   the number of incidents of domestic violence referred to the station during the previous month by offices of a municipal police service (the number of entries in red ink in the register);

(c)   the number of members trained on the handling of incidents of domestic violence at that station during the previous month; and

(d)   the number of dockets relating to domestic violence opened and registered on the **CAS** system or in the CR during the previous month.

(2)   A consolidated return of the aforementioned information received from all stations in the area must be submitted by the area commissioner to the provincial commissioner before the seventh working day of each month.

(3)   The provincial commissioner must furnish a consolidated return of the aforementioned information received from all areas before the tenth working day of each month to the Divisional Commissioner: Crime Prevention.

UKZN Certified language editing, design & production

Rev. Gary S. D. Leonard
Academic & Professional Editing Services
Cell/Mobile +27 (0)82-221-9572
E-mail: hermeneuts@gmail.com