

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY INTO HUSBAND ABUSE IN
THE GREATER DURBAN AREA**

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**SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE
MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE CENTRE FOR SOCIAL WORK**

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this dissertation, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own work.

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Submitted with the approval of the supervisor, Reshma Sathiparsad.

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- My mother, who has always been the wings with which I fly.

DEDICATION

THIS STUDY IS DEDICATED TO THE COURAGEOUS PARTICIPANTS OF
THIS STUDY

ABSTRACT

The qualitative study into husband abuse that was undertaken was descriptive and exploratory in design. The eleven research participants, who were obtained through purposive sampling techniques, were men in heterosexual marriages, all living within the greater Durban area. The purpose of the study was to obtain insights into the experiences of abused husbands. More specifically the study aimed to develop insights into the types of abuse experienced, the effects of the abuse on the victims, how the victims have coped with the abuse, why they have remained in the abusive marriages, the services accessed by victims and their evaluation thereof and finally what services they considered essential for abused husbands.

The sample size has limited the generalisability of the findings of the study to the larger population. The research study was however, successful in fulfilling its objectives and providing insights into a relatively unexplored area of study in South Africa. The results of the study have shown that the participants experienced all forms of abuse. The effects of the abuse included a decreased work performance, a diminished self-esteem, and several negative effects on the marital relationship. The abused men in the study have coped largely through the support and encouragement of family and friends and their religious beliefs. The participants' major reasons for wanting to remain in the marriage included anti-divorce beliefs, hope that the relationship would improve over time and concerns regarding the well being of their children.

Participants accessed various sources of help in an attempt to deal with the abuse. These included the criminal justice system, family and friends, religious and/or cultural leaders and social welfare agencies. Family members were rated as having been the most helpful source of help accessed, while the participants regarded the criminal justice system as having been the most ineffective, unhelpful and biased source accessed. One of the strongest themes

that emerged from the study was all social services and laws were geared towards assisting women, while the men felt marginalised and discriminated. The study participants recommended that existing services available to abused women is extended to abused husbands as well, in order to holistically address the issue of domestic violence plaguing our society. A further recommendation from the study was that the Domestic Violence Act of 1998, which theoretically offers protection to all victims of domestic violence, needed to be practically available to abused men.

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CHAPTER ONE: CONTEXTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Human Rights Watch (1995) and Angless (in Gray, 1998) observed that South Africa is one of the most violent countries in the world. All types of violence such as sport violence, political violence, criminal violence and family violence are extremely pervasive in all sects of society. Helping professionals are constantly confronted with ever-increasing incidences of child abuse and neglect, rape and domestic violence. Husband abuse too has been a social issue for many years, yet has received little attention. The issue has been offered limited consideration from professionals, the victims themselves or society at large. When we think of a husband being abused, we think of a wife running after her husband with a rolling pin or a similar scenario. In South Africa, helping professionals have recently received an increasing number of claims by men that their wives were abusing them. When the researcher who was at the time of the study employed as a social worker at the Family and Marriage Society of South Africa (FAMSA), first heard of this, she was skeptical. The idea of a male victim of domestic violence seemed far-fetched. The researcher had been socialised into believing that women were physically weaker, gentle and nurturing. The idea of a woman being capable of violently abusing her husband seemed impossible. The researcher's initial response was to dismiss the idea. However, the researcher continued to be confronted with more claims of domestic violence from men. The notion of husband abuse could no longer be ignored. On conducting informal investigations into the matter, the researcher observed that husband abuse did indeed occur. It was as serious a problem as any other form of abuse. Of those organisations that were aware of the issue, most did not keep proper statistics and documentation. This was a cause for concern. As a marginalised group, these husbands required the same attention and intervention that would be afforded to any other

group of victims. Yet currently limited services exist for abused husbands. Such help is only offered if the male victim approaches a social agency requesting help. There are no drives or advertising regarding services for men. The researcher therefore felt it to be her professional duty to conduct research in this area, thereby gaining a better understanding of husband abuse, which would in turn equip helping professionals to provide more direct effective services for this marginalised group.

1.2 Theoretical Framework Guiding the Study

Various theories have been postulated to explain aggression in general and more specifically violence within the home. These include the social learning theory, attachment theory, systems theory, resource theory, social structure theory and culture theory (Gelles, 1972 and Wiehe, 1994). While these theories have generally been used to explain husband against wife violence, the researcher believes that these theories could also be used to explain women's violence against their husbands. It must be remembered that husband abuse is one component of family violence.

Authors such as Steinmetz and Straus (1974) and Stein (1974) contended that the family must be regarded as a system because a family is made up of many parts (family members) that were both independent of each other as well as dependent on one another. The systems theory is one of the theories frequently used to understand families as well as to explain family violence (Wiehe, 1994). The researcher has found the systems theory to be the most useful in understanding family violence as it takes cognisance of the various dynamics existent within families. The systems theory has therefore been chosen as the theoretical framework for the study. Systems theory is in no way peculiar to social work. It is commonly used within various social science disciplines to explain a variety of social phenomena. The systems theory may however be

regarded as a holistic conception of social work practice that bridges together social, cultural, psychological and biological aspects (Stein, 1974).

Buckley (quoted by Giles-Sims, 1983) defined a system as components or elements of a whole that were related to some extent to one another. These components were both dependant on other parts of the system as well as independent of them, where a change in one part of the system brought about change in all other parts of the system and to the system as a whole (Wiehe, 1994). Most systems were open and therefore subject to influences from the environment. The system in turn affected the environment (Stein, 1974).

The family or the marital couple was seen as a social system wherein all persons interacted in some way in the abuse that occurred and in turn were affected by the abuse (Wiehe, 1994). The family or couple had to adjust to the changes experienced either from within the system itself (other family members) or from changes from outside the family system. For example, the decisions, choices and behaviours of one family member (accepting a new job opportunity, infidelity or illness for example) affected other family members and the family as a whole. Other external influences, from within the family's environment such as unemployment, political instability and crime also affected each family member and the family as a whole. Such changes (internal or external) may produce stress for the family, if family members were unable to effectively deal with the changes (Wiehe, 1994). This may then be evidenced by abusive behaviour among family members. Wiehe (1994) pointed out that societal violence directly or indirectly contributed to family violence. Sathiparsad (1997) observed that the increasingly high levels of political violence, violence in sport, violence against children, family violence, violence in schools and community violence have become an inextricable part of our lives. The effects of viewing violence on television, for example, may instigate aggressive behaviour, disinhibit people's behaviour and desensitise people to the serious consequences of violence. McKendrick and Hoffman (1990), Wiehe (1994) and Segal and Labe (in Burman

and Reynolds, 1996) concurred that violence had become so entrenched in society that it was often used as the first response to conflict and was positively reinforced and excused. An undeniable link existed between the high levels of crime within society and the general acceptance of violence as an appropriate means of solving problems and family violence (Sathiparsad, 1997).

The systems theory does not place blame for the conflict on either partner. Each member is analysed in terms of his/her contribution to the violence and the way in which the violence affects that person. Both spouses were seen to have contributed to the conflict, which eventually escalated into violence. Regardless of the behaviour or contribution of any member to the problem, the systems theory does not condone violence and emphasised that no one deserved to be abused (Wiehe, 1994).

Another characteristic of systems is that they have a tendency to perpetuate themselves despite any conflict experienced (Bernier, 1990). Sprey (quoted by Giles-Sims, 1983) maintained that conflict within families was normal because there was a discrepancy between each family member's expectations and what happened in reality. People living in close proximity and sharing the same goals, ended up competing for them. However the maintenance of the system was more important than the conflict issues and the system tended to perpetuate itself despite the conflicts experienced. This remained true even if the system experienced frequent violence. This characteristic of systems (the tendency to perpetuate themselves) provided some insight into why the victims in abusive relationships were frequently silent about the abuse and why they initially did not want to leave the relationship. The victims wanted or needed to perpetuate the family system.

1.3 Rationale for the Study

Hague and Malos (1993) maintained that domestic violence was one of the most common crimes that occurred throughout all cultures, social classes, ethnic groupings and countries. When we speak of domestic violence the image that instinctively emerges is that of a male perpetrator abusing his female victim. The media has framed domestic violence as an issue of male perpetrators and female victims. Newspaper reports frequently include incidences of abuse of wives but seldom do they report on the abuse of husbands. Gross (2001) felt strongly that the issue of domestic violence was no longer an area of study within the human sciences but had become a political issue, which did not necessarily reflect the reality of the situation. Rather, whichever form of abuse was politically and socially popular at the time became a priority and received the most political and social support and funding. This meant that not all forms of abuse received the same attention.

Cardarelli (1997) highlighted that a dearth of research and information existed on the topic of domestic violence and more specifically husband abuse. The research and information that does exist originates from the United States of America. Very little information was available regarding husband abuse in South Africa. The limited information that existed was divided and somewhat inconclusive. A frequently expressed view was that husband abuse was a social issue on its own deserving the same attention that is paid to other forms of domestic violence such as child abuse and wife battering. Emerging trends in the United States of America and other parts of the world suggested that men were equally the victims of violence within the home as women were. Rennison and Welchans (2000) found that whereas the overall rate of violent crime levels in the United States declined between 1999 and 2000, rates for male and female perpetrators of crimes against partners have been getting closer in recent years. Gelles (1997) maintained that although little scientific data existed on the issue of husband abuse, data gathered by the National Family Violence Survey

(conducted in America) tended to show enough evidence that husband abuse did indeed occur. Gross (2001) found that whereas police records showed that men were more likely to assault their wives, research showed otherwise.

Some authors however, view husband abuse as violence committed by women in retaliation to violence perpetrated against them by their husbands (Rennison and Welchans, 2000). They maintained that domestic violence was primarily a crime against women. Societal perceptions that women were weaker and therefore unable to harm men made it difficult to accept that women could be perpetrators of violence. The result of this ongoing debate is that those men (however few in number) receive little or no formalised help for the abuse that they endure. Husband abuse is not recognised as a social issue to any degree in South Africa or any other place around the world.

Abused husbands should not be seen as the opposite side of the coin of wife abuse but rather as an issue of domestic violence where one person was abused by another (Langley and Levy, 1977). The gender of the victim and perpetrator should be insignificant. The Men's Health Network have pointed out that even if the statistics on abused husbands have been grossly distorted and in fact only 1 in 15 victims of domestic violence are men, these statistics would show that there are men in our society who are victimised and therefore need services which are currently not available (Copeland, 2002(b)).

In South Africa, violence and abuse is an inextricable part of the everyday lives of a high proportion of the population. Jonker-Bryce noted that the statistics of domestic violence in the country were incredibly high and were among the highest in the world (www.dispatch.co.za, 26/07/01). She stated that no accurate domestic violence statistics were kept, as police computer programmes did not record incidences of domestic violence separately. Such acts were recorded as common assault, sexual assault or rape for example. Robertson and Donaldson (2003) who concurred with this estimated that up to 60% of all marriages in

South Africa involved abuse (www.csvr.org.za, 04/01/03). Vogelmann (2003) approximated that 1 000 women were raped daily (www.csvr.org.za, 04/01/03). She added that only 1 in 20 rapes were reported. McClain (2002) reported that 41% of all rapes committed in South Africa are committed against children. This amounted to one child being raped every 24 minutes. Angless (in Gray, 1998) quoted Padayachee, who estimated that 1 in 3 women in South Africa were either emotionally, physically or sexually abused by their partners. Forty one percent of all females murdered in South Africa, have been murdered by their partners (Nowrojee and Manby quoted by Angless in Gray, 1998). Park, Peters and De Sá (in Park, Fedler and Dangor, 2000) maintained that figures such as those quoted above, result in South Africa having one of the highest rates of domestic violence, rape and child abuse in the world. A strong message that no form of abuse will be tolerated and that victims of such crimes (regardless of their genders) will receive the necessary support and services needs to be sent out. This is crucial if we are to change the culture of violence that is often said to be pervasive in our country. The research study is important in helping us gain a better understanding of husband abuse and provide services for these victims. It is also an attempt to fill the gap that exists in literature and contribute to the limited body of knowledge on the topic of domestic violence, particularly in South Africa.

1.4 Value of the study

The results of the study will contribute to the body of knowledge on domestic violence and more specifically on husband abuse. This will add to the limited research and information currently available on husband abuse in social work and related fields. More specifically, the study can provide a greater understanding of husband abuse within the South African context. This will therefore contribute to the limited and indigenous body of knowledge. Furthermore, the findings of the study may provide some insights into the dynamics of abusive relationships in general and more specifically in

relationships where the husband is the victim of abuse. The gap in research already identified will be filled to some extent and the findings of the study will hopefully encourage other research in this area, thereby generating a greater understanding of husband abuse.

The study will also generate awareness of husband abuse within society at large and will hopefully have repercussions on the attitudes presently held by society and the manner in which domestic violence is understood and portrayed by the media. All persons working within the area of domestic violence (such as the criminal justice system incorporating the police, court personnel, and magistrates; social workers; psychologists; medical personnel; government officials and volunteers) can be exposed to a different gendered victim. They may be trained and helped to shift their mindsets to assist these victims.

The results of the study may also guide provincial and national policy in terms of recognising that men, as victims of domestic violence are a marginalised group and therefore need to be included in service delivery. Like other marginalised groups, male victims of domestic violence will then become a priority for service delivery. The research findings may aid helping professionals in the designing of new intervention programmes for both the victims and the perpetrators of husband abuse. A more holistic service could then be offered for families, particularly those who were experiencing domestic violence. The researcher also anticipates that society will become more intolerant of domestic violence and mobilise towards eradicating this evil from our society.

1.5 Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The broad purpose of the study was to develop an understanding of the abuse of husbands by their wives. The researcher aimed to gain an understanding of the participants' perceptions of the abuse and how they were affected by the abuse. The study further attempted to identify victims' support systems and help

seeking efforts. In addition the study aimed to develop recommendations for intervention with husbands who are the victims of marital violence.

1.6 Research Questions

What types of abuse do men experience?

How does the abuse affect them?

What causal factors do victims identify for the abuse?

Why have these men remained in these abusive relationships?

What factors have contributed to their coping or not coping with their situations?

What help (if any) have these victims of abuse sought? How would they evaluate the help received?

What kind of help do they feel they require?

1.7 Conclusion

The contextual and theoretical framework of the research study provides a clear need for the research study to take place. South African society is ravaged with various forms of violence, the most disturbing of which, is violence in the home. With increasing numbers of women, children and men being abused, the study is crucial to providing a greater understanding on violence in the home in general and more specifically violence against men. This greater understanding could then be translated into more holistic, effective and direct services for male victims of domestic violence. The following chapter provides an outline of the relevant literature on domestic violence.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

HUSBAND ABUSE: FACT OR FICTION?

2.1 Introduction

The following two chapters provide a review of the literature consulted for the research study. Whereas a wealth of information can be found on aggression, violence in general and family violence, the researcher has limited the scope of the literature reviewed to those pertaining directly to the research questions discussed in chapter one as well as literature that would provide some insight into husband abuse. This chapter reviews literature on the operational definitions for the study, the incidence and prevalence of female perpetrated violence, why there is currently a limited focus on husband abuse, and why husband abuse is generally unreported or underreported by the victims.

2.2 Definitions

Domestic Violence

Gelles and Loseke (1993) pointed out that many controversies surrounding the meanings of family violence existed. Various authors have concurred that the formulation of a definition of violence and abuse has been one of the most enduring difficulties in the field of family violence. Yegidis (1997) added that the difficulties in finding a global definition of abuse was exacerbated by the fact that different cultures defined abuse differently. Despite these difficulties, various authors have attempted to provide a definition. Hague and Malos (1993) have defined domestic violence in its broadest sense as any intimidating or violating act that occurred within the context of a domestic environment where the people shared a family or pseudo-family environment. This is a very appropriate definition as it takes into consideration that domestic violence can also occur within different types of relationships such as dating or cohabiting couples. The definition does not limit domestic violence to marital relationships only.

Bodemer and Roos (1990) elaborated that spousal abuse included any intimidating or violating act which may be through the use of physical, emotional, psychological, sexual or economic means to instil fear and to control one's spouse. This definition acknowledged that there were various forms of abuse, all of which served to intimidate and control the victim in some way. This is significant because many victims and society at large believe that physical abuse is the most severe form of abuse. Other forms of abuse are regarded as less serious and less debilitating. Jukes (1999) offered a definition of domestic violence that focused on the intentional use of force to achieve a purpose. The strength of this definition lies in the emphasis that the cause of pain was not the objective but rather a tool with which to achieve some other purpose. It is generally accepted that the aim of any abusive act is control and domination over the victim (Jenkins, 1990, Wiehe, 1994, FAMSA, 1997 and Ptacek in Cardarelli, 1997).

Husband Abuse

For the purposes of this study husband abuse was defined as any act carried out by a wife with the intention or perceived intention of causing (physical or emotional) pain and injury, with the aim of controlling the husband. The term husband abuse has been used interchangeably with spousal abuse and partner abuse.

Apart from having a broad definition of domestic violence, it is also necessary to have an understanding of the different types of abuse: physical, verbal, emotional, economic and sexual abuse. According to Wiehe (1994) there was a general consensus in the literature on domestic violence that most, if not all forms of abuse occurs together, concurrently or sequentially. Leeds (quoted by Renzetti, 1992) further distinguished abuse as being either situational or chronic. Situational abuse is abuse that has occurred once or twice as a result of some situation that has thrown the couple into a crisis. Chronic abuse on the other hand is abuse that occurred more than twice, thereby demonstrating a pattern of

destructive behaviour. The author stated that this type of violence usually escalated over time leading to life-threatening situations. In the researcher's experience, this was usually the case with chronic battering.

Physical Abuse

Wiehe (1994) defined physical abuse as hitting, slapping, kicking, throwing the spouse to the floor and/or assault with a weapon. The extent of the injury was not a criterion for establishing whether physical abuse has occurred. In other words, a slap and beating someone with a hammer were both regarded as examples of physical abuse.

Verbal Abuse

Verbal abuse is the use of words to degrade, embarrass or humiliate the victim (FAMSA, 1997). Calling the victim "useless", "worthless" and "a disgrace" are all examples of verbal abuse. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) found that verbal abuse often preceded the onset of physical abuse in relationships and accompanied physical attacks when the abuse became chronic.

Emotional Abuse

Emotional abuse may include ridicules, insults, isolating the victim from family and friends as well as ignoring one's partner, repeated infidelity, accusations of affairs or accusations of 'inappropriate behaviour' such as flirting, with the result in an erosion of the victim's self worth and self esteem (Wiehe, 1994). Emotional abuse usually underlies all other forms of abuse. Most victims of abuse have stated that the worst forms of abuse were verbal and emotional (Browne, in Cardarelli, 1997). They experienced it as being more debilitating and painful, even when the physical abuse was quite severe.

Economic Abuse

According to FAMSA (1997) economic abuse could be defined as withholding financial support that was available or maintaining tight control over financial

resources. In the researcher's experience, economic abuse was generally not recognised by victims as a form of abuse. Victims perceived the withholding of financial resources that were present as another marital problem. They were usually surprised when a social worker identified their marital problem as abuse.

Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse is another form of abuse that was largely overlooked. It may be defined as the perpetrator demanding any sexual activity or coercing the victim to perform any sexual acts without his or her consent (Wiehe, 1994). Sexual abuse also included marital rape, indecent assault and degrading a person sexually.

Respondent and Participant

For the purposes of the study, the researcher has used the term respondent to refer to those people who responded to the article/letter to the editor published in various newspapers in the greater Durban area. This process will be elaborated on further in chapter four. Those abused men who then participated in the research study have been referred to as the research participants.

Victim

Despite current trends to refer to those people who have been abused as survivors of abuse, the researcher has used the term victim when referring to abused husbands. Abused persons are termed survivors rather than victims, as the term survivor carries a positive connotation. One imagines someone who has experienced an ordeal and has now emerged victorious from this ordeal. The term victim on the other hand has a defeated connotation to it. This was precisely why the researcher chose to use the term victim when referring to abused husbands. In the researcher's experience with abused husbands, they have not been empowered enough to feel that they can triumph from their situation or that there exists a chance at a happy and peaceful life after the abuse. In general, abused husbands' perception of themselves and their

situation as well as the general manner in which society has treated them denotes people who have been downtrodden, mistreated and who are disempowered. The researcher therefore is of the opinion that the term victim is a more appropriate term for referring to abused husbands.

2.3 The Incidence and Prevalence of Female Perpetrated Violence

The majority of the literature available on female perpetrated violence originated from the United States of America. Cardarelli (1997) found that in the United States of America, a continued difficulty existed in establishing with any reliability, a database on the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence. He attributed this largely to the private nature of such violence, which was unlikely to come to the attention of authorities, as would other crimes. Miller and Wellford (in Cardarelli, 1997) added other factors that hindered the accurate estimation of incidences of domestic violence. These included internalised shame, economic dependence on the perpetrator, isolation, complications with children, fear of retaliation, religious or familial pressures to keep the family unit intact, unresponsiveness and disbelief from the criminal justice system – all of which served to keep the victims silent. It can therefore be said that any official rates of domestic violence can be regarded as vastly underestimated. In fact, many experts believed that a true reflection of the incidence of domestic violence might actually be double the existing estimates (Gardner, 1996).

Freeman (1979) maintained that female perpetrated violence was in self-defence. Women perpetrating such violence were trying to protect themselves from an attack by the male perpetrator. He quoted Eisenberg and Micklow who justified homicides of men by their wives by saying that many women used violence when they had no other alternative to living with a violent husband. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), a survey conducted by the Department of Justice in U.S.A. is frequently quoted to support the low rate of attacks from women (□ [HYPERLINK mailto: mensnet@CAP.GWU.EDU](mailto:mensnet@CAP.GWU.EDU)).

□mensnet@CAP.GWU.EDU□, 20/10/1994). The NCVS collects data about criminal victimisation from an ongoing nationally representative sample of households in the United States. According to these statistics, in 1998, women experienced an estimated 876 340 rape, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault victimisations at the hands of an intimate. An intimate is defined in the study as a current or past boyfriend or husband, girlfriend or wife. These figures have decreased from the 1.1 million that was recorded in 1993. In both 1993 and 1998, the figures for male victims remained the same. An intimate partner (girlfriend or wife) perpetrated one hundred and sixty thousand violent crimes against men. Even though the number of male victims was far less than the number of female victims, the NCVS still showed that women were perpetrating violent crimes against their husbands or boyfriends. It was difficult to believe that all of these were purely in self-defence. Furthermore, Straus (in Gelles and Loseke, 1993) has criticised the low rates of assaults between spouses produced by the National Crime Victimization Survey, as not being a true reflection of domestic crime in the country. The author maintained that these low rates obtained by the survey could be attributed to the interviews being conducted with both spouses present. Victims may have been reluctant to respond out of fear of retaliation by the perpetrator. Another serious criticism that Straus leveled against the NCVS study was that the study was presented to participants as a study of crime. Straus (in Gelles and Loseke, 1993) maintained that many victims and perpetrators might not view the violence within a domestic relationship as a crime like robberies or hijackings. For many, violence within the home is considered to be normal and justified. In light of these arguments the validity of the NCVS statistics is debatable.

In a study conducted by Gelles (1972) in the United States, he found that although wives were less violent than husbands were, 32 % of the wives surveyed had hit their husbands. He also found that in what he termed as "high violence families", both spouses were mutually abusive, with each spouse being the offender and victim at different times. His study also showed that women

had a tendency to use more extreme methods of violence such as violence with a weapon. The Men's Health Network, a research organisation in Washington, supported this. Their study indicated that 2 million men in North America are abused by their partners every year (Copeland, 2002(b)). They added that if one used the same figures used to determine that one woman is battered every 15 seconds (in U.S.A.), the same statistics would show that one man is battered every 14 seconds ([□ HYPERLINK mailto: mensnet@CAP.GWU.EDU. □mensnet@CAP.GWU.EDU. □](mailto:mensnet@CAP.GWU.EDU), 20/10/1994). These are certainly very compelling statistics.

In 1979, a telephone survey was conducted in the United States of America in which, subjects were asked about their experiences of domestic violence. Fifteen and half percent of the men and 11.3% of the women reported having hit their spouse (Nisonoff and Bitman, 1979). This showed further evidence that women did abuse their husbands. Wiehe (1994) pointed out that in 1980, Straus himself agreed that women tended to engage in aggressive or violent behaviour out of self-defence or in retaliation to men's violence against them. However in 1985, Straus conducted a study in America and found that it was the husband only who was violent in 25.9% of the cases. In 25.5% of the cases, it was the wife only who was violent and in 48.6% of the cases, both spouses were violent toward each other. He therefore recanted his earlier statement as he was convinced that these attacks of wives on their husbands should indeed be viewed as abuse in its own right (Straus in Gelles and Loseke, 1993). With such high percentages (25.5%) of women only who were violent in the relationship, it was unlikely that violence perpetrated by women can be regarded as purely self-defence. To avoid the potential problem of male underreporting, Straus and Gelles recomputed the data of their 1985 study, using only the information provided by the women in the study. They found that by using the female study participants' self-reports about their behaviour only, 122 per 1000 husbands were assaulted by their wives as compared to 124 per 1000 wives who were assaulted by their husbands. These statistics showed extraordinarily

high percentages of male victims of domestic violence. These findings also provide support for the Men's Health Network claim above. Such data were generally criticised however on the basis that moderately aggressive behaviour such as shoving or pushing was included in studies of female-on-male aggression whereas studies of male-on-female aggression, usually included more severe forms of aggression such as hitting, and knocking the victim down (Wiehe, 1994). The same study cited above, showed however, that the rate of minor assaults (shoving, pushing, slapping) by wives against their husbands were 78 per 1000 while the rate for minor assaults by husbands were 72 per 1000. The rate of severe assaults (hitting, punching, knocking the victim down) by wives was 46 per 1000 couples and 50 per 1000 couples were assaults by husbands. There did not appear to be any statistically significant difference between the numbers of attacks on wives by their husbands and vice versa. Furthermore the definition of abuse for the purposes of this study (discussed under 2.2) did not only include severe forms of aggression but any violent or intimidating act. Hague and Malos (1993) have stated that one shove down a flight of stairs was just as effective as beating up the victim with a metal pole.

Steinmetz demonstrated in 1977, that the percentages of women who have used physical force on their husbands was higher than the percentages of men who use violence against their wives, even though the violence perpetrated by men resulted in more injury (Steinmetz, 1977 - 1978). Despite the lower probability of injury resulting from an attack from a woman, Straus (in Gelles and Loseke, 1993: 67) maintained that husband abuse was none-the-less a very serious problem "just as it would be if men "only" slapped their wives". Straus stated that one of the reasons that husband abuse needed to be seriously addressed was because these so-called minor acts of violence placed women in danger of more severe retaliation from their male partners. He added that if one minimised the seriousness of such behaviour, the cultural norm that the marriage license is a hitting license would be reinforced. This cultural norm was particularly true in South Africa, where women have traditionally been treated as

the property of men. There is a tendency within South African society to ignore and sometimes condone minor assaults as necessary within a marital relationship "to keep her in line". Furthermore domestic violence laws such as South Africa's Domestic Violence Act, 1998 did not consider the injury or extent thereof in determining whether an act can be regarded as abuse.

Straus consulted 30 studies on domestic violence, including those conducted by Scanzoni (1978), Tyree and Malone (1991) and Sorenson and Telles (1991). These studies showed that the rate of assault of husbands by their wives was almost the same as the rate of assault of wives by their husbands (in Gelles and Loseke, 1993). The author also quoted a study conducted by Giles-Sims which revealed that 50% of the women in his sample had assaulted their husbands in the year prior to coming to a women's shelter and that 41.7% of them reported assaulting their spouse six months after leaving the shelter. This further supported the idea that wives were as abusive towards husbands or at the very least capable of being violent. Wiehe (1994) concurred that husband abuse was as prevalent as wife abuse, but stated that society was not really aware of it because husband battering was the most hidden crime.

The researcher attempted to obtain statistics on husband abuse within the Durban area. Having contacted 19 welfare organisations and other departments/institutions working in the area of domestic violence, the researcher was able to obtain minimal statistics. According to the chairman of the Chatsworth Alive Development Project, 1 in 3 husbands were abused by their wives. These statistics were derived from the cases that that organisation had dealt with during the last financial year: April 2000 to March 2001. The Advice Desk for the Abused (formerly known as The Advice Desk for Abused Women) stated that for every 200 women who claimed to be abused per month, they received 50 reports from men who claimed to have been abused by their wives or girlfriends. From the beginning of January to the end of July 2002, the Advice Desk reported that they received 1 063 calls from men who had been abused by

their partners (Copeland, 2002(a)). This amounted to an average of 172 new cases of abused men every month. The Advice Desk estimated that men were abused in one-third of all households in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Copeland (2002(a)) reported an increase in the number of abused men telephoning the other seven hotlines in Durban as well. According to Peace Haven, a non-governmental organization, which assisted victims of domestic violence with applying for protection orders at the magistrates courts, the number of men seeking help for protection orders, trebled last year. Langry (2002) stated that the Domestic Violence Court at the Durban Magistrate's Court reported 48 cases of male abuse in January this year. The Phoenix and Kwa Mashu Child and Family Welfare Societies indicated that they have received a few cases of men who were abused by their wives. They could not however provide actual statistics on this. The Chatsworth Child and Family Welfare have also found a marked increase in the number of abused men seeking help. However no statistics were available. Other organisations contacted stated that they were aware that husband abuse was an increasing problem, but did not have any statistics available because the number of cases received was minimal. Some organisations in Durban were surprised about the area of study, as they did not think that husband abuse occurred.

Nationally the numbers of husbands who were being abused was also on the increase. According to Copeland (2002(a)) there was a national increase in the numbers of men applying for protection orders. Forty percent of all calls to Lifeline's Stop Women Abuse helpline were from men calling about the abuse they experienced (Roos, 2002). People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) and Adapt, both non-governmental organisations in Gauteng, also noted an increase in the number of abused men approaching them for help with violence in the home (Copeland, 2002(b)). Clearly, from the statistics that were obtained, there were significant numbers of husbands who were being abused in South Africa and more specifically, the greater Durban area. The lack of awareness of the issue of husband abuse and statistics on this was a real cause for concern. This

may be related to husband abuse not being recognised as a social issue. As discussed in 1.3 above, only those social problems that were politically and socially popular at the time received attention. The current focus is on HIV/AIDS and to a lesser extent on women and child abuse. Whereas the researcher agrees that these are serious social issues, with extraordinarily high statistics, which demand a greater focus by welfare agencies, such a focus should not be at the expense of other social problems. The lack of services for these men further points toward the need for this research study to be conducted. Refer to Appendix A for list of organisations contacted and a summary of their responses.

2.4 Why the Limited Focus on Female Perpetrated Violence?

Gelles (1997) indicated that during the period 1976 to 1992, there had been a decline in the rate of violence toward women in the United States of America. This decline was attributed to the changing attitudes about wife abuse, the treatment programs for perpetrators, shelters that had been opened and the general improvement in the economy. In South Africa, over the same period there has also been increased focus on the issue of domestic violence – protecting victims, providing services for the victims and their abusers. Straus and Gelles noted, however, that the incidence of violence against husbands during the same period remained unchanged. Gelles (1997) attributed this to the lack of attention paid to the issue, the lack of programmes for male victims and the lack of treatment programmes for their female abusers.

2.4.1 Socio-cultural scripts

Wiehe (1994) emphasised that the factors, which determined whether an issue became a social problem, included the organisation of a social movement around an issue as well as the attention paid to the issue by social scientists and by the mass media. The major obstacle to recognising husband abuse, as a

social issue was the socio-cultural script already discussed. People generally did not believe that women could be violent or that men could be in a position of subordination in relation to women. As Wiehe (1994) rightly stated, it should not surprise us that women were so violent towards their husbands if one considered that it was a widely accepted fact that women were more likely than men to be child abusers. Even Jukes (1999) who did not agree that men were the victims of domestic violence conceded that women were more likely to abuse children than men. According to the U.S. Department of Justice statistics, nearly 700 boyfriends and husbands were killed by their girlfriends and wives each year, whereas 1400 girlfriends and wives were killed by their boyfriends and husbands (Gelles, 1997). No comparative statistics were available for South Africa. It is nevertheless apparent then that women did have the capacity for violent behaviour.

2.4.2 Lack of research

Mann (2000) found that the female survivor of domestic violence has primarily been the focus of domestic violence studies. She offered the view that family violence should be seen as a “gender-neutral individual or family problem rooted in a ... matrix of risky situations, histories, attitudes and behaviours” (Mann, 2000: 11). She proposed that family violence research should be conducted with all within the family context. Cardarelli (1997) asserted that a lack of research around the motives of perpetrators existed. Cardarelli (1997) and Babcock and Taillade (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) emphasised that research was an important component in addressing domestic violence.

2.5 Why Husband Abuse is not Reported?

2.5.1 Lack of media attention

Because of the lack of media attention, many people may believe that husband abuse does not happen, laugh at the notion of a man being abused by his wife, say that husband abuse only happens in self-defence or that surely there is only a small percentage of men in this situation. As a result husbands who were being abused, may not realise that they were actually experiencing abuse. They may believe that their wives' behaviour was normal and attribute such behaviour to her personality or circumstances. Furthermore, victims of husband abuse might believe that their experience was a unique one. They may feel uncomfortable to disclose the abuse since they have not heard of others who have experienced a similar situation.

2.5.2 Private problem

As pointed out by Wiehe (1994), violence within the home, be it female on male, male on female, child abuse or elder abuse, was regarded as a private problem. People were therefore reluctant to discuss the abuse with anyone. Rennison and Welchans (2000) found that in the National Crime Victimization Study conducted in the United States, about half of the male victims' reasons and a third of the female victims' reasons for not reporting their intimate partner victimisation to the police was because it was a "private or personal matter". Furthermore in the study conducted by Kooverjee (1999), she observed that many people did not regard abuse as a crime. It was regarded as a family or marital problem. People did not want to make public the difficulties they were experiencing. Gelles, quoted by Padayachee and Pillay (1993), supported this, saying that both victims and abusers went to great lengths to hide the abuse from the outside world. Efforts were often made to deny the abuse and to conceal any visible scars.

2.5.3 Cost/benefit ratio

Wiehe (1994) contended that the cost/benefit ratio might also account for the low reports of partner abuse. The cost to the survivor who reported and exposed himself and his partner was far greater as compared to the benefits of remaining in the marriage and the financial, emotional, and social rewards that went with it. By reporting the abuse the victim may experience retaliation from the perpetrator, be blamed for the abuse or lose his social standing. These will be elaborated on below. The researcher's experience showed that most women only reported the abuse after many years or experiences of violence, saying that they wanted to keep the problem within the family. Reaching out for help was seen as the last resort, after other efforts to address the problem had failed.

2.5.4 Stigma

Wiehe (1994) highlighted that the stigma attached to the notion of abuse, discouraged victims from reporting the abuse. Even today, after decades of publicity on wife abuse, many myths still prevail. Women who disclosed that they were abused were typically blamed, shunned or ignored. Victims also reported secondary victimisation from medical practitioners, the criminal justice system and other helping professionals. Copeland (2002(a)) quoted Padayachee, who normalised male victims' silence. She maintained that men keeping silent about abuse today could be likened to women being silent about abuse 20 years ago.

2.5.5 Acceptance of responsibility

Victims seldom reported the abuse they experienced because they often accepted responsibility for the abuse and believed that they had provoked the attack in some way (Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo, 1988). Male perpetrators of abuse went to great lengths to project blame onto the victim and relinquish any

responsibility for the abuse. After some time, self-blame became internalised and the victim accepted that s/he has provoked the abuse. Renzetti (1992) added that self-blame increased when helping professionals reinforced the abusive relationship by blaming the victim, denying that the abuse occurred and excusing the abuse. In a study conducted by Gelles (1972), he found that when most professionals were confronted with the claim of a husband being abused by his wife they did not believe the victim. The claim may be ignored or the professional blamed the victim by assuming that he did something to provoke the attack. Alternatively, professionals believe that the male may be fabricating this claim to cover up for his own abusive behaviour.

2.5.6 Awareness of services

Awareness of available services was another factor impacting on whether or not husband abuse was reported (Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo, 1988). If victims were aware of services and aware that they would be supported, then it was more likely that they would seek help. If however victims felt that they would be ridiculed or blamed and might not be helped, then they were less likely to seek help. Bearing in mind the general attitudes towards husband abuse already discussed and victims' perceptions of not receiving help, it was understandable that men were reluctant to report the abuse. In relation to this, Renzetti (1992) maintained that victims also had the perception that no help will be received if the matter was reported. She found that society created a definition of victimisation. Victims had to prove the legitimacy of their claims to counsellors, the police and friends. If there were little or no physical injuries, the victims were less likely to be believed. Victims found it even more difficult to 'prove' that they had been sexually, financially or emotionally abused. As stated earlier in section 2.2 society generally did not regard other types of abuse apart from physical abuse as being serious.

2.5.7 Ineffective police responses

As stated in chapter one, little research has been conducted on husband abuse. Since both wife and husband abuse are aspects of family violence, exploring abused women's reasons for not reporting the abuse to the police, may provide insights into why abused husbands did not report the violence. Dobash and Dobash quoted by Wiehe (1994) highlighted some of these reasons. Victims feared retaliation from the abuser, felt that the police will be unhelpful, feared being disgraced by the police being involved and were concerned for children who may witness a possible arrest. The researcher's own experience has been that abused women, who were in possession of a protection order against their violent husbands, rarely utilized it. In a study conducted by Kooverjee (1999), many abused women reported that the police were unhelpful. The police did not respond immediately to the complaints. The police arrived at the marital home a few hours after being telephoned or up to a few weeks later. They only arrived at the marital home after constant telephone calls from the victim. Even if the victim was in possession of a protection order and a warrant of arrest the police rarely arrested the abuser. Rather they attempted to mediate or took the abuser for a drive to "cool off". Some women were blamed and mocked by the police. Cannings (quoted by Wiehe, 1994) stated that the perception of the police about who was responsible for the abuse had a tremendous effect on whether the victim will call for help again. Cannings stressed that in most cases where men have telephoned the police, police officers scoffed at their claims of being abused, stated that they must have done something to provoke the attack or arrested the abused male on the female's assertion that she had been the victim (Wiehe, 1994). Renzetti (1992) quoted studies done by Edwards, and Saunders & Size that showed that sexist stereotypes were prevalent among official help providers such as emergency room personnel and the police, who were more inclined to believe that the abuser was male. Wiehe (1994) emphatically stated that the victims were less likely to ignore the abuse and more likely to report it only when the courts sent a clear message that domestic violence of any type

was a crime. The burden of having to prove that one was a victim regardless of one's gender kept people in the cycle of abuse.

2.5.8 Gender roles and sexist stereotypes

Gender images of men and women have also contributed to the issue of abused husbands not becoming a recognised social problem (Wiehe, 1994). Hague and Malos (1993) maintained that only a few men reported the abuse they experienced to the police because of the masculine ideals in culture, which discouraged husbands from reporting the abuse. According to patriarchal cultural scripts, men were supposed to be in control of their relationships, the head of the home and strong whereas the female was seen as being physically weak, passive and needing protection, care and the attention of the male (Wiehe, 1994). Men might also ascribe to the ideology of machismo, which is the worldwide view that exalts male dominance by assuming masculinity, virility and physicality to be the ideal male essence. These 'real men' were seen as adversarial warriors competing for scarce resources in a dangerous world. Traditional sociocultural role prescriptions for men indicated that they should be in control in the marital relationship. When men were abused, they were reluctant to report it or seek help because doing so will be a sign of their failure to live up to their role prescription and subsequently their failure as men. Those men who did disclose the abuse were subject to much ridicule from peers and society in general. In 18th century Europe, a man who was supposedly beaten by his wife, was made to wear a dress while riding backwards on a donkey through the town while the whole town ridiculed him (mensnet@CAP.GWU.EDU, 20/10/94).

2.6 Conclusions

The literature review clearly showed a dearth of information and research on family violence as a whole and more specifically on husband abuse. What was

apparent as well as that husband abuse is as real a problem as wife abuse. The statistics obtained provided conclusive evidence that a significant number of husbands were being abused globally, as well as within the greater Durban area. The limited focus on husband abuse as a social issue is related largely to the lack of media attention on the issue. General societal perceptions of the gender roles of men and women have contributed to the lack of seriousness with which the issue is dealt with. On the whole, women are seen as the primary victim of domestic violence, with the result that male victims receive little attention.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

UNDERSTANDING HUSBAND ABUSE

3.1 Introduction

The second chapter of the literature review explores the current explanations for domestic violence, how the victims are affected by the abuse, why they remain in abusive marriages and what services are recommended in the literature for victims of domestic violence.

3.2 Explanations for Domestic Violence

Miller and Wellford (in Cardarelli, 1997) asserted that the victim and society generally accepted the reasons that perpetrators offered for the abuse. Abusers typically claimed diminished control over their actions (Mullender, 1996). The abusers' reasons include that s/he was provoked, that the victim did something to upset him/her and that alcohol; drugs and uncontrollable anger are to blame. Within the field of domestic violence, various theories exist to explain the aetiology of domestic violence. Wiehe (1994), Jenkins (1990) and Hague and Malos (1993) have divided the theories into different categories: pathological theories, social learning theories, socio-economic and power imbalance theories. These theories have been used to explain male perpetrated violence. The researcher contends however that many of these theories could also provide explanations for why women abused their husbands, as husband abuse and wife abuse are both components of domestic violence. However, at this stage, too little is known about husband abuse to postulate with any certainty, the reasons for the violence.

3.2.1 Pathological/Personality theories

The pathological theories postulated that the abuser possessed a pathological condition that led to behaviour that was deviant from the social norms. The

abuser is presumed to be suffering from a mental illness or to possess certain personality traits that led to the person being aggressive. The pathological theories also asserted that the perpetrator may have a low threshold for stress, frustration or anger or might possess poor impulse, which limits his/her ability to control their violent behaviour (Jenkins, 1990). Individual pathology theories also highlighted self-image problems and substance abuse as explanations for violent behaviour (Miller and Wellford (in Cardarelli, 1997). Alternatively, the medico-biological model explained that the abuser has an addiction to the violence. In this model aggression is linked to chemical imbalances, biological drives or medical conditions within the perpetrator (Jenkins, 1990). The victim was seen as helping to cause the abuse.

Mullender (1996) criticised pathological theories for excusing violent behaviours on the basis that because there was something wrong with the perpetrator s/he was not fully responsible for the behaviour. In this way the abuser was easily forgiven. If one really did not have control over one's behaviour, then this would be evident in a variety of circumstances with a variety of people. Abusers were often able to direct their blows to parts of the body that will not show the abuse. The author found that these pathological theories did not account for how abusive behaviours were directed at their intimate partners only and usually in private. Such behaviours on the part of the abuser indicate rather that s/he is in control of the abuse. Whereas it was accepted that alcohol was a precipitating factor in domestic violence, the study conducted by Dobash and Dobash showed that in only 25% of violent relationships alcohol was found to be a factor and it was very important in only a few cases (Miller and Wellford, in Cardarelli, 1997). Padayachee and Pillay (1993) supported this by stating that in their experience many abusers did not abuse substances. Also many alcoholics were not abusive. The authors contended that alcohol and drugs provided the abuser with an excuse for his/her behaviour. The abuser frequently claimed having no memory of the abuse and thereby did not have to take responsibility

for the abuse. Mullender (1996) stressed that domestic violence was too prevalent to be attributed to individual deviance.

3.2.2 Social learning theories

Social learning theories speculated that by witnessing or experiencing violence within their families of origin aggressive behaviours were learnt (Hague and Malos, 1993). The family, which was seen as the primary institution for the socialisation of children, exerted a tremendous influence on the development of aggression and violent behaviour among its members (Sathiparsad, 1991). This created a cycle of violence, which reproduced itself because violence was learned as an appropriate way to deal with problems. The study conducted by Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz was often quoted in support of this argument (Renzetti, in Cardarelli, 1997). Their study showed that individuals who both witnessed and experienced parental violence were five to nine times more likely to be violent toward their own partners. The sub-cultural model, also a part of the social learning theories, focused on sub-cultures to which people belonged. People, who lived in neighbourhoods where there were gangs for example, or those who belonged to certain professions such as the police or army, were said to learn to use violence as a way of life. The theory suggested that by removing children from violent families or sub-cultures, re-educating the perpetrators and parents the cycle of violence could be broken.

Criticisms against the social learning theory have been on the basis that other research studies (such as those conducted by O' Leary in 1993 and Demaris in 1990) have not been able to replicate the findings of the Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz study cited above. These studies have found no association or a weak association between witnessing and/or experiencing violence as a child and becoming an abuser (Renzetti, in Cardarelli, 1997). Many abusers have grown up in homes that could be labeled as non-violent (Mullender, 1996). The converse is also true. Many individuals, who grew up in violent homes, were not

violent in their intimate adult relationships. Therefore some other factor must have contributed to people displaying violent behaviour in their current relationships. Mullender (1996) pointed out that in any given situation people always have choices and by implication needed to accept the responsibility for the consequences of the choices that they made. People were not programmed like machines. The author stressed that one's childhood was not a determinant of what one's adult life will be like. Mullender (1996) added that those who did grow up in violent homes might have more of a motivation to avoid it later in life.

3.2.3 Socio-economic theories

Socio-economic explanations emphasised that stress caused by lack of access to resources in the working class or low-income families led to violence (Hague and Malos, 1993). Within the middle-class families, the pressures were said to be related to stressful careers and financial pressures. Mullender (1996) added that by implication more affluent communities would not abuse and when the stresses or pressures have lifted, the violence would cease. This was clearly not the case. Domestic violence occurred across all social strata and seemed to be independent of stresses, even though it may be rarely reported amongst the more affluent communities (FAMSA, 1997). Mullender (1996) pointed out that the pattern in domestic violence was that once violence had begun, it usually escalated over time, and did not, as the socio-economic theorists suggested, dissipate with a reduction of stressors.

3.2.4 Power imbalances

The role of power imbalances in the aetiology of family violence has been given considerable attention in research (Renzetti, in Cardarelli, 1997). Feminist theory focused on the abuser using force and power to control the victim. It postulated that the abuser obtained rewards from an abusive episode in that he felt strong and macho, got his way and that his partner thereafter catered to him

in an attempt to prevent further violence. Renzetti (in Cardarelli, 1997) found this theory limited in that it did not explain why only a minority of men were abusive, when there were so many rewards for being violent. The feminist theory also did not explain violence in homosexual relationships. It did not seem to believe either that women in heterosexual relationships could be violent. The theory was useful however in its emphasis on domestic violence as an act by which to exercise power and control. In her study of violence in homosexual relationships, Renzetti (1992) found that the goals of domestic violence highlighted by the feminist theory for heterosexual couples in her study were the same for the homosexual couples. The abuser wanted to exercise control over her partner. This could be extrapolated to include heterosexual couples where the perpetrator was the woman. The abusive wife used the violence to exercise her control and power over her husband. Renzetti (in Cardarelli, 1997) quoted other studies such as those conducted by Straus, which have shown that the partner with the most power is the abuser and used violence as an expression of this power.

Cardarelli (1997) highlighted the difficulty with using a uni-dimensional model of explaining domestic violence, was that it emphasised one dimension while failing to explain other complex issues associated with violence between intimate partners. He concurred that the current trend was in developing an integrated theoretical model to explain the genesis and persistence of domestic violence. Miller and Wellford (in Cardarelli, 1997) explained the ecological model, which stressed the need to focus on multiple variables in family violence from the individual to society. Miller and Wellford (in Cardarelli, 1997) quoted Stith and Rosen and Riggs and O' Leary, who also proposed an integrated or multilevel theory. Such theories focused on the individual characteristics and experiences of abusers (personality, biological and developmental characteristics), social factors (economic, political, social and community in which the abuser was socialised and lived) and the cultural conditions (the morals and values of individuals and groups to which they belonged). The value

of an integrated model was that it would increase social scientists' ability to include a range of factors to understand domestic violence and to use multifaceted strategies to respond to the patterns of violence. This would therefore allow a more holistic approach to addressing the issue of domestic violence.

3.3 Possible Effects of Husband Battery on the Victim

The effects of wife battery on the female victims have received much attention in research. Yet male victims of domestic violence have received little attention. This is to be expected considering the dearth of research and information on the issue as a whole. The study produced data indicative of some of the effects of marital violence on the husbands. These will be discussed in chapter four. The researcher contended that the effects of violence on the male victim would be similar to the effects on the female victim, since the abuse occurred within the context of an intimate relationship.

Segal and Labe (in McKendrick and Hoffman, 1990) and Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) found that the effects that victims of violence experienced were similar to those of victims who have experienced a traumatic event such as a natural disaster or some other crime. The effects of domestic violence in women identified by various authors can be divided into psychological, physical, work related and effects on relationships. According to Hague and Malos (1993) the most common psychological effect was that the victims' self esteem and self-image was destroyed (Wiehe, 1994). The victim may become depressed, feel anxious, feel helpless, and experience disturbances in sleeping and appetite. The Advice Desk for the Abused in Durban found that 75% of abused men used tranquilizers or antidepressants with one third of them being clinically depressed, 55 % had attempted suicide and 33% turned to alcohol to help them cope (Copeland, 2002(b)). Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) concurred that some victims showed a marked increase in their intake of substances to help them

cope with the terror, physical pain, injury, changes in the relationship and the anticipation of future attacks. He did find however that some victims stopped drinking completely so as to remain alert in the face of impending danger. Govender (2002) reported similar findings. In addition Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) found that the victim experienced shock, denial, confusion and a sense of helplessness. Victims may also experience symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (Wiehe, 1994). These include intense fear, feelings of helplessness or horror, re-experiencing the traumatic event, persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma and numbing of general responsiveness and persistent symptoms of increased arousal.

The victims of husband abuse may sustain serious or mild bodily injuries but generally experienced a general deterioration of their physical condition. The researcher, when working with victims of domestic violence, found that psychosomatic complaints were commonplace. Victims typically experienced headaches, indigestion, backaches and shoulder pains. Victims' work performance was frequently seriously affected (Wiehe, 1994 and Roos, 2002). The victim tended to be absent from work or went late to work or had to leave early. The abuser may also harass the victim at work. Hague and Malos (1993) added that the victim might lose their jobs as well. Generally victims experienced difficulty concentrating in the work environment. Their job performance therefore decreased.

Wiehe (1994) found that the victim might experience difficulties in developing relationships with others because he/she fears becoming close to other people and being taken advantage of. This resulted in difficulties in trusting people. Roos (2002) stated that victims tended to isolate themselves from family and friends. Hague and Malos (1993) cited the loss of family, friends and even children as an effect of the abuse. The abusive relationship itself may become affected. Victims often reported lower levels of intimacy and compatibility, a

lowered degree of sexual arousability and satisfaction even though there may be greater frequency of sexual intercourse (Wiehe, 1997).

Copeland (2002(b)) reported that because men were less likely to reveal the abuse, the effects of abuse on men were more severe than for other victims of domestic violence. She quoted the Men's Health Network who found that abused men had a lower self-esteem than female victims and that their stress reactions were also far greater. Naidoo (quoted by Copeland, 2002(b)) stated that the male psyche was damaged even more by physical abuse than by any other form of abuse. This was because of men's cultural scripts and society's expectations of how men should behave. Men were expected to be in control of their relationships and the dominant spouse. Being abused by one's female partner is seen as a failure on the part of a man.

3.4 Why Victims Remain in the Abusive Relationship?

If one accepted that husband abuse did occur, one would probably ask why these men remained in the abusive relationships. It is often assumed that they would immediately terminate the relationship. Loseke and Cahill (quoted by Renzetti, 1992) maintained that when asking why victims of abuse remained in abusive relationships, we made the incorrect assumption that leaving the relationship was a normal response. These authors stated that society placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of relationships and the necessity to remain married. Religious teachings also advocated that the family unit remained intact and discouraged divorce. There is usually tremendous pressure (from the person themselves and society) to remain in the relationship. Victims may also feel guilty about ending the relationship and denying their children a home with two parents.

Ferraro (in Cardarelli, 1997) agreed that focusing on why the victim remained in the relationship is problematic and unhelpful. The author contended that by

doing so, one made the assumption that the victim's behaviour is problematic, rather than the abuser's. He found that most victims did attempt to leave the relationship but continued to be harassed and abused even after doing so. In concurring Hague and Malos (1993) stated that abusers frequently became more violent after the victim attempted to leave the relationship. They noted that the violence often escalated when a victim attempted to leave the abusive relationship. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) observed that not separating from an abusive relationship might be an accurate evaluation of the perpetrator's potential for a violent response as well as the inability of others to intervene in time to guarantee the victim's safety. As discussed in the section on services available below, various difficulties are experienced in obtaining assistance from the criminal justice system. Victims may therefore realistically feel that the abuser might very well carry out his/her threats should they leave the relationship. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997:67) contended that decisions about abusive relationships were complicated by "legal and financial ties, overlapping family and support networks, and issues related to care and custody of the children".

3.4.1 Abuse as an exception

Ferraro (in Cardarelli, 1997) found that most abused persons did not leave after the first incidence of violence, as they considered it to be an exception. Generally the abuser denied the abuse, denied the injury and denied that there were options to the abuse. Victims believed that the abuse would not recur. The victims internalised some of the excuses, justified the abuser and internalised the blame for the abusive episode. Fleming (1979) found that the victim often felt guilty about provoking the abuse. Victims attempted to understand what they did to provoke the abuse and attempted to prevent further abuse by changing themselves. For example, some victims stopped expressing their opinions or isolated themselves from family. The author noted however that the victims soon found out that their strategies did not work. Regardless of

their behaviour, the abuse continued. Fleming (1979) also found that the guilt that victims experienced was in relation to their apparent failure to live up to their roles within the family. Victims were therefore ashamed to admit this to others.

3.4.2 Honeymoon Phase

Pagelow, quoted by Bolton and Bolton (1987) added that the abused person often did not leave the situation because the abuser was also loving at times and usually had many positive qualities. Walker identified the cycle of abuse within an abusive relationship (FAMSA, 1997 and Fedler, 1999). The cycle consisted of three stages known as the tension build-up stage, the abusive episode and the honeymoon stage. (This will be discussed in more detail in chapter five) During the honeymoon stage the abuser expressed remorse for his/her behaviour, was usually very loving and showered the victim with gifts and attention. Barnett and Lopez-Real (quoted by Renzetti, 1992) frequently found that living with intermittent violent episodes followed by periods of affection and contrition, perpetuated hope that the abuser will change over time. Furthermore the less severe and less frequent the violent episodes were, the more likely the victim was to stay (Gelles quoted by Bolton and Bolton, 1987). The victim was reminded of the positive aspects of the relationship, believed that the perpetrator was genuinely sorry for the violence and the violent behaviour was attributed to circumstances. Typically the perpetrator was forgiven and the victim believed that the abuse would not occur again. FAMSA (1997) found that denial played a major role in perpetuating violence. Victims denied the existence or seriousness of the abuse. This helped them to cope better with the abuse. The abuser on the other hand denied responsibility for the abuse (by projecting blame onto the victim) or denied that the behaviour can actually be termed abuse. The denial perpetuated the cycle of abuse, with the result that victims remained in the abusive relationship.

3.4.3 Low self-esteem

One of the most serious ways in which a victim of domestic violence is affected is that his/her self-esteem is destroyed (FAMSA, 1997). With such a diminished sense of self worth the victim typically does not believe in his/her inner strengths and abilities (Gardner, 1996). After being made to feel worthless over a prolonged period, the victim may internalise the abuser's insults and believe that they really are "worthless", "useless", "nothing" without their partner, that "no one would want them". The spouses in abusive relationships are characteristically emotionally dependent on each other (Renzetti, in Cardarelli, 1997). This heightens the victims' fears of the future and of being alone. The victims believe that s/he could not survive on their own (and without the abuser). As a result the victim remains in the relationship.

3.4.4 Depression

Fleming (1979) contended that all victims of abuse felt anger at some time but that a majority of them were unable to express their anger. Over a period of time this anger becomes internalised and may be disguised as depression. This view has been supported by FAMSA (1997). The depression is typically accompanied by low emotional energy levels, feelings of disillusionment and a general lack of interest in people or occurrences around them. The depression may affect the frequency or the persistence with which the victim sought help for the abuse, and the abused victim may not have the energy to frequently seek help or to leave the relationship.

3.4.5 Lack of finances

Many victims lacked the financial resources to leave an abusive relationship (Renzetti, 1992). The victim may not have worked for a long time or may not earn enough money to be able to support themselves and their children if they

had any. Fleming (1979) pointed out that for the victim who may have no money, a positive attitude or a strong desire to end the relationship meant very little. In relation to this Gardner (1996) stated that victims experienced difficulty finding suitable accommodation once s/he has left the abusive relationship. Family members may be unwilling to help for various reasons and there were a shortage of shelters, particularly in rural communities. Even if the victim went to a shelter, this would be a temporary arrangement and the victim will have to find more permanent housing. In South Africa, there are no shelters for men. Abused men were therefore denied the opportunity to even access temporary accommodation, while they find more permanent housing. Victims, who could not turn to family members or friends for accommodation, were therefore not even afforded a temporary reprieve from the abuse.

3.4.6 Past experiences of violence

Gelles (quoted by Bolton and Bolton, 1987) found that the amount of violence that the victim was exposed to as a child affected whether or not they will leave the relationship. He stated that if the victim was exposed to high levels of violence he was more likely to stay and not do anything about the abuse. In other words the victim tended to accept the abuse more readily.

3.5 Services for Victims

Various other authors such as Fleming (1979) and Wiehe (1994) have observed that the services available for victims of domestic violence were ineffective and inaccessible. Victims often experienced secondary victimisation when attempts were made to access assistance. According to Renzetti (1992), domestic violence has been researched and services structured as if men were the only perpetrators and women were the only victims. As a result there has been limited focus on the services required by male victims of domestic violence. A review of literature on domestic violence (where wives were the victims) indicated

relevant services that should be available for victims of domestic violence. Bearing in mind that husband abuse is an aspect of domestic violence, the researcher postulated that similar services should be made available for abused husbands.

3.5.1 Shelters

Shelters provide temporary protection from their abusive partners but they are limited (Wiehe, 1994). Whereas some shelters provide shelter for the children as well, most shelters only provide accommodation for the abused person. While at the shelter, the victim received counselling to enable him/her to make a decision and cope with the current situation. Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) quoted Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980) and Bowker and Maurer (1985) who contended that shelters were the most supportive and effective resource for victims of violence. According to Copeland (2002(b)) whereas there were 23 shelters for abused women in South Africa (and 7 in the greater Durban area), there were at the time of the study no shelters to accommodate abused men. Male victims were forced to live with friends or relatives or at a shelter for destitute people. Shelters for destitute people did not provide the kind of counselling and support that a victim of abuse required.

3.5.2 Counselling

Hague and Malos (1993) acknowledged that victims had to overcome tremendous feelings of shame, self-blame and guilt before taking the huge step of seeking help. Another obstacle that victims had to overcome was the fear that their children will be taken away from them if social workers became aware of the abuse (Sullivan in Cardarelli, 1997). Victims therefore needed to be treated with respect and empathy, and made to feel safe and secure. Therapists needed to validate the victim's experiences and offer support. According to Wiehe (1994) victims of domestic violence may need legal

assistance, employment, further education, transportation, material assistance, social support, health care and housing. The aim of counselling was to empower the victim through recasting their perceptions, raising their consciousness and increasing their access to opportunities and resources (Wiehe, 1994). Petretic-Jackson and Jackson (in Roberts, 1996) added that counseling needed to focus on educational and decision-making skills. Feminists have agreed that a crucial aspect of counselling is on empowering victims. Where there was a need for couple counselling, literature suggests that it is more appropriate to work with the partners individually at first. Priority needed to be given to the abuse in the relationship before other relationship issues can be worked on (Fleming, 1979 and Jenkins, 1990). Petretic-Jackson and Jackson (in Roberts, 1996) concurred, adding that a failure to do so reinforces the acceptance of violence in the relationship.

Babcock and Taillade (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) highlighted the importance of programmes to focus on the perpetrator as well. They suggested the development of therapeutic techniques that were less confrontational and more affect focused. A further suggestion was that treatment programmes accommodate ethnic minorities and abusers who are addicted to alcohol and drugs. Roberts (1996) concurred, adding that arrest might act as a deterrent for some abusers while other perpetrators responded better to therapy.

Peled and Avis (1995) contended that children witnessing violence might be seen as psychological abuse of the child, as living in a dangerous environment traumatized the child. Mariah's (1999) study confirmed that children who were exposed to parental marital violence were seriously affected in various ways. The children showed aggressive behaviour, were sometimes injured while trying to protect the victim, had difficulty forming relationships with peers and displayed similar effects to people suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. Ezell, McDonald and Jouriles (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) added that children who witnessed domestic violence had a lower self-esteem, experienced greater

levels of anxiety and depression, greater tendency of suicidal thoughts and suffered from more Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) than children who grew up in homes where they did not witness parental violence. Mariah concluded in her study that children in such homes required therapeutic intervention to help them deal with the trauma of witnessing abuse, to understand the abuse and learn non-violent strategies for dealing with conflict. Peled and Davis (1995) further suggested that intervention with children should break the silence around domestic violence, teach them to protect themselves during abusive episodes, experience a safe and positive environment and strengthen their self-esteem. Children therefore needed to be included in counselling in order to provide holistic intervention to the family.

Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) quoted studies done by Maynard (1985) and Johnson (1985) that showed that social workers were generally apathetic toward domestic violence and tended to blame the victim. Studies conducted by Hall-Apicella (1983) and Hansen, Horway and Cervantes (1991) showed similar responses for the rest of the therapeutic community (Sullivan quoted by Cardarelli, 1997). Over the past decade however, domestic violence has been included in social work curricula at tertiary institutions (Hague and Malos, 1993). Recent graduates were therefore better equipped to deal with cases of domestic violence with a female victim. The therapeutic community will however have to learn to deal with a different gendered victim.

3.5.3 Groups

Group intervention has been recommended by Wiehe (1994) to show victims that there were others who have had similar experiences that the abuse was not their fault, to provide support and to support others in the decisions that they made regarding the future. As discussed previously, abused victims were usually isolated and would benefit greatly from a group setting where they can work out their problems in caring and safe relationships with others. Fleming

(1979) pointed out that even when the victim of abuse was not isolated, s/he was usually surrounded by people who did not understand the abuse and who even thwarted the victim's attempts to ameliorate the problems. Rehabilitative groups have been suggested for the perpetrators of abuse to assist them in accepting responsibility for their behaviour and taking responsibility to change it (Jenkins, 1990 and Wiehe, 1994). The group context would be most beneficial for abused men who may be feeling extremely stigmatised, ashamed and who may be questioning their worth as men. Group intervention may similarly be of tremendous benefit to children who witnessed parental violence.

3.5.4 Medical practitioners

In the study conducted by Dobash and Dobash, only 3% of all the women in the study had gone to the doctor for their physical assaults (Hague and Malos, 1993). The women reported being too embarrassed or afraid that the abuser will find out and retaliate. The researchers found however that the victims had consulted their general practitioners for other medical or psychological problems that resulted from the violence. Wiehe (1994) observed that there was a low rate of detection of abuse and intervention by medical practitioners. She stated that doctors and nurses were sometimes unwilling or unable to address the source of injury. Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) found that many doctors continued to overmedicate victims of abuse with tranquilizers and antidepressants without addressing the source of the medical and psychological problems. Hague and Malos (1993) concurred, adding that the victims quickly became addicted and the drugs may have the effect of limiting one's judgement and ability to make decisions during a crisis. Some abused women reported negative experiences in hospital emergency rooms such as feeling humiliated, being blamed for the abuse, having the abuse minimised and being given insufficient referrals for help. Bell, Jenkins, Kpo and Rhodes (quoted by Wiehe, 1994) suggested that medical personnel be trained to recognise symptoms of abuse in patients and how to proceed in helping victims. It is unlikely that

abused men have frequently accessed medical treatment for their injuries. If they have, it was likely that they would have fabricated the cause of the injury.

3.5.5 The legal system

Caringella-MacDonald (in Cardarelli, 1997) strongly felt that victims of domestic violence have historically been revictimised by the criminal justice system. Wiehe (1994) suggested that protocols for dealing with domestic violence be developed and that these protocols should not define the victim according to gender. Garner and Clemmer (quoted by Wiehe, 1994) stressed the need to train police officers to effectively intervene in domestic violence situations as they were assumedly the first ones to arrive on the scene of domestic violence. Hutchings (quoted by Kooverjee, 1999) pointed out as well that victims of domestic violence were often isolated and did not have support networks from family and friends. Very often the police were the only support system that they had access to. Research conducted by Buchanan and Perry in 1985 and by Stubbing in 1990, showed that training of police officers did improve their attitudes towards domestic violence (Sullivan in Cardarelli, 1997). The manner in which police responded to domestic violence calls may significantly influence the outcome of the victim's cry for help as well as future incidents of violence to which the victim may be subjected. In South Africa, domestic violence training has been incorporated into the SAPS training programme to prevent secondary victimisation of victims of abuse. Rauch (quoted by Kooverjee, 1999) however, pointed out that the present police-training curriculum places very little emphasis on 'soft' skills such as listening, empathy, sensitivity and understanding. As stated previously, the police were not likely to respond to calls by men, who claimed they were being abused, neither were they likely to take any action against the female perpetrator.

Wiehe (1994) considered emotional support from the prosecutor to be another important component if the victim must confront the perpetrator in court. Judges

also needed knowledge of domestic violence and needed to address gender biases. Freeman (1979) suggested that laws, which are applicable for male-on-female violence, should also be applicable to female-on-male violence. In South Africa, the Domestic Violence Act of 1998 enables any victim of domestic violence to obtain a protection order against further abuse from the perpetrator. In the event of the protection order being violated, criminal charges can be brought against the perpetrator. The Act did not define the victim in terms of gender. Kooverjee (1999) found that society in general as well as service providers was not aware of the contents of the Act. Caringella-MacDonald (in Cardarelli, 1997) found that victims of domestic violence were in a precarious situation. If the victim attempted to take legal recourse for the abuse, s/he encountered many difficulties in debunking myths and proving that domestic violence did occur. If the victim remained silent, the problem went largely unaddressed and the abuser was free to continue with the abuse. The researcher's experience has supported this. Segal and Labe (in McKendrick and Hoffman, 1990) who concurred with this, added that lengthier sentences should be imposed on perpetrators of domestic violence. Kooverjee (1999) concluded from her study that victims of domestic violence experienced tremendous difficulty in accessing the help offered by the Act. Victims of domestic violence have frequently reported that the process of obtaining a protection order was a lengthy and difficult one. Male victims were likely to experience more victimisation and difficulty obtaining the help offered by the Act.

3.5.6 Clergy

Wiehe (1994) and Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) found that religious priests were the most common people to which victims of abuse turned to. Religion has been regarded as a double-edged sword because it has labeled divorce as a sin, thereby discouraging victims of abuse from leaving their abusive relationships. Sullivan quoted studies conducted in the United States of America and in Canada that showed that victims were unlikely to receive help

from clergy and that in many cases, when clergy had discouraged the victim from ending the violence, the victim had actually been placed in more danger. Horton (quoted by Wiehe, 1994) while speaking of wife abuse stated that clergy were often unhelpful because they lacked the necessary knowledge of how to help victims and their abusers.

3.6 Conclusion

The victims of abuse were seriously affected by their experience and have few avenues to turn to. Relationships, which experience domestic violence, were very complicated ones. Victims have various reasons for remaining in such relationships. Furthermore the literature reviewed showed clearly that leaving the relationship might not be the most effective solution for all victims. What is urgently required in order to help these victims is a multi-disciplinary approach to husband abuse. However presently women are the focus of most family violence research studies and intervention programmes. All role players will have to be effectively trained in domestic violence to deliver a holistic service to all victims of domestic violence. The chapter that follows discusses the methodology used in conducting the research study.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

THE PROCESS

4.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides details of the processes that were engaged in when the study was conducted. The research strategy, design, sampling procedures, data collection methods and the process of data analysis will be discussed. The chapter also discusses the reliability and validity of the study as well as the ethical considerations undertaken during research study.

4.2 Strategy

The research strategy according to Miller (1986) can be regarded as an overall plan or structure of the study. The study was qualitative, and embodied exploratory and descriptive designs. The qualitative approach emphasized clinical intuition and a holistic humanistic approach. It is concerned with descriptions and usually utilises a smaller sample than a quantitative approach. Qualitative data allows for detailed descriptions of people, interactions, behaviours and events (Patton, 1980). By using a qualitative research strategy, the researcher was able to obtain rich and in-depth description of data on a relatively unexplored area of study. This allowed the researcher to find themes and wider patterns as well as to develop insights into different social worlds. The qualitative research strategy also provided participants with opportunities to share their views and captured the complexities of human behaviour. Edwards and Talbot (1999) asserted that such rich in-depth data could not be obtained through other research methods. The qualitative approach therefore permitted the researcher to obtain a better understanding of the area under study.

Qualitative methods are sometimes viewed as being biased and subjective. Scriven (quoted by Patton, 1980) however, asserted that objectivity necessitated

that the researcher was factual and that distancing oneself from the study did not guarantee objectivity. In supporting Patton (1980), Marlow (1998) and Bailey (1987), contended that the neutrality of the researcher was more important than being subjective or objective. Guba (quoted by Patton, 1980) found that research participants did not want researchers who were unconcerned, uncaring, uninterested or unresponsive. This was particularly important when studying sensitive and private issues such as family violence. The researcher, who was indeed concerned about the issues being studied, was therefore not necessarily biased. Neither did the researcher's concern make the study less objective. Mann (2000: 10-11) found the qualitative approach to be particularly appropriate when studying family violence as the approach allowed the researcher to "explore perceptions and experiences of the participants, the salience of contextual issues and the dynamics of abusive practices". The qualitative approach was clearly the most suitable method of obtaining in-depth data on husband abuse, which is a stigmatised, sensitive and new area of study.

4.3 Design

The study employed an exploratory and descriptive design. Miller (1986) advised the use of an exploratory design when little was known about the area or issue under study. An exploratory design allowed the researcher to generate ideas and insights into a relatively unexplored issue. This may thereafter lead to other studies as the emerging ideas might necessitate further studies. Miller (1986) recommended a descriptive design when one aimed to describe a certain phenomenon, or aspects or ideas about an issue. Patton (1980) emphasised that the advantage of the descriptive design was that the reader was taken into the setting of the participants' lives. It did not include any interpretation about whether their experiences were good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate or any other interpretive judgements. The data simply described what happened. These two designs lend themselves very well to the qualitative approach as well

as to the study of husband abuse, where a dearth of research and information exists.

4.4 Sampling

It is too expensive and time consuming to gather data about any subject matter from all the people within that population (Reamer, 1998). Samples are therefore necessary. A probability sample is one where every individual within the population has a known chance of being selected. This allows for the results of the study to be generalised to the larger population. However, as Renzetti (in Cardarelli, 1997) pointed out, probability samples could not be drawn from stigmatised groups because of the strong motivation to hide themselves. Thus complete sampling frames, which were needed for drawing probability samples, were simply unavailable. Probability samples were therefore inappropriate for the study. The researcher therefore obtained a sample through non-probability sampling methods. Reamer (1998) defined a non-probability sample as one in which not every element in the population had a known chance of inclusion. By implication then, because the sample was not representative of the population, the results or findings obtained through a non-probability sampling methods typically could not be generalised to the population. Seaberg (in Grinnel, 1980) however, recommended the use of non-probability samples for exploratory studies such as this one, where researchers were interested in obtaining as much unique data as possible on a research question.

The sample size was another factor to be considered. There are no hard and fast rules regarding the sample size. However, Seaberg (in Grinnel, 1980) stated that knowledge of the population size would also allow the researcher to postulate the sample size. It was generally accepted that the sample should be one tenth of the population size. As discussed in 2.3 above, obtaining the population size of abused husbands or even an estimation thereof was impossible, particularly since even reported figures were accepted to be a gross

underestimation of the actual number of victims of husband abuse. Reamer (1998) recommended a larger sample as this would reduce sampling error and thereby increase the accuracy of results. Bailey (1987) cautioned however, that a larger sample necessitated a longer time to gather data. The disadvantage was that the data obtained might be less accurate because the information gathered at the beginning of the study might differ significantly from information gathered at the end of the study. In addition, a larger sample also required many researchers or interviewers to collect the data. This might have forced one to employ marginal interviewers, which in turn might have decreased the accuracy of the data collected. Bearing the above in mind the researcher attempted to obtain a sample of 20 participants.

Two sampling techniques were employed: purposive sampling and snowballing. Marlow (1998) defined purposive sampling as a sampling method whereby the researcher had criteria by which to select participants, which allowed him/her to obtain rich information for the study. Purposive sampling therefore lent itself very well to the qualitative approach and descriptive design of the study. Bailey (1987) cautioned that this sampling method might result in a sample that was not representative of the population, which limited the generalisability of the results of the study to the larger population. It was unlikely however that any sampling techniques would be able to produce a truly random and representative sample because the study's population was hidden and stigmatised. It should be further noted that purposive sampling was suited to the study as it had the advantage of saving time and money. Giles-Sims (1983) supported the use of purposive sampling methods when one researched abuse and violence. He found that those who had experienced violence were usually not willing to talk to researchers about it. Renzetti (1992) concurred that stigmatised and hidden groups were reluctant to disclose the abuse.

Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988) asserted however that research into spousal abuse was assisted by the fact that the research participants were adults who

were relatively more accessible to researchers and who were able to report on the dynamics and the impact of their experiences. Renzetti (1992) cautioned that the reliability of the study might be questionable if the sample identified themselves as being abused because this provided the researcher with only one spouse's perspective of abusive relationship. She quoted Coleman and Waters who found that in their study on abusive relationships, there was frequently little compatibility between both partners' individual reports of the same relationship. Researchers in the field of family violence were however aware that research has been hampered by the reluctance of perpetrators of violence to be interviewed and the limitations that this posed (Finkelhor, Hotaling, Yllo, 1988). This study does provide essential insights into husband abuse from the victims' perspective.

The following criteria were used to select research participants. The participants had to be married men in heterosexual relationships who were at the time experiencing or had in the past experienced abuse from their wives. Although Wiehe (1994) has shown that violence also occurred within dating and cohabiting couples, the researcher chose to focus on married couples however, as there might have been significant differences between married and unmarried couples. Furthermore Renzetti (1992) pointed out that if participants were no longer involved in those abusive relationships (had divorced for example), the sample would have a low reliability because their descriptions of their experiences might be coloured by hindsight. Also, there may be significant differences between victims who have ended the abusive relationship and those where the perpetrator had ended the relationship. An overrepresentation of any of these groups would further affect the reliability of the results and the generalisability thereof. The researcher aimed to increase the reliability of the study by including those men who were currently in a marriage where they were experiencing abuse at the time of the study. The second criterion for participation in the study was that participants had to live within the greater Durban area.

Coleman, in his study of violence in another hidden and stigmatised group, namely homosexuals, used the following recruiting methods to obtain a sample: advertisements, newsletters, fliers, contacts with therapists, support group facilitators, community organisations and snowballing (Renzetti, 1992). Guided by this, the sample for this study was obtained by submitting an article/letter to the editor for publication in local newspapers within the Durban area (Appendix B and C). The article/letter to the editor provided some information about husband abuse, details of the study and requested that abused men or their family members contact the researcher for further information, a listing of organisations where they could obtain assistance and/or to participate in the research study. Appendix D contains a list of the newspapers to which the article was submitted and the geographical areas covered by these. The researcher also submitted the articles to community newspapers as these are distributed free of charge to all households in various areas. This ensured that a greater number of people were exposed to the article than would have been the case had the article only appeared in newspapers that people purchased. Renzetti (1992) and Singh (1997) strongly supported the use of advertisements to obtain research participants, which proved invaluable in studies that they have conducted.

The researcher also contacted various organisations that work in the field of domestic violence to enlist their help in obtaining research participants. A list of organisations that were contacted and their responses appear in Appendix A. This was done through a letter and then followed by telephone calls. Gochros (in Grinnel, 1988) cautioned that when applying for organisation consent, such institutions needed to be satisfied that people would be protected. The researcher emphasised this in the letter that was sent to the organisations.

When potential participants contacted the researcher, they were asked if they knew of other abused men who may be contacted to participate in the study. Reamer (1998) found that this type of sampling (known as snowballing) was useful when one was trying to obtain participants who were difficult to identify and

locate, such as victims of domestic violence. The snowballing technique did not however yield any participants. *

A total of 44 responses were obtained from the advertisements placed in the newspapers. No participants were obtained through welfare organisations. Twenty-eight (28) of these responses were within the first two weeks of the articles/letters to the editor being published in the local newspapers in July 2002. The other responses were received on average one per week during August and September 2002. This was an overwhelming response that was not anticipated by the researcher. Table 4.1 provides a summary of the responses that were obtained through the advertisements/letters to the editor placed in various newspapers.

TYPE OF PROBLEM	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	*PERCENTAGE %
Men experiencing husband Abuse	21	48
Men calling about marital problems (excluding husband abuse)	10	23
Relatives calling regarding husband abuse	4	9
Relatives calling about other marital problems	4	9
Women experiencing abuse	3	7
Abusive wife requesting help	1	2
TOTAL	43	100%

TABLE 4.1
RESPONSES FROM ADVERTISEMENTS/LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

* Percentages have been rounded off to the nearest whole.

As indicated by the above table, 21 of the callers were abused men. Two of them requested information about the available counselling services but did not wish to participate in the research study. The researcher made appropriate referrals. Of the other 19 abused men who agreed to participate in the study, four did not meet the selection criteria defined for the study. Three of them were divorced. They cited the abuse they experienced as the reason for their divorces. The other respondent was still married but lived out of the geographical area of the study (Johannesburg).

Of the other fifteen abused husbands, who agreed to participate in the study and met the selection criteria, 11 actually participated in the study. Four of the men later decided not to participate in the study. When the researcher telephoned three of these respondents to confirm the interviews, they could not be reached. They either did not answer their telephones or the researcher was told that they were unavailable. The researcher left messages with work colleagues (on the pretence that it was work related), on their work answering machines or on their cellular phone voice message system. These messages were however never returned. The other respondent did confirm his interview appointment but failed to keep the scheduled appointment. The researcher made a follow-up telephone call to each of these four men, who once again could not be reached. This time, the researcher left a message on answering services only, reminding them that their participation in the study was voluntary, and that if the researcher did not hear from them, she would assume that they had decided not to participate in the study. The researcher also gave them her best wishes and encouraged them to contact her should they require any assistance.

The researcher followed the suggestions made by Gochros (in Grinnel, 1988) to increase the likelihood of participation. These included convincing prospective participants that their participation was important, that the study was legitimate, and appealing to their self-interests by showing how the results of their participation will be worthwhile to them. Despite this, the stigma associated with being abused and the fear of others finding out that they are/were being abused, seemed to be greater. Renzetti (1992) confirmed that researchers interested in studying sensitive topics were acutely aware of the difficulties inherent in recruiting participants as participants had a great need to hide their involvement in the study for fear of stigmatisation. Victims of abuse often felt stigmatised and were reluctant to break the silence for fear of being ridiculed, blamed, embarrassed or experiencing retaliation from the perpetrator. This was evident in a study conducted by Singh (1997) who found that in her study on abused

women in the Phoenix area, some participants reversed their decision to participate in her study out of fear of their husbands. In a study conducted by Kooverjee (1999), some of the female victims of abuse refused to participate and all participants were reluctant citing fear of the abuser finding out to be the main reason. This was consistent with the experiences of other authors such as Fleming (1979), Edwards (1989) and Johnson (1985).

Table 4.1 above shows that ten of the respondents were men who were experiencing a range of marital problems including custody and access to children, maintenance, substance abuse, or had queries regarding protection orders (where the male was the perpetrator of the violence) and divorce. These respondents were directed to the relevant social welfare agencies. This was consistent with the findings of the study conducted by Singh (1997), where many abused women responded in the hope of obtaining counselling. This will be further commented on in chapters five and six.

Eight of the respondents were people who telephoned about various problems that their male relatives were experiencing. As the table shows, four of the calls were about husband abuse while the other problems were similar to the marital difficulties discussed above. These relatives (mostly mothers) sought advice and help for their male relatives. These respondents generally requested that the researcher telephone their male relatives and discuss the problems. The researcher clarified the purposes of the study but provided empathy, support and information regarding services available to assist with the various problems.

Four of the female respondents requested help for themselves. Three of these were victims of abuse who had never spoken out about the abuse. They now wished to obtain assistance. The researcher once again provided them with the necessary information regarding counselling services and applications for protection orders. The other female caller interestingly enough was a woman who identified herself to be abusive toward her husband. She stated that after

reading the article, she realised that many of her behaviours were in fact abusive. She related that her husband had had an affair and although the couple had agreed to work on their marriage, she felt “stuck”. She admitted to “treating him badly”, which she elaborated on to mean that she swore at him, called him derogatory names, and physically lashed out at him on a few occasions (slapped and scratched). She appeared remorseful for her behaviour and requested help. The researcher attempted to obtain her participation in the study but she declined. The researcher provided her with details of where she could go to for assistance.

4.5 Data Collection

4.5.1 Data collection methods

According to Patton (1980), one of the major ways in which qualitative researchers gather data is through in-depth, intensive interviews. Face to face interviews were selected as the method of data collection for several reasons. Interviews allowed the interviewer to gather more information and more specific information. Taking into consideration that husband abuse is an area of study where little research and information exist; using interviews permitted the gathering of rich in-depth data. Schumm (in Toulantos, Perlmutter and Straus, 1990) supported the use of interviews as they had strong face validity, which increased the validity of the study. He went on to state that the interview involved little cost and was more convenient (as compared to observational methods for example) and can be used with a large sample. The questions used in interviewing were usually open-ended, which allowed the interviewer to find out what people’s lives, experiences and interactions meant to them (Patton, 1980). Interviews were also used to find out from people what the researcher could not observe – thoughts, feelings, intentions, the past, and meanings. The participants could also use their own language when responding rather than trying to understand and fit into the concepts of the study (Burns, 2000). This

equalises the status of the research participants and the researcher. Participants also generally found it easier to respond orally, rather than in writing. Gochros (in Grinnel, 1988) added other advantages of using interviews for gathering data. Participants' responses were spontaneous and may be free of the self-censorship often encountered in written responses. The interviewer was present and could ensure that all questions were answered and could interpret or reword questions if necessary to ensure that participants understood. Since the interviewer was present, the interviewer could make use of unanticipated data that participants offered, which could be very useful for the study. The researcher found that the interview was indeed an appropriate method of gathering data. Even though the researcher had a fairly good understanding of domestic violence in general and some understanding of husband abuse, the participants brought up unforeseen categories, as will be discussed in the section on the data analysis. The researcher was able to probe about these categories and then adapt other interviews to include these newly discovered categories.

Schumm (in Touliatos, Perlmutter and Straus, 1990) and Gochros (in Grinnel, 1988) drew our attention to certain concerns about interviewing as a data collection method. The researcher was aware of some of these concerns which centred around the possibility of researchers influencing the participants' responses, which might in turn effect the reliability of the data gathered. Fleming (1979) was concerned that a face-to-face interview might pose threats to the participants if they were seen with the researcher, as abusers were known to be very jealous. The researcher bore these concerns in mind and followed the suggestions proposed by Goldstein (1963) to minimise research errors while conducting interviews, thereby increasing the reliability and validity of the data gathered for the research study. This will be discussed in 4.5.2 below. Despite these concerns however, the interview as a data collection method lent itself well to the exploratory and descriptive design of the study.

4.5.2 Data collection instrument

A semi-structured interview guide provided the framework for the researcher's line of questioning. Van Rooyen (in Gray, 1998) defined an interview guide as an outline of topics and issues to be covered in the interview. It ensured that the same information was gathered from a number of different participants and allowed the interviewer flexibility to decide on the sequence and wording of the questions as the interview progressed (Patton, 1980). The interview guide allowed for comprehensive data to be collected in a systematic way for each participant. It also enabled the researcher to identify gaps in the data. The participant was made to feel comfortable, as the interview was conversational. This was certainly an advantage when conducting the study, which was around a sensitive and stigmatised topic such as husband abuse. Building rapport also reduced the likelihood of the respondent refusing to answer particular questions. Burns (2000) concurred that an interview that did not have structured questions allowed the researcher to tailor the questions so that they were appropriate for the interviewee and could document perspectives not envisaged by the researcher, thereby empowering the interviewee by validating his/her experience. Mark (1996) supported this, adding that an interview guide allowed the respondent to talk about things that were important to him/her and the researcher may obtain information that she did not consider before the study began.

The interview guide, which was specifically developed for this study was informed by the interview guides used by Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988) in their study of wife abuse, Renzetti (1992) in her study of abuse within lesbian relationships and Mann (2000) in her study of male perpetrated violence against women. Appendix F contains the interview guide. The interview guide consisted of themes that were related to the research objectives. The researcher asked a number of questions, probed, and explored each theme with the participants in order to obtain in-depth knowledge.

When using an interview guide van Rooyen (in Gray, 1998) observed that important topics might be overlooked, the interviewer might word the questions differently for each interview and the sequence of the questions might also differ, all of which could affect the responses and therefore the comparability of the responses from different participants. The researcher, who conducted all the interviews, is a skilled interviewer who, as a social worker was experienced in conducting interviews particularly around domestic violence. The researcher was therefore able to conduct the interviews with skill and confidence.

4.5.3 Data collection process

At the outset of the research project, the researcher considered possible objections to participation and planned ways of overcoming this. This increased the likelihood that those selected for the sample would actually participate and not reverse their decisions during the course of the study. A preliminary interview was held with each participant to discuss pragmatic issues. During the preliminary interview the researcher gave each potential participant an identifying card that indicated that the researcher was legitimate. The researcher explained the reasons for the study and possible benefits for the participants and for society, which Patton (1980) advised would increase participants' motivation to respond openly and in detail during the interview. The researcher acknowledged the sensitivity of the topic under study and her efforts not to judge the participants and to be empathic. In addition, confidentiality, anonymity, voluntary participation, the possibility of sharing the results of the study with other helping professionals and possible publication were discussed. During the preliminary interview, permission to tape record the interview was requested. Various authors including Patton (1980), Burns (2000) and Gochros (in Grinnel, 1988) have supported tape recording interviews for several reasons. Tape recording increased the accuracy of data collection, and allowed the interviewer to be more attentive to the interviewee as the interviewer did not have to try to write down responses, while responding appropriately to the interviewee. Participants were

thereafter requested to sign their consent to participate in the study. Appendix E contains the consent form.

A date for the actual interview and a venue that was most comfortable for the participants was then negotiated. The major criterion for the venue was privacy. Two of the participants chose to have the interviews conducted at their places of employment. These participants' offices were private, although a few interruptions did occur. One participant was interviewed in his home where he felt more relaxed and less inhibited. This participant was separated from his wife and lived alone. This allowed for privacy. One participant was interviewed at a coffee shop. Due to the participant's work schedule and time constraints imposed, this was the most suitable venue. The remainder of the interviews occurred at the researcher's office. These were most successful as it allowed the researcher to control the environmental conditions such as privacy, seating and temperature. The participants were also able to see that the researcher was legitimate. Conducting the interviews at the researcher's office did not however compromise confidentiality or anonymity as the researcher's colleagues were unaware that these were research participants.

In order to gather all the required data, more than one interview was needed with most participants. Reamer (1998) suggested that if the interview was going to last more than one hour, the interviewer schedule a break in between. This might encourage respondents to be thorough in answering the questions, rather than rushing through the responses. During the preliminary interview the researcher discussed with participants, the possibility that the interview would be between one and one and a half-hours. Most of the interviews lasted 2 hours. A majority of the participants preferred to take a break after an hour and then continue. For those participants who were interviewed at work and thus had time limits, a second interview was scheduled. This second interview lasted for about one hour.

The researcher herself conducted the interviews because the sample was small and the researcher was intimately familiar with the topic under study as well as the goals of the study. Under such circumstances, Gochros (in Grinnel, 1988) supported the use of one interviewer but cautioned that interviewer bias may be present. The interviewer was cognisant of interview bias and has made mention of this in the presentation of the findings of the study. Gochros (in Grinnel, 1988) affirmed the ability of social workers to conduct research interviews as social work education emphasised the skill and techniques necessary. As already mentioned, the researcher is a skilled interviewer, with much experience in conducting interviews on family violence. As discussed above the researcher used various interviewing techniques in order to obtain the research data and overcome the possible drawbacks of interviewing as a method of data collection.

Different types of questions, such as descriptive, contrast, structural and feeling questions were asked. Burns (2000) defined descriptive questioning as questions that solicited description of people, places and experiences. The contrast questions requested comparisons of experiences and events and the structural questions were used to understand how the participants organise their experiences and information. The feeling questions focused on the participants' emotions relating to their experiences. All questions were open-ended, which allowed the participants to respond in their own words, thus enabling the researcher to understand the world as seen by the participants. Open-ended questions are crucial to exploratory and descriptive research designs. Burns (2000) and Mark (1996) further supported this type of questioning as it allowed more valid responses to be obtained from participants. The questions merely provided a frame of reference, with limited restraint on the participants' answers. Minimal control over the interview was required to ensure that the interview remained focused and did not stray away from the research issues. Open-ended questions also allowed for depth as well as flexibility, which was well suited to the qualitative research strategy. This form of questioning allowed the interviewer to probe and clarify participants' responses. Furthermore, the participant may

provide unexpected responses that may lead to new research hypotheses or theoretical explanations. Various authors recognized however that open-ended questions did present difficulties for coding the responses (Mark, 1996).

The researcher asked neutral questions so that the participants' responses did not engender the researcher's favour or disfavour. The interviewer encouraged participants to answer truthfully by conveying the idea that she was aware of and understood a wide range of human behaviours and had an open mind. Patton (1980) stressed the importance of the researcher remaining neutral so as to build rapport with the participants and increase the objectivity of the study. The interviewer conveyed to participants that their knowledge, experiences, feelings and attitudes were important. Accordingly, empathy and understanding were conveyed without judgement. As a way of engaging in some conversation during the interview without commenting on the answers, the researcher followed Patton's (1980) suggestion of making statements about the questions being asked by introducing basic themes before asking questions around these. This helped focus the participants' attention and prepared them for the questions. It also aided the flow of the interview. Double-barreled questions were avoided. In the researcher's experience, if one asked two questions at once, participants were most likely to answer only one and the researcher would not know the intent of the answers.

Listening or attending skills were necessary so that when the participants were responding, the researcher was able to understand the content and feeling behind what was said (Burns, 2000). The interviewer avoided listening blocks such as prejudices, mind reading or filtering, which Burns (2000) cautioned might hinder the researcher from understanding what the participant was saying.

The researcher summarized participants' responses and reflected their feelings during the interview, which Patton (1980) observed showed participants that the researcher had been listening to what was said and allowed the participants to

make clarifications, corrections and additions in order to bring closure to the section of the interview. Burns (2000) and Patton (1980) suggested the use of minimal encouragers such as nodding one's head and maintaining eye contact to encourage the participant to speak. The researcher used probes to deepen the response of a question. According to Patton (1980) probes also increased the richness of the data and gave clues to the interviewee about the level of response that was desired

As suggested by Gochros (in Grinnel, 1988) the researcher chose to ~~dress~~ conservatively and unobtrusively, in a manner that was compatible with the participants' standards of proper dress code. The researcher was cognisant of her non-verbal behaviour such as gestures, facial expressions, body movements and body posture, which Burns (2000) maintained was important in order to show participants that the researcher was listening and paying attention to what was said. As a skilled interviewer, the researcher was also sensitive to the participants' non-verbal responses – tone of voice, eye contact etc., all of which provided significant data for the research.

Feedback and reinforcement was given to participants during the interview as to how the interview was progressing. This was done to make the interviewee feel that the process was worthwhile and that their responses were valuable. In relation to this, Patton (1980) stated that the researcher has to remain in control of the interview by knowing what information was required, asking the right questions and giving appropriate verbal and non-verbal feedback. It was necessary for the interviewer to discourage long-winded responses and to direct the participants to the subject at hand. The researcher found that the participants who were very grateful to have someone who was prepared to listen to them, had a tendency to talk a great deal. It was clearly evident that participants were achieving some level of catharsis by talking about their experiences. Most participants had limited opportunities to talk openly about the abuse while experiencing total positive regard and acceptance. The interviewer chose to

allow this to some extent, bearing in mind time constraints and what other data were needed. Fleming (1979) and Mann (2000) stated that researchers who conducted interviews into family violence often noted that the victims had a tremendous need to talk about their experiences with someone who was attentive and non-judgemental.

It was widely accepted that interviews were exhaustive for both the interviewer and the interviewee (Patton, 1980). The process of being taken through a directive, reflective process affected the interviewee and might leave them knowing things about themselves that they did not really know or were unaware of before the interview. The researcher therefore offered support for the participants during the interviews. At the end of the interview, on-going counselling services were also offered to all participants as an ethical consideration for the participants well being. Participants were then thanked for their participation.

4.6 Data Analysis

According to Burns (2000), the purpose of analysing the data is to find meaning in the data. The researcher followed the guidelines for data analysis suggested by Hycner (1985), Miller (1986) and Reamer (1998). The first step in this process was transcribing the interviews from audiotape. These authors cautioned the researcher against making her own interpretation of the participants' responses. One should aim rather to understand the true meaning of what the participant was saying. This was aided by the researcher listening to the whole interview to gain a complete sense of the participant's responses and then delineating units of meaning that were relevant to each research question. The researcher listened to the tape recordings as soon after the interview as possible, which Patton (1980) found, helped to check ambiguities in the data. These ambiguities were clarified telephonically with the participants, who appreciated the follow-up and felt pleased that their responses were taken seriously.

Indigenous and researcher-constructed categories were used to analyse the data. Marlow (1998) defined indigenous categories as those themes or patterns that seemed to recur from the data. Indigenous categories entailed seeing the world and the area under study from the participant's point of view. The researcher also applied previously identified categories such as the effect of the abuse on the marital relationship and on the participant's parenting abilities, to the data. These are regarded as researcher-constructed categories (Marlow, 1998). While bearing inter-informant variations in mind, the researcher wrote out a list of the salient points, and placed a check mark on responses that had been repeated by other participants. Colloquial expressions were used by most participants, which necessitated that the researcher gained clarity on the meanings of these for each participant.

Units of relevant meaning were thereafter clustered together, thereby giving rise to themes or patterns from these clusters. At this point the researcher consulted Hycner (1985) and Kvale (1996), who suggested that the researcher return to the research participants with a summary of the individual interviews and the themes, which had emerged. This was done telephonically. Clarity was obtained and gaps in the data were filled, which ensured that the data gathered was a true reflection of the participants' experiences, thoughts and feelings. Thereafter, themes were modified and contextualised for each individual and for the sample. Lastly a composite summary of all interviews was established.

4.7 Limitations of the Study

It is necessary to provide a commentary on the limitations of the study conducted. One possible limitation of the study was that the researcher could only be contacted via cellular phone, which might have impacted on the number of responses to the articles/letters to the editor. It is important however to first discuss the reasons for choosing this medium before exploring the possible

limitations thereof. Firstly, the researcher who was in full-time employment did not have a contact number at which she was available throughout the day and night. It was not possible to be contacted at work all the time. Going through the switchboard operator might have been uncomfortable for the respondents. Secondly, the researcher did not think it prudent to publish her home telephone number for reasons of privacy. Furthermore, this would have meant that the researcher could only be contacted after hours, which might not have suited the respondents. Once again, if the researcher was not available respondents might have had to speak to family members, which they might have been uncomfortable with. By providing only her cellular phone number, the researcher was able to ensure that only she had contact with the respondents. If the researcher was not available, respondents were asked to leave a message on the researcher's voice message system, which only she had access to. The third reason for choosing the researcher's cellular phone number as the contact number was that she felt that providing an e-mail address would not allow all respondents equal access, as the majority of people did not have access to the Internet.

The use of a cellular number as a contact medium might have impacted on the study as some people might not have had access to a telephone and/or might not have been able to afford a call to a cellular phone. This would have limited the number of responses to the articles/letters to the editor. The researcher did offer to call back all those who responded. Some respondents sent the researcher SMS' (short message system) through their cellular phones, requesting that the researcher call them, while others 'miss called' the researcher. The researcher returned all these calls. The fact that none of the researcher's other contact details such as a physical address were available to the public might have made people feel suspicious. The researcher did however seek to increase the legitimacy of the research by stating in the article that the research was being conducted under the auspices of the University of Natal.

The researcher acknowledges that the human being as the analyst might make certain errors. The researcher might have failed to use data that conflicted with her standing hypothesis, might have resisted changing her opinion as the first impression of the area under study had become ingrained and she might have been subjective or biased in her analysis or interpretation of participants' responses. These may be considered as further limitations of the study. The researcher bore such possible errors and biases in mind and made a conscious attempt to avoid these. However the possibility that the study might contain some elements of interview bias exists.

As already discussed under the section on sampling, the size and type of sampling methods used impacted on the generalisability of the study. The non-probability sampling techniques that were employed made it difficult to determine how representative the sample was. Furthermore a smaller sample than originally anticipated was obtained. This smaller sample had their own specific demographic features, such as their age group, geographic/residential area, and ethnic grouping. Such factors have limited the researcher's ability to generalise the findings of the study to the population. However, it must be noted that a smaller sample size (of 11 participants) did not necessarily limit the value of the study. As stated previously, qualitative data was more concerned about the richness of the data obtained rather than the number of participants. Furthermore it must be borne in mind that the study was exploratory and descriptive in design. The aim of the study was not to provide a comprehensive understanding of husband abuse. The study has however achieved its objective of gaining some insights into the unexplored area of husband abuse.

Lastly, only the victims of husband abuse were interviewed. The data obtained therefore presents one perspective of the situation. However, there is scope for further research to be conducted to provide information from the perpetrator's perspective.

4.8 Reliability and Validity of Findings

Reamer (1998) defined validity as the accuracy of the data that researchers collected, and reliability as the consistency of the data. In other words if the study was to be replicated, would it yield similar results. The researcher had to consider whether the study conducted and the findings arrived at are reliable and valid. According to Miller (1986) if the research study can be shown to contain reliability and validity, then only can the research results be considered to be meaningful.

Patton (quoted by Marlow, 1998) stated that the information richness of a study had more in relation to the study's meaningfulness and validity than with the sample size. He elaborated that a smaller study could result in greater information being gathered. Therefore the results of a fairly small sample that was used in this study did not jeopardise the validity of the findings of the study.

On the surface the interview guide consisted of what Reamer (1998) called face validity. This meant that the interview guide measured or in this case obtained information about what it was supposed to – the nature and experiences of abuse of husbands. The interview guide also contained content validity in that all the relevant aspects of the survivors' of husband abuse experiences have been included.

Goldstein (1963) added that in order to obtain data that was reliable and valid, building a rapport with participants was crucial. The researcher attempted to build rapport during the preliminary interview by assuring the participant of anonymity and confidentiality, explaining the value of the research study, asking questions in a respectful manner, and avoiding attempts to modify or influence the participants' responses in any way. Bearing in mind that the reliability of the data was also affected by cultural bias (Reamer, 1998), the researcher endeavoured to interact with interview participants of different cultural groups in a

similar manner. As stated elsewhere in this chapter, the interviewer, as a social worker by profession, had extensive experience in conducting interviews with people of various ethnic, religious and age groupings. During the researcher's training and as part of her current employment, the interviewer has dealt with many cases of domestic violence. The interviewer was therefore skilled and confident in conducting the research interviews. This experience facilitated more successful interviews with minimal interviewing errors, which has in turn increased the reliability and validity of the data gathered.

The researcher followed the suggestions provided by Bostwick and Kyte (in Grinnel, 1988) to increase the external validity of the research instrument. In order to increase the likelihood of accurate responses or decrease the likelihood of non-responses to certain items, the researcher clearly stated the purpose of the study so as to decrease participants' possible suspicions of the purpose of the study. Participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity to reduce their fears of being identified. This was particularly important, as the research focused on a sensitive topic and intimate details of people's lives. Furthermore, by assuring the participants that there were no right or wrong answers, the researcher ensured that the participants' responses were as true a reflection of their experiences as possible and that they did not provide any socially desirable responses. The researcher asked only relevant questions, which reduced the amount of time that the participant spent answering questions. This was done to avoid the situation of participants rushing through answers because the interview lasted too long.

According to Reamer (1998), random error, which refers to the unpredictable ways in which errors in the research might occur, was another way in which reliability of the data may be compromised. One form of random error was recording error, where the researcher might attempt to record all relevant information but might not be able to capture everything, while paying attention to what the participant was saying. By tape recording interviews, the researcher

reduced the possibility of random error, thereby increasing the reliability of the findings of the research study.

4.9 Ethical Concerns

When conducting any research study, Marlow (1998) stated that ethical issues must receive the highest consideration. Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988) have pointed out that the public concern with family violence often meant that the public, policymakers and journalists who may not fully understand findings and methods may misinterpret, misunderstand, oversimplify or overgeneralise the findings of the research study. These authors have therefore stressed the importance of the choice and framing of the research topic as well as the interpretation and dissemination of the data obtained. Bearing in mind that husband abuse has only recently begun receiving any media attention, and that the topic has not been explored in the South African context before, there is a high likelihood that the results may be misunderstood and misinterpreted. The researcher will therefore endeavour to ensure that the methodology and research limitations of the study are presented whenever the findings are discussed. The researcher will also point out that the research study was exploratory in nature and does not provide a comprehensive understanding of husband abuse. In relation to the above, Reamer (1998) advised the use of discretion when sharing the results of the study with the research participants as the results might have negative effects on the participants. The researcher has taken cognisance of this and decided to share the results of this study with the research participants, particularly since husband abuse is a very hidden and private issue. By hearing that others have had similar experiences, participants may have felt less isolated and stigmatised.

Another ethical consideration was protecting research participants from harm. According to Mann (2000), the very nature of the study meant that one was intruding in people's personal lives. She stated that gaining the cooperation and

confidence of participants necessitated that one truly had their well being at heart. When conducting research of this nature, Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988) felt that researchers always risked placing their research participants in jeopardy of more abuse. If the abuser discovered that the victim told the researcher about the abuse, she might have retaliated. These authors also stated that irrationally jealous and violent spouses may also retaliate simply because the victim has had contact with a stranger without even knowing the reasons why contact was made. Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988) maintained further that family violence victims were very vulnerable to stigma and might therefore be at risk of being stigmatised or ostracized by being involved in a research project. As discussed in chapter one, the research study was born out of the researcher's concern for men who were experiencing abuse. Throughout the study the participants' best interests have been the researcher's foremost concern. The necessary steps were taken to ensure that participants were protected from any harm or stigma while participating in the study.

Participants were assured that the general public and their partners would not know of their involvement in the study. Renzetti (1992) pointed out that when researching sensitive topics, one must be mindful that these groups of people had a tremendous need to hide their involvement in the study for fear of stigmatisation. Confidentiality and anonymity were therefore very important. The researcher was the only person who was aware of the real names of participants. When reporting on the research in the dissertation or possible publications fictitious names were used. Incidences were disguised so that the participants could not be recognised. Only the researcher had access to the tape recordings of the interviews. These were destroyed after the research study was completed.

Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988) have also pointed out that the research procedures themselves might be harmful to the participants. They maintained that even simple interviewing procedures might have some harmful effects to the participants who had to 'relive' the abusive experiences by talking about the

abuse. Reamer (1998) concurred, stating that when an interview dealt with intimate and personal issues, the participants were likely to become upset or traumatised. The interviewer offered support and empathy during the interviews. Referrals for ongoing counselling to relevant welfare agencies including contact telephone numbers and contact persons were provided to participants as well as other information that they requested.

Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988) emphasised the importance of voluntary participation and informed consent. Participants were given all the information regarding the study in order to decide whether or not to participate in the study. Reamer (1998) elaborated that research participants should be made aware of the purposes, methods and risks associated with the study. Reamer (1998) also highlighted people's right to privacy. During the preliminary interviews the researcher fully informed all participants about the details of the study. Participants were also informed that they could chose not to answer any questions and could withdraw from the study at any time. Those participants who had initially agreed to participate in the study and later changed their minds, were not coerced in any way. The researcher respected their privacy and their decision not to participate.

One of the ethical controversies cited by Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988) centred on the remuneration of subjects. Some authors felt that the research subjects should be compensated for their time, effort and risk, while others have stated that the incentive of money or other incentives might be coercive and distort conditions of informed consent. In this study, research participants were not offered any remuneration in exchange for their participation in the research study.

Even though the researcher carefully considered ethical concerns, the possibility that certain issues were overlooked existed. The research study has been

supervised however, which ensured that the study was carried out in accordance with the strictest ethical codes.

4.10 Conclusion

The researcher has outlined the research strategy and design, as well as the sampling techniques utilised and the process of data collection. The study can be said to be limited in its generalisability due to the small purposive sample used. The study has however, achieved its purpose of providing insights into husband abuse due to the qualitative strategy, which was descriptive and exploratory in design. The study was shown to have been reliable and valid. The researcher has taken serious considerations of ethical issues, which have been reported on. The next two chapters provide an analysis of the results of the research study.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

THE NATURE OF HUSBAND ABUSE

5.1 Introduction

The following two chapters present an analysis of the research data. The researcher constructed certain categories by which analysis would be done. Marlow (1998) has defined researcher-constructed categories as categories that the researcher wanted to gain information about. These included types of abuse, effects of abuse, explanations of husband abuse, reasons why men remained in abusive relationships, survivors' coping strategies, assistance sought, and services required. The researcher was cognisant of other unforeseen categories that might emerge from the data. Marlow (1998) referred to such categories as indigenous categories. The two indigenous categories that emerged included that participants believed certain myths of abuse and that the cycle of abuse could be identified in the abusive relationships. Data were analysed using the guidelines offered by Hycner (1985), Miller (1986), Kvale (1996) and Miller (1998). The process of data analysis has been discussed in 4.5.

This chapter discusses the following: myths around abuse that emerged from participants, the cycle of abuse that was identified in participants' marriages, the types of abuse experienced by participants, the effects of the abuse on participants, participants' reasons for wanting to remain in their abusive marriages and their explanations for husband abuse. Before presenting this analysis of the research data, the researcher will provide a summary of the each participant. A more detailed discussion on the identified themes is then presented. In the interest of ensuring confidentiality and anonymity participants' names have been changed and certain experiences have been disguised.

5.2 Outline of Participants' Marital Circumstances

Participant 1:

Mark and his wife were both in their early 20's. The couple courted for three months and married when his wife became pregnant. At the time of the interview they had been married for 2 years. Mark described the relationship as being "rocky". The marital problems, which included lack of trust, dishonesty, family interference from both in-laws and an ineffective communication pattern, were pervasive throughout the marriage. According to Mark there were actually "very little good times". The physical and emotional abuse, which began shortly after they were married, occurred almost daily. The couple separated on numerous occasions, with the separations lasting between two weeks and three months. At the time of the study, the couple had been separated for three months following an abusive episode. Mark was in possession of a peace order against his wife while she had obtained a protection order against him. The details surrounding these will be discussed further on in the chapter. Mark was pessimistic about a reconciliation and any chance of experiencing a "normal marriage".

Participant 2:

Sipho, a middle-aged man, had been married for 20 years. At the time of the study he had four adult children, all of whom lived with him. Not a man of many words, Sipho described his marriage as being a happy one for many years. "We have the ups and downs. There are the small things that worry us from time to time, but its nothing. We are happy." The "small things" that he spoke of included financial problems during periods of unemployment, accommodation problems (as the couple did not have their own home for many year) and problems with their children, two of whom fell pregnant while at school and caused a tremendous financial burden on him. The sexual, physical and emotional abuse began one year ago. Sipho was overwhelmed but had no intention of ending the marriage, as he hopes that "things will get better".

Participant 3:

Andrew was married for 18 years and when the interview was conducted, was separated from his wife for 18 months. This was the only time the couple had ever been apart. He described himself as having been “blind” during the marriage. He had thought that it was a “nice marriage”, but over the last three years, he’s being “seeing things more clearly”. The marital relationship did undoubtedly have some strengths. According to him, the couple shared all household chores, were financially secure and engaged in frequent family activities. He has realised however that the marital difficulties far outweigh the positives. Most of the problems were around Andrew’s family of origin. His wife insisted that he have no contact with them, as she did not like them. She felt that they were trying to destroy the couple’s marriage. He was so scared of going against his wife’s orders that he didn’t even visit the area in which they lived. The couple had different parenting styles and his wife constantly undermined him as a parent. Andrew has also been emotionally abused for many years. There were few arguments however because Andrew was usually complacent and passive. He tried to “keep her happy” for many years, until he could not “put up with her any longer”. During this period of “resistance”, his wife began an extra-marital affair, which eventually led to the present separation. Andrew was adamant that he would never have left the marriage regardless of his wife’s behaviour. His wife falsely accused him of assaulting her and obtained a protection order against him. At the time of the study he was in the process of opposing the order.

Participant 4:

Peter was 38 years old and had been married for 12 years. He described his marriage as being a “good one”, even though his wife has always been controlling and domineering. She had been physically and emotionally abusive toward him. The other major difficulty that the couple had experienced had been infidelity on his wife’s part. She had two previous extra-marital affairs and was at the time of the study living with her third boyfriend. The last affair began one

year ago, during which time the abuse intensified. A deeply religious man, Peter doesn't believe in divorce. He has forgiven her for these affairs and even now, is prepared to take her back unconditionally.

Participant 5:

Junaid has one child and had been married for 8 years at the time that the interviews were conducted. The marriage had been an unstable one in that the couple had separated on five occasions. The marital problems were mostly related to in-laws, where his wife did not like his family of origin and tried to limit the amount of contact that Junaid had with them. The couple also have different religious beliefs and argued over religious practices. They were unable to resolve their problems and issues tended to recur. Junaid's wife wanted to have an abortion when the couple discovered that she was pregnant. He was strongly opposed to this and the ensuing disagreement regarding whether or not to proceed with the pregnancy resulted in a greater rift between the couple. The physical and emotional abuses were fairly frequent. The frequency of the abusive episodes ranged from occurring once a month to daily. The couple have been separated now for a period of one and a half years. Junaid left the marital home because he could not cope with the abuse any longer. He would have liked to reconcile if there was any chance that his wife would change. She had however begun a relationship with someone else at the time of the study, and the possibility of a reconciliation seemed unlikely.

Participant 6:

Siva was married for 25 years. The couple met through a mutual friend and he was uninterested initially in any romantic relationship with her. As he began to get to know her better, he became aware of the destructive and dysfunctional family that she came from. He felt sympathetic towards her and wanted to help her. Siva's family warned him against pursuing a relationship with her. They felt that she was "not the right person" for him. He admitted to having his own doubts but married her out of pity. During the courtship she had been

domineering. Once they married, she became emotionally abusive. The couple experienced financial problems, as his wife wants to keep up with the Jones'. These demands on Siva's salary usually resulted in the couple not being able to meet their basic needs. Communication between the couple was functional at best and they were unable to resolve any conflict in a peaceful manner. His wife was also emotionally abusive toward their three teenage children. The marital relationship was void of any intimacy or affection, and the couple have not shared a sexual relationship for more than 10 years. Siva stated as well, that his wife is sarcastic to his family and generally avoids them. The abuse has progressively worsened over time. He is scared of leaving his wife as she has threatened to harm him if he did. Siva feels however that he needs to break away from the abuse to save the children from her.

Participant 7:

Chris was married for 4 years and had a 2-year-old son. His family did not approve of his choice of partner, saying that she was an opportunist and was materialistic. In retrospect, he realised that his family's opinion of her was correct. Chris stated that at the time however, he was "blinded by love". Chris found that at the beginning of the marriage, his wife wanted to spend all her time with her family of origin, while completely ignoring his family to the extent that she didn't want the child to have any contact with them. Her dislike for his family was due to their attempts to dissuade Chris from marrying her. Eventually the couple began spending more time together and less time with her family of origin, although she still avoided his family. With the birth of the baby, Chris described a complete transformation in his wife and their marriage. She became emotionally and physically abusive, began spending a lot of time with her family (without him), and made decisions without consulting him. They separated earlier this year after she falsely accused him of assault and obtained a protection order. He did not feel safe living with her because he fears false allegations of assault whenever he challenges her.

Participant 8:

Aslam and his wife were high school sweethearts. They married shortly after completing high school and have three children. He said that there were many good times. They spent a lot of time together and although poor, always had everything they needed. His wife however disliked him spending any time with his friends. She complained that he drank too much when he was with them. He insisted that he has always been a social drinker and could count the number of times he has been really drunk. He eventually stopped drinking three years ago in an attempt to avoid further problems. Aslam was very involved in various charitable projects in his community. His wife objected to this, accusing him of having affairs. The couple's sexual relationship was unfulfilling because his wife did not want to engage in sexual intercourse. He described her, as being lazy as she rarely did any household chores, yet was fond of going out with friends without informing anyone of her whereabouts. At times the children were left unattended. After 15 years of marriage, she asked Aslam to leave the marital home on the basis that he was having an affair. At the time she indicated that she planned to divorce him. A year later, she has not proceeded with the divorce. Aslam continues to support his family and visits the children daily. Despite him living with his girlfriend at the time of the study, he was hopeful for a reconciliation. It would seem that although the girlfriend was a coping mechanism, he still greatly loved his wife.

Participant 9:

Ravi was in his second marriage. He met his current wife when he was in the process of divorce and found her to be very supportive. During the courtship, which lasted a year, she continued to be loving and caring, even though there were occasional violent outbursts on her part. She lied to him about various aspects of her past, including that she had three children from her previous marriages. He stated that he wanted to end the relationship when he eventually discovered that she had been lying, but that she emotionally blackmailed him into remaining in the relationship. According to him, this was the beginning of 10

years of manipulation. Once married, his wife quickly became controlling as well as financially, sexually, physically and emotionally abusive. The couple also had different lifestyles and expectations. He preferred spending time at home or with family, whilst she preferred going out. He was career orientated and believed in working hard, whilst she expected to live like the Jones' without working toward it. The couple also disagreed over parenting and discipline. As a result, the couple seemed to be in constant conflict. Due to a series of financial setbacks, Ravi's wife moved to Cape Town to seek employment. Even though they were apart at the time of the study, Ravi felt that he was still controlled by his wife. The couple remain legally married and Ravi was hopeful that she would change.

Participant 10:

Anil was married for 26 years. The couple had one child together and raised three children from his wife's previous relationship. The marriage had been characterised by constant problems and frequent separations, during which Anil has left the marital home for months at a time. His wife was physically and emotionally abusive and also had four extra-marital affairs during the marriage. He also described her as being "nasty" to their children and grandchildren. Whenever he tried to intervene and protect the children, his wife became upset with him. The couple were still together while the study was conducted but Anil planned on leaving the marriage in the near future.

Participant 11:

Eric and his wife were separated on numerous occasions during their 3 years of marriage. Generally she told him to leave the marital home during argument. Of recent however, Eric left the marital home to prevent being arrested. Eric's wife drank and smoked heavily. Despite various attempts on Eric's part to encourage her to reduce her intake or stop her habits, she continued with these. Many of the couple's arguments were about her drinking and smoking, or occurred when she had too much to drink. The physical and emotional abuse usually coincided with her drinking. The only other problem that the couple

experienced was that his wife accused him of having extra-marital affairs. At the time of the study the couple had been separated for one week. Eric was optimistic about reconciliation. He did not want to divorce and strongly believed that they could resolve their problems.

A summary of the status of each participant's marriage is reflected in the table below.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT	DURATION OF MARRIAGE	SEPARATED	DURATION OF SEPARATION
Mark	5 yrs	YES	3 months
Sipho	22 yrs	NO	-
Andrew	18 yrs	YES	18 months
Peter	12 yrs	YES	12 months
Junaid	8 yrs	YES	18 months
Siva	25 yrs	NO	-
Chris	4 yrs	YES	6 months
Aslam	15 yrs	YES	12 months
Ravi	10 yrs	NO	-
Anil	26 yrs	NO	-
Eric	3 yrs	YES	3 weeks

TABLE 5.1
PARTICIPANTS' MARITAL CIRCUMSTANCES
N = 11

5.3 Myths Regarding Domestic Violence

When working within the area of domestic violence, FAMSA (1997) have found that the victims and the community at large generally accepted certain myths about abuse to be true. As Caringella-MacDonald (in Cardarelli, 1997) pointed out such myths around domestic violence were dangerous, as it tended to blame

the victim and rationalise the abuse. These authors, together with Roberts (in Roberts, 1996), Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) and Angless (in Gray, 1998) highlighted some of the commonly held myths. These included that victims of domestic violence deserved the abuse and “asked for it” in some way, that alcohol, drugs and stress caused abuse, that abuse only happened to poor, uneducated and black women and his father beat his mother so he beats his wife. It is interesting to note that the last myth highlighted was an example of the social learning theory used to explain why spousal abuse occurs. This theory has been discussed in chapter two. This statement is a myth not only because it postulated that children who grew up in violent homes became abusive adults, but also because it is assumed that only women were abused within domestic relationships. The same is true for the second last myths mentioned above. In analysing the data, the researcher identified that some of the participants of the study believed two of these myths: that drinking/drugging caused abuse and that the victim provoked the abuse.

The first myth related to alcohol and drugs being the cause of abuse. This was strongly evident in Eric’s account of his experiences. As indicated by the following account, he believed that his wife’s abusive behaviour was related to her drinking:

“You know, when she’s not drinking, we’re fine. Even if she has a few drinks, things are okay. Its only when she’s had too much (to drink), that she gets aggressive... Or if she wants money for beers and I don’t have any, then we fight... I really think once she sorts out the drinking, everything will work out.”

This was supported by Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) who found that victims typically reported that the abusive episodes increased with heavy drinking or drugging. Angless (in Gray, 1998) and Padayachee and Pillay (1993) explained that alcohol and drugs was a precipitating factor in domestic violence in the

sense that these substances made a person lose their inhibitions. However alcohol and drugs did not cause the abusive behaviour. These authors have pointed out that many chemically dependant people were in fact not abusers and only a small percentage of abusers were actually substance abusers. This was further supported by the study conducted by Dobash and Dobash in which alcohol abuse was a factor in only 25% of the cases (Miller and Wellford, in Cardarelli, 1997). The study in turn provided support for the contention that substance abuse was not the cause for domestic violence as it was a factor in only one participant's experience. Eric was surprised to learn that all of the other participants' wives did not take any drugs. He found it difficult to explain what made those women abusive. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) explained that belief in this myth helped the survivors cope as it gave them hope that the abuse would stop. The victims tended to believe that the abuse would stop if the use of alcohol or other drugs ceased.

Many of the participants felt responsible for the abuse, which pointed to the second myth that emerged in the study. Anil, like many of the other research participants and victims of abuse in general, believed that his actions had in some way provoked the abusive episodes. He accepted blame for the abuse in the relationship and felt that perhaps if he had behaved differently, his wife might not have abused him. This was consistent with Fleming (1979), Mullender (1996) and Gardner (1996) who observed that victims often internalised the blame for the abuse and frequently felt guilty about provoking the abuse. Anil reflected on this:

'I don't know if it's me. Maybe it's me. I mean that's always what she says. 'You're to blame!' 'You are useless! If it wasn't for you, I'd be living fine.' I don't know. Maybe I do make her mad. Maybe it's my fault. But what should I do? Maybe I could have done things differently. I don't know.'

The self-doubt and confusion about whether he had indeed provoked the abuse was clear. Many authors such as Fleming (1979), Renzetti (1992), Wiehe (1994) and FAMSA (1997) have emphasised that perpetrators went to great lengths to make the victims feel that they were responsible for the abuse. The victim and society at large tended to blame the victim for provoking the abuse in some way (Mafokane, 1997). The authors added that the reality was that victims often went to great lengths to pacify the abuser and tried in various ways not to provoke an abusive episode. This was consistent with the research participants, who spoke of their desperate attempts to avoid upsetting or challenging their wives. An example of such behaviour was Andrew who had no contact with his family for many years and even avoided the neighbourhood they lived in. As Mullender (1996) and Ferraro (in Cardarelli, 1997) pointed out however, victims realised after some time that regardless of their attempts, they could not prevent further abuse.

5.4 The Cycle of Abuse

The cycle of abuse, first identified by L. Walker, described the three stages of abuse: the tension build up stage, the abusive stage and the honeymoon stage (Fedler, 1999) and Roberts (in Roberts, 1996). This cycle of abuse is widely accepted by professionals working in the field of domestic violence and can be identified in all abusive relationships. Refer to figure 5.1 below. Even though the participants themselves did not identify the cycle of abuse in their lives, their descriptions of their experiences clearly demonstrated the cycle of abuse within female perpetrated domestic violence. Participants talked about knowing that their wives were angry/upset, sensing that they were moody or irritable, and that they felt anxious and tense. This could be regarded as the tension build up stage (Fedler, 1999). Then the abusive episode would follow, where their wives would be abusive toward them – physically, sexually, financially, emotionally or verbally. The abusive stage varied and lasted for a few minutes, a few days or even weeks (FAMSA, 1997). In this study, participants reported that the abusive

episode lasted for a few days at the most. The abusive episode was followed by a period of calm when the relationship progressed smoothly and both the victim and perpetrator seemed happy. This was essentially the honeymoon stage. Mark described what the honeymoon stage was like in his abusive marriage:

“Friday is pay day. She was always nice to me. From about Thursday, she started being nicer. Whatever happened during the week, on Friday morning she’ll wake up early, make lunch for me, and give me tea before work. She’ll even kiss me goodbye. Ha! Other days she couldn’t care less.”

Mark could clearly identify the difference in his wife between the abusive and honeymoon stages. It would appear that he has come to view the behaviours she displayed during the honeymoon stage with scepticism, knowing that she would soon revert to the abusive behaviours. Generally during the honeymoon stage, Padayachee and Pillay (1993) and Fedler (1999) stated that during the honeymoon stage, the perpetrator usually showered the victim with love and affection. S/He may buy the victim gifts; show remorse for the abuse, and usually made promises to change. Abusers however, never accepted responsibility for the abuse but instead justified and rationalised their behaviour, while projecting blame onto the victim. Alternatively, the abuser pretended as though nothing happened and continued as normal. In the researcher’s own experience of working with abusive relationships, perpetrators of domestic violence tended to show remorse and attempted to make up for the abuse even though they never accepted responsibility. Perpetrators bought the victims gifts, helped with household chores or were very loving toward their partners. One significant difference between the participants in the study and female victims of abuse was that the participants’ wives never actually apologised or showed any remorse for their behaviour in any way. For the participants’ in the study there were no justifications or rationalisations (even with projected blame onto the victim). None of the participants reported that their wives actually acknowledged

that their behaviour had in some way been inappropriate. Instead perpetrators pretended as if the abusive episode never occurred. Perpetrators would become loving or affectionate.

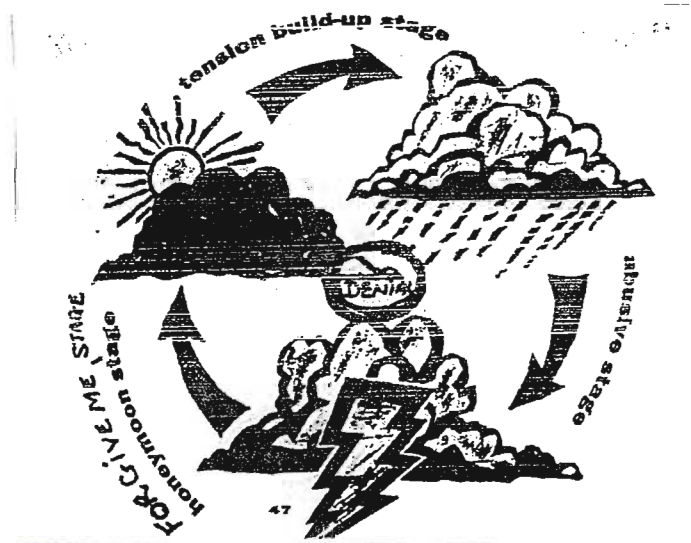


Figure 5.1

THE CYCLE OF ABUSE

Wiehe (1994) and FAMSA (1997) have pointed out that in some relationships, particularly where the violence had been longstanding, the cycle of abuse might not contain the honeymoon stage at all. Instead, the relationship alternated between the tension build-up stage and the abusive stage. In some cases the cycle became stuck on one stage, either the tension build-up or abusive stages, but never on the honeymoon stage. This was evident in the marriages of the two participants who had been married for 25 and 26 years. Siva and Anil concurred that the abuse they experienced had increased in frequency and severity of the last few years. Their marital relationships were constantly tense and no longer contained the honeymoon stage. Anil described what the tension build-up stage in his marriage was like:

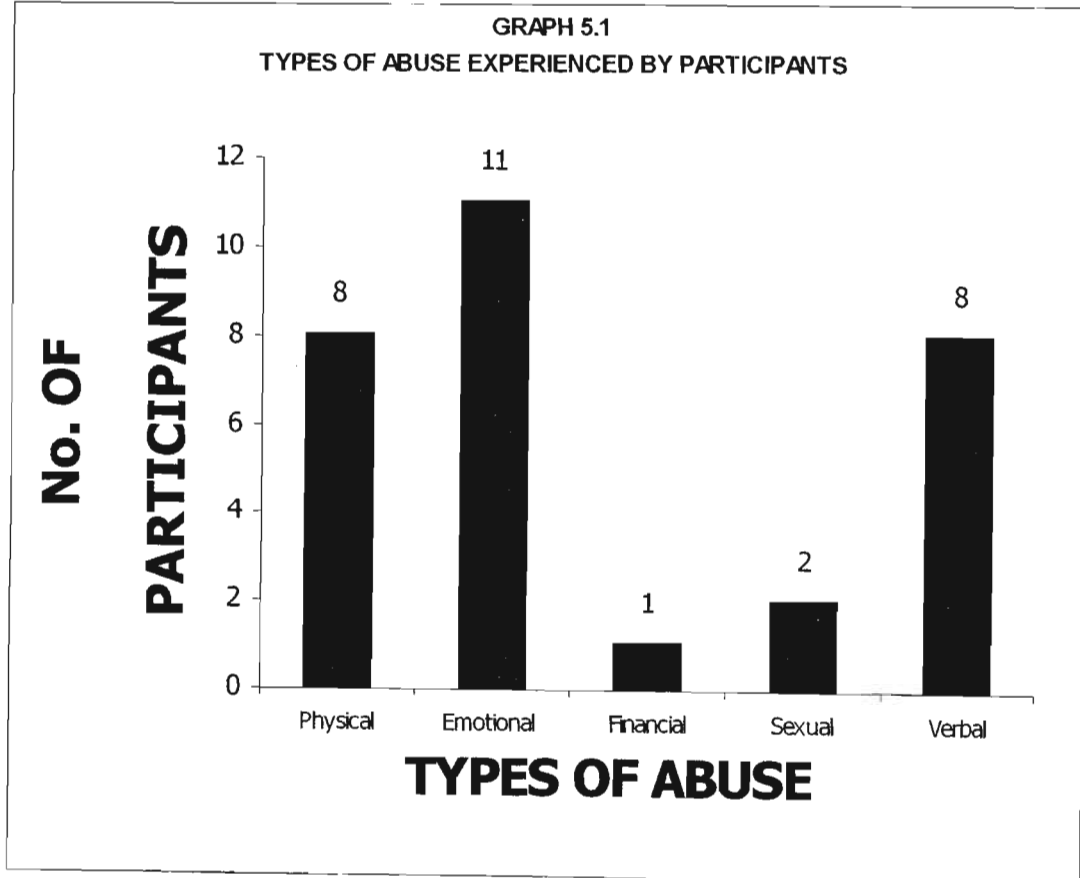
“She is never nice. I fear her all the time... You never really know what she’ll be angry about, but it’s something. She must find something to be angry about. Then she’ll blow. I can’t remember

when last we had a good day... No. Maybe when the children were small. Doesn't matter if it's Diwali, Christmas, whatever."

5.5 Types of Abuse

An analysis of the research data showed that the participants experienced physical, emotional, verbal, sexual and financial abuse. Most of the participants experienced more than one form of abuse, with all participants having experienced emotional abuse. This was consistent with Fleming (1979), Padayachee and Pillay (1993), Wiehe (1994), and Mullender (1996) who stated that emotional abuse often accompanied all other forms of abuse. All participants experienced chronic abuse, which was defined by Leeds (quoted by Renzetti, 1992) as abuse that has occurred more than twice, thereby demonstrating a pattern of destructive behaviour. It was interesting to note that although some participants experienced abuse during the courtship as well, the majority of them did not regard those abusive behaviours that occurred during the courtship as being abusive. Only those participants such as Ravi, who experienced physical abuse during the courtship, identified that they had been abused during the courtship. Padayachee and Pillay (1993), Wiehe (1994) and Gardner (1996) supported that the abusive behaviour frequently began during the courtships but highlighted that in most cases, the victim did not view the behaviour as abuse. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) pointed out some of the early warning signs that a relationship might become abusive. These included what he called intrusion, isolation, possession and jealousy. Intrusion was defined as the perpetrator wanting to know the victim's whereabouts and activities. Isolation started off as the perpetrators wanting to spend every minute together with the victim. Gradually, the victim is discouraged from maintaining any relationships with others including family and friends. Possession is the belief that the victim belongs to the perpetrator. This is often demonstrated in the perpetrators telling the victim what to do, because s/he feels that s/he has the right to do so. Jealousy can be regarded as a warning sign of a relationship

becoming abusive when it exceeded reason. As the author stressed however, the difficulty in identifying a perpetrator in the early stages of a relationship was related to the general expectation that courtships were supposed to embody the very elements of intrusion, isolation, possession and jealousy discussed above. Society generally regarded behaviours such as wanting to spend a lot of time together and feeling jealous as a normal part of love and infatuation. This might explain why the participants of the study did not regard their wives as having been abusive during the courtship, even though they described their wives as having been controlling and domineering. As defined by Roos (1990) and Jukes (1999) in chapter two, abuse is any controlling act, where the abuser uses various ways to control the victim. All the participants in the study described their wives as being controlling and domineering. Refer to graph 5.1 below for the number of participants who experienced each type of abuse. Each type of abuse will be discussed separately.



5.5.1 Physical Abuse

Wiehe (1994) and FAMSA (1997) defined physical abuse as hitting, slapping, kicking, throwing the spouse to the floor and/or assault with a weapon. Mullender (1996) added that threats of abuse could also be regarded as physical abuse. Fleming (1979) and Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) have contended that women cannot possibly injure men to the same extent that men can and do injure women. Eight of the participants experienced physical abuse, ranging from mildly aggressive physical behaviours such as pushing and shoving, to more severe forms of assault including hitting the victim with an object and knocking the victim down. Some of the incidences of physical abuse that will be discussed below can indeed be regarded as severe. Despite the generally lower levels of injury resulting from an attack from a woman as compared to an attack from a man, Straus (in Gelles and Loseke, 1993: 67) maintained that husband abuse was none-the-less a serious problem "just as it would be if men "only" slapped their wives". If minor assaults were condoned one would reinforce that 'the marriage license is a hitting license'. Wiehe (1994) stated that the extent of the injury was not a criterion for establishing whether abuse has occurred. This is evident in domestic violence laws such as the Domestic Violence Act of 1998, which did not only include severe forms of aggression. The Act makes provision for hitting, slapping, shoving, threats of violence and other so called minor acts of violence to be included as a form of abuse (Kooverjee, 1999). As pointed out by Hague and Malos (1993) and Jukes (1999) the injury itself was not the purpose of the abuse, but such acts were carried out with the intention of controlling the victim. We therefore need to focus on the impact of the violent acts on the victim and the marriage rather than the extent of the injury. Straus (in Gelles and Loseke, 1993) also pointed out that these so-called minor acts of violence placed women in danger of more severe retaliation from their male partners. Table 5.2 below presents a summary of the types of physical abuse experienced by the research participants.

TYPES OF PHYSICAL ABUSE EXPERIENCED	* NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
Threat of assault/murder	2
Personal belongings destroyed	1
Burnt	1
Use of 3 rd party to assault	2
Hit, slapped, punched	2
Objects thrown	4
Attacked with a weapon (an actual weapon or an object that was used as a weapon, such as a knife)	6

TABLE 5.2
TYPES OF PHYSICAL ABUSE EXPERIENCED BY PARTICIPANTS
N = 11

* Multiple responses allowed

FAMSA (1997) and Fedler (1999) pointed out that the use of a third party to threaten or assault a victim was also regarded as physical abuse. Two participants reported that their wives used other people to threaten and/or assault them. Mark experienced many threats from his wife's friends, acquaintances and relatives. He expressed confusion around this:

"I don't know what she goes around telling people. Next thing I know, I'm the bad one. Her families come and threaten me and all. Her brother-in-law hit me once. Her boss phones me all the time. If we have a fight or something the day before, the next day he phones me and tells me to leave her alone, otherwise he will "teach me a lesson". What kind of a boss is he? When I was walking home one day, I was coming through a pathway, two guys gave me a terrible hiding and told me to leave her alone."

During one of the couple's many arguments, Mark's father-in-law, who was said to have been encouraged by his wife, hit him. The assault was so severe that he sustained a ruptured eardrum and a shattered kneecap. Although he defended himself against injury, he did not attack his father-in-law out of respect for an elderly person.

Ravi's first experience of physical abuse occurred during the courtship. He was bewildered by the experience and had difficulty believing what he was experiencing throughout the relationship. On two occasions however, Ravi retaliated during the abuse. Ferraro (in Cardarelli, 1997) observed that one strategy of survival for victims of abuse was to selectively fight back to demonstrate their resistance and their lack of acceptance of the abuse. The author found however that it was generally ineffective in putting an end to the violence and in some cases could actually escalate the violence experienced. Ravi's experience supported this:

"The first time it shocked her. I slapped her back while she was carrying on. I could see it in her eyes. She never expected it. I just wanted it to stop. She stopped but I didn't like what I was doing so I stopped. We were brought up believing that you treated women with great respect. My father always told us never to lift a hand to a woman. I promised myself I would never do it again. The second time, we were driving. I'm not sure where we were coming from; I think we were going home. Anyway, we started arguing about something. I don't even remember what. All of a sudden she took a beer bottle and hit me on the side of my head. Hey, what a shock I got. I didn't even know what happened. I almost lost control of the car. Hey, I swore at her. I mean, what the hell was she thinking? You can't just do that while we're driving. Man she started hitting me ... punching. And the children were even there. Gees. I just drove straight home."

Ravi continued to be passive even when he was seriously physically assaulted. On the one occasion his wife came at him with a knife. He sustained scratches and lacerations to his arms and shoulder while trying to defend himself and remove the knife from her. The second serious incident was when his wife burnt him with cigarettes on his hands and legs while they were lying in bed together. On this occasion, Ravi was stunned into inaction for a few seconds. He then tried to stop her from burning him but that was not before she managed to burn him at least 6 times on his hands and legs. Ravi's response was similar to many of the other participants in the study who generally passively 'accepted' the abuse. Most participants attributed this to beliefs against violence and for the need to treat women with respect.

Peter recalled four attempts of physical assault, during which he dodged and tried to escape from his wife. She frequently threw objects such as ornaments and shoes at him or around the room when they argued. The most serious incident was when she picked up a knife and came at him. Believing that she was capable of attacking him with the weapon, he ran into his car and locked the car doors to hide from her. His wife followed him and banged at the windows and door trying to get at him. He felt intense fear and in a sense could not believe what was happening. Peter related the incident as follows:

"I was so scared. I kept thinking that she would break the windows or somehow manage to get inside. She swore and cursed, called me all kinds of names. Banged on the windows. I was terrified. I couldn't believe it was happening. My God I would never have even dreamt of doing something like that to her... Even when she had the first affair, I was so hurt. People told me I should have hit her but I couldn't. That's not me. And here she was trying to kill me, swearing me... After a good couple hours she got tired I think,

and went inside. I waited for a few hours in the car, in case she was waiting for me inside. Then I went in.”

As shown in table 5.2 two participants, namely Mark and Junaid also experienced, what they perceived to be attempted murders. Mark's wife attempted to poke him on a few occasions and threw ornaments, shoes, and utensils at him. He sustained a number of scratches as a result. Junaid explained that these life-threatening attacks resulted in a sense of complete instability and perpetual tension in the marriage. He never knew how she would react in an argument. This instability is a characteristic of the tension build-up stage discussed in section 5.4 above. Padayachee and Pillay (1993) and FAMSA (1997) found that victims often experienced the tension-build up stage like walking on eggshells. Victims felt very insecure and a perpetual state of anxiety. Some victims have reported that they wished that the abusive episode would “be over and done with” rather than waiting anxiously and nervously for this to happen.

As the relationship progressed, the abusive episodes in Junaid's marriage, which initially occurred only in private, occurred more frequently in public as well. Towards the end of the marriage, as the arguments and abuse became more frequent, she repeatedly threatened to kill him. The increase in frequency and severity of the abuse that Junaid spoke of was common amongst half of the sample as well and has been supported by Wiehe (1994), Mullender (1996) and Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997). Anil's experience was a striking example of this. The abuse that he experienced included being punched, hit with objects (shoes, dishes, utensils, sticks), being scratched, his personal belongings (clothes and other things he bought) being torn, broken, or given away. The most severe of these was when his wife took an iron pipe and hit him during one of their frequent fights. He needed medical attention and was taken by neighbours to the hospital. He received seven stitches on his head. In all of these attacks, Anil has never retaliated against his wife. He has defended himself, tried to take

weapons away from her and run away from her. This type of self-defensive behaviour that was reported by Anil as well as other research participants was consistent with the study conducted by Renzetti (1992). In her study with 100 lesbian couples, she found that the majority of victims (64) engaged in self-defensive behaviour including pushing the abuser away, holding the abuser's arms to prevent being hit and blocking punches. The escalation of violence that some participants experienced was concordant with chronic abuse, which Leeds (quoted by Renzetti, 1992) stated usually escalated over time and might lead to life-threatening situations.

5.5.2 Emotional and Verbal Abuse

Emotional abuse has been defined by Wiehe (1994) and FAMSA (1997) in chapter two as ridicule, insults, accusations, repeated infidelity and ignoring one's partner, resulting in an erosion of the victim's self worth and self esteem. Verbal abuse is when the abuser called the victim names and insulted him (FAMSA, 1997 and Fedler, 1999). Due to the similarity in these types of abuse, the researcher will discuss the verbal and emotional abuse experienced by participants within the same section. Anil, who was married for the longest time in the study, felt that his entire relationship with his wife had been an abusive one. He related that:

"It started while we were courting. She was authoritative, dictatorial, and argumentative. I thought it would change once we were married, she'd feel more secure and wouldn't boss me around. But as soon as we married, BAM! (Clapping his hand) She started. I think it was even the wedding day. Ja, the night. Oh she was angry. Somebody said this. Somebody did that. What a night! What a honeymoon I had!" he said sarcastically.

The above experience clearly shows once again that abuse did in some cases begin during the courtship. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) identified four elements of an abusive relationship: intrusion, isolation, possession and jealousy. These have been explained in chapter two. The elements of intrusion and possession within an abusive relationship were supported by the research participants' experiences. A common experience for most participants was that their wives attempted to and in many cases were successful in preventing any contact between them and their families of origin. The details of the conflict between the perpetrators and their in-laws have been outlined in section 5.2. Andrew's wife belittled his family and accused him of sleeping with his sisters. FAMSA (1997) and Fedler (1999) found that perpetrator's often mocked the victim's family and insulted them, as they knew the impact it would have on the victim. Andrew's wife did not allow him to have any contact with his family of origin. She ensured this by monitoring his every move to the extent that she told friends to inform her of his whereabouts. This was consistent with intrusion discussed above. Andrew felt compelled to lie and devise plans to enable him to see his family. Such visits were however very seldom because of Andrew's fear of being found out. Even during the courtship, Chris' wife controlled where they went and with whom they socialised. After they got married, she didn't want any contact with his friends because she did not like them. She refused his family access to their child and did not allow them to visit the couple at their marital home. As Chris explained:

"My family stayed away. They didn't want to cause problems. I allowed it, wanting to keep her family away too. You know her family's a bad influence. So I thought, well, if both families are away, we'll live nicely... Do you know, my family didn't see my child until she was three months old? Her family never stayed away. In fact she spent even more time with them!"

Andrew's wife controlled him to the extent that she chose what clothes he should wear each day and boasted how she dressed "her one". She often criticised what she considered to be his poor dress sense, which made him feel humiliated. Andrew stated that she often referred to him as "her one" in front of her friends. "I hated it! She would say, 'My one did this and my one is like that...'" This always made him feel like an object, as if she owned him. This was consistent with the belief of ownership of one's partner (possession). Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) elaborated that the perpetrator often felt as though s/he had the right to tell the victim what to do. This was further supported by the participants' experiences. Andrew's wife hindered him from practising his religious beliefs. Andrew was born a Christian and practised his religious teachings for many years. During the courtship the couple had decided to hold a Christian wedding ceremony and practise Christianity thereafter. However, once the couple married, she continued practising Islam, while Andrew was not allowed to continue with his religious practices. His wife reared the children in accordance with her beliefs and completely disregarded Andrew's beliefs. She went to the extent of throwing away many of his Bibles until eventually he "gave up" and followed her religion "just to keep the peace". The pattern of keeping the peace was common for Andrew, who for most of his marriage, avoided conflict at all costs. He was scared of confrontation, particularly since his wife usually won all the arguments. He maintained that even when he was right, his wife never admitted it.

All the research participants were generally spoken to by their wives in a demeaning manner. Most of the perpetrators were vulgar in their speech and regularly swore during arguments. The emotional abuse included participants being frequently embarrassed in public, called vulgar or derogatory names, told that they were "useless", "worthless", "stupid" and "not a man" and told hurtful things about their family. Andrew stated that:

“Most of the time when we fight, she says some really dirty things. You know ... Hey, I’m telling you. Some filthy things. She says I must sleep with my mother and ... hey, can you imagine that! She’s especially nasty in front of family, friends and neighbours. My habits, my hygiene, clothing, everything wasn’t how she liked. She always had something to say. And she knew just when to say it – early mornings, when everyone is leaving for work. Oh boy! She would scream outside. I just wanted to go into the ground!”

Andrew’s experience shows the embarrassment and humiliation that victims feel. Two participants were often accused of having affairs. In the researcher’s experience, perpetrators frequently accused their victims of flirting, promiscuous behaviour or of being unfaithful. Andrew felt certain that he did not give his wife any reason to feel insecure or to be suspicious of him. She picked on him being too friendly with females, such that he eventually avoided talking to women to prevent problems. Andrew related how his wife began painting a picture of him being a womaniser:

“She was sick, man. She actually went to the extent of putting condoms in my wallet. Actually planting it! Then she will go through my things and find it. Oh boy! Then she’ll take it to the children and show them, saying, ‘Your father is disgraceful! Look what he’s doing! He doesn’t have brains!’ Oh man! It wouldn’t stop. I used to feel so embarrassed. I mean you can’t tell things like that to the children. They just look at me. They’re probably thinking she’s right.”

Andrew, who was generally passive, usually responded by being silent. He said he did this out of embarrassment but also because he knew that he could never have won the argument. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997), who observed that victims of domestic violence typically responded with a sense of helplessness, shock and confusion, contended that victims’ reactions could be likened to those

victims who had experienced a traumatic event such as crime or a natural disaster. The effects of the abuse on the victim will be elaborated on in section 5.6.

Peter's experience of emotional abuse differed from the other participants in the sense that his wife, who had three affairs (that he is aware of) while they were together, was indiscreet about these. He was extremely hurt and humiliated that she spoke to her boyfriends on the telephone while he was in the same room, said affectionate things to them as well as talked about their sexual exploits together. She repeatedly told Peter that he was a poor lover, and that her boyfriend was better in bed than he was. She related in detail to him about the kinds of sex games that she played with them. This demonstrated complete disregard for his feelings.

Mark, Aslam and Chris reported that their wives emotionally blackmailed them. Their wives threatened to leave them and take the children with, if they didn't give in to what they wanted. Gardner (1996) and Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) observed that perpetrators frequently threatened to take the children away from the victim. This threat served as a form of emotional blackmail and ensured that the victim complied with the perpetrator's demands. Chris was distraught as he spoke of the anxiety of never knowing when his wife would take the child and go.

"You see, I love the child. Sometimes people don't understand what fathers go through. Its not only mothers who take care of children. I know many men who are better parents than the wives. My wife threatened to go away with the child a number of times. She'd say, "You'll never see her again!" So, because I don't want her to take the child away, I go along with her ... Some days I'd come home and she wouldn't be there. After a long day at work, you look forward to seeing your wife and child. She'd come home

from her parents' house at seven, eight o' clock. Some days she didn't even come back. And she won't even phone. I must phone and then she'll say she's coming home "just now". Ha! "Just now" means an hour or two later. Other days, she'll stay at her father's house. I sometimes didn't see my child for 2 weeks."

These participants felt that their wives used the children to either hurt or manipulate them. They also felt that they would not stand a good chance of obtaining custody of their children and realised that there was not much that could be done to ensure access, so they tried to pacify their wives most of the time. They knew they were being emotionally blackmailed but saw no alternative but to give in to their wives. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) and Fedler (1999) maintained that victims often felt that their choices were limited and therefore complied with the abuser and remained in the abusive relationship.

There was a consensus amongst the participants that the emotional abuse they experienced was more severe than the other forms of abused experienced. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) quoted Jones and Schechter who reported that victims of domestic violence often experienced physical and emotional abuse as more painful and damaging even when the physical abuse was quite severe. Whereas physical wounds healed with time, victims felt unable to break free from the emotional abuse played like a tape in the victims' minds. Aslam described how the emotional abuse affected him:

"Hey, the words she uses, man! For a lady to talk like that! I don't even think I can talk like that.... You know if someone, your wife hits you, ja sure, that's embarrassing. (He laughed awkwardly.) But you know the words, hey man, they are really hurting."

5.5.3 Sexual Abuse

Male and female sex roles are prescribed by society. Women have traditionally been socialised into a role of passivity, where she had to be coy and await a man to take initiative (Koooverjee, 1999). Men on the other hand, are socialised into being sexual aggressors. It is seen as being manly to have had many sexual partners. As much as the traditional sex roles have been evolving over time, many would agree that in many sects of society, the old sex roles are still largely prevalent. It would therefore seem peculiar to find a man who was experiencing sexual abuse. Yet, this is precisely what two participants reported. FAMSA (1997) and Fedler (1999) viewed sexual abuse as the perpetrator demanding any sexual activity without the victims' consent, forcing the victim to engage in a sexual act with which they are not comfortable or any act that humiliates the sexual integrity of another person. Sexual abuse may include marital rape and sexual assault. Ravi felt that his wife was sexually abusive in the sense that she withheld sex to get what she wanted. She flirted and teased him but did not allow sexual contact, until he gave into her demands. The demands were usually related to finances. Ravi explained that the couple had a very fulfilling sexual relationship and that his wife knew the kind of hold she had over him. Even at the time the interviews were conducted, he reported that he was still sexually attracted to her and would do just about anything for her.

“We sometimes are in bed and she'll demand certain things – usually money, anything really. I can't say 'no' to her. She has me turned on. And she knows it! Boy does she know it. When I think about it I feel stupid but I want her so much that I do give in to anything. She really knows how to manipulate me.”

Sipho found his sexual relationship with his wife to be very fulfilling and enjoyable but there were days when he was tired or not feeling well, and did not want to engage in sexual activity. According to him, his wife did not like to be

turned down at all. His wife called him a “bastard” and accused him of having extramarital affairs whenever he did not want to engage in sexual intercourse with her. On one occasion, Siphos wife poked him with a screwdriver on his hand. It was a superficial wound for which he did not obtain medical treatment. Siphos explained that hitting women has been strongly condemned in his family so he would never contemplate such action. When the abuse became more frequent however he retaliated on one occasion in an attempt to stop the abuse but found that this only aggravated the situation. His wife became more angry and aggressive. He then decided rather to try to protect himself and not retaliate. Padayachee and Pillay (1993) and Wiehe (1994) supported that physical abuse did sometimes accompany sexual abuse, where the perpetrator used violence, or the threat of violence to force the victim into performing certain sexual acts. Siphos related one such incident:

“Eish! If I’m tired, I must know there’ll be trouble. Sometimes she want the thing (sex) everyday or more than one time in the night. She tell me I must come to the bed early. I don’t feel like it. Then she take the bushknife. She come for me. I run outside. The children, they stand that side by the door. They tell the mother not to do this thing. But she chase me round the house. Eish, this is the serious thing!”

5.5.4 Financial Abuse

Ravi was the only research participant to experience financial abuse. Wiehe (1994) and Fedler (1999) defined economic abuse as withholding financial support or maintaining tight control over financial resources. In some instances, the financial abuse is so severe that money for basic necessities such as medical care is denied (FAMSA, 1997). Ravi received a lump sum of money after being retrenched from work. This was placed into his wife’s account with the understanding that he would have control over this money. Both spouses

were unemployed at the time. Once the money was deposited into her account however, his wife maintained firm control over the finances. Ravi was forced to beg her for money whenever he required it. Sometimes she gave him the money that he wanted, while at other times she bluntly refused. He related however that he never obtained money without begging for it, even if he needed a few rands to buy a packet of cigarettes. His wife however spent the money lavishly, purchasing various items for herself and for her family of origin. Within a short space of time the money was depleted. The financial abuse continued however because she was successful in obtaining a job while Ravi continued to be unemployed. Once again Ravi was forced to beg for anything he wanted. As discussed in chapter 2, financial abuse is frequently not recognised as a form of abuse. Yet, it is evident in Ravi's case that financial abuse had as severe effects on him, as the other forms of abuse has had. By withholding finance from him, his wife was able to control and disempower him. The following table presents a summary of the types of abuse experienced by each participant.

PARTICIPANTS	TYPES OF ABUSE				
	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Financial	Verbal
Mark	✓	✓			✓
Sipho	✓	✓	✓		
Andrew		✓			✓
Peter	✓	✓			
Junaid	✓	✓			✓
Siva		✓			
Chris	✓	✓			
Aslam		✓			
Ravi	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Anil	✓	✓			
Eric	✓	✓			

TABLE 5.3
TYPES OF ABUSE EXPERIENCED BY EACH PARTICIPANT
N = 11

5.6 Effects of Abuse

There were many ways in which the participants of the study were affected by the abuse they experienced. The researcher has broadly classified as the effects as psychological, health, self-concept, work-related, emotional, and effects on the marital relationship. There were many similarities between the effects that domestic violence has on female victims and on the participants in the study.

5.6.1 Psychological effects

Participants reported a broad range of psychological effects. Similar psychological effects have been identified in female victims of violence. Most participants reported becoming withdrawn from friends and family. They

generally felt too embarrassed about the abuse to go out in public, were isolated from their friends and families of origin by the abuser or they felt so overwhelmed with the problems that they did not want to face the world and be a part of it. Five of the participants reported feeling depressed and two participants were on medication (antidepressants) from their doctors. The medication that Chris was taking at the time of the study had really helped him regain control of his life. He related how he felt soon after his wife left:

“After she left, I stayed at home for days. I didn’t bathe or shave or anything. I looked like hell. Just lay on the bed. Don’t think I ate for days. Couldn’t even go to work. Didn’t put the lights on, didn’t draw the curtains. Just stayed in bed, wanting to die.”

The feelings of depression and becoming withdrawn were identified by Mullender (1996) and Stephens and McDonald (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) as typical reactions of victims experiencing domestic violence. The Advice Desk for the Abuse in Durban, reported that 75% of abused men used tranquillisers or antidepressants with one third of them being clinically depressed (Copeland, 2002(b)). A further 55% of abused men had attempted suicide and 33% turned to alcohol to help them cope. The majority of the participants had suicidal thoughts when they felt that they were unable to cope with the abuse. Stephens and McDonald (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) postulated that the suicidality might be linked to the victims being depressed. Junaid recalled that almost 6 months ago he sat in his toilet wanting to kill himself, as he could no longer manage the intense pain he felt. This was similar to most of the participants who contemplated suicide at some point during the abuse. Ravi however, was the only participant who attempted suicide. He slit his wrists once during an argument with his wife.

“I wanted to get her attention...stop her from torturing me, show her how it affected me. She just looked at me, turned and walked

away... I really wanted to die then. I went to the doctor myself. She didn't even come with me. She didn't even care. I came back from the doctor and she wasn't even home."

Others experienced a loss in appetite. "I didn't feel like eating. Sometimes days would go by and I wouldn't want to eat." This was a common statement among those who experienced a loss in appetite. Anil's reasons for rarely eating were different however. He was afraid that his wife might poison his food.

Six participants reported sleep disturbances. They had difficulty falling off to sleep or had interrupted sleep during the course of the night. They found themselves overwhelmed with the problems and unable to concentrate on anything else. Angless (in Gray, 1998) and Stephens and McDonald (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) asserted that many victims of abuse experienced the effects of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The symptoms of sleep disturbances and changes in appetite were consistent with some of the symptoms of PTSD. Consistent with Anil's experience however, his lack of sleep was related to his fear that his wife would harm him. He rarely slept as he felt that he needed to be vigilant in case she attempted to kill him.

Other psychological reactions to the abuse that the participants experienced included feeling stressed, overwhelmed, anxious and tense at home, being afraid of the future and the unknown, feeling angry and memory loss. This response was consistent with the findings of Padayachee and Pillay (1993). Ravi and Aslam for example, had difficulty remembering some of the details of their marriages. Anil found that he was easily irritated and angered, particularly by his wife. However he never displayed his feelings toward her for fear of retaliation. Mark related that he craved love and attention because of all that he endured. He felt very lonely.

5.6.2 Effects on physical health

Mullender (1996) observed that victims of domestic violence often complained of various physical ailments. Participants also suffered what can be regarded as psychosomatic illnesses. About four participants regularly suffered from severe headaches. Such psychosomatic illnesses were very common among abused women (FAMSA, 1997). For Anil, who was diagnosed as epileptic 2 years ago, the abusive relationship he was in increased the frequency of epileptic fits. Two of the other participants also developed high blood pressure, which they attributed directly to their marital situation. Some participants also sustained injuries as a result of the physical abuse they experienced. This was consistent with Stephens and McDonald's study (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) who found that victims' physical health suffered greatly as a result of the abuse. Generally all participants found that their health had deteriorated in some way.

5.6.3 Effects on self-esteem

Participants' feelings of self worth were severely affected. Their self-esteem and self-confidence were diminished. They reported feeling "like garbage", "like a failure", "rejected" and "worthless". Wiehe (1994), Mullender (1996) and FAMSA (1997) confirmed that victims' self-esteem was always negatively affected by the abuse. Mark's feelings of self worth were so low that he frequently wondered whether anyone would love him again or whether every woman was going to treat him in the same manner. In the researcher's experience, making the victim feel bad about himself enabled the perpetrator to continue her hold over the victim. If the victim felt worthless, then it was unlikely that he would ever leave the abusive relationship. Those participants who had been separated from their wives for longer periods however reported that they were beginning to feel better about themselves.

5.6.4 Effects on the marital relationship

When looking at how the abuse affected the marriage, the participants' responses were mainly about the sexual relationship with their wives and the way they felt about them. Four participants indicated that the abuse they endured had not abated their love for their wives. The following words by Peter captured their sentiments:

“Despite everything, I really love her. If she would come back now I'd take her. I don't think I'll love anyone else.”

The other seven participants felt that the abuse they experienced had “killed” the love they once had for their wives. Chris added that he still cared for his wife but could not love someone who had hurt him so much. When working with female victims of domestic violence, the researcher found that some victims still loved their husbands dearly, while others reported feeling numb or loathing for their spouses. Gardner (1996) who stated that one of the reasons that victims remained in the abusive relationship was that they still loved their spouses further supported this.

Of those participants who talked about their sexual relationship, an equal number of them found that their sexual relationship had not been affected in any way, as those whose sexual relationship had been negatively affected. Eric was one of the participants who reported that they continued to enjoy a “fulfilling sex life”. However the frequency of sex had decreased. He attributed this to him returning home late after working long hours and to his wife not wanting to engage in sexual intercourse if they had been fighting. As he explained:

“You know when a woman's not happy, she just doesn't want to. It's not because of the abuse or anything. That's just the way women are.”

The other participants had lost interest in sex and did not initiate sexual contact. Neither did their wives, except for Andrew's wife.

"She made me feel like dirt. You know she treated me so badly. I didn't want to have sex with her. I used to go in the bathroom. You know what I mean. (He was referring to masturbation.) I found that more satisfying than being with her. Hey man, when I had to have sex with her, hey, I used to imagine someone else! I'm not kidding. I couldn't turn her down because then she'll say that I'm having an affair. So what else can I do?"

Wiehe (1994) observed that victims often reported lower levels of intimacy and compatibility, a lowered degree of sexual arousability and satisfaction. All the participants felt that the rest of their marital relationships were negatively affected by the abuse. They reasoned that the abuse was so pervasive that no matter what was happening in the marital relationship, it was somehow affected by the abuse. As one participant put it:

"No matter what you are talking about, money, the children, God... somehow she'll become abusive. And sometimes you don't even bother to disagree or say what you want because then there'll be the swearing and all. So, you see, it's not like a real marriage. You know, how people get along and sure, they have their ups and downs, but they're happy and the children are happy? No, it's not like that. There's no togetherness. She is the boss you know, and you must listen."

It seemed that all the participants' marriages were affected by the abuse. The participants saw their other marital problems to be normal, with the abuse as the most serious problem. Other problems could never really be resolved because their wives used the abuse as a way of solving problems. Participants tried to

survive in whatever way they could. For Siva, it was almost like being a boarder in their marital home. He tried to avoid his wife as far as possible, so as to prevent getting into an argument of any kind with her. This was to the extent that he would try not to even be in the same room as her. If she walked into a room, he would exit as soon as possible.

5.6.5 Effects on work performance

All but two of the participants were employed at the time of the study. Anil was in receipt of a disability grant for the past 2 years after he was diagnosed as epileptic. Mark was recently dismissed from work. He ascribed this to him being harassed at work by his wife, whereby she frequently telephoned him during working hours and became verbally abusive. Mark also stated that he often did not feel like going to work as he found his problems too overwhelming. He subsequently stayed away from work regularly. After this pattern continued for a few months, his employer dismissed him. Wiehe (1994) stated that in abusive relationships it was common for the abuser to harass the victim at work and that the victims found it difficult to be productive employees while being abused, and that victims frequently lost their jobs. The author added that victims of abuse had high absenteeism rates as they were frequently absent from work or went to work late, due to abuse.

Eric was also dismissed because he did not go to work for two weeks without informing his employer of his reasons for his absence. During these two weeks, Eric who had been falsely arrested for abusing his wife was at the Westville prison. He could not afford to pay his bail and so remained in jail until the hearing. He was fortunate enough to be able to find another job thereafter. Hague and Malos (1993) found that victim's work performance usually declined. This was supported by nine of the participants who reported that their work performance had declined and that they were unable to concentrate while at work.

5.6.6 Effects on relationships with other women

Some participants reported that views about women in general had not been altered in any way by the abuse that they experienced, while other participants reported that their own experiences had negatively affected their view of women. This was consistent with the researcher's own experience. They seemed to feel that all women were certainly not "bad" and should not be stereotyped as such. Participants saw their negative experiences to have been their own and realised this was not true of all other marriages. Those participants who shared this view were men who at the time of the study had strong and positive relationships with other women – sisters, female friends, and girlfriends. They were also the same participants who spoke very strongly about society stereotyping all men as being "abusive" and "bad". It appeared as though their own experiences of discrimination on the basis of gender had made them more cautious of stereotyping others.

Wiehe (1994) found that victims of abuse tended to experience difficulty in feeling close to other people and in being able to trust others because they feared being taken advantage of. Two participants, namely Andrew and Peter, found themselves to be more cautious around women. They tended not to be as trusting of women as they previously were. One participant expressed particularly strong feelings of hate toward females who were not a part of his family. Andrew said:

"My sisters asked me what they could do for me, you know to help. One sister said she's got some nice friends at work. She wanted to introduce me to them. I said, "No, no, no, no, no!" I don't want another woman for as long as I live!"

5.7 Victims' Explanations of Husband Abuse

All participants had attempted to make sense of their experience of husband abuse. Some were unable to understand the abuse in any way. Those participants who had some explanations of why their wives were abusive toward them shared these with the researcher. Most of them however, could not understand why husband abuse occurred in general. Their explanations were related to the particular experiences.

The belief that the victim had in some way provoked the abuse and that substance abuse caused domestic violence, were two explanations of why domestic violence occurred. Aslam was of the opinion that domestic violence occurred when one person did something to provoke another person. He explained that sometimes men abused their wives because their wives were unfaithful. This really frustrated men and led to them becoming abusive. Violence was therefore acceptable or justified in cases such as these. Aslam was perplexed however because he felt certain that he had not done anything to provoke such treatment. Two of the participants Ravi and Anil, postulated that they also might have done something to provoke the abuse. Both had difficulty identifying what it was that they could have possibly done. These responses were consistent with the findings of Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988), who found that victims of abuse often accepted responsibility for the abuse and believed that they had provoked the attack in some way. It was common in the researcher's work with abusive families, for perpetrators of violence to go to great lengths to project blame onto the victims and relinquish any responsibility. After some time, the victim tended to believe that he was indeed responsible for the abuse. In this way myths of abuse were perpetuated. Eric thought that his wife was abusive because she drank too much. He reasoned that if she were to stop drinking completely or reduced the amount of alcohol she drank, she would no longer be aggressive. Eric's explanation of the abuse was an example of the pathological theories. As discussed by Jenkins (1990), the pathological theories

postulated that the perpetrator committed acts of violence due to some kind of pathological condition. The perpetrator was seen as having an addictive personality, which resulted in the alcohol abuse. While under the influence of alcohol, the theory asserted that the perpetrator had no control over her behaviour.

Junaid found that his wife never wanted to be inferior to anyone. She always tried to control everything, even in her childhood. He felt that this kind of controlling, domineering behaviour, which had been allowed by her parents during her childhood, had resulted in her developing a controlling personality. Junaid said also that this type of personality was a destructive one and was probably a type of "personality disorder" or a "psychological problem". This explanation for the abusive behaviour is supported by theorists who postulated that certain personalities were more prone to be violent or aggressive (Mullender, 1996). Another aspect of the personality theory explanations for abuse is that the abuser is mentally ill (Jenkins, 1990). Three participants, Siva, Junaid and Anil, thought that their wives might have been mentally ill. Anil could not fathom that any person could behave in such a manner. His neighbours, the children and other family members have told him that she must be crazy to treat him the way that she did. So he believed that she must indeed have a "mental problem". According to Jenkins (1990) and Mullender (1996) criticisms of the personality disorder explanations for abuse were levelled on the basis that such theories excuse the abusive behaviour because the abuser is said to have a mental illness. The abuser is not encouraged to take responsibility for his/her behaviour and is almost pitied for being mentally ill. An interesting difference between women abuse and husband abuse worthy of commentary is that in women abuse, the victim was often said to be mentally ill. The victim according to FAMSA (1997) was seen as being crazy and thereby provoked an abusive episode. None of the participants of the study reported they were accused of being mentally ill.

Sipho's explanation for the abuse he experienced stemmed from his meeting with the sangoma. He believed that his ancestors were angry with him for not doing a prayer. The ancestors had therefore "made" his wife behave in this manner. Once the ancestors were appeased, they would change her again and she would cease to be violent. Sipho's explanation identified an external locus of control for the abuse. In this way, he consciously or sub-consciously removed the responsibility for the abusive behaviour from his wife and placed it rather with the ancestors. In this way his wife was seen as having no control or choice over how she behaved. The external locus of control that Sipho identified for the abusive behaviour was similar to the pathological theories, which attributed the abusive behaviour to a deficient personality trait. In Sipho's explanation however, the cultural ancestors were identified as the locus of control. The violence was therefore seen to be out of the perpetrator's control.

Most participants attributed their wives abusing them to bad experiences in their pasts, which had negatively affected their present behaviour toward men. Mark's explanation was that his wife had had negative experiences with men in the past, where she had been treated badly. She had not experienced any abuse, but had been "used" and treated disrespectfully. He elaborated that his wife had been cheated on by other men, was taken advantage of sexually and in general had never been treated with any dignity and respect by her previous boyfriends. Mark believed that this had influenced the way she treated him. He reasoned that whenever he did not behave in the manner she wanted him to, she became abusive. Any error on his part reminded her of her past, and she vented her anger on him. Mark also felt that women in general, could not control their temper. Anil and Ravi's explanation was similar. Both participants' wives were abused by their previous partners. Whereas Anil was unsure of the types of abuse that his wife experienced, Ravi knew that his wife had been burnt with cigarettes and whipped. He had seen the marks on her body. These participants reasoned that these bad experiences at the hands of men had resulted in their wives hating men and they therefore vented their anger and

hatred on them. Ravi postulated that although he was never anything but respectful to his wife, when she was finally given the opportunity to have control over something (the money), she took advantage of it. The money being in her account gave her a sample of power and control, which she enjoyed. Eric also felt that his wife's past, where she had been exposed to a lot of violence and horror (as a paramedic), had "hardened" her, so that she was desensitised to the physical and emotional pain she inflicted on him.

Andrew believed that his wife learned her controlling behaviour from her mother who was apparently also very controlling over their entire family, including his wife. His mother-in-law was apparently seen as the head of the home and his father-in-law as the "yes ma'am, no ma'am" man. By growing up in such a home, Andrew reasoned that his wife watched her mother's behaviour and learnt it to be the correct way for a wife to behave. This explanation was similar to the social learning theories discussed in 3.2.2. According to Mullender (1996) and Jenkins (1990) these theories postulated that children who grew up in violent homes, learnt violence as a viable method of resolving problems, which they internalised and acted out later on in life. Peter and Siva provided similar explanations for their wives' abusive behaviour. Their wives had been physically abused by their parents. The childhood abuse had influenced the kind of adults they became in the sense that hurting other people and not showing love and affection was 'normal'. Both strongly felt however, that one's childhood could not be blamed for everything and that as an adult one needed to take responsibility for one's behaviour.

Chris expressed the view that his wife and women in general, were abusive as a demonstration of superiority. Peter elaborated that the women's liberation movement had played a major role in making women feel superior, rather than equal to men. He felt that there was a sense of confusion about women's role in the home and society. He blamed the influence of western culture for this. He added that women who earned more than their husbands did, had a tendency to

want to be in control of the marriage. By having more money, women felt that they had more power. All of this had the cumulative effect of eroding women's commitment to their families. Govender (2002) and Copeland (2002(b)) have agreed that the changing sex roles were one of the reasons why women were abusive toward their husbands. Women who had careers felt more powerful. Copeland (2002(b)) added however that because women were in the formal labour market, they were exposed to similar stresses as men – stress that men only were previously exposed to. She postulated that women's violence was an outlet for their frustrations and stresses.

Another explanation offered by one participant was that having the police, her family and money to support her gave his wife the courage to behave in the manner that she did. Knowing that she would not be reprimanded by anyone for her behaviour and that she could actually make him out to be the abuser might have encouraged her to be abusive. Copeland (2002(b)) supported the idea that women's violence was not viewed with similar disdain as men's violence was. She stated that when Lorena Bobbit cut off her husband's penis, the media attention was focused on locating the missing organ, rather than on the violent act. As highlighted by Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997), society can be regarded as colluding with women's violence against men because society did not view women's violence in the same serious light that men's violence was viewed.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter showed clearly that men were the victims of domestic violence. The physical, emotional, sexual, financial and verbal abuse experienced by the participants had serious effects on them. The most prevalent form of abuse experienced was emotional abuse, followed by physical abuse. The participants attempted to defend themselves in some instances, whilst other participants were relatively passive in response to the abuse. No cases of mutual abuse

were identified amongst the research participants. The cycle of abuse was also identified in the abusive relationships. The most striking difference between the cycle of abuse in relationships with female perpetrated violence and in relationships where men perpetrated violence, was in the honeymoon stage. Participants reported that their wives showed no remorse for their behaviour and never apologised for the abuse. Certain myths around abuse were identified to have been prevalent in the study participant's explanations of abuse. The most common myth held by the participants was that they had provoked the abuse in some way. The participants attempted to make sense of their experiences. Their explanations were confined to their own marriages and they were generally uncertain why other wives committed such acts of domestic violence. The most common explanations were that there was some form of pathology in the perpetrator's personality and that negative past experiences with men had made the perpetrators despise men.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS

SURVIVING HUSBAND ABUSE

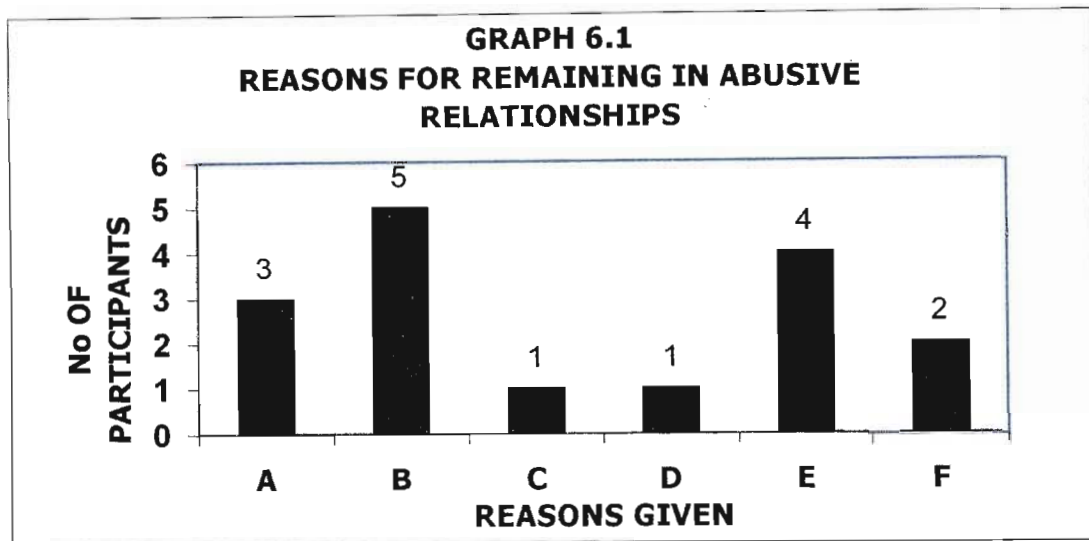
6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter discussed how the research participants experienced the abuse. This chapter provides an analysis of how the participants in the study have survived the abuse. More specifically, the chapter addresses why the participants have remained in the abusive marriages, how they have coped with the abuse, what sources of help, if any, they have accessed and finally, what services were recommended for victims of husband abuse.

6.2 Why do Men Stay?

According to Ferraro (in Cardarelli, 1997) a frequently asked question about domestic violence was why the victims remained in the abusive relationships. The researcher's experience supported this. Society in general had an expectation that if someone was treated in a degrading and humiliating manner, they would immediately end that relationship and free themselves from the abuse. Loseke and Cahill (quoted by Renzetti, 1992) pointed out that when questioning why victims remained in abusive relationships, we make the incorrect assumption that leaving the relationship was a normal response. One of the reasons for why victims remained in abusive or any other unfulfilling marriages was that society placed a huge emphasis on marriage and emphasised the necessity of keeping the family unit intact (Ferraro, in Cardarelli, 1997). The researcher's experience has shown that despite the high divorce rate in our country there was still a great deal of stigma associated with being divorced. Regardless of the reasons for the divorce, 'broken homes' were viewed with disdain. The reasons provided by the research participants for remaining in their abusive marriages gave the researcher some insight into the complexity of such relationships. The participants' reasons included that

remaining as a family unit was best for their children, their religious and cultural belief systems prohibited divorce, they hoped that the marriage would improve over time, they loved or were emotionally dependent on their spouses, financial constraints made it difficult to end the marriage and they feared retaliation from the abuser if they left the marriage. The graph below represents those reasons that the participants have quoted for remaining in the marriage.



KEY: Graph 6.1			
A	Anti-divorce beliefs	D	Financial Constraints
B	Children	E	Hope for Change
C	Fear of Retaliation	F	Love

As indicated by the graph the majority of participants remained in their marriages because of their children, although their specific reasons differed. Ferraro (in Cardarelli, 1997) and Gardner (1996) concurred that many victims of abuse remained in their marriages because of their children. Mark desperately wanted to maintain his relationship with his child because he himself had never had a relationship with his own father. His parents were divorced when he was very young and his father severed his contact with him. Mark wanted his child to have a positive parental experience. Peter and Chris had shared a good

relationship with their children and considered themselves to be very involved fathers. For both, the thought of living without their children and for someone else to bring them up was unbearable. Peter found it difficult to adjust to seeing his children only on alternate weekends. Chris' wife frequently frustrated access, with the result that he rarely saw his children. In a study conducted in the Durban area, Pillay (1999) found that some of the children in her study had no contact with the non-custodial parent. Hart (1989) found that many parents use their children as pawns during a separation or divorce. According to him, the non-custodial parent's access to the children was frequently frustrated for various reasons, but it was the children themselves who suffered for not being able to maintain a bond with that parent. Siva was concerned that a divorce would negatively affect the children, particularly their school performance. This was consistent with literature and studies on children of divorced parents. Pillay (1999) showed that children were rarely left unaffected by a divorce. The researcher's experience supported that children of divorced parents experienced difficulty concentrating at school and that their school performance in many instances deteriorated. Having grown up in a loving and close-knit family, Siva did not want his children to experience a "broken home – staying here sometimes and there other times. Holidays being awkward, you know, where do they spend Christmas." When the children were younger, Siva's greatest fear was that their mother would obtain custody. He described her as being horrible to the children as well. He therefore did not want to leave them alone with her. Aslam felt the same way about the children remaining with their mother. This was consistent with Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) who stated that the loss of custody or access to children was a common threat in abusive relationships. The author found that victims often feared that this would become a reality and stayed in the relationship to avoid such a loss.

Gardner (1996) and Ferraro (in Cardarelli, 1997) have both pointed out that most victims of abuse did not leave the abusive relationship as they considered the abuse to be an exception. They therefore held on to the hope that the

relationship would change with time. Even when the abuse occurred frequently, the author stated that victims tended to deny the abuse, deny the extent of the injuries and deny that there were options. Four of the research participants spoke about their hope that the abuse would stop and that the relationship would improve. They felt certain that the problems could not possibly continue indefinitely and had to at some point be resolved. For three of these participants, this hope was linked to their belief that divorce was against their religious teachings. They believed that because God did not condone divorce, He would "somehow make a way". Hope that the abusive relationship would change into a peaceful one was, in the researcher's experience, common amongst female victims of abuse as well, particularly for those women who had strong religious beliefs. As Eric said:

"We took vows when we got married. 'For better or for worse.' This is the worse part. Divorce is wrong. You know, the Bible says that divorce is against God's will. And I believe that. Except if there's a situation of sexual immorality, then the Bible says you can divorce. But that's not the case here. We're divinely put together. We're meant for each other. I believe that ... I'm in it for the long haul."

Pagelow quoted by Bolton and Bolton (1987) found that an abusive relationship was a complicated one. The author observed that the abuser was often loving particularly during the honeymoon stage, the victim loved the perpetrator, the abuser generally had positive qualities and by implication was at times caring, kind or affectionate. This was true for both Ravi and Peter who still loved their wives and were not ready to end their marriages. They indicated that they would without hesitation, reconcile with their wives despite all the abuse and other problems they have experienced. They believed that their marriages could improve. This belief was consistent with Gardner's (1996) observation that victims of spousal abuse found it difficult to end their marriages because turning

your back on someone you loved and have shared a life with was not easy. FAMSA (1997) and Mullender (1996) also found that the abuser was usually very emotionally dependant on the victim and rarely wanted to end the relationship.

Barnett and Lopez-Real (quoted by Renzetti, 1992), Mullender (1996), Gardner (1996) and Ferraro (in Cardarelli, 1997) have all pointed out that economic independence was a predicting factor in determining whether a victim would leave an abusive relationship. Ravi, who was the only participant who had experienced financial abuse in the study, cited a lack of finance for why he remained in the marriage. Although employed, Ravi's salary was insufficient for him to support himself. Although other participants did not cite a lack of finance as a reason for remaining in the abusive marriage, at least three others indicated that during their separation from their wives, they were experiencing a huge financial strain. Gardner (1996) pointed out that a factor related to the lack of finance was having no other place to stay. She pointed out that the victim's family might be unwilling or unable to assist with accommodation and that the number of shelters available was limited. When the researcher probed, Ravi explained that he also did not want to become a burden to his family and so remained in the marriage as he felt that there was no other feasible accommodation for him. Although there were seven shelters for abused women in Kwa Zulu Natal at the time of the study, none of these shelters catered for abused men (Park, Peters and De Sá, in Park, Fedler and Dangor, 2000). Victims' ability to leave the abusive marriage was therefore severely limited if they were financially dependent on the perpetrator or experienced financial constraints. During the frequent separations between Eric and his wife, Eric was forced to live at shelters for destitute people.

Siva's wife had threatened to harm him if he ever left her. Although he fluctuated between believing her threat and wanting to "call her bluff", Siva believed that she really was capable of carrying out her threat. There were days

when he has felt that he desperately needed to leave his destructive marriage because of the negative effects it had on his children and on himself. On such days Siva wanted to leave the marriage and felt nonchalant about the consequences. But after a few hours or days, his boldness dissipated as the realisation that his wife might carry out her threat dawned on him. Barnett and Lopez-Real (quoted by Renzetti, 1992) and Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) highlighted the fact that threats to kill the victim or the children were frequently issued by the abuser to prevent the victim from leaving. Such threats served to intensify the victim's perception of danger, limited his perception of alternatives and provided a means by which the abuser could continue to control the victim. Hague and Malos (1993) made the observation that the most severe incidences of violence often occurred when the victim tried to end the relationship. In addition to this, Ferraro (in Cardarelli, 1997) found that turning to the law did not necessarily produce protection for the victim. Abusers were seldom imprisoned or were given minor sanctions. As discussed in section 6.4 the participants experienced tremendous difficulty accessing legal protection. Khan and Vetten (2001) observed further that only some acts of domestic violence could be prosecuted. They pointed out that whereas physical abuse could be prosecuted as grievous bodily harm (GBH) or common assault, financial, emotional, verbal and sexual abuse were difficult, if not near impossible to prosecute. The victim's decision to remain in the marriage might actually be a correct analysis of the situation he was in.

6.3 Victims' Coping Mechanisms

In the researcher's experience, victims of abuse often possessed incredible strengths and abilities to cope with their traumatic lives, even though they rarely saw this. The research participants were asked to reflect on their abusive marriages and what has helped them cope. Table 6.1 presents a summary of their responses.

COPING STRATEGIES	* NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
Family	10
Religion	9
Inner strengths	3
Work	2
Friends	2
Drugs	2

TABLE 6.1
PARTICIPANTS' COPING STRATEGIES
N = 11

* Multiple responses permitted

From the table above, it is clear that family members were the greatest source of support for the victims. This was supported by Stephens and McDonald (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000), who found that victims usually confided first in their family members about the abuse. All the participants had either family members and/or friends, who helped them cope. The support that participants received took many forms. Siphon felt that having people to whom he could speak openly about the problems was extremely helpful. FAMSA (1997) stressed that listening to the victims and believing their experiences were very important as victims were often isolated and felt alone. Being able to talk to people who cared and believed him, took away some of the loneliness and pain. Siphon did not feel he had to deal with the problem on his own and found encouragement from family and friends. Other participants related similar experiences. Siva's support network helped him to see his problems more clearly and holistically. He found that by understanding the abuse, he was better able to deal with it. Both Ravi and Aslam, who were at the time of the study in new relationships, found that comfort and understanding of another woman very helpful. A positive relationship with another woman increased their previously low self-esteem to

some extent. Anil particularly enjoyed and looked forward to spending time with his grandson, as this was a distraction from the daily abuse that he experienced at home. "I take him fishing. Children talk a lot, you get caught up with them, forget your own problems."

Some participants also found that their families were helpful in practical ways, such as providing accommodation, offering financial assistance, and assisting with tasks like cleaning or cooking. Peter was one such person who found both practical and emotional support from his family and friends. As discussed in the preceding chapter, one of the common marital problems experienced by the research participants was problems with in-laws. Their wives did not like their families of origin and/or prevented contact with them. Participants were generally reluctant to confide in their families and request their assistance. When they did however, they were surprised to find them so helpful. Peter related his experience as follows:

"When she left me I only knew how to fry an egg. For a while I felt too proud to ask for help. I ate take out. Told everyone I was fine. Then I began asking for help and you know people were there to help. They've really been amazing."

As illustrated in Table 6.1, nine participants cited their religious faith and teachings to have been of tremendous comfort during their difficulties. The participants derived much peace and comfort from spending time in prayer and attending religious services. Two participants, who felt overwhelmed during the separations, often contemplated committing suicide but found strength and encouragement from their faith. This was consistent with the researcher's experience with female victims of abuse, who frequently turned to their religious beliefs to help them cope.

Two of the participants immersed themselves in work to keep busy. Both found their work distracted them from their marital problems, such that they had little time to give in to feelings of despair and despondency about their circumstances. Eric, who had difficulty sleeping during the separation, found that by working extra hours, he tired himself out, thus making it easier to fall off to sleep. For Ravi, who had been financially abused, having a job was described as his "saving grace". He explained how his job assisted him as follows:

"My job gives me some financial freedom. So I don't have to beg her for money. But more than that, it gives my life some meaning and direction... at least I'm good at something."

The inner strengths and resources of participants was another factor that has helped them deal with the abuse. Andrew found that his positive attitude has brought him through "some bad days". He recounted that although it had not been easy to cope, by trying to stay optimistic, he found that he managed to get through each day. Chris related a similar sentiment. One of his greatest difficulties during this ordeal was that he had become a "part-time father". By refusing to dwell on this and focusing rather on the fact that he did get to see his child, he was able to enjoy the access time and cope on the days that he didn't see his child. Siva read many self-development books that enabled him to rebuild his self-esteem and self-confidence. Even though there was little he could have done to change his home environment, Siva focused on developing himself as a person and a professional. He related how this helped him:

"I've managed to raise my level of self confidence a little. And when she's putting me down, I try to affirm my worth, and not let it get to me. All the reading I do has helped."

6.4 Help Sought by Participants

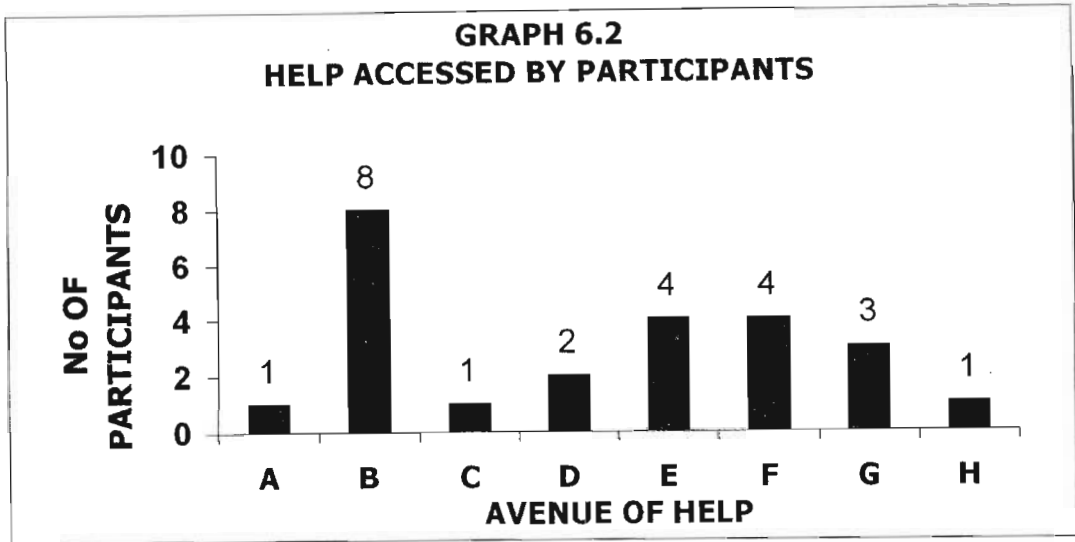
Before exploring the sources of help that participants turned to, it is worth noting that three participants in the study reported that it was difficult to speak about husband abuse because the male ego was bruised by the abuse. The participants explained that men were “reserved by nature” and were not “used to talking about our problems”. As articulated by one participant requesting help with a problem was said to have “done something to your sense of pride as a man to ask for help”. Gray (1989) concurred that men were more reserved, rational and action-oriented. Men did not generally sit around with their friends talking about the difficulties they were experiencing. Marital problems that they were experiencing, illnesses they had or fears were not topics one would normally find men discussing. When a man was experiencing abuse, it follows then that it was more difficult to speak out against the abuse or even confide in someone. Homer (2002) concurred that talking about the abuse was too embarrassing in the patriarchal society that we lived in. Abused men therefore did not report the abuse. As one participant said:

“This (husband abuse) isn’t supposed to happen. I mean, its not that women are supposed to be abused, but men ...well...we’re supposed to be in charge of things. You know, the man is the head of the home. We’re not supposed to be treated like this.”

Wiehe (1994) and Gelles (1997) explained that the gender images of men and women have contributed to the issue of battered husbands not becoming a recognised social problem. Wiehe (1994) elaborated that according to patriarchal cultural scripts, men were supposed to be tough, dominant and strong whereas the female was seen as being weak and needing protection, care and the attention of the male. The author added that men might ascribe to the ideology of machismo, which is the worldwide view that exalts male dominance by assuming masculinity, virility and physicality to be the ideal male

essence. These real 'men' were seen as adversarial warriors competing for scarce resources in a dangerous world. Traditional sociocultural role prescriptions for men indicated that they should be in control of their marital relationships. Being abused emasculates men because they have not lived up to their cultural scripts and have subsequently failed as men. Masculine ideals may discourage husbands from reporting the abuse. Govender (2002) also found that whereas some abused men did come forward about the abuse they were experiencing, most victims remained silent as they felt that services were biased toward women. This dissuaded victims from seeking help.

Wiehe (1994) added that victims were often reluctant to talk to others about the abuse as it was regarded as a private problem. Rennison and Welchans (2000) stated that in the National Crime Victimization Study conducted in the United States, about half of the male victims' reasons and a third of the female victims' reasons for not reporting their intimate partner victimisation to the police was because it was a private or personal matter. This influenced their decision regarding whether or not to seek help and who to seek help from. The people and organisations that the participants in the study turned to for assistance in their abusive relationships have been broadly categorised by the researcher as friends and family, religious/cultural leaders, the criminal justice system and welfare organisations. Participants' help seeking efforts and their evaluation of the help received will be discussed under these categories. When evaluating people's reactions to domestic violence Hague and Malos (1993) have found that the reactions depended on who the offender and victim was, where the abuse occurred and the degree of violence or the degree of injury. Thus people were more inclined that abuse had occurred if the victim was female and had sustained physical injuries from the abuse. The following graph however shows a more detailed account of the participants' help seeking efforts. Most participants sought help from more than one source.



KEY: Graph 6.2			
A	Friends	E	Counselling
B	Family	F	Court
C	In-laws	G	Police
D	Religious/Cultural Leaders	H	Work Colleagues

6.4.1 Friends and family

The findings of this study were consistent with the observations of Hague and Malos (1993) as well as Stephens and McDonald (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) who asserted that victims tended to confide in family or friends first before approaching welfare organisations. It was only when the violence intensified and became more severe, did victims make attempts to find professional or legal help. Eight participants approached their family members, while one participant approached a friend. Mark, Junaid, Anil, and Peter reported that their families were the most supportive source of help accessed, particularly because they believed that they were being abused. Not having to prove that they were indeed the victims made them feel accepted. Wiehe (1994) observed that victims of domestic violence generally had to prove that they were indeed

victims. She asserted that this burden to prove that one was a victim of domestic violence often resulted in victims remaining silent about the abuse. Mark's family became aware of the abuse because they were sometimes present during abusive episodes. Although they have never intervened during the abusive incidences, Mark found them to be supportive and encouraging whenever he spoke to them about the problems. They advised him to end the marriage but Mark had resolved to work on the marriage. So despite the "trumped up charges against me and the way she treated me", Mark reconciled with his wife on numerous occasions. He found however that the "good times" were temporary and that the cycle repeated itself. Time and again Mark returned to his parent's home following a fall out with his wife. It was comforting for him to know that he was always able to return to his parent's home and "didn't end up in the street". Peter, who kept hoping that the marriage would improve, only recently confided in his family. Since confiding in his family however, Peter felt better because he did not have to put on a façade any longer. He also felt less alone in his problems because his family showed him that they cared for him deeply. They have helped him financially, with household chores and frequently invited him to family get-togethers.

Junaid's family of origin and his in-laws often witnessed the abuse he experienced. Both families have never intervened. While Junaid regarded his family as being supportive because they had offered him accommodation, which he needed after he left the marital home, he was angry that his in-laws did not intervene. According to him, his in-laws rationalised and excused his wife's violent behaviour as they considered it to be a part of her personality. This explanation, which attributed the abusive behaviour to personality traits, is an example of the personality theory used to explain abusive behaviour as discussed by Jenkins (1990). When the researcher probed about Junaid's family's lack of involvement in the problem, Junaid explained that his family were private people who did not get involved in each other's personal lives. Although

he was living with his family of origin at the time of the study, he said that they rarely even spoke about the separation. Junaid elaborated as follows:

“My family is a family that doesn’t really talk about such things. I know that they care for me and support me, but we won’t really sit down and you know discuss things. Whatever I choose to do is okay with them. But her family, I’ve gone to them for help. But when I complain to them, they pretend they don’t know what I’m talking about, even though they’ve seen her slap me. They just keep quiet. Other times they say, ‘You know she’s stubborn.’ Once her mother told me that she used to sometimes be violent with the family when she was a child. But they just justify her actions. I’m supposed to just accept it.”

Anil’s family and neighbours have known about the abuse for a long time. His neighbours have frequently heard or witnessed the abuse, while he has confided in his family when he lived with them during the couple’s many separations. Anil felt a sense of comfort from the concern that these people have shown and in knowing that others have not blamed him for the abuse. This has reduced feelings of guilt and shame. After 24 years of marriage Anil felt certain however that there was no hope that the marriage would improve. This sense of hopelessness regarding the relationship is evident in the following statement:

“Nothing can be done about her. I don’t think she’ll ever change. So many times I went back to her and think things will be different, but she just carries on man. No one can tell her anything. She doesn’t listen. Even the children talk to her sometimes. They say we’re getting old, we mustn’t fight. But she doesn’t listen. The neighbours all see me on the road and ask me why she’s like that. They ask me how I’m sticking it with this lady. They tell me to leave her. My families can’t believe I keep going back to her.”

Mark confided in some of his friends regarding the abuse. What was interesting to note was that Mark initially thought, "all women were like this". He reported being shocked to discover from his friends that this was not the case. He found his friends to be supportive of him but later discovered that they gossiped about his problems and mocked him. It would appear that the reaction that Mark obtained from his friends was similar to that of abused men in the 18th century Europe, who were made to wear a dress while riding backwards on a donkey throughout the whole town, while the whole town ridiculed him (mensnet@CAP.GWU.EDU, 20/10/94). Mark's wife also complained to his friends about the problems but blamed him for the problems, saying as well that he was abusive toward her. She made him seem like the "bad one". Some of his friends, who were previously 'supportive', believed his wife. They then chastised him for his alleged abusive behaviour. This was compatible with Renzetti's (1992) observations that society created a definition of victimisation and victims have to prove the legitimacy of their claims to counsellors, the police, friends etc. If there were little or no physical injuries, then the victims were less likely to be believed. Mark felt unsupported and rejected by them so he then stopped talking to these friends about his problems.

Chris' work colleagues became aware that the couple were having marital problems because of the effects that the problems had on him. He confided in some of them who initially expressed disbelief. They later believed him however and have helped him deal with the loneliness and the pain. He recalled that they had probably been the most important source of comfort and help. Chris reported that he coped better with the experience because he did not have to pretend that everything was well with him. Before he confided in them, he found that it took a lot of energy to keep up the facade. Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo (1988), Renzetti (1992) and Mann (2000) observed that victims of domestic violence had a tremendous need to share their experiences with someone who would provide them with support and comfort. Chris related that being able to be honest about his experiences and feelings assisted him as follows:

"Most of the guys couldn't believe it first. They knew her as well. But after a while, when we went out with friends (which was seldom), they saw what she was like. One guy told me, "I don't know how you live with her!" Hey that made me feel terrible. Imagine someone saying that about your wife... But I think it also made me feel better that others knew what she was like. That I wasn't just over-reacting. I could be honest with my friends and get their support. That was good for me."

Eric believed that married couples should resolve their own problems and has therefore tried to manage the abuse without outside help. Of late however he has realised that he did need some assistance. This was when he turned to family for support and advice. His family has questioned why he remained in such a destructive relationship and has suggested that he divorce his wife. All those consulted have confirmed that Eric did not deserve such treatment. On one occasion Eric requested the help of acquaintances. He found however that people in general did not want to get involved in domestic matters. During one very violent episode, Eric and his wife were fighting in the foyer of the building in which they lived. The building's two security guards tried to separate the couple when his wife began hitting him. During the fight, his wife hit one of the security guards when he tried to restrain her. The security guard sustained injuries – a blue eye and a few scratches. The next day when Eric asked them to come with him to lay a charge at the police station or to write an affidavit about what they witnessed, both guards refused to become involved in any way. From then on, they pretended as though the incident never occurred. Friends and neighbours who had also witnessed his wife's violent outbursts did not intervene. Neither did they inquire thereafter whether Eric was okay. They have simply pretended as though the incidences they witnessed never occurred. Wiehe (1994) observed that people avoided becoming involved in domestic violence as they considered it to be a private family problem even though it was a crime punishable under the law.

6.4.2 Religious/Cultural leaders

Two of the study's participants sought help from religious or cultural leaders. A committed and devout Christian, Peter was the only participant in the study who confided in religious leaders when the problems first began. This was in contrast with Wiehe's (1994) and Sullivan's (in Cardarelli, 1997) findings that religious priests were the most common institution to which victims of domestic violence turned. His experience with the church was a positive one. They believed Peter about the violence in the marriage, condemned the behaviour, and counselled the couple on several occasions. Peter found that the counselling was futile however. He stated that his wife "just listened but when they left she immediately continued being the same old person. Didn't even change for a few days. Wouldn't even try." Horton (quoted by Wiehe, 1994) asserted that religious institutions were often unhelpful as they lacked the necessary knowledge of how to help victims and their abusers. The author perceived religion to be a double-edged sword because it labelled divorce as a sin, thereby discouraging people from ending abusive relationships. Peter's experience with the church was quite a positive one and contradictory to most victims' experiences. Wiehe (1994) and Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) have both found that the church often were ill-equipped to help victims of abuse. In some cases, victims had been exposed to more danger. Peter's church leaders as well as his family have suggested that the couple divorce, particularly because of the repeated infidelity. He was however hopeful that they would one day reconcile and was willing to take her back unconditionally.

Sipho also went to a sangoma for help with the problems. The sangoma told him that his marital problems were as a result of his ancestors being unhappy with him, because he did not do a prayer and offer certain sacrifices. Sipho had instead used the money allocated for the prayer, to build an extension to his house. The sangoma told him that he needed to do this prayer and in addition, another prayer, to appease the ancestors. Only then would the marital problems

be resolved. Siphso planned on doing the prayer shortly but felt that he needed help to stop his wife from being abusive in the meantime. He then confided in his brother and other family members who tried to provide counselling for the couple. According to Siphso they were not able to help because his wife did not take any advice given. This prompted him to go to the police station to lay a complaint. The police then referred him to the court for a protection order. He planned on following through with this. Siphso found it easier to seek help than the other participants did, because he didn't see the abuse as embarrassing. He believed that the abuse was a punishment from the ancestors who were upset with him.

6.4.3 Criminal justice system

One of the strongest themes that emerged from the research was that almost all of the participants who attempted to access legal assistance for the abuse, found that the criminal justice system was very biased in favour of women in their handling of domestic violence cases. Participants generally stated that they received no help from the police and courts when they attempted to access assistance. Even in cases where the male spouse had visible injuries from a violent episode and the wife had none, the police believed the wife's claim that she was the victim. All participants expressed a tremendous sense of injustice at the manner in which they were treated by the criminal justice system. Andrew's opening statements at the beginning of the interview were "men are being abused by their wives and the legal system does nothing. They are all for the women but the men get nothing. We have nothing to go to." This response from the justice system was consistent with Padayachee (1994) and Rauch (1993) who maintained that gender biases were existent within the South African Police Services. The gender biases were said to be attributed to socialisation, which influenced people's perceptions, attitudes and stereotypes around domestic violence (Koooverjee, 1999). The response received by the research participants were nevertheless disappointing particularly since as Hutchings

(quoted by `Koooverjee, 1999) pointed out, victims of domestic violence were often isolated with the result that the police were usually the only support system that victims had access to.

Eric's negative experience with the justice system was characteristic of the other participants' experiences. He related his experience as follows:

"She got angry with me for no real reason. She came into the room and I could see that she was in a bad mood. She wanted money for alcohol. I didn't have any. She became aggressive. Started to push me, scratch me, punch me. I had enough. I had to defend myself. I pushed her away. Tried to grab her from behind and hold her down. She kicked and scratched, tore my shirt. And she's strong you know. (She) phoned the police. They came and took me away. I had the scars but they wouldn't even listen. She didn't even have a scratch. She cried and they believed her."

Cannings (quoted by Wiehe, 1994) agreed that in most cases where men have telephoned the police, police officers scoffed at their claims of being abused, stated that they must have done something to provoke the attack or arrested the abused male on the female's assertion that she had been the victim. Eric's wife obtained a protection order shortly after the incident. At the hearing, Eric took with him a doctor's report and other witnesses (family) to show that he was infact the victim of abuse. This did not help his case and his wife was granted a protection order. When Eric went to the police station to lay a charge a few months later, he found the police to be unhelpful again. Once again he had scratches on his face and neck, gashes on his forehead and blood on his shirt. The police took down a statement and then did not follow up. Eric did not follow the case up himself because he was very disillusioned by his past experience with the police and felt that they were extremely biased. Wiehe (1994) observed

that victims' past experience with helping professions and their perception of whether help would be received were factors in determining whether or not victims of domestic violence accessed professional assistance. This was consistent with Copeland's (2002(a)) observation that if victim's first experience has been a negative one, then they are less likely to seek it out thereafter.

Mark's wife was also successful in obtaining a protection order against him. He assaulted her during an argument following her being emotionally abusive toward him. This was consistent with Roos' (2002) statement that the police were more inclined to believe a woman rather than a man. Proper investigations regarding the incident were not undertaken. He related what happened as follows:

"She kept saying I wasn't a man. Then I slapped her. I was so mad. As soon as I did it, I felt so bad. Imagine slapping a woman. Shit! I felt bad. When we came to court for the protection order, you know, on the day of the hearing, I said that I did it. I thought it was better to tell the truth. It would show her that I was sorry for what happened and then she can forgive me... But I never should have. She had me arrested so many times after that, I tell you. All for nothing. I swear that was the only time. She just goes to the station and cries a little and they believe her. And for all she does to me – the scratches and filthy things she says, nothing happens to her!"

Andrew found that his wife was able to get a protection order by merely claiming that she had suffered years of abuse. Andrew was most upset that by laying a charge at the police station, his wife was able to have the police remove him from the marital home. The following day, he was handed the interim protection order, which prevented him from entering his business as well. At the time that the interviews were conducted he had been away from the business for 6

months. He was very concerned about the status of the business. He had difficulty understanding how the courts believed her allegations over his, considering that she had no evidence to support her claims. Andrew was so stunned by “the lies” his wife had spoken at the hearing to finalise the protection order that he did not tell the magistrate about the abuse he was experiencing. This was consistent with Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) who highlighted that victims of domestic violence often experienced a sense of shock, confusion and helplessness. He only denied being the perpetrator. At the time of the study he was in the process of making an appeal to the court to have the protection order set aside.

Junaid’s perception of the legal system was also a poor one. He felt that the courts were very biased toward women and felt certain that his claims would have been disregarded. So he did not lay a charge or attempt to get any legal help. The awareness of and experiences with various services is another factor impacting on whether or not husband abuse is reported (Finkelhor, Hotaling and Yllo, 1998). If victims were aware of services and were confident that they would be helped, then it was more likely that they would seek help. If however, victims felt that they may be ridiculed and not assisted, then they were less likely to seek help.

Peter also felt strongly that all men have been slated as “dogs” because of the laws around domestic violence. He felt indignant about the manner in which men were treated by society in general and the criminal justice system in particular. He talked about the secondary victimisation he experienced at the court when he tried to get a protection order.

“I went to the court, and you know you’ve got to sit in these long lines. Hey man, I sat there and looked around and I was the only man there. I’m sitting and sitting, and hey, the place was packed. Eventually, after good couple hours, I get to go inside, you know

they have this little office there. I get there and there's this man sitting there. I'm feeling ... hey embarrassed to be there. I tell him my story and he says there's nothing they can do for emotional abuse. I'm telling this man that, you know, she throws things at me and all, but he just looks at me. I was so mad! I told him, 'Hey what are you'll waiting for her to kill me or I must come here with a broken arm or something.' This guy just sits there. After that I lost all hope!"

Kooverjee (1999) explained that the Victim Empowerment Programme (VEP) aimed to respond to the impact of crime on the victims, to reduce secondary victimisation, encourage co-operation from the criminal justice process, reinforce socially desired behaviour and act as a deterrent to perpetrators. The rights of victims emphasised by the VEP included the right to information, legal advice, protection and to be treated with respect and dignity. As evidenced by the participants' experiences, the VEP remained largely a theory and the reality was that it was far from being practised. In supporting this view, Hoffman (quoted by Kooverjee, 1999) added that policies alone were inadequate. Society's attitudes and perceptions as well needed to be changed. Khan and Vetten (2002) criticised the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) for focusing on amelioration rather than prevention. The authors contended that victims were not the real beneficiary of the NCPS but rather the criminal justice system benefited by using the victim to help with the investigation and obtain a conviction. Human Rights Watch (1995) suggested that the criminal justice system should develop guidelines regarding the sentencing of offenders, including mandatory attendance at perpetrator programmes.

Three participants were successful in obtaining some form of legal assistance. Mark and Chris were in possession of peace orders, which they obtained from their local police stations, while Ravi has been in possession of the protection order since 1998. Mark also applied for a protection order on three occasions.

Each time he applied for a protection order, his wife contested the order and initiated a reconciliation. He therefore withdrew his application. It is uncertain whether he would have been successful in obtaining a protection order had he followed through with the process. He found however that he has never received the necessary protection with the peace order. He related his experience as follows:

“It would be like a honeymoon. We never had a honeymoon, but that’s what it was like. She was the wife I wanted, the person I fell in love with. We would be so happy. I used to go and set the protection order aside. You must look at my file at the court. Its thick with all the times I’ve come to court. When I go to the police to lay a charge, hey man, I tell you they are ... just unhelpful! They don’t care. They just say I must go home and sort it out. Sometimes she comes to the station with me and changes the whole story around. Then they warn me and tell us to go home. Even if I have scratches and all.”

In Ravi’s experience, the police allegedly refused to arrest his wife when he laid a charge against her. She however obtained a protection order in 1999 and has been successful in having Ravi arrested on a number of occasions. Ravi has tried various avenues to have the protection order enforced. He has gone to the extent of writing several letters of complaint to the station commander and the police commissioner, but to no avail. This was consistent with Kooverjee’s (1999) findings that even though the Domestic Violence Act provided clear guidelines in terms of assisting victims of abuse, the implementation thereof depended largely on the attitudes of police officers towards the victims of domestic violence. Khan and Vetten (2002) explained that the Domestic Violence Act imposed on police officers the responsibility to inform the victim if his/her rights, assist with finding shelter and medical care, provide protective escorts, serve the protection order, arrest abusers who violate the protection

order and seize arms and weapons. Ravi realised that the only way for him to avoid being arrested was to run away from the marital home after any conflict. This has resulted in him sleeping in a nearby park, at the neighbour's house or in the back of their yard, without his wife's knowledge. Ravi felt extremely powerless against his wife and was disgusted by the discrimination he had experienced from the police. Ravi has spent seven days at the Westville police station for alleged assault. It was after this alleged assault that his wife obtained the protection order. According to Ravi all her allegations were false. He explained:

"I never hit her. Not once. My family taught us to treat people well. You don't swear or shout or anything. My father always told us to treat women especially very well, with respect, you know. While I was in the prison, I met another man who was also locked up for the same thing. Women know they can get away with it. I'll tell you plenty stories of women who have their husbands arrested on Wednesdays, so they can go to ladies night."

Two other participants supported Ravi's claim that many women were misusing the protection orders, while men experienced tremendous difficulty in accessing the same protection afforded to women under the Domestic Violence Act of 1998.

Chris' wife also obtained a protection order against him. (He was in the process of opposing this at the time of the study.) He found the police to be more impartial in their handling of the situation. When they served the protection order on him at his house, they were understanding and sympathetic. They discussed his rights and told him what his legal options were. The police advised Chris to leave the marital home, as they would be forced to arrest him if his wife laid a charge. Whenever his wife telephoned the police because he was supposedly violent, Chris fled the marital home to prevent being arrested. Even

though he described his first experience with the police as being a positive one, Chris felt that the justice system afforded women more protection under the law and that there was not much that he could do to defend himself against any allegations that his wife made.

Anil's experience with the police was also a positive one. One month ago he laid a charge of grievous bodily harm against his wife. He found that the police were helpful and did not discriminate against him. They took his complaint seriously and explained the procedures necessary. The police did not however, discuss with him the option of obtaining a protection order. The case was pending at the time of the study. Anil was hopeful that the outcome would be favourable. In a study conducted by Kooverjee (1999) with female victims of domestic violence within the greater Durban area, she found that only one participant in her study found the police to be helpful and to offer the victim protection. Other participants in her study reported that the police did not respond to their telephone calls for assistance during an abusive episode. If the police did arrive at the scene, it took them between a few hours and a few days. In some cases the police only came when the victim telephoned them continuously. Other participants in her study reported that the police suggested that the victim telephone them again if the perpetrator became abusive and warned the perpetrator without making an arrest even when the victim was in possession of a protection order. In some instances the police were described as being rude, they laughed at the victim, and blamed the victim for causing the problem. Kooverjee (1999) concluded that these responses from the police were a reflection of their attitudes and stereotypes regarding domestic violence. Fineman and Mykitink (1994) and Edwards (1989) have supported these findings adding that the police were rarely helpful to victims of domestic violence. They stated that victims frequently experienced secondary victimisation from the police. The experiences of victims of domestic violence point to the fact that the criminal justice system has been largely ineffective in addressing the needs of victims of domestic violence.

6.4.4 Professional counselling

Four participants in the study sought help from welfare organisations and therapists. Hague and Malos (1993) acknowledged that victims often had to overcome feelings of shame and self-blame in order to take the huge step to seek help. Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) added that another obstacle that victims had to overcome was the fear that their children would be taken away if social workers became involved. Mark and his wife engaged in counselling following his application for a divorce after the first year of marriage.

"I couldn't take it any more. I just wanted to put an end to all this shit. But she refused. Can you believe that? We went to court and they told us to go for counselling. She agreed and I was happy, thinking, hey you know, we will be happy now. I withdrew the divorce. Then she said she doesn't want to go for the counselling but I insisted. Anyway, we went for the first appointment and we talked and all. The lady (counsellor) said she must go for a psychiatric assessment or something. She didn't want to go and then we didn't go back. That was that."

The researcher probed Mark's experience of counselling. He indicated that he had not talked about the abuse he experienced. Instead he talked about the various other marital problems that the couple experienced. His reasons for not disclosing the abuse was that he was embarrassed to talk about it, especially after the manner in which his friends had reacted when he had confided in them. Mark also cited the stigma he felt about being abused as another reason for remaining silent during the counselling session. He felt certain that the social worker would have thought that "something was wrong" with him. Furthermore he didn't think that he would really get any help regarding the abuse. As discussed above, a victim's perception of whether or not they will receive help influences whether or not they solicit help.

Andrew and his wife went for counselling with two different psychologists in private practice. He initiated the counselling and only after much persuasion did his wife agree. His wife apparently did not like the first psychologist and insisted that they find another. Andrew recounted however that during the counselling sessions his wife complained profusely about him. After two sessions, she refused to continue with counselling, saying that she had nothing more to say. He found that the psychologists provided support and understanding, although they did not address the abuse within the marriage, which had been raised. The psychologists' responses were contrary to Fleming (1979) and Jenkins (1990) who suggested that the abuse within the relationship needed to be prioritised above other marital issues. Stephens and McDonald (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) recommended that counsellors use a screening measure to assess the marital problem areas as well as the nature and extent of the violence in the marriage. The authors stressed the importance of an accurate screening and assessment to ensure that victims' first experience with a counsellor (professional or volunteer) would be a positive one. This would in turn encourage the victim to make further contact with the counsellor. Chris's experience with counselling was similar. A friend of the couple's had recommended counselling at a non-governmental organisation that specialised in marital problems. His wife was agreeable with the idea. He related his experience with the social worker as follows:

"I didn't really know it was abuse. We went for counselling and I told the psychologist how she acted. He didn't say it was abuse. I only realised it after she left me. I was really being abused by this woman! We went once I think. Maybe two times. Definitely not more than that. She didn't want to go anymore so we didn't. I mean, can I force her to do this if she doesn't want to? What good would that do? So I just left it."

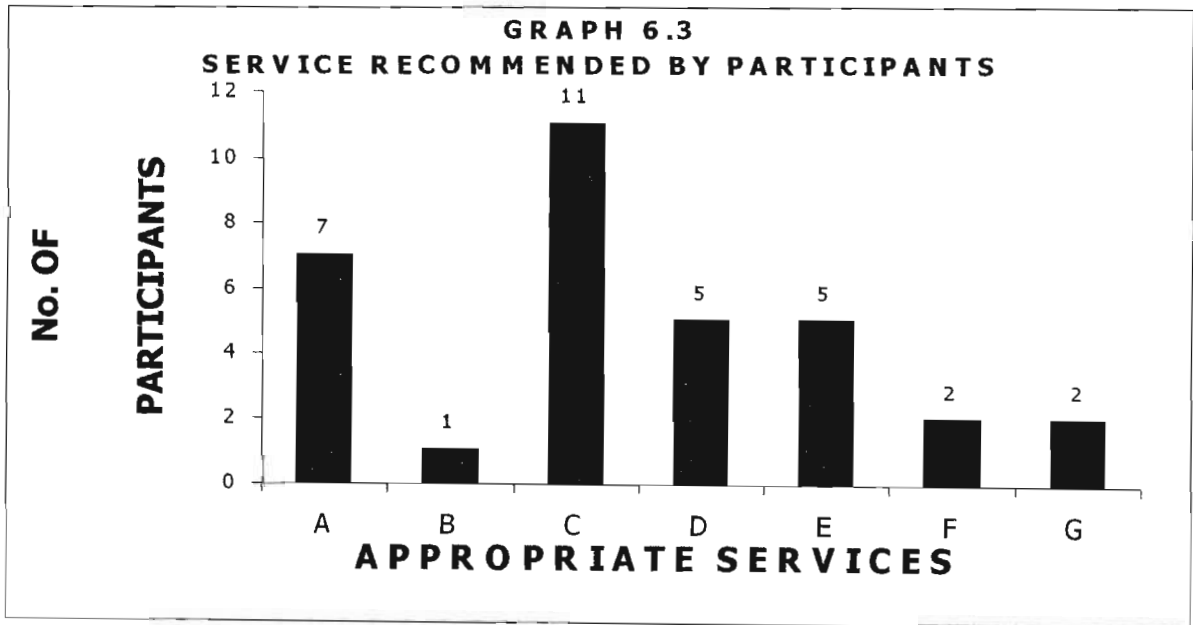
Aslam sought the help of two welfare organisations – a community based organisation and the local child welfare society. He was displeased and disillusioned by the manner in which the social workers dealt with the situation and that there was no “real” help available. He had hoped that his wife would be requested to engage in counselling. The social workers at these organisations reportedly listened to him and took down some of his details. They then told him that they would follow the matter up but never did. When he approached the child welfare society for the second time, Aslam was told that there was nothing that they could do for him. Hague and Malos (1993) also found that most of the social service agencies were unhelpful and treated the victim negatively. Andrew’s experience with the welfare organisations contacted further supported this. Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) emphasised that social welfare agencies needed to be held accountable for providing effective and accessible services to all victims of domestic violence.

Siva also sought the help of various professionals – some of whom were helpful and others who were not. Although his wife refused to engage in counselling because “there was nothing wrong with her”, he has received individual counselling from psychologists for several years to help him cope with the abuse he was experiencing. Siva recalled that the decision to engage in counselling was a difficult one, as he was worried about the psychologists’ reactions to the abuse. He found that while some were unhelpful, judgemental and did not believe that he was the victim of domestic violence, others were helpful. They believed that he was abused and were extremely helpful in helping him overcome the effects of the abuse, understanding the abuse and rebuilding his self-esteem. Wiehe (1994) and Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) supported the need for therapists to display empathy and understanding when working with victims of domestic violence. They recommended that counselling focus on empowering the victim and helping them make decisions about the future. When relatives and friends tried to assist with the couple’s marital problems, his wife was also antagonistic, refusing to take advice from others. Siva has never

attempted to get any legal help, as he feared retaliation from his wife. He was afraid of what her reaction would be, should he make it public that she was abusive.

6.5 Services Required by Abused Husbands

As discussed above, the participants felt very disillusioned by the current services available to abused men. Based on their experiences research participants have suggested various services that they feel should be made available for abused men.



KEY: Graph 6.3			
A	Counselling	E	Support Group
B	Unsure	F	Telephonic Helpline
C	Legal Protection	G	Shelter
D	Public Awareness		

As illustrated by the above graph all participants were in agreement that legal assistance for male victims of abuse was imperative. Even Sipho, who was

unsure whether any particular services were necessary, believed that victims needed the law to protect them. As discussed in section 6.4.3 a majority of the research participants had negative experiences with the criminal justice system. Participants highlighted clearly the changes that they felt were needed within the system. The general consensus was that the entire legal system needed to be transformed. Laws that were promulgated needed to focus on creating equality between the sexes, rather than relegating men to a position of inferiority under the law. Participants felt strongly that the same legal recourses available to abused women should also be made available for abused men. The gender of the victim should not be a factor. Wiehe (1994) agreed that laws, which were applicable for male-on-female violence, must also be applicable for female-on-male violence. In South Africa, the Domestic Violence Act of 1998 allows for any victim of abuse to obtain a protection order against further abuse from the perpetrator. In the event of the protection order being violated, criminal charges can be brought against the perpetrator. The Act does not define the victim in terms of gender and clearly explains the role of the police and courts in ensuring the implementation of the Act. However, due to the lack of training, education and familiarity with the Act, the implementation of the Act remains hugely problematic. Khan and Vetten (2002) insisted that even though the NCPS addressed violence in general, no comprehensive national strategy existed to address gender violence in South Africa. They recommended that such a strategy be developed. In relation to this, Angless (in Gray, 1998) who also advocated for policy and legislative changes, emphasised the need for authorities to formally condemn domestic violence.

Accordingly, participants stipulated that biases and discriminatory practices among the court and the SAPS personnel needed to be rooted out. The research participants emphasised that male victims of abuse should be treated more fairly and shown more understanding. Wiehe (1994) and Human Rights Watch (1995) who supported the development of protocols for dealing with domestic violence emphasised that these protocols should not define the victims

according to gender. Garner and Clemmer (quoted by Wiehe, 1994) stressed the necessity to train police officers to effectively intervene in domestic violence situations, as they were assumedly the first ones to arrive on the scene of domestic violence. Marks (quoted by Kooverjee, 1999) recommended that police training needed to include specific skills such as conflict management, stress management, interpersonal and communication skills, which he felt might contribute to an increase in reporting of certain crimes. Wiehe (1994) also emphasised the importance of emotional support from court officials, especially the prosecutor, especially if the victim had to confront the perpetrator in court. Judges also needed knowledge of domestic violence and needed to address their gender biases.

Seven of the participants highlighted the importance of counselling services for abused men and their wives. Such counselling should focus on helping the perpetrator to stop the abuse and assist the couple to build a healthier relationship. Wiehe (1994) and Jenkins (1990) recommended counselling for perpetrators and victims. Both authors suggested that counselling focus on empowering the victim and assisting with practical aspects such as finance and accommodation. Where the couple had decided to work on the marriage, Jenkins (1990) and Angless (in Gray, 1998) advocated for individual counselling sessions for both spouses and only when the victim felt safe in the relationship again to begin with marriage counselling. Three of the participants felt that separate counselling services should be made available for abused men. Peter added that there should be "some kind of helping centres for men, where men can go with whatever problem they have. But you know, something that focuses on men." The expressed need for separate services were related to participants feeling marginalised and discriminated against by existing services, which they saw as being focused on women. Mark suggested the use of female counsellors. In this way abused men could see that all women were not "bad" and could experience a positive relationship with a woman. He thought that it would be helpful as well to get a woman's perspective on the abusive

relationship and on relationships in general. This would then help men in their future relationships. Two participants suggested a helpline to which men could phone in and speak about abuse. These participants felt that current telephonic helplines that offered telephonic counselling were perceived to be directed toward women. Lifeline's Stop Women Abuse Helpline has asserted however that 40% of all the calls they received were from male victims of abuse (Roos, 2002).

Five participants suggested the establishment of support groups for abused men. They felt that it would help men to see that they are not alone in their problems and that others had similar experiences. Group intervention has been supported by Wiehe (1994), Mullender (1996) and Caringella-MacDonald (in Cardarelli, 1997) to show victims that there were others who had similar experiences, that the abuse was not their fault, to provide support and to support others in the decision that they made regarding the future. FAMSA (1997) and Angless (in Gray, 1998) found that a support group for victims of abuse could be a powerful tool toward empowering female victims of domestic violence. By implication then, because husband abuse is an aspect of domestic violence, support groups for abused men would also empower abused husbands.

Two participants who felt that abused men needed a safe haven to go to recommended a shelter for abused men. They contended that many men were forced to simply continue living in their homes because there was no refuge from the abuse. Some abused men, as in the case of Eric, were forced to go to shelters for destitute people. Such shelters for the homeless were already overcrowded, and did not offer any counselling or support. While at a shelter for abused men however, the victim would be able to receive specific assistance to address the abuse they were experiencing and plan for a safer future (Park, Peters and De As, in Park, Fedler and Dangor, 2000). Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) quoted Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980) and Bowker and Maurer

(1985), who emphasised that shelters were the most supportive and effective resource for victims of violence.

Segal and Labe (in McKendrick and Hoffman, 1990) contended that when there was an overwhelming rate of violence in a society, a general acceptance of violence developed. They therefore advocated for public awareness programmes that would address domestic violence and educate society. Five participants felt that it was crucial for society to become aware of the issue of husband abuse. This was necessary so that society would realise that “not all men are bad” and “men are also victims”. Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) and Angless (in Gray, 1998) supported the necessity to change society’s attitudes towards domestic violence. This should be done through all sects of society. Junaid maintained that the perception and actual lack of help available contributed to men keeping quiet about husband abuse. He felt strongly that only when resources were made available would men come forward and speak out against the abuse they experienced. As discussed in chapter one, society’s perceptions of social issues helped decide which issues became a priority and received attention. Unless society’s perceptions about husband abuse were changed, women and children will be the only victims of family violence who will receive any assistance. Society therefore needed to be educated regarding husband abuse. Angless (in Gray, 1998) who supported the need for creating public awareness added that doing so would educate other victims of abuse. The greater the publicity and media attention on husband abuse, the more victims would become informed of their rights and resources for help. Other abused men would be encouraged to break the silence and speak out against abuse. Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) observed that the media was a strong force in changing societal attitudes. He recommended that the media realistically portray domestic violence such that myths surrounding domestic violence were debunked. The media could also focus attention specifically on husband abuse. This would include educating men on their rights and publicising services available. Kooverjee (1999) maintained that even though the South African

government was committed towards a non-sexist society, as indicated by the South African constitution, only a change in past attitudes and stereotypes would bring these ideals into fruition.

6.6 Conclusion

There were various reasons as to why the abused husbands in this study wanted to remain in their marriages. The cycle of abuse was identified as one of these reasons. The other major reason was concern for their children's well being and the fact that they were not likely to get custody. It was clearly evident that the victims of husband abuse attempted to solve their problems and cope with the abuse in many ways. Various resources were accessed. Apart from the help of family and friends, participants generally regarded all other resources as having been unhelpful to solving the problem and putting an end to the abuse. There appeared to be a general feeling from the research participants "that everything is for women". All services, policies and laws were seen to be directed at protecting and empowering women, while removing men's rights. Even though many women's organisations, gender units and social scientists would disagree that women were far from being equal in society and many were still oppressed, the general perception echoed by the participants of the study was that they had no rights or resources to turn to for help. They felt powerless against the women in their lives who had "destroyed me (us)... taken away everything I've (we've) worked for in life, left me (us) with nothing". This sense of impotence and disillusionment was also felt by many of the other men who contacted the researcher regarding their marital and divorce problems. Out of their own experiences with the current services available to abuse men, the research participants made various suggestions for necessary services for abused men.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A WAY FORWARD

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the major conclusions of the study and recommendations that have evolved from the findings of the study.

7.2 Major Conclusions of the Study

The study concluded that there were definitely men who were abused by their wives in the greater Durban area. Like abused women, abused husbands were reluctant to disclose the abuse they were experiencing. There was gross underreporting of incidences of husband abuse. It must be noted that the researcher sought the participants of the study out. Although a considerable number of men responded to the article/letter to the editor, many of them were reluctant to participate in the study. This was consistent with studies conducted by Kooverjee (1999), Singh (1997) and Renzetti (1992), in which victims of abuse expressed fear of the perpetrator finding out that they had disclosed the abuse, as well as reluctance due to the stigma associated with being abused. This was mainly due to the stigma that victims of domestic violence experienced, as well as the shame, guilt and self-blame that was frequently related to it. While women experienced a fair amount of support when they disclosed domestic violence, for abused men little support was experienced. The stigma they felt was compounded by the fact that we live in a patriarchal society, in which men are supposed to be in charge of their relationships (Wiehe, 1994). Admitting that they were abused was tantamount to admitting their failure as men. The silence was therefore perpetuated.

The study concluded that the cycle of abuse as identified by L. Walker, was prevalent in all the study participants' experiences of abuse (Fedler, 1999).

Although not identified as such by the participants, the three phases of the cycle of abuse – tension build-up phase, abusive phase and the honeymoon phase could be identified. The characteristics of each phase of the cycle of abuse were similar to that in abusive marriages where the husband is the perpetrator. The only significant difference was that the female perpetrators were said to be unremorseful for their actions during the honeymoon stage. Male perpetrators of violence tended to be remorseful during the honeymoon phase (Wiehe, 1994). They typically showered the victim with gifts, were affectionate and apologetic for their behaviour. Promises to change and never be abusive, without accepting responsibility for the abuse was also common. Some people were loving and kind during this phase, or may have behaved in ways that pleased the victim. They however, did not apologise or express remorse for their behaviour.

Most of the study participants were separated from their wives. Interestingly enough, in some of these cases it was the wife who initiated the separation. This was contradictory to FAMSA (1997) and Mullender's (1996) observations that perpetrators of domestic violence were usually highly emotionally dependent on the victim. Singh (1997) showed that the perpetrator usually committed the most violent acts of abuse when the victim attempted to end the relationship. The greater majority of the participants in this study were willing to reconcile on condition that the abuse ceased. This was consistent with Padayachee and Pillay (1993) and Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) who found that victims have a strong desire to continue with the marriage despite the abuse they had experienced. The reasons cited by the abused husbands for wanting to remain in the marriage included a strong commitment to the marriage (which was frequently associated with their religious beliefs), love for the spouse, concern over the well being of their children, loss of custody/access to their children and hope that the relationship would improve over time. It can be concluded that abused men usually wanted to remain in their abusive marriages for similar reasons as abused women did.

The study further concluded that the victims of abuse accepted various myths regarding abuse, the most prevalent of which was that the victims had provoked or caused the violence in some way. Browne (in Cardarelli, 1997) and Gelles (1997) observed that victims and society in general tended to believe the explanations that the perpetrator provided for the abuse and that myths regarding domestic violence were pervasive. The other explanations offered by participants were consistent with the theories used to explain men's violence against women. These included the personality theories, socio-cultural theories, and social learning theories as explained by Jenkins (1990).

The major conclusion of the study was that husband abuse was similar to wife abuse in many respects. Domestic violence is not a gender issue. Although the researcher did not design the study to be a parallel study of wife abuse, it is worth noting the similarities and differences between the two aspects of abuse that emerged from the study. Many of the conclusions and recommendations have therefore drawn on these. The study concluded that husband abuse was perpetrated in similar ways as wife abuse. The participants of the study were physically, emotionally, sexually, financially and verbally abused by the perpetrators. These men experienced all forms of abuse with particularly high levels of emotional and physical abuse. The research participants were emotionally abused by being called derogatory names, embarrassed in public, restricted in their movements and associations. The physical abuse experienced ranged from punches, objects thrown at the victims, personal belongings being destroyed and attacks with weapons. Most of the victims sustained injuries during the incidences of physical violence. However the extent of injury was not a criterion for determining whether abuse had occurred. As defined for the study in chapter 2, husband abuse is any act that was committed with the intention or perceived intention of causing harm to the victim. The findings were consistent with other literature and other research studies on domestic violence. The study showed that the emotional abuse was most debilitating for victims. This was consistent with Wiehe (1994) and FAMSA (1997).

Experiencing husband abuse had similar effects on the victims, as with female victims of domestic violence. The most common effects were a loss of self-esteem, depression, psychosomatic complaints and negative effects on work performance. This was consistent with other literature and studies on domestic violence conducted by Segal and Labe (in McKendrick and Hoffman, 1990). The motives for the abusive behaviour were to control the victim, which once again was similar to the motives highlighted by Wiehe (1994), Ptacek (in Cardarelli, 1997) and FAMSA (1997) as the motive for male perpetrated violence against women. The services required by the victims as identified by the participants in the study were also consistent with those services recommended by various authors for female victims of domestic violence. Jenkins (1990), Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) and Fleming (1979) have recommended counselling services for the perpetrator and the victim, family counselling, group therapy, shelters and legislation to protect victims. It can thus be concluded that domestic violence is not a gender issue. It is rather an issue of one partner controlling another through various physical, sexual, emotional, verbal and financial means.

The abuse that participants had experienced had affected some participants' relationships with other women in that they were more wary and doubting of women. An equal number of participants reported that their feelings for their wives had not been affected by the abuse as those who reported that their love had diminished. It can be concluded however, that husband abuse had considerably damaged all participants' marital relationships.

A further conclusion of the study was that most of the current welfare services and laws were focused primarily on women. The respondents and the research participants, who felt a sense of being marginalised and discriminated against, echoed this. The participants found the available services (particularly the criminal justice system) to be inaccessible, insensitive and ineffective in dealing with husband abuse. Although the Domestic Violence Act, of 1998 allows for perpetrators to be jailed for a maximum of two years and or pay a fine if

convicted of violating a protection order, this was seldom enforced. What becomes apparent is that the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act was hugely problematic. In theory the Act is one of the most progressive pieces of legislation in the world in protecting the rights of the victims of domestic violence. The reality as pointed out by the study and supported by Kooverjee (1999) is that many victims experienced great difficulties accessing this protection. Welfare organisations contacted by the participants had different reactions to husband abuse, but the general consensus was that these services focused on helping women only. Only one participant reported that individual counselling that he has been engaged in for many years had helped him. Other sources of help accessed by people were religious/cultural leaders, family, friends and work colleagues. The study concluded that the most helpful source of assistance for most participants were their families. This was confirmed by Stephens and McDonald (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) who found that victims tended to approach friends and family first. Social welfare agencies and the criminal justice system were seen as the last resort.

7.3 Recommendations

A major recommendation of the study is that the criminal justice system needs to take a serious stance against all forms of violence within the home. Wiehe (1994) strongly felt that only when the criminal justice system sent out a clear message that no violence would be tolerated, would perpetrators be motivated to change their abusive behaviour. This would also encourage victims of domestic violence to speak out about the abuse. Segal and Labe (in McKendrick and Hoffman, 1990) advocated for lengthier criminal sentences for perpetrators of violence. The authors felt strongly that this alone would be a deterrent against violence.

As recommended by Kooverjee (1999), the police, social welfare practitioners and society at large needed to be educated on the Domestic Violence Act of

1998. The researcher contends however, that knowledge alone of one's rights was insufficient. It is therefore suggested that the process of enforcing one's rights be facilitated by a user-friendlier criminal justice system. More training and education needs to be conducted with all service providers. Domestic violence in general and more specifically husband abuse needed to be included in training and re-training curricular of all counsellors, be they professional or volunteer, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, members of the South African Police Service, magistrates, judges, nurses and doctors. This will ensure that all those working with the victims of violence will be better equipped to assist these victims. It is crucial that services to victims be accessible and effective. Service providers should be held accountable for providing such a service. Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) and Human Rights Watch (1995) supported the necessity of training of police officers to educate them in the Domestic Violence Act, improve their attitudes towards victims by eliminating gender bias and to diligently enforce protection orders. Kooverjee (1999) recommended that police officers also be trained in what she termed as 'soft' skills such as listening, empathy and understanding. Such training and re-training will also limit the degree of secondary victimisation that victims of domestic violence experience.

Social welfare agencies need to develop programmes to address the issue of husband abuse. Such programmes should be widely advertised rather than being offered only when requested. This would eradicate the current problem of abused husbands feeling that there are no services for them, as victims would become aware that services are available. Services should include telephonic helplines, support groups for abused men, individual and couple counselling and shelters for abused men. Services should also include intervention programmes for the perpetrators as well (Babcock and Taillade, in Ezell and Jouriles, 2000). Such programmes should also take into consideration ethnic minorities and abusers who are chemically dependant.

Broad scale community awareness programmes highlighting the rights of men in general and more specifically focusing on husband abuse would be beneficial. Segal and Labe (in McKendrick and Hoffman, 1990) supported the necessity of educating the public on domestic violence issues as a means of eradicating this social issue. This will reduce the stigma associated with victims of abuse and will encourage other abused men to disclose the abuse and access the required services. Sullivan (in Cardarelli, 1997) recommended community awareness programmes that focus on changing attitudes of society away from using violence as a problem solving method towards more peaceful resolution to problems. The author contended that media, which was a powerful force in changing societal attitudes, could realistically portray domestic violence and debunk some of the myths that exist.

Society should also take responsibility to eradicate violence. As Segal and Labe (in McKendrick and Hoffman, 1990) stated, in conditions where there is overwhelming violence, violence is accepted as the norm. The use of violence therefore did not produce any sense of outrage. Society however needs to stop shielding perpetrators and denying the existence of husband abuse. It is recommended that educational programmes occur on a preventative level as well. Life skills programmes with young people that focus on teaching them peaceful conflict resolution skills, would result in a generation of young people who have alternatives to violence (Angless in Gray, 1998). Preventing violence was important as well so as to eradicate the problem completely.

Finally, further research needs to be conducted into men's issues in South Africa. Very little focus has been placed on men's experiences related to relationships, parenting, impact of legislation and services. More specifically however, further research needs to be conducted into husband abuse in South Africa. Whereas this exploratory study fulfilled the objectives outlined in chapter 1, by providing insights into various aspects of husband abuse, further research should be conducted. This would provide a greater understanding of husband abuse.

Babcock and Taillade (in Vincent and Jouriles, 2000) emphasized the need for research to be an integral aspect of addressing domestic violence. This will enable helping professionals to design effective intervention strategies for abused men and to scourge all forms domestic violence from our society.

7.4 Conclusion

By having explored husband abuse, the researcher did not in any way aim at minimising the violence that women in society were subjected to. Instead the aim was to develop a more holistic understanding of domestic violence. The findings of the study clearly showed that domestic violence is not a gender issue. It is rather a relationship where one partner is using various methods to control the other partner. The gender of the victim and perpetrator is irrelevant. Gelles (1997) maintained that when addressing this problem of domestic violence, one needed to consider that our cultural attitudes toward men, women and children and our society's attitude toward violence as a legitimate means of solving problems and expressing oneself, contributed to the problem. We therefore need to have a holistic understanding of husband abuse, in order to change our attitudes towards violence as a problem solving method.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF ORGANISATIONS CONTACTED TO PROVIDE STATISTICS ON HUSBAND ABUSE AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

NAME OF ORGANISATION	CASES OF HUSBAND ABUSE	RECORDS/STATISTICS
Addington Hospital	NO	
Advice Desk for Abused Women	YES	For every 200 cases of women abuse, there are 50 cases of husband abuse
Black Sash	NO	
Chatsworth Alive Development Project	YES	1 in 3 men are abused
Chatsworth Community Care Centre	YES	No records kept. Men sent to court for protection orders
Chatsworth Child and Family Welfare	YES	No records kept
Durban Children's Society	NO	
Family and Marriage Society of South Africa (Durban)	YES	No records kept
Kwa Mashu Child and Family Welfare Society	YES (ISOLATED CASES)	No records kept.
Kwa-Zulu Natal Survivors of Violence	NO	
National Institute for Crime and Rehabilitation of Offenders	NO	
Peace Haven	YES	No records kept
Phoenix Child and Family Welfare Society	YES (ISOLATED CASES)	No records kept
Phoenix Domestic Violence Network	YES	
Pinetown Child and Family Welfare Society	NO	
Reservoir Hills Community Crisis Centre	NO	
R. K. Khan Hospital	NO	
Safecare Community Centre	NO	
Umlazi Child and Family Welfare Society	NO	
Wentworth Hospital	NO	

APPENDIX B: ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN NEWSPAPERS

The Rising Sun

Fax Number:

RE: RESEARCH INTO HUSBAND ABUSE

I am currently studying towards a Masters in Social Science degree at the University of Natal (Dbn), and am conducting research into husband abuse within the greater Durban area. The research is being conducted under the supervision of Reshma Sathiparsad in the Centre for Social Work.

I have found that an increasing number of men are approaching welfare organisations in an attempt to deal with the abuse that they are experiencing. The research study is aimed at exploring and understanding these men's experiences, thereby assisting helping professionals to effectively help victims of husband abuse.

I would be grateful for your assistance in finding abused men to participate in the study, by printing the attached article in your newspaper(s). The article creates awareness regarding husband abuse and appeals for men to assist with the study. I would be happy to reciprocate by providing you with an article or an interview when this research is completed.

Should there be any queries, please contact the undersigned on 082 665 4594 or Ms Sathiparsad on (031) 260 2430. I look forward to a favourable reply.

Yours sincerely

APPENDIX C: LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The Editor
The Sunday Times

Fax No: (031) 308 2715

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: RESEARCH INTO HUSBAND ABUSE

I am currently studying towards a Masters in Social Science degree at the University of Natal (Dbn), and am conducting research into husband abuse within the greater Durban area. The research is being conducted under the supervision of Reshma Sathiparsad in the Centre for Social Work.

The research study is aimed at exploring and understanding these men's experiences, thereby assisting helping professionals to effectively help victims of husband abuse. I would be grateful for your assistance in finding abused men to participate in the study, by printing the following letter in your newspaper(s). The article creates awareness regarding husband abuse and appeals for men to assist with the study.

When we speak of domestic violence the image that instinctively comes to mind is that of a man abusing a woman. But more and more men are also being abused. There are several reasons why we don't hear about it. Firstly, any form of abuse is regarded as a private problem. Victims therefore do not want to talk about it. Secondly men are afraid of the repercussion of talking about the abuse. They fear being ridiculed and receiving no help. Thirdly men are socialized into believing that they are supposed to be in charge of their relationships – “wear the pants” so to speak. Men who are abused may feel that they have failed as a man.

Abused men need to speak out against the abuse – this is the first step. A post-graduate student is conducting research into husband abuse. The purpose of the study is to develop an understanding of the victims' experiences, identify services required by abused men and develop recommendations for how to help them. The research is necessary because very little is known about husband abuse. This hinders helping professionals from effectively assisting victims of husband abuse.

If you, or someone you know is being abused, please contact Diane on 082 665 4594. All information will be kept strictly confidential.

Diane

Post-graduate Student

Should there be any queries, please contact me on 082 665 4594 or Ms. Sathiparsad on (031) 260 2430.

Yours sincerely

**APPENDIX D: LIST OF NEWSPAPERS THAT
ARTICLES/LETTERS WERE SUBMITTED TO & THE
GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS COVERED BY THESE NEWSPAPERS**

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	GEOGRAPHICAL AREA COVERED
The Tabloid	Chatsworth, Shallcross and Phoenix, Phoenix Industrial Park, Mount Edgecombe
The Rising Sun	As above
The Sunday Tribune	Greater Durban area
The Sunday Times	As above
The Daily News	As above
The Post	As Above
Ilanga	As Above
The Mercury	As above
Isolezwe	Umlazi
The Berea Mail	Berea, Overport, Musgrave, Morningside, Springfield Park, Clare Estate
Southlands Sun	Sherwood, Bluff, Wentworth, Merebank, Clairwood

APPENDIX E - CONSENT FORMS

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FOLLOWING RESEARCH STUDY:
EXPLORING HUSBAND ABUSE WITHIN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA.

The purpose of the research study is to gain a better understanding of husband abuse. In conducting the research, the researcher aims to obtain a better understanding of the experiences of victims, the effects that the abuse has on them, the services they have accessed and what services are needed. The results of the study will be shared with other professionals through presentations and possible publications so that they in turn may be able to design appropriate services to help those experiencing this form of abuse.

The researcher is a social worker currently conducting the research study as part of a Masters in Social Work programme. As such the study is being conducted under the guidance of the Centre for Social Work at the University of Natal (Durban) and the strictest ethical guidelines apply to the research. The researcher will protect your identity by using fictitious names and disguising incidents.

I hereby agree to participate in the above-mentioned research project. I acknowledge that the information obtained in the interview is being tape recorded with my permission. As agreed on by the researcher and myself, I may decide not to have the interview tape recorded at a later stage. I understand that the data gathered from the interview would be used to prepare a research project and that every precaution will be taken to protect my identity and assure confidentiality. I acknowledge my participation as voluntary and understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time.

Research Participant: _____

Researcher : _____

Date : _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. How long have you been married?
2. How would you describe your marriage?
3. What are the major conflicts in your relationship about?
4. How frequent is the abuse?
5. How severe are the violent episodes?

Probes centred around the need for medical attention and how the participant explained injuries to others.

6. Was anyone present during the violent episodes?

Probes explored how others reacted to the abuse.

7. How does the abuse usually begin? (Sequence of events)
8. Whenever anyone has had the kind of experience you have, they naturally want to explain it. We all ask "Why did this happen to me?" How did you explain the abusive incidents to yourself?

Probes related to whether the explanations changed over time and whether participants could explain husband abuse in general.

9. What were some of the effects to the battering?

Probes included how the abuse affected the marital relationship,

participants' relationships with other women, physical health, work performance and self- development.

10. Did this experience change the way you feel about your partner?
11. Did you turn to anyone for help? (If so, who?)
12. What were your experiences of those sources approached?
13. What factors have contributed to your staying in the relationship?
14. How have you coped with the situation?
15. What services do you think should be available for men in this situation?