GOTHENBURG UNIVERSITY
Department of Social Work
International Master of Science in Social Work

Unraveling men's Violence against Women: a study focusing on male perpetrators and their responses to violence in a therapy situation in Sweden

'Violence is not who you are, it is what you do and it can be changed'

Master Programme in Social Work and Human Rights
SW2579 Scientific Work in Social Work (30 higher education Credits)
Advanced level
Spring 2012

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

How can I write on paper what I feel in my heart!

I thank the Almighty God for without His will and special favor, I would not have reached where I am. You are indeed great to me!

Many thanks go to the coordinators of the exchange programme. Staffan Höjer, Ing-Marie Johansson, Ronnie Tikkanen, and Dr Asingwire. Thanks for giving me a chance by enabling me, financially, to cross borders.

This report like every endeavor benefited from many supportive individuals. Deepest thanks go to my supervisor, Anita Kihlström who advised, guided, and encouraged me throughout the whole research process. It seemed such an uphill task to accomplish but with her advice, I was able to make it through.

My course mates in the International master programme of Social Work and Human Rights, thank you for those inspiring discussions. They increased my zeal to pursue this study. To all the professors as well, you sharpened and challenged me in many ways.

My friends have been there for me. Annette Fridström, my friend and former field work supervisor, you have done a lot and I am deeply grateful. Your hospitality provided a good learning environment from where the interest in this topic was harnessed. Ronald Luwangula, Janepher Turyamwesiga, Ina Muller, thank you for sharing the sleepless nights reading through my work and giving me constructive feedback. That was so good of you. Innocent Atwijukire, Rose Namwanje, Nnyombi Aloysious, you have been there and encouraging. Sometimes your phone calls helped relax my mind. Onyeka, you always encouraged me and advised me to seek God's wisdom and strength, thanks for that support. Hadijah Mwenyango, we shared the stories and worries and most importantly the enthusiasm and motivation to go back to our country. It turned out paying. My love, Amon Biryomumaisho, you inspired me to have this finished so that I can spend some time with you; I am grateful. Justus Twesigye, you know how much you have encouraged me in those long communications we have had. Thank you.

To my respondents, thank you for sharing your experiences and knowledge that has informed this thesis. The male respondents, thank you for being daring and sharing your experiences.

I appreciate my entire extended family. For I know without you, this piece wouldn't be possible. Only God knows what you've done. Thank you Mum for being there for those women. Antie Jessica, thank you for always checking on me.

I am very grateful to everyone (mentioned and not mentioned).

DEDICATION

To my Lovely Mum; because of her resistance

ABSTRACT

Worldwide, men's violence against women continues to haunt the lives of many through its devastating social, psychological, economic and health related effects. Clearly, efforts to address it have been focused big time on victims, thus addressing effects and symptoms of this violence. Whereas this is inevitable and important, such a focus leaves the burden of addressing the problem on the victims' shoulders undermining the issue that Violence against Women is also a perpetrators' problem. Efforts to understand men's violence against women with the focus on how the perpetrators perceive it, respond and resist it are at the infancy stage. This highlights the dire need of such focus both in practice and in research.

Up on this basis, a qualitative study utilizing non standardized interviews was conducted. Data was collected from the professionals that come in contact with men who use violence as well as from the male perpetrators. The general aim was to unravel and investigate the complexity of this violence against women with a focus on male perpetrators. Specific aims were to investigate how and why perpetrators of violence respond to violence, how they account or tell their violence, focus of intervention in therapy as well as the responses after the therapy with the professionals.

Results indicated various ways male perpetrators respond and resist violence. One response is by seeking psychotherapy. The triggers and motivations that lead the male perpetrators to seek psychotherapy are highlighted. Results also indicate how male perpetrators account for their violence through strategic use of language. Thus, a language of minimization, denial, justification is used by the male perpetrators during their accounts. The intentions of using such language are highlighted. The way the male perpetrators respond to violence determines the focus of intervention during therapy with the professionals. Thus, this response based therapy is discussed and some crosscutting themes of focus are highlighted. Consequently, it is inevitable that the male perpetrators of violence have to take responsibility for their violence as well as taking the initiative to work towards changing their violent behaviors.

The implications from this study are that understanding violence against women from the way it is explained and perceived by the male perpetrators is vital in prevention and consequent cessation of this problem. Their justifications show reasons for their continued use of violence. Deconstructing and understanding such by everyone involved in the battle against violence can bring insurmountable results. Working with perpetrators of violence can constitute an important part to ending violence against women and efforts to document and encourage their constructive responses and resistance should be pursued.

Key words: Men's violence against women, male perpetrators, therapy, responses and resistances

Violence if physical –feels on the body. It hurts, leaves marks, evokes fear and or anger and results in submissiveness and or resistance. Its existence is utterly material and physical, but its consequences may be immaterial and reach far outside the body. It-or mere threat of it-may uphold power, or create power, or be power-or all of this simultaneously (Enander, 2008)

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter spells out the background to the study, the problem statement, the research purpose in terms of objectives and questions as well as the significance of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Worldwide, men's Violence against Women (hereafter referred to as VAW) is a widely known and experienced phenomenon that cuts across class, race, and borders, with devastating effects on individuals, families, communities, and societies in all parts of the world. It is an important public health problem and a serious human rights abuse (Garcia-Moreno et al, 2005, UNFPA, 2005, Heise,Ellsberg&Gottmoeller,2002). It is a stumbling block to development (Francine, 2001). It is a matter that comes up everywhere; in newspapers, TV shows, in classroom discussions and even in home conversations. It is, however, a complex phenomenon that is hardly understood by many because it happens where we most expect love, care and respect (Gondolf, 2002). In fact, it lingers as an attack on love and a scourge on marriage.

It's devastating effects seem to be universal; with mostly women and children portrayed as direct and even indirect victims. Many women who are not direct victims have become more cautious, fearful, and suspicious because of what they know about violence. What happened to other women could happen to them as well.

Statistically, many figures exist out there, each attempting to portray the prevalence of VAW to the extent that one wonders what to quote or not. However, what is crystal clear is that VAW is global. In nearly 50 population-based surveys from 36 nations around the world it was unearthed that from 10 to over 50% of women are physically assaulted by intimate partners during their lifetimes (Heise, Ellsberg & Gottemoeller, 1999 cited in Rothman, Butchart, & Cerda, 2003), Watts &Zimmerman (2002). Whereas these portray only physical violence, there are other forms that are psychological, whose impact may be difficult to objectively quantify. Also, is the issue that due to the sensitivity of the subject, Violence is universally underreported (Watts &Zimmerman (2002)

1.1.1 Swedish Context

Even in 'a gender-egalitarian' welfare state of Sweden, the home of human rights, the monster VAW exists. Thus, according to the first ever Swedish national prevalence study on VAW (Lundgren et al, 2002), VAW was captured in Sweden. The authors report that violence is widespread, frequent and can be found everywhere. There are no free zones for women in 'equal Sweden'. They note that nearly half of Swedish women have been subjected to violence by a man since their fifteenth birthday and almost one woman in three has had this experience before the age of fifteen. The perpetrator (man who uses the violence) can be from any social class and ethnicity. In more than 80% of current cases of violence in matrimonial and cohabitant relationships, he is a Swedish man.

It is imperative to note Sweden's attempts to respond to this problem. It is crystal clear that VAW in Sweden is embraced as an intolerable human right violation. It has been recognized beyond being family violence to a human rights issue and violation. As a commitment, the government has ratified the UN conventions that aim at elimination of VAW, internationally. Nationally, it has also adapted legislations criminalizing VAW. Most importantly is the 1998

government proposition that called for Protection of Women's Integrity (Proposition 1997/98:55). This was a milestone in the evolvement of public awareness and institutional responses to VAW in Sweden. The proposition, and the public investigation preceding it (SOU 1995:60), had an explicit "women's perspective" and resulted in several reforms (Nordborg & Niemi-Kiäsiläinen, 2001 cited in Enander, 2008).

In Sweden's Women's Integrity Bill, the government adopted a few changes to the penal code and increased the penalty value of acts which, viewed separately, are relatively minor but when repeated may lead to substantial violation of the victim's integrity. This law states that (sexual) assaults, threats and molestation to someone in close (or formerly close) relation to him or her together form a chain of violence directed at the breaking of a person's self-esteem, and there is enough proof; these assaults can be linked together as either *grov fridskränkning* (Gross Violation of Integrity) or – in the case committed to the woman he was married to or living with –, *grov kvinnofridskränkning* (gross violation of a woman's integrity) (Swedish Penal Code, Ch. 4. §4.a). The gross violation of women's integrity crime is based on the knowledge possessed of effects of the normalization process and the impact of repeated violations on women subjected to them (Lundgren et al, 2002). That withstanding, the Statistics Sweden (SCB) (2010) indicates that over 2700 cases of gross violation of women's integrity were reported in 2009. However, it is argued that legislation by itself will not solve this pandemic of VAW. Thus, as well, efforts have been directed towards helping the victims of VAW with a plethora of women shelters in existence in Sweden. The women's movements are hassling, day and night to ensure the end of this problem. Also programmes for the male perpetrators of violence have been embraced in Sweden and since these form the basis of this study, they will be explored in detail later.

1.1.2 Ugandan perspective

Lofland (1995) cited in Fielding and Thomas (2008) notes that ´ we are all located in particular social contexts, with particular biographies. Our point of departure is always what is puzzling relative to our own cultural perspective`` (p.254). Indeed this articulation explains why the researcher became interested in this study, for sure, given my Ugandan social context. Below is a short presentation about this context and it will be expounded in the discussion.

At least one issue adds us together worldwide, North to South! Uganda is also not exceptional of this monster VAW. For instance a report by Amnesty International (2010, p.26) indicates that 68% of ever-married women aged 15-49 years had been violated by their lovers. Suffice to note is that what is reported is much more less than what actually happens because not long ago has VAW been looked at as a private family matter/misunderstanding. No 'washing ones linen in public' is encouraged; issues of the bedroom/home should remain in the bedroom/home thus VAW is still under and misreported in Uganda.

The researcher has grown up seeing Violence vivid in many families. This violence is most especially against women and by people one would expect to care and love, if this thing love exists. My mothers' house is kind of a 'safe house' for many women in my village as they come to seek refuge from their battering husbands. Even before I grew up to that understanding stage of knowing what was going on, I saw women being 'over disciplined' by their husband. One experience by one woman in our neighborhood always rings in my mind at the mention of VAW. Her experience left puzzling questions in my mind that in a way motivated me to unravel this

monster VAW. In the middle of the night, you would hear a knock on my mothers' window and as a child you would have to pretend that you have not heard or even seen her enter the house because she would be in such a sorry state. It happened for a long time. When I grew up, I am the one who would open the door when I heard such knocks from several fleeing women.

Until now, I have always been puzzled about why this was happening to this woman in my neighborhood and several others in the community. Just a small thing, she would be beaten, if he did not like the food cooked, if he was disturbed by someone else in the community, she would be beaten. The question is still 'why does he beat her? Yet the next day if she was not badly bruised, she made sure everyone, (even the abusive husband) ate and children went to school. Unfortunate enough, she is not the only one, even our other neighbor, and my distant neighbor; it seems to be normal for men to beat their women.

Taking a historical perspective, VAW is hardly a problem (Gordon, 1989) as long as society generally has construed women as property and explicitly promoted the social domination and privileges of men, family violence (by its most extreme forms) has been condoned and legitimized (cited in Fonogy, 1999). While Gordon regards this as historical perspective, in my country, Uganda, it is still a present happening. What these men do to the women in my neighborhood, in Ugandan context is unfortunately not legally recognized as a crime. Regulations and laws are vital foundations in especially holding people accountable for whatever they do. Generally, VAW is instead treated as an assault or crime of morality under the Penal code (when one goes to court) which leaves the lives of many women at a very high risk because men know that they will not be criminalized under the law for any of their violence (Mutabaazi 2005; Alyek (2002). This also does not put adequate consideration to the complexities in homes/family context in which VAW happens. Uganda, however, has ratified several conventions including CEDAW[1] and at a national level, the constitution of 1995 bears relevant articles like 33(1), 21(1, 2). All these ,however, remain more on paper as there is seemingly inadequate political will to live to its international and national commitment and later alone the culture and attitudes of the communities that still has not accepted women as equal beings as men-Patriarchy at hand. The domination by men in almost all aspects is still evident and has bogged down efforts to end this pandemic VAW. Moreover, the Domestic Relations Bill that had specifications on punishments to the perpetrators of VAW received a lot of public criticism as giving women a lot of rights and was rejected in a male dominated parliament (Mutabaazi, 2005). It is unbelievable that in 2006, the President himself said that the bill was not an urgent issue to be considered which led to its further shelving.

However, efforts by the professionals, religious leaders and women activists are evident in trying to bring this monster into the limelight. Organizations like CEDOVIP[2], Hope after Rape, Action Aid and others are concentrated in prevention and awareness campaigns. On the other note, the Young Empowered and Healthy (Y.E.A.H) initiative runs campaigns targeting men/boys as well. One campaign is the True manhood campaign; 'Be a man' campaign which aims to convince young men to speak out against VAW.

[1] CEDAW-Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women

[2] CEDOVIP is an NGO that is a Centre for Domestic Violence Prevention based in Uganda.

It is evident that even the little efforts and NGOs are targeting the victims of VAW as compared to the perpetrators. In agreement with Eliasson (2001) , 'while targeting the women affected and the children is self- evidently right and reasonable in itself, it often overshadows the fact that violence is actually a man's problem as well' (p.7). It is against such a social context with many unanswered questions about VAW, why the husband of the woman in my neighborhood and other men in Uganda use violence that I was inspired to carry out this study as a means to disentangle this VAW. As Napoleon Hill says that 'your big opportunity may be right where you are now' coming to Sweden where there are interventions that focus on male perpetrators accorded me the opportunity to unravel this violence from the way it is understood by the perpetrators. Given the powerful status that men in such a patriarchal society like Uganda have, it is rare to hear about such interventions where men go for therapy, so I became curious to explore what actually happens in such interventions with men who perpetrate violence.

1.1.3 Male Perpetrator Intervention Background

Widely, efforts to end the pandemic have been directed towards supporting the victims of violence especially women and children. Psychological counselling centres, legal literacy programmes, national and international laws, conventions, self-help groups, specialized shelters, supportive telephone hotlines, and peer advocacy programmes for intimate partner violence victims have been replicated in a wide variety of settings (Rothman, et al 2003). While the growth of victim advocacy and support services is an achievement, intervention with the perpetrators of intimate partner violence has received comparatively little attention from Non-governmental, governmental and academic organizations outside the USA and Canada (Ibid). However, given that many abusers continue to terrorize their victims even after the relationship ends, providing support services to victims in the absence of intervention for perpetrators is a questionable practice (Hart, 1996 cited in Rothman et al 2003, Gondolf, 2002). A third to half of the women in shelters return to their batterers, at least for a time, and majority of the separated batterers move on to abuse another woman in their new relationships (Gondolf, 1988a, 2002). Hamberger and Hastings (1993); Jennings 1987; Snyder and Scheer (1981), cited in Feder &Wilson, (2005) Gondolf (1987), notes the same observation. Such arguments therefore made sense to attempt to at least change perpetrators' behaviour as well as to interrupt it. The workers in shelter movements as well came to believe that the best way to stop domestic violence was to change the behavior of the abuser (Feazell et al. (1984), cited in Feder &Wilson (2005), Eliasson,(2001).

Thus, given such awakenings, a few programmes for the perpetrators of violence have been established around the world, although scanty information in form of articles and books and even international resource about these interventions exists. An attempt to show the global perpetrator intervention programmes was made by the WHO survey in 2001 which unveiled the 56 perpetrator intervention programmes in different nations, but this is still not exhaustive. However, in the literature reviewed, it is noted that the pioneers of perpetrator interventions are said to have started in the late 1970s. It is argued that the idea of creating some kind of reception for men who beat their wives was first raised by people working in women's emergency centres and refugees. The very men who exposed women to violence made contact and explicitly requested help on their own part (Eliasson, 2001). In the US, shelter women had the same experiences. Thus the first programmes are said to have been developed in the United States (Murphy &Eckhardt, 2005) .These included EMERGE in Boston (formed by eight men who

were friends of women's activists in the Boston area (Adams&McCormick, 1982 Cited in Edleson&Tolman, 1995); AMEND in Denver, and RAVEN in St. Louis. Shortly thereafter, the Duluth, Minnesota-based DAIP programme was created. Since that time, perpetrator intervention programmes have become a significant presence in the USA explaining why at least a lot of research has been done there as compared to other areas. It is noted that, although national enrolment figures are unavailable, more than 3 000 men participate in perpetrator intervention groups in the state of Massachusetts alone every year (Massachusetts Department of Public Health, 2001) cited in Rothman et al (2003).

They are called perpetrator Intervention programmes implying educational, therapeutic groups for the perpetrators of violence, and were developed as part of the larger movement addressing the rights and needs of battered women (Edleson and Tolman, 1995). And as Gondolf,(2002) writes, batterer programmes , much like the early women's shelters, ideally were trying not only to change men but also to change the society and culture that support men's violence. The programmes are increasingly becoming part of a larger system of intervention rather than being singular treatments.

In Sweden, it is also said that the establishment of Crisis centres for men also came after the men who had their partners in the shelters would be seen loitering around the shelters so that they could have their women back. The punitive interventions for instance arrests, prosecutions became intensified after Sweden's adoption of the law on gross violation of women's integrity as well as the feminists' movements that took the advocacy for the rights of women to greater heights. Socialstylsen (2010) notes that according to the survey in 2006, there were about 50 centres in Sweden that wholly or partially turned to men who use violence in intimate relationships.Probably, more could have been established since the government has since then allocated funds to municipalities' work with safety of women which also covers the activities of violent men (Ibid).

1.2. Problem Statement

Different scholars (for example Gondolf (2002), Murphy &Eckhardt (2005) cry out loud that interventions with the perpetrators of VAW in general are in desperate need of further documentation, justification, and substantiation. This is premised on the account that they remain key and logical components in the social intervention efforts against VAW, yet they are varied and controversial in their approach, with perpetrator counselling not necessarily the same across or even in cities. There remain continuing and emerging alternative approaches that call out for attention. The perpetrator interventions appear to be evolving programmatically and organisationally, affected by a variety of institutional and social influences, and converging around some fundamental topics and procedures. More still, partner-abusive individuals (perpetrators) vary widely in their presenting problems, readiness to change, and motivations for engaging in Violence (Murphy &Eckhardt (2005). Such variance needs to be unravelled and documented. To further show the gaps that need to be filled by researchers with a focus on the perpetrators of violence, Enander, (2008) notes that 'most of the VAW researches have primarily focused on victimised women, mothers of victimised children, children of victimised women who may also be victimised and so on; most importantly she notes that no thesis solely based on interviews with violent men has been produced although constructions of masculinity have gained increased theoretical interest. Rothman et al (2003) also noted that intervention

programmes to the perpetrators of VAW have received little attention with scanty information existing about these interventions, nationally and even internationally. Sweden is not an exception of this, so the present study (though far from exhausting such a huge gap) is an attempt to unearth some of the domains of perpetrator interventions in Sweden particularly in Gothenburg and Jonkoping cities. The male perpetrators' motivations for seeking help, how they account for their violence have not been adequately addressed as well as how the therapy that is based on the responses that men who use violence show. This study, thus, set out to contribute to such awakenings.

1.3. Purpose of the study

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of this study was to unravel and investigate the complexity of men's VAW with a focus on the male perpetrators. The exploration was limited to the therapy situation with reference to the men's responses and resistances to violence.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- To find out how and why the male perpetrators of VAW come to seek help
- How do the perpetrators tell their violence?
- To explore the focus of the interventions for the therapy with these perpetrators and its contribution towards ending VAW
- To find out why there is still violence in 'gender egalitarian' Sweden and the envisaged recommendation on how it can be tackled?

1.3.3. Significance of the Study

This study is important given its contribution to understanding VAW with special consideration on how the male perpetrators perceive and respond to this complex problem. It further documents the therapy that is based on such responses; the therapy that starts from where the client is, and such knowledge can be helpful to whoever actor is committed to contributing to ending VAW with a focus on the perpetrators. Exploring the reasons why there is still violence in Sweden today is up-to-date knowledge on what is exactly happening and this can inform further the up-to-date areas of practise and intervention.

At a more personal level, the study was helpful to the researcher particularly given the knowledge acquired in understanding and working with the male perpetrators of violence. Interesting also is that strategies applicable even in daily life were learnt during this study for example taking timeouts in case of a conflict or misunderstanding; being aware of body language and what impact it can have in relationships where there is violence, as well as appreciating further the importance of communication. Since research is an ongoing process and builds on each other, this study may also serve as a source of useful information for those intending to carry out more and related research in the same area.

1.4. Definition of Key Concepts

It is surprising that with such a human rights' threatening and global issue happening, there are still debates about what this VAW is. In fact the term seems to be continually evolving.

However, for purposes of this paper, the United Nations definition of VAW is adopted. This is a broadly acknowledged and common definition. Therefore;
'Violence against Women' means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (UN Declaration on Elimination of VAW,1993).

Further still, in this paper, concentration is limited to particularly VAW that especially happens in a family, in close relations, condoned, purposefully, by the dominant intimate partner, particularly male partner. The researcher is, however, well aware of the view of violence as a 'two-way street' with women attacking men as much as men attack women (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980 cited in Gondolf, (2002), Dobash &Dobash, 2004). Consequently, Tjaden and Thoennes' view, (2000) is adopted which notes that assault of women by men is not only more severe but is much more frequent that the other way round (cited in Gondolf, 2002). Intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence (Heise, Ellsberg,Gottmoeller, 2002, Watts&Zimmerman 2002).

Perpetrator and Victim
Concept of male perpetrators is central in this thesis. This implies a person who commits a violent act against his female partner. A victim is one whom a violent act is committed against.
Suffice to note is that these are not identity terms but are only used in relation to the action taken. In this study, males are taken to be perpetrators while women are taken to be the victims.

Responses and Resistance
The concept of responses is adopted in this paper to mean any reactions or actions taken by the male perpetrators as evoked by their violent behaviours. As regards resistance, Wade's (2007a) definition is used in this thesis. Thus, resistance is taken to mean any mental or behavioural act through which a male perpetrator attempts to expose, withstand, repel, stop, prevent, abstain from, strive against, impede, and refuse to comply with or oppose any form of his violence.

Therapy
In this study, the concept therapy is used to imply a kind of interpersonal talking between the male perpetrators and the trained professionals especially as regards their violent behaviours. During such therapy, men are allowed to express their feelings, thoughts, talk about present and past events and relationship issues, in line with the goal of putting a stop on their violent behaviours.

Unravelling
The concept to unravel can mean to disentangle, to explain, to make clear, to figure out or to unveil. In the case of this study, it implies to disentangle the complexity of men's violence against women with the focus on the male perpetrators. How do they respond to their violence, how do they tell it and why do they tell it like that. How do they respond during and after therapy?

Chapter 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section entails a review of literature related to the topic under study. Literature is reviewed thematically, guided by the objectives of the study. In comparison with research and other literature that exists about the women as victims of domestic violence, literature about the perpetrators of violence and their intervention programmes was not easy to come by. Of the few studies conducted, concentration is put on arguing about whether perpetrator programmes work or not or whether men who batter can ever be able to change their behaviour .An important gap also is that most of the studies about perpetrators of violence are conducted in America, Canada, with a handful conducted in Europe. Thus such an infancy stage of the research on men who use violence prompted this study. Nevertheless, the literature and studies that were managed to come by are presented in this section.

2.1 How Perpetrators come to Contact the Professionals

Gondolf (2002) in his focus on batterer intervention systems; the issues, outcomes and recommendations gives some insight on how the perpetrators of violence come in contact with the professionals. He contends that most men who attended the pioneering programmes were prompted by their partners to attend or were referred by the clergy and social workers. Gondolf's observation confirms an earlier finding by Trimble (2000) who similarly argued that most men are compelled by their partners to attend the programme. Gondolf further notes that it was difficult to recruit and retain substantial numbers of men through these sources only. Thus, these pioneering programmes served to develop counselling approaches, organisational structure and knowledge base for the future.

In their review of researches conducted about interventions for men who batter women, Edleson& Tolman (1995) noted that some men come to intervention as a result of arrest and prosecution. They are thus compelled to attend such programmes as part of the court-mandated treatment or intervention. Eliasson (2001) highlights that in Manscentrum in Stockholm, family counselling centres, psychiatric care institutions, social authorities, the police and other authorities; friends refer men to the centre (p.12). Importantly also Eliasson denotes a demand driven approach promoted by Manscentrum where he observes that all contact is voluntary and appointments cannot be booked by anyone else except the man himself. Note worthy is that these studies were conducted elsewhere, but not particularly, about how male perpetrators of violence get in contact with professionals in Goteborg and Jonkoping, Sweden. The difference in geographical and time scope is apparently important to the extent that it motivates conducting this study not only to underscore the practice in the study area but also to underline the differences and similarities across geography and time. This is a gap that in part set the ball rolling for this study.

2.2 Motivations, Responses and Resistance

'Most men by virtue of their internalised ideas of manliness have major impediments in resolving crisis. Trained to suppress emotional distress, to prefer action to reflection, to avoid subtle signals of interpersonal conflict, not to experience shame at any hint of failure, and to resist and curse seeking help, most men seem destined to do all the multiple self-defeating techniques to avoid therapists' offices and examination of their inner life (Brooks,1998, xi). This

investigation by Brooks, (1998) while studying psychotherapy for traditional man, in a way inspired this study to ascertain more on what really motivates and triggers the men who seek psychotherapy in the centres of Gothenburg and Jönköping. What exactly prompts these men to defy such construction that men do not seek help? Brooks noted that traditional men hate psychotherapy and will do anything to avoid a therapists' office. Amato &Macdonald (2011) overhauled that men are not likely to seek help for their physical and psychological struggles. In fact Van Elst (1994) also asserts that work with men and boys should in particular reduce their tendency to be isolated because of the expectation that men do not need help or support and also their tendency towards aggression and violence (cited in Payne, 2005, p.255).

Wade (1997) in his focus on resistance offers a significant dimension. Wade's definition of resistance, also adopted by this study is found to be interesting where it considers that resistance could be by both the perpetrators and the victims in interpersonal violence. Thus, resistance may not imply the physical fighting back that we are used to in daily life but rather ' any mental or behavioural act through which a person attempts to expose, withstand, repel, stop, prevent, abstain from, strive against, impede, refuse to comply with or oppose any form of violence' (P.3)

Consequently, this resistance is ubiquitous; it is everywhere, in other words. Both the victims and the perpetrators resist in different ways, although in the literature, the victims and perpetrators are arguably misrepresented. Victims are typically represented as conditioned and passive recipients of abuse, of which the reverse is true about the perpetrators of violence. He notes in his study that response based approach would concentrate on such resistances and responses to violence than on the effects that violence has brought to the victim for instance. Other researches for example Coates and Wade (2002) Wade (2000), Wade and Todd (2003), also concur with this observation of the ubiquity of resistance. It is acknowledged that alongside each history of violence and oppression, there runs a parallel history of prudent, creative, and determined resistance. Yet with a few important exceptions (e.g. Burstow, 1992; Epston et al, 1992; Gilliganet al,1991;Kelly,1987) the theme of healthy resistance is absent from the literature concerned with the theory and practice of psychotherapy (cited in Wade,1997).
Further still, It is theoretical that our minds are structured to work in a way that is categorical, that is to think in terms of yes or no, bad or good, and thus in our case, perpetrator and victim (Scott &Shore,1979, Turk et al, 1988, cited in Gondolf,2002) yet there could be chances of the middle ground where the perpetrators and victims behave in different ways. Enander (2008) clearly articulates the point being highlighted here. She explicitly notes that feminist oriented experts and claims makers have been criticized for simplistically painting victims and perpetrators in monochromatic bright and dark colours. Against such a background, this study was set to explore some of the resistances and responses by the male perpetrators of violence against women.

2.3 How they tell/explain Violence

Thorne, (2000) highlights that when one is putting experience into words, whether verbally, in writing, or in thought, the actual experience is transformed into a communicable representation of it. Speech forms may, thus, not be the experiences themselves but may be the socially and culturally constructed device for creating a shared understanding about them. As regards giving accounts or telling of one's violence, Wade (2007 a) observes that while violence cannot be reduced to a problem of language, it can neither be effectively addressed without accurate

accounts of perpetrators' and victims' actions in specific instances. His study further explains that in legal and therapeutic settings, language is often used in a manner that obscures the unilateral and deliberate nature of violent acts with victims widely represented as objects in a language of effects that conceals their responses and resistance to violence and other forms of adversity (Ibid).
More related is their research titled; Language and violence: Analysis of four discursive operations. Wade and Coates (2007) analyze that the problem of violence is inextricably linked to the problem of representation. Both perpetrators and victims tend to misrepresent themselves at least some of the time, though for very different reasons. Wade and Coates acknowledge that 'the more strident the abuse of power, the more effectively it must be justified or concealed by the perpetrators and their supporters (p.4).

In addition, in their study 'Telling it like it is not: Obscuring perpetrator responsibility for violent crime, Wade and Coates (2004) examine the language used and the reasons given by the judges (in Canada) in sentencing the offenders for sexualised violence. Their analysis shows that majority of the judges drew a lot on the psychological explanations or causal attributions in their verdicts. Importantly, they note that the 'degree of responsibility' apportioned to any offender depends only in part upon his/ her actions, and also how these are *represented linguistically* in police reports, legal arguments, testimony, related judgments, and more broadly in professional and public discourse (p.5). Importantly, they find that psychologizing attributions (that is the causal attributions) are combined in use with other linguistic devices to conceal violence, mitigate perpetrators' responsibility, conceal victims' resistance, and blame or pathologize the victims. Their analysis was that causal attributions reformulated deliberate acts of violence into non-deliberate and non-violent acts. Among the causal attributions identified were alcohol and drug abuse, biological or sexual drive, psychopathology, dysfunctional family upbringing, stress and trauma, character or personality trait, emotional state, and loss of control. These accounted for 97% of attributions.

From all such kind of research, there arose inspirational issues and gaps that prompted carrying out this study. For instance, the previous authors studied the language used by the judges especially in sentencing offenders in Canada. However, in this study, the language used by the male perpetrators in explaining their violence will be explored. How is it told especially since it is not about winning the case and escaping sentence like it is the outright aim in courts of law and the judgment language?

Further still, Language is very important in human services; it is far from a neutral medium of exchange (Wade& Coates, 2007). Orwell cited in Wade (2007 a) attests to the same that language is flexible and can be put to more judicious use. Thus, it may be crystal clear that in treatment centers with the perpetrators, the only tool used is language (since there are no punishments like in the punitive programmes).Thus, the researcher hopes to ascertain how the professionals interact and respond to the perpetrators using 'language' in their quest of helping the men end their violent behaviors.

In a more related research was a study by Wood (2004) titled 'Monsters and Victims: men's felons' accounts of intimate partner violence'. In this study, the insiders (incarcerated men) accounts of their violence were unearthed. It is observed that the men's accounts for violence fell

in three categories, that is men used justifications (e.g. she provoked me), disassociations (e.g. I am not the abusive type, or my violence is limited) and remorse (I regret that I abused her) in describing their violent behaviour. The intersections between violence and views of being a man were unearthed where by men accounted that they were entitled to dominate and control; with a further implication that male violence and aggression fit in the patriarchal view of manhood.

Interesting to note here are the directions of future studies proposed by this research. Gaps were noted that little scholarship has been attempted in finding out and understanding 'normal' men's (not incarcerated) views about violence and manhood. Men without criminal histories might enact other types of intimate partner violence. Also other themes and views of manhood might surface in their accounts and thus, this is an area that needs to be explored more .Consequently, this present study will give its attempt on narrowing such knowledge gaps since it will investigate how the male perpetrators (with criminal records and also those without) account for their violence.

2.4 Why there is Violence

Enander's (2008) research is worth noting at this juncture. Part of her research explores how victims of male to female violence interpret and describe their perpetrators and how these interpretations mirror different discourses on Violence against women and on violent men. Based on 22 qualitative interviews with Swedish women who had left the abusive men, the women's interpretations of the abusers as Jekyll and Hyde were analyzed against the background of discourses of pathology/deviance and feminist/normality discourse. Interesting here is how these discourses explain and account for the violence. Thus, under the pathology discourse, violence is seen as a *result of* (for example personality disorders, bad childhoods, insecure attachment). Under the feminist discourse, violence is seen as *a means to* (obtain and maintain control and power over the victim. The results from her study indicated that there were complex mixes and combinations of the two discourses as regards how women interpreted their abusers, however that the dominant conceptualization was traceable to the pathology/deviance discourse. Beyond Jekyll and Hyde, the women also viewed their abusers as 'hurt boys' who are worth feeling sorry for because of what they went through during childhood and this took the blame off the abusive men and made the women feel responsible for helping and directing these 'hurt boys' which was connected to the leaving process of these women.

As one can note, this study lies in the forum of studies that attempt to explain men's violence against women, the reasons why the men use violence and so on, by asking and from the experiences of women victims. However, this study will explore why men use violence from the focus on male perpetrators and the professionals that come in contact with the male perpetrators.

2.5 Response Based Therapy

Under this response based therapy, the literature reviewed mostly emphasized on the *focus* of the therapy which would be informed by the approach and theory applied by the therapists. One study that seemed interesting because of its linkage of different theories and approaches that are relevant to understanding and targeting men's violence against women was brought into focus here. Lawson et al (2001), presents an integrated model for therapy together with pilot study results based on feedback from batterers and their partners. With the majority of their participants as court mandated, their model was based on the fact that a single, monolithic view of partner abuse or abusers is neither supported by research, nor does it provide treatment models

that produce reliable or widespread effectiveness at a level that would indicate an adequately effective treatment regimen. A case with single explanations for battering, single approaches to treatment have proven to be insufficient, as no one theory or approach adequately accounts for all the variations of partner abuse and abusers (Garden, 1994; O'Leary, 1993 cited in Lawson et al 2001). Consequently, they argue for an integrated approach with the focus of therapy on addressing the overt and identifiable links to battering while drawing explanations from social learning theory, feminist theory and psychodynamic theory. These will be expounded later in the section of the theoretical framework.

It is worth noting that in this present study, the approaches, theories and focus of intervention used in both individual and group therapy with both court mandated and self referred men that use violence will be investigated. Hence, this study will aim to give a broader view of what happens in therapy with all kinds of men that use violence in close relations. Different approaches are argued to be used in different perpetrator programmes with different focus and theories in use (Edleson &Tollman, 1995). However, Rothman et al (2003), Trimble (2000) explain that small variations regard the contents in the programmes. On the other hand, Socialstylsen, (2010) emphasized that the aim of the programmes may vary slightly but majority of the programmes highlight that they not only want to change the individuals violent behaviour but also improve families and society, change attitudes towards violence, gender roles to mention but a few. Thus, with the evolving nature of perpetrator programmes, with new approaches and focus coming up (Gondolf, 2002), this research is positioned to ascertain what is happening in therapy with male perpetrators particularly in Sweden and in Göteborg and Jönkoping cities.

2.6 The Contribution of Perpetrator Interventions/Responses after Therapy

As noted earlier, most of the literature and research about male perpetrators of violence is concentrated on questioning whether perpetrator programmes work or not. Edleson, (1995) battles the same question in a study titled 'Do batterers' programmes really work? This is a question about the effectiveness of these programmes. In the same vein, Gondolf (2002) in the multisite evaluations of batterer programmes notes that the most important question that batterer interventions continuously face is whether they 'work' or not; and whether they are effective in reducing men's violence towards women? Or are they false promises to women and a diversion from whatever is really needed? In the same vein, it is a question of whether they will survive, evolve, or drift into extinction (Gondolf, 2009). Eliasson (2001) notes that unfortunately, there seems to be widespread doubt over whether men who batter are capable of responding to treatment (p.7). Most of the studies agree that the question about the effectiveness of interventions for perpetrators is very complex to answer. Most people who have studied these interventions hold mixed opinions on their usefulness and on future changes that might bridge the gaps between the differing views (Gondolf, 2002, Edleson, 1995). Prior reviews of research on the effectiveness of these programs have arrived at conflicting conclusions (Feder &Wilson, 2005). The divergence of the views is partly because there has never been agreement about what may be defined as a programme that 'works' (Edleson, 1995); and also because of the fact that perpetrator interventions are part of a broader *batterer intervention system;* depending on/or at least related to arrest practices, court procedures, probation supervision, battered women's services and other community services (Gondolf, 2002).

As a result, various criteria have been used in ascertaining the success/contribution of perpetrator interventions, where at one end of the continuum, some researchers have used 'typically significant positive change' or statistically significant changes in a desired direction among participants (Neidig, Friedman &Collins, 1985, cited in Edleson,1995). On the other hand of the continuum, Gondolf, (1987) advocates for nothing short of a transformation of participants until men are prepared to take social action against the woman- battering culture. Others urge for an 'accountable' man (Hart, 1988 cited in Edleson, 1995). A reasonable measure, however, lies between these extremes, Edelson argues. Others studies assert that since the interventions are part of a broader intervention system, their effectiveness should be viewed in the context of the other responses which might impact up on the perpetrators abuse like arrest, prosecution (Tolman &Edlelson, 1995, Trimble, 2000).

All that notwithstanding, Edelson, (1995) notes that the majority working with perpetrators of violence agree that cessation (not mere reduction) of violent behaviour, and or threats of violence are an important success criterion. Tolman and Edelson (1995) add that in addition to ending physical, psychological, sexual and separation abuse*, to the perpetrator*, it should improve the social skills, pro-social, anti-violence attitudes, psychological and social functioning, egalitarian relationship and positive caring behaviors. *To the survivors*, it should improve their wellbeing, reduce fear, improve psycho-social functioning and reduction of traumatic stress symptoms; It should improve the *children's wellbeing*. The ultimate goal of intervention should not just be to stop abuse but to improve the lives of the battered woman as well as improve her safety.

On the whole, it is noted that while it feels a bit magical and even romantic to present therapeutic successes in anecdotal form, it lacks the science that is being required by the 21st century (Ronen &Freeman, 2007).
Thus given such a controversial background about the results made by the perpetrator intervention programmes, this study is attempt to explore the contributions/successes achieved when the male perpetrators go for therapy in Göteborg and Jonkoping, Sweden, from the Swedish perspective of how they measure success (this i hope to explore as well), given that there is no universal agreement on how success should be measured. Such successes may lie under the section of responses by the male perpetrators after the therapy. The source of measurement is also vital (that is what they take into account) -the perpetrators' self reports, the victims' reports or combined victims and perpetrators' reports or otherwise. Note that this study is not in any way a formal evaluation of the intervention programmes. It is an attempt to explore the responses after therapy with the male perpetrators.

Chapter 3 THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

This chapter spells out the theories used in understanding the phenomenon under study. A theory highlights and explains something that one would otherwise not see or would find it puzzling (Gilbert, 2008, p.25). Since the study is aimed at unraveling VAW as well as the therapy, theories that explain this violent behavior as well as the treatment/therapy approach are highlighted.

3.1. The Social Construction Theory

Social construction is an important concept in the approaches to the study of humans as social animals. Social constructs in this case would mean things that exist as a result of human interaction. And related to this study therefore one would say that power, masculinity vs. femininity are social constructs. However, Burr (2003) gives a few tenets of what social construction theory asserts. A few that are relevant to this study are thus highlighted. Social construction requires that we take a critical stance against our taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world and our selves. Such ways could include for example the categorization of gender as masculine and feminine and how all these affect how people should behave in a violent and non violent way, respectively. The theory further asserts that the ways in which we commonly understand the world, the categories and concepts we use are not only historically and culturally specific but they are also seen as products of that culture and history and are dependent upon the particular social and economic arrangements prevailing in that culture at that point in time .Thus, knowledge is sustained by social processes; our understanding of the world is not natural, and consequently there is no objective fact or truth.

Further still, the theory asserts that knowledge and social action go together; these negotiated understanding could take a wide variety of different forms, and we can therefore talk of numerous possible social constructions of the world. Each different construction also brings with it or invites a different kind of action from human beings. For example in relation to violence, where women have been constructed to be victims, action has been directed to treating the effects of violence compared to action towards them as beings with some power to influence their situation. Perpetrators of violence have been constructed as abusers, who can't change their behaviors, and so deserving to be in prison to pay for their abusive behaviors. Such indicate kinds of actions that accrue given the kinds of constructions in a society. Important in this theory is its anti-essentialism tenet which follows that there cannot be any given, determined nature to the world or people. In comparison, Psychologists look for explanations of social phenomenon inside the person, sociologists focus on social structures, while social constructionists focus social practices engaged in by the person and their interactions with each other. Some social constructions that are relevant to this study are thus discussed.

3.1.1. Language

An important objective of this study is how men account and explain their violence by putting words to their experiences and behaviors of violence .This is done through language, which makes it imperative to consider how language is a social construction. Thus, our ways of understanding the world do not come from objective reality but from other people, both past and

present. We are born into the world where the conceptual frameworks and categories used by the people in our culture already exist. We do not conveniently happen to find existing categories of thought appropriate for the expression of our experiences. How true is this as regards the expressions that the men who use violence use to explain their violent behavior? This will be ascertained in the study.

Thus language is a form of social action which has to be more than simply a way of expressing ourselves. Social constructionists take this performative role of language as their focus of interest as compared to the psychologists who regard language as a passive vehicle of our thoughts and emotions. However, in the new vision of the science of psychology, it is argued that people are conscious social actors, capable of controlling their performances and commenting intelligently up on them (Gergen, 1972 cited in Burr, 2003). When people talk to each other, the world gets constructed. Thus, through interactions between male perpetrators and the professionals, it is anticipated that the world and reality of violence will be constructed.

Because there are many commonalities and differences in the field of social construction, critical psychology, discursive psychology, deconstruction and Foucauldian discourse analysis are some that are typical of the social construction theory and its assertions (Burr, 2003). Since these are very much related to the issue of language and how the men explain their violence I will just highlight shortly what they attest. Thus, discursive psychology denies that language is a representation of or route to internal mental states or cognitions such as attitudes, beliefs, emotions. Thus, these study how people use language in their everyday interactions, their discourse with each other, and how they are adept at putting their linguistic skills to use in building specific accounts of events. Such are accounts which may have powerful implications for the interactants themselves. In this case, violence as an event would be considered as something that is 'done' through the language that we use (Ibid,2003).

Michel Foucault with Deconstruction emphasizes the constructive power of language as a system of signs rather than the constructive work of the individual person. Language and our use of it, far from simply describing the world, both constructs the world as we perceive it and has real consequences. So how do the men construct the world of violence? Language is not transparent i.e. we should guard against the common sense assumption that language is nothing more than a clear, pure medium through which our thoughts and feelings can be made available to others.

Social constructions theory is criticized for bracketing off the person/individual; no processes operating at the individual level of the individual have any explanatory power. Its assumption is that when we have understood the workings of society; we need not to look any further in understanding ourselves. In some circumstances, it could be true that the unique content of the 'person'; that is his/her personality characteristics, attitudes, motivations as well as his agency to realize his behaviors are very vital in explaining why humans behave the way they do.

3.1.2. Power

Power is a very central concept as regards Violence against women yet, it is a contested concept with no agreement on how to define (Luke (1974/2005). It has been conceptualized differently, as a capacity, a capability, as something that one possesses or does not etc. However, important conceptualizations relevant to this study are the different faces of power. To unravel men's

violence against women, there is dire need to understand the concept power. To go in details is above the limit of this study. Nevertheless, in general, A exercise power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interest (Luke,1974, 27). A and B are taken as given.

Important to note is Foucault's fourth face of power which has been widely influential in understanding power and in this thesis. This is particularly because of what is underlined under this face that seems to be in line with this study. A few of these influential issues are highlighted.

To Foucault, subjectivity and individuality are not biologically given but socially constructed. Thus, subjects of power are not born but are constructed. Power is productive; it not only produces subjects but it is also everywhere, and there is no escaping it. There is no possibility for human relationships not to be mediated by power (Digeser, 1992, p.981) In relation to VAW, taking such an explanation would imply that in the relationships between the man and the women in families where violence is used, there is always power.

In the same vein, Power is not only everywhere, but it is never in anybody's hands, it is never 'appropriated' as a commodity or piece of wealthy, Foucault, 1980 cited in Digeser, 1992). Thus the victim may have the power at some point as well as the perpetrator may have the power, there is always power.

Furthermore, although Foucault is not consistent on the issue of intentionality, he writes that power relations are both intentional and non-subjective yet he also says that power is for the most part exercised without intentionality, objective interests or a repressed character.

Also, power can be a kind of unintended consequence of intentional action and important also is that power comes from below. Power being productive, there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives.

3.1.3. Resistance

At the heart of this thesis is the concept of resistance also. Where there is power, there is resistance. Where violence is an exercise of power, one would thus expect some resistance from both the perpetrators and the victims. Resistance is an exercise of power as well as one of the criterion that reveals the operation of power. As conceptualized by William Connolly in Digeser (1992), resistance entails the presumption that we are neither infinitely pliable nor naturally suited to be one kind of person rather than another. Further still, in forging a particular kind of subjects, in imposing a particular form up on a human being, the exercise of power allegedly creates its own resistance. This study will highlight the forms of positive resistance by the 'perpetrators' and the 'victims' of violence. This resistance may be unreflective or it may be a deliberate response to a felt imposition (Ibid, p.985); with where resistance is greatest, the exercise of power may be clearest. These ideas of resistance are based on the claims as human beings; we are creatures that are not suited to be one kind of person rather than another. Thus, there is a possibility of thinking outside that that enflames us (Connolly, 1988, in Digeser, 1992). It is up on such a point of departure that this study was set out to ascertain some forms of overt or covert positive resistances by the perpetrators and the victims of violence given the fact that 'we will resist whether or not we are obligated to, given that the self will not completely fit into whatever form it is pushed, there will always be some resistance, some friction' (Digeser, 1992, p.995).

It is vital to note however that Foucault's thinking is without blemish and Lukes (1974/2005) has critiqued it that although Foucault has convincingly shown how power is interwoven into the subject, still "criteria will be needed to decide where this power amounts to domination and, in general, to distinguish between dominating and non-dominating power and dependency" (p. 97) Since resistance lies within power, this makes the whole idea of resistance corrupt, being only a part of power itself.

3.1.4. Social Construction of Gender as Masculine and Feminine

Gender is a social construction as already noted. As regards this study is the issue of masculinity. Concentration in this study may not be so much on the natural masculinity but rather on the masculinity that is socially constructed. Masculinity simply may mean having those characteristics that are appropriate for a 'real man. Thus, manhood is not granted automatically to boys as they age but must be achieved through vigorous 'rites of passage'. This implies that man hood is an achieved status (David Gilmore, 1990) in Brooks, 1992). There are appropriate qualities that are typical of a 'real man'. Deborah and Brannon cited in Brooks, 1992) present four principal behavioral tenets of such masculinity. These can highlight and help in understanding the relationship between violence and masculinity.

The first is *the Sturdy oak*: that is that men should be emotionally stoic and deny vulnerability

The second is *The Big Wheel*; that men should be preoccupied with work, status, achievement and success

The third is *Give 'em hell*; men should be forceful and interpersonally aggressive

The forth is *No sissy stuff*; men should reject everything associated with femininity.

Through the process of socialization, young boys are turned into real men who have to obey all those kinds of constructions. Boys are taught to reject anything that makes them appear feminine, while they struggle constantly to achieve the status within the community of men.

3.2. Feminist Perspective

In the same regard of deconstructing and challenging such social constructions is the feminist thinking. The theory assumes gender and power imbalances. It concerns the political, social, cultural and other domination of women and their social relations by patriarchy- a system of thought and social relations that privileges and empowers men and creates relationships between genders that defranchise, disempower and devalue women's experience (Payne, 2005, p.251). Consequently, feminist theory believes that violence is largely due to an imbalance of power between sexes. It thus emphasizes the analysis of power relations at an individual and societal level. The theory focuses on the societal messages that sanction a male's use of violence and aggression throughout life, and the prescribed gender roles that dictate how men and women should behave in their intimate relationships (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Thus, intimate partner violence is an outcome of living in a society that condones aggressive behaviors perpetrated by men, while socializing women to be non-violent.

Violence is a pattern of actions used to intentionally control or dominate an intimate partner. Thus, a community influenced by this perspective actively works to change societal conditions that support men's use of tactics of power and control over women. The famous Duluth Model is the treatment approach associated with this theory. Important here is that therapy needs to challenge assumptions of men's violent natures as well as getting men to take responsibility for their violent behavior(Pence &Paymar 1993, Dorminelli 2002 in Payne (2005)

Post modern feminism particularly focuses on the deconstruction of discourses about women in society by trying to destabilize conventional behavior and providing openings for alternative and diverse interpretations. Notably, it contests language that, by moderating and managing the impression of behavior, denies domestic and sexual violence against women (Healy, 2000 cited in Payne, 2005, p.263) that is for instance, explaining violence as only tapping her once or describing sexual violence against children as expressions of affection. Such languages need to be questioned to achieve destabilization.

The theory has been criticized for its failure to explain why there is violence in same sex relationships like among lesbians given its explanations that are based on power, domination and control. Also, Payne (2005) notes that although there is much to be learned from the feminist theory, a practice that is focused mainly on women's needs seems to ignore establishing and responding to the needs and role of men.

3.3. Psychodynamic Perspective

As one of the traditional theories of psychology, psychodynamic theories (that is psychoanalysis, attachment and ego psychology) underlie that behavior (in this case can be violence) comes from movements and interactions in peoples' minds. Based on the work of Freud and his followers, the perspective emphasizes the way the mind stimulates behavior and both mind and behavior influence and are influenced by the person's social environment. A lot of emphasis is on the strong influence of the unconscious on human behavior. Unconscious means that some of our thinking and mental activity is hidden from our knowledge. Thus, human behavior is largely determined by irrational drives and that these drives are often unconscious. Therapy is aimed at helping to gain insight into the unconscious.

Among the unconscious could be the early child hood experiences; that people's behavior and development is largely determined by what happened to them during childhood. Inadequate resolution of problems in an earlier period of life can breed anxiety, feelings of aggression, anger and love (Payne, 2005). Men may suffer trauma, emotional pain, fear of intimacy, insecure attachment issues. Their parents/care givers could have abused them when they were still children, neglected them, leaving them with little or no sense of direction or identity.

Also, personality disorders can also be linked to behaving violently by some men. Vital to psychodynamic perspective is how the ego (one of the inner drives) deals with conflicts, and anxiety that can result from such conflicts. The ego generates defenses to protect people from anxiety when their impulses conflict with a rational assessment of what is possible in the real world (and these are the defense mechanisms) . In the psychodynamic therapy, focus is on the emotional make up, personality of the individual man and also on his history. Attempt is to help the man sort through these problems, experience their feelings and clarify their own needs and sense of self. Therapists stimulate 'transference' where conflicts arising from early relationship difficulties with parents and causing present behavior difficulties are revealed.

Psychodynamic theory's capitulation on the mind has earned it criticisms in that you cannot know what is happening in someone else's mind, neither can you know what is in the unconscious. The theory is too scientific and medical, assuming patients' sickness which the therapist cures and it is accused that it might end up labeling people as abnormal. No theory is

without blame and each of these theories has what the other does not have so they are used complimentarily.

3.4. Cognitive-Behavioral Theory

With two ideas in one (that is behavioral and cognitive), focus here is on individual's specific behaviors and thought patterns; peoples' perceptions and reactions to social experiences. Focus is on challenging beliefs and thoughts to transform emotions and behaviors, in the case of this study; it could be beliefs about violence, about women, and about being a real man and how one should behave. Important under this theory is the historical learning theory that asserts that we learn most behaviors, except some inborn reflexes (Payne, 2005). Consequently then, we can learn new behaviors to meet our needs or replace existing behavior if it is causing us problems. Thus violence can be seen as a learned behavior according to this theory, and thus a violent man can learn new behaviors during therapy.

In the same vein, Albert Bandura's social learning theory and modeling concept is vital in understanding violence thus we learn by coping the example of others around us for example we learn from our fathers, mothers, people in the community and closed society. We learn how to treat our partners or our children from how our fathers and broadly how the society treats them for instance. These could be our so called role models. Thus, in vicarious learning, focus is on how we learn from social situations by learning how others act successfully for example those men that have learnt from their fathers how to use violence as a way to solve conflicts.
Thus, helping the process of learning can enhance therapy, it is argued.

Therefore, cognitive behavioral therapy focuses on exposing and changing thoughts and feelings that justify and sustain the undesirable behavior alongside changing behaviors.
Particularly, during therapy, the perpetrators of violence need to address specifically their thought patterns-the rationalisations, excuses, and justifications- that reinforce their abuse and violence. And also focus is on attempts to interrupt and replace the problem behaviour with alternative, more acceptable behaviours with also complementaries like communication, conflict resolution, and stress relaxation skills (Gondolf, 2002).

The theory has been criticized because in that the worker manipulates behavior rather than it being under the control of the client, thus risking imposing the worker's wishes on unwilling clients, thus not respecting the principle of client self determination (Payne, 2005).

3.5. Theoretical Framework Summary

As one can see, men's violence against Women and human behavior in general can be complex and multidimensional. Thus to claim and capitulate that only one theory can fully and single handedly explain these issues would be to lie myself and the readers and would be to give a shallow, insufficient and unjust picture of the phenomenon. Apparently, violence can be stimulated by different motivations, complex at different levels and so requiring a complex intervention and therapy. Therefore, due to this multidimensional nature of violence and the multifaceted therapy to the perpetrators of violence, the different theories above will be employed to ensure a comprehensive and holistic understanding of this matter.

Those theories have been preferred because they disentangle and explain violence as a behavior well as provide approaches and guidelines for therapy which are a focus of this study. Thus, this

is not a show of theories but rather each will perform its task appropriately. Where violence is an individual issue and particularly relating to personality and childhood development areas, the psychodynamic will help to present and analyze the issue. The feminist theory will be employed to analyze and interpret the issue where it involves issues of power and control. Where violence and intervention are behavioral and having to do with cognition and learning, the cognitive behavioral will do justice. The social construction helps in unraveling violence and the different aspects that regard this study for example accounting for violence through language, resisting violence and exercising power; concepts that can't be extricated from VAW. Besides, with a comprehensive perspective explained by the different theories, the validity of the study will be harnessed.

Chapter 4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Design

Gilbert (2008) distinguishes choices of research design that have to be made depending on their appropriateness to answering ones research problem. Thus, firstly, this study is qualitative in nature; that is one that creates an account or description without numerical scores (Ibid, p.35). The aim of this research is not to count for example how many men use violence and how many go for therapy but rather it is to describe and get an account of VAW with a focus on how the perpetrators respond to it in a therapy situation in Sweden. Qualitative data often makes it easier to follow cause and effect which elucidates more on why a qualitative design was selected for this study. The study is also cross-sectional which means that data is collected at more or less one moment in time (Gilbert, 2008, p.36.) Given the limited resources as well as the time stipulated for this study research, (about 4 months), a cross-sectional design was considered appropriate besides its possibility that it can be completed quickly.

4.1.1. Case study

This thesis is a case study of the therapeutic interventions with the male perpetrators particularly in centres in Gothenburg and Jonkoping cities of Sweden. In a case study, usually there is no attempt to select a random or a representative sample of cases. Instead, cases are the ones that are interesting for their own sake or sometimes are exceptional in some way (Gilbert, 2008, p.36). The two cases central to this research are hereby described in details. Gothenburg and Jonkoping areas were selected because most importantly they have centres that come in contact with male perpetrators of violence who are the central focus in this study. Besides, these areas were within the reach of the researcher (especially Gothenburg). Thus, in Jonkoping city, perpetrator intervention centres of Mansrådgivningen and Kriminalvarden were chosen for study while in Gothenburg, it was Kriscentrum, Utväg Men and Kriminalvarden were considered. A brief background information is provided for better grounding to the reader.

4.1.1.1. Jonkoping

Mansrådgivare is a project for two years in collaboration with Jönköpings kommun, Habo kommun, Mullsjö kommun, Jönköping's county council and Police. They provide individual therapy to male perpetrators of violence. They have not yet introduced group therapy. The male perpetrators have to contact the professionals voluntarily. Mansrådgivningen is very central in relation to the initiation and interest in this study by the researcher. As part of my internship programme at the family Violence Department in Police of Jonkoping, with my colleague, we made a short visit to Mansradgiviningen because it was among the centres working with police in their quest to provide help to the VAW victims. We had an interaction with one of the professionals in charge of this center as regards the work that they do. It is from this interaction that the researcher was struck and became more curious to study more about male perpetrators as well as their responses to violence in a therapy situation. This earlier contact then made it easier to contact them again for detailed interviews.

In relation is Kriminalvarden which also gets in contact with men that use VAW. These implement the IDAP programme. IDAP (Integrated Domestic Abuse Programme is a treatment program for adult men who have used threats, violence or other controlling behavior against his

female partner. The programme originated from America, Minnesota, and the famous Duluth model. It is a cognitive behavioral therapy program based on social learning theory and it uses group sessions, supplemented by risk assessment for the recurrence of partner violence. There is also subsequent ongoing management and partner contact work. At the heart of the IDAP programme is the power and control wheel and the equivalent, the equality wheel[3]. The former is helpful in understanding Violence against women while the latter contains themes that direct action towards ceasing this VAW. IDAP is implemented in the prisons and probation (kriminalvarden).

4.1.1.2. Gothenburg

Located in the Centrum of the city of Göteborg, Kriscentrum for men is a service in the city of Gothenburg that has a double purpose. That it is the centre exists not only for men in the throes of a marital or divorce crisis and relationship problems but it is also for men who batter their wives. It is for men in crisis and they provide psychosocial crisis support and crisis therapy in the form of individual therapy sessions with the men.
Utväg Man, located in the same premises as Kriscentrum has a more specific role and works more particularly with the male perpetrators of violence. It also has Utväg for women and also for children and has an interagency cooperation between social services, health services, police, prosecution and prison. They provide individual and group therapies as compared to Kriscentrum that only has individual therapy. It also has an apartment where the man can go as he leaves his wife and children to stay at the home. Kriminalvarden in Goteborg like the one in Jonkoping also implements the IDAP programme.

4.2. Subjects

The subjects under study are the professionals that get into contact with the male perpetrators of VAW as well as the men that perpetrate violence. The professionals are the ones that work in the centers noted above and the men are the ones that have gone for therapy with these professionals. Anticipating the issue of language barrier and the difficulties as regards getting into contact with the male perpetrators of VAW, and those who have gone for therapy to counter this behavior, the researcher decided to target the professionals who work with these men. However, attempts were also made to get in touch with some male perpetrators. The male perpetrators were contacted through the professionals.
Basing on the professionals' interactions with the male perpetrators through their therapy services at the above mentioned centers, they were asked to share their experiences about how male perpetrators of VAW account for their violence as well as the therapy that these professionals provide in a quest to help these men end their behavior. The professionals were willing and in position to express and share their experiences which were helpful in understanding violence with a focus on the male perpetrators.

By profession, these are psychotherapists, psychologists and social workers and have been working with men that use violence for a considerable time ranging from close to 1- 15 years. As regards how the researcher got into contact with these professionals, a direct contact through email was used to reach one of the professionals at Mansradgivingen in Jonkoping, given the researcher's earlier internship visit. Like the snow ball effect, he then introduced the researcher

[3] These wheels are attached in the appendix section for further details

to his colleague from where further contacts and appointment were arranged. To get into contact with the professional at Kriminalvalden of Jonkoping, the researcher's former internship supervisor at the Family violence department in Police made the primary introduction. Through email exchanges, further contacts and appointment were made. For the case of Gothenburg, the researcher went to the website of Krimalvalden, sent an email requesting to talk to someone in charge of IDAP. The head of the programme who replied to this first email connected the researcher to one of the social workers in charge of the group therapy. From there, arrangements for interviews were made. The professional at Kriscentrum introduced the researcher to the professional at Utvag men. To further unravel and understand the issue under study, attempts were made to get in contact with some male perpetrators in order to get a perspective of those who have lived the problem or have been there. These had to be contacted through the professionals at the different centers. The researcher managed to get in contact with six professionals that work with male perpetrators in the above centers. Also, despite some unsuccessful attempts, the researcher managed to get in contact with two men that had gone for psychotherapy to end the violent behaviors. In total, eight subjects were successfully contacted to inform this study.

4.3. Data collection

4.3.1. Non-Standardised Interviews

Data was collected through conducting one- to -one unstructured interviews. Lofland (1995) cited in Thomas and Fielding (2008) notes that the essence of the research interview is the 'guided conversation' and non-standardized interviews fit well in this. This explains the reason why they were preferred for the purposes of this study, besides their importance as strategies for discovery. Very important reason for choosing non-standardised interviews is what Lofland further notes that 'the objective of a non-standardised format is to find out what kind of things are happening rather than to determine the frequency of predetermined kinds of things that the researcher already believes can happen' (1971:76, cited in Gilbert, 2008: p.247). As regards the tools used, two interview guides were used , one for the professionals and another one for the male respondents .These were not more than a list of issues to be covered while the details and direction of the interview were flexible as it proceeded, much like a guided conversation.

Eight interviews in total were conducted for purposes of generating data for this research. Three were conducted with the professionals at Kriscentrum, Utvag Men and Kriminalvalden in in Göteborg. In Jönkoping City of Sweden, two interviews were conducted with the professionals who provide individual therapy at Mansrådgivare while one was with a professional who does group therapy under IDAP programmes in Kriminalvarden of Jönkoping. In addition, two of the male respondents who had attended individual and group therapy at Utväg and Kriscentrum in Göteborg were interviewed. The request to talk to men who had attended the programme in Jönkoping were futile as the professionals explained that the men were not willing to talk to anybody given the sensitivity and the privacy of the phenomenon of VAW. These male respondents interviewed were between 40-60 years of age. They had already completed their therapy by the time they were interviewed. Given the sensitivity and privacy of the phenomenon under study, during the interviews with male respondents, the focus was not to pin them for their violence or why they had used it but was rather to listen to how they construct their reality and understanding of violence. Personal questions that were anticipated to yield defenses were

avoided but where the respondents were willing to discuss the personal and private, the researcher encouraged them.

The interviews lasted approximately 50-90 minutes. They were conducted in a good environment that allowed free expression. All the interviews with the professionals were conducted in their offices. Such a familiar environment was comfortable and harnessed free expression. As regards interviews with the male respondents, one was conducted in one of the rooms at the Social Work Department, Gothenburg University, while another one was conducted in one of the parks where we were seated outside as we enjoyed the sun and had our interaction (interview). It was all about the flexibility and allowing the respondents to choose places where they felt comfortable to express their views.

All the interviews were conducted in English given that the researcher did not know Swedish but all the respondents were able to express themselves in a way that was understandable by both the researcher and the respondent.

To avoid surprise questions and to ease the tension of knowing that one is going to be interviewed as well as to improve on the responses, questions were sent to the respondents in advance. This also helped in the continuous flow of the conversation. This was also at the request of some of the respondents who wanted to know what was anticipated to be covered during the interviews.
Interviews were audio recorded with permission from the respondents. They were then transcribed verbatim to avoid any subjectivity and to capture the original information by the respondents.

4.4. Data Processing

Qualitative analysis involves systematic consideration of the data to identify themes and concepts that will contribute to our understanding (Gilbert, 2008). In this study, analysis was ongoing throughout the whole research process but as Thorne (2000) notes, analysis also occurs as an explicit step in conceptually interpreting the data set as a whole, using specific analytic strategies to transform the raw data into a new and coherent depiction of the thing being studied. Therefore, at this step, the researcher read through the transcripts again and again, identifying themes and giving codes to some of the data that was relevant in answering the different sections of the question under investigation, identifying relationships, patterns and links where possible.

The data is then presented under these themes and concepts and the theories are also used to help in the interpretation and making meaning with the aim of finding answers to the research questions. Data from the all the eight interviews was relevant in answering the different sections of the study. So it was put together during the analysis, with relevant information or pattern from one interview informing or complementing patterns from the other. Consequently the quotes presented with findings highlight the original voices from the respondents but in essence more than one respondent could have highlighted the same point. The quotes appear in the report in italics and are original. For easy distinction of who said what (that is whether it is a professional or a male respondent), the professionals are given codes from professional 1,2,3, 4,5,6 while the male respondents are identified as man 1 and 2.

4.5. Validity, Reliability and Generalization

Validation should not be confined to a separate stage of an interview inquiry but rather permeate all the stages from the first thematization to the final reporting (Kvale, 2009, P.241). Validity, thus, refers to the process of checking, questioning and theorizing; it is quality control throughout the stages of knowledge production. It pertains to whether a method investigates what it purports to investigate (Ibid, P.246).An attempt can be made to estimate the validity of this study. However as Miles and Huberman (1994) argues, there are no canons for establishing the validity of a qualitative research. They put forward some tactics for testing and confirming qualitative findings and these can be followed in the estimation of the validity of this study. They include to mention but a few checking the researcher effects, finding out different viewpoints, replicating findings, relating to theory and others.

Thus, the researcher feels that the qualitative, cross-sectional case study design adopted was appropriate to investigate the issue at hand. The respondents were appropriate to answer the problem under study. The professionals showed understanding of VAW, a phenomenon under investigation in this study given their experiences and practice. They were able to point out the responses by the male perpetrators as well as discuss the therapy that they provide to the men who use violence. The male respondents shared their experience as people who had gone through the problem and the therapy. Professionals that work in different area points were interviewed, that is those that work with court or non-court mandated male perpetrators, as well as working in providing different therapies for instance group or individual therapy. This helped give different viewpoints as regards answering the research questions. Also, discussions and critical feedback from the supervisor and critical friends could be regarded as part of verification and improving validity of this study by harnessing different viewpoints. Interviews were recorded and later transcribed verbatim to avoid the risk of subjectivity. The findings are theoretically interpreted. Further still, some of the findings correspond with some findings from earlier research.

As part of verification and validity estimation is assessing and checking researcher effects (see Hallberg (2002), Miles&Huberman, 1994); thus, the researcher being a young Ugandan woman could have influenced the respondents in one way or another to participate in this study. It might have been surprising to the respondents for an African woman to be interested in understanding men/male perpetrators and their behaviors and many respondents could not hide their eagerness to share with the researcher their experiences. The researcher, however, exploited such willingness from the respondents to gain richer information about the phenomenon under study.

Reliability pertains to the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings. It can concern for example whether the interview subjects will change their answers during an interview or whether they will give different replies to different interviewers (Kvale& Brinkmann, 2009). In this research, efforts to ensure reliability were attempted, for instance, during interviewing; open ended questions were used, with follow up questions asked in a non leading way. The interviewees were interviewed when they were sober mentally and were not under any kind of pressure nor were they expecting any benefits from the researcher. Interviews were not in any way therapeutic but rather encouraged sharing of experiences and opinions related to the issue under study.

Generalization in qualitative research may regard the issue of transferability of the findings to other subjects and situations (Kvale&Brinkmann, 2009). It can be challenging to generalize in qualitative research (Gilbert, 2008). In line with this study, to generalize its findings is contentious given the fact that each individual man can and or will have their own experience, response and resistance to violence and thus may account for their violence differently. On this basis of uniqueness, these findings may not be generalized. However, given also that these findings have been theoretically interpreted; related to earlier studies, they can give a general picture of the different ways how men who use violence account for their violence. They can show a general picture of VAW from the side of the male perpetrators. The therapy, though being one that should be based on each individual man's unique response to violence, could be of guide to whoever is working with men that use violence in close relations.

4.6. Ethical issues

Ethics like validity also run through the whole research process and regards ensuring that the research is of good quality and is morally acceptable (CODEX, 2011). Ethical issues can lie under themes of informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and privacy (cf Miles &Huberman, 1994, Gilbert, 2008, Hallberg,2002). In this study, these areas were put into consideration and are hereby discussed.

The issue of informed consent was at the heart of the researcher. Informed consent provides that persons who are invited to participate in the social research activities should be free to choose to take part or to refuse, having been given the fullest information concerning the nature and purpose of the research, including the risks to which they may be exposed to, arrangements for maintaining the confidentiality of the data and others (Gilbert, 2008, Miles &Huberman, 1994). In this study, in the first emails sent to the respondents, the researcher introduced herself and also explained the aims and purpose of the study as only for academic purposes. The researcher would repeat this again (where necessary) during the physical meeting before the interview. An introduction letter with contacts for my supervisor was sent out. This further clarified the intent of the study and the contact could be utilized by the respondents in case of any further clarification of any doubts. The respondents replied the researcher's emails, actively consenting that they wanted to participate in this study. For the male respondents who were contacted through the professionals, the same procedure was followed. So, on the whole, one would say that participation by the professionals and male respondents was voluntary and well informed.
Also, important is the issue of recording and consent. Purpose to audio record the interview was explained and permission was sought and granted before the recoding commenced.

Confidentiality as part of the ethical issues concerns not just the conditions under which data is collected but how they are stored, guarded and disseminated (Gilbert,2008, Miles&Huberman,1994). The researcher was aware of this ethical issue and thus informed and assured the respondents about respecting this. In this research, the data collected was transcribed and stored under pseudo names; the use of real names is avoided. In presentation of findings, codes like professional 1, man 1 are used. Privacy was respected and unnecessary intrusion into the respondent's private lives was thought about by the researcher. Thus, only personal information that is with in what is regarded as of importance to this research was sought. The collected data is used only for academic purposes and not for any other work. This was explained to the respondents.

4.7. Challenges Faced

The challenges faced related to the fact that the topic under study is sensitive and private as well as language barrier that compounded an already complicated situation and topic under study. These are elaborated.

In social research, there are also complications stemming from the institutionalized nature of social life and thus entry into such settings may be controlled by the gatekeepers who are the professionals or administrators in charge (Gilbert, 2008, p.152). The researcher experienced this complication during the pursuance of this study. First of all, given the fact that the topic under investigation is such a 'private' matter happening in private places, it is hard to publically identify for example that this is one of the men who use violence in interpersonal relationships, unless you go through someone who has met with this person and knows what is true. So it was inevitable to go through a gate keeper and these were the professionals who had come in contact with such men in their therapeutic settings.

The researcher's first request to talk to any of the clients that had gone for the treatment in Jönkoping was unsuccessful because the professionals claimed that the men were not yet willing to talk to other people about this issue. An attempt and request about attending a group session for the men in Göthenburg was also not possible .The professionals explained that they had to protect the confidentiality and privacy of their clients. However on a good note, the professional in Goteborg, managed to connect the researcher to two of the male respondents that had gone for the treatment and these were willing to discuss this sensitive topic of violence against women. The professionals, in addition to these male respondents, offered to share with the researcher and discuss this issue of violence. Since they meet with the male perpetrators of violence, they were able to answer the questions regarding how the men get in contact with them, the motivations that trigger the men to defy the construction that men do not seek help, how they explain the violence, what justifications and importantly the therapy the professionals provide based on the men's responses to violence.

In all the choices of the respondents and the areas to focus on, language was always put in consideration. Since the researcher did not know Swedish, the target respondents had to be knowing and able to communicate in English. And so, in addition to the complications of studying a sensitive and private topic which most people do not find exciting to talk about especially if they are involved in some way, another challenge was to speak English, a language that not many find comfortable to use in Sweden. Not even the option of an interpreter would be appropriate given the privacy of the matter under study. Such still zeroes down to why the professionals were chosen for this study because they could speak English. They had to choose for the researcher male respondents that knew English. However, it did not still go very well given this second language, but to overcome this, Google translate for Swedish words to English was made to full use. Perhaps, it would have been eased a little bit if the researcher could speak Swedish.

Chapter 5 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and analysis of the study. The findings are derived from the data collected through interviews conducted with the professionals who provide treatment to the men who use interpersonal violence and also with the men who had completed the treatment programme. Generally, it is arranged around these themes; how the men get into contact with the professionals, what triggers the men to seek help, how the men explain and or respond to the violence and the therapy based on those responses/explanations. Responses after the therapy as well as the recommendation for tackling violence are also presented. Presentation of the findings thus follows these themes, with a little continuation of the analysis at the end of each theme. However, the whole idea is that findings and analysis are not mutually exclusive, and this accounts for their concurrent presentation.

5.1. Contact Formation

The findings indicate various ways how men get into contact with the professionals. These can be categorized under referrals, individual initiative and court mandated.

5.1.1 Referrals

These referrals can be from different authorities. The authorities highlighted during the interviews were the social services, police, the healthcare and the youth centre. When the professionals in these authorities meet men who use violence in interpersonal relations, they can advise the men to go to the centers for men where they can be able to talk to someone to help them with their violent behaviors. In some cases, the man's contact is given to the professionals in these centres but mostly the man is supposed to make the first contact by himself. In Jönkoping, the distribution by *November last year was like; 17 men coming by their own initiative, 15 from the social service, 13 coming from the police, 9 coming from vardcentral and then 8 (Ungdom) from the youth center*(Professional 3*)*. In Goteborg, the same collaboration between such authorities exists. In some settings the men's centre is part of a whole family intervention for example where they have Utväg for Men, Women and Children.

One other finding is that in both cities, male perpetrators that contact the professionals can come from all corners of the world. In Jonkoping the distribution was like below as explained by one professional.
'Most of the men we see have been in Sweden for a long time, very few men like 3 or 4 whom we have tried to speak English with, and then there is, some of the men that have been born from Europe but not Sweden- 7, Aisia-7, Africa-5, North and South America-3, and the rest from Sweden (Professional 4)

One issue was noted about such men that are referred by the different authorities, that is, they may or may not come for the treatment as advised by the authorities. It was also noted that these referred men are also problematic to motivate and to work with as explained;

'*my feeling is that the men who come from the police, at least the men who come to us so far, have been quite resistant. They have been like ,' I am not sure what I am doing here, I am not sure whether I have anger issues, she is exaggerating, the police is exaggerating, it is not so bad, bra bra. So far, that can be a tough group to work with'* (Professional 4)

5.1.2. Individual Initiative

Another way for contact formation is through individual initiative where by the men call by them and ask for help. As explained by one professional;
'And now in the latest years it is quite often that they call themselves, the men call us .They make a phone call themselves; they tell us that; 'I have a problem, I have been hitting with my wife, and I do not want to live like this, I want to change my life and behavior, and so could I come to you to help , you know, treatment.(Professional 5)

Such men get to know about treatment for men through the information that is out there. Some have heard about those programmes from friends, family members, read on the internet or articles in the news papers. One of the male respondents explained how he got into contact with the professionals;
'Yes, I heard about it because my big sister is working as a family therapist and we have talked about this many years. She always said to me 'you get so angry sometimes, and I said, yah, I know, but I am not harming any one. So she said, but what about if you go for this service?, so think about it. And so I thought why not.' (Man 2)

5.1.3. Court-mandated

A case in point for the court-mandated contact formation is the IDAP programme. The men can be sentenced to have probation with IDAP or some have had IDAP when in prison and then they continue with the programme when they are out of prison. IDAP is recommended during crime analysis (that is a personal investigation). It is recommended depending on the judgment by the crime analysts basing on the motivation that the individual man has shown. Such initial motivation is thought to that it will later determine his activeness or inactiveness in the group. The man needs to show that he is motivated to work on his violent behavior and important is also that he has to take some responsibility for some of the crimes done. He has to show or to agree that he wants to change. This implies that still there is some kind of individual choice for the man to make and the professionals have to sort of sell or 'fish'for the programme. However, after one has been sentenced to attend the programme, then they have to attend it or else they go back to prison. Except for those that get the programme as the only sentence. These require convincing as explained that '*you sort of have to say, okay man, this is good for you, and you better carry on' (*Professional 2).

5.1.4. Analysis

On the whole, the findings indicate that men come in contact with the professionals through referrals, individual initiative as well as court mandated. Noted in all is the issue of individual choice in making the decision to go for the treatment. In individual initiative, a direct choice is made to contact the professionals while in the court mandated, indirectly, the individual man influences his choice for the programme by agreeing to some of the crimes and by showing that he is motivated to attend the programme. This is shown during the crime analysis. In referrals by the authorities, still, the individual man is only advised but he voluntarily takes the final decision

to call and get in contact with the professionals. However, the extent to which such a decision by these referred men is said to be 'voluntary' can be contentious. This inference is based on the power that such authorities like the police, or social services have in a welfare state of Sweden. There is a strong collaboration between such authorities and these have been given power to intervene as long as it is based on the right assessment to save life and respect ones human rights. For example, in such a case, there is suspicion of violence in a family; the children can be taken away from such a family because this may not be a good environment for them to grow in. Thus, fear of repercussions from such authorities can kind of force and pressure the individual man to seek help. This may as well be referred to as a voluntary choice but one that is forced by fear and pressure.
This could explain the earlier finding that such men that are referred by authorities are very problematic to work with because they feel forced to come for the treatment. They have not seen their problem and perhaps only went because 'social' or police said that they go.

Generally, the implication is that although, the professionals that work with the male perpetrators emphasize that the individual man calls for himself, perhaps basing on the argument of self-determination and that self correction is better than correction by others, there is some benefit of doubt on the 'voluntariness' of such a decision especially in cases where the powerful authorities are involved. In another face, however, one may interpret that, well, yes, they were advised by the different authorities but the fact that they made a decision to actually call and seek help may show some degree of willingness to work on their behaviors.

5.2. Why do they seek help: Motivations

A clear response and resistance to violence by the male perpetrators is through taking the decision to seek help. A question was posed to ascertain what really motivated the men to seek help from the professionals given the social construction that men do not seek help and most especially psychotherapy. Echoing the words of man 1, he described how he had to finally decide to seek help. This may sound unusual for 'a real man' (as constructed by society) to do-acknowledging that he needs help. He explained;

'Actually I went to the social office, I went to someone in social welfare office who works with family related questions, *I laid out my cards on the table and I said; look, this is what I am doing, I need help' (man 1)*

A number of circumstances were unearthed that trigger men to seek help from the psychotherapists. It was hard to find the broad categories for such triggers given that they describe more of emotions associated with such a decision. Sentences are employed here to highlight the emotions and motivations associated with this response to violence.

'It is the last resort because things are really out of hand'

Talking to one of the male respondents, he explained how he sought help at the last resort when things were really in bad shape. He explained;

'We did decide to seek help, me and my partner. It was, but our relationship was really in a bad shape at that time .It was, I was far from cured for my aggression. I was far from being cured but

I didn't lay my hands on her at that time any more .But I was still psychologically aggressive, like passive aggressive. S*o we saw that as a last resort and we both felt that we couldn't solve everything together, we needed someone else to help us, like mediate*.' (Man 1)

This trigger to seek help can be interpreted as when one sees that things are out of control and as a last resort decides to seek help. One may wonder why male perpetrators have to seek help as the last resort really, when they are far from being cured.

'I do not want to risk being violent'

While man 1 was determined to work on his aggression, admitting having been physically violent and still being passive aggressive, for this other male respondent, it was about anger and not risking to get involved in violence, despite his positive self perception as a problem solver. Thus his trigger is *preventive* in a sense, as he explained;

'I think of myself as problem solver, but when I get angry everything in the front lobe disappears and it is just the middle that rules, and when this rules, you are more like an animal than a human being. And I don't want to risk to get involved in violence and so to prevent this I thought this is nice, I go to this and talk to other guys and see if we can compare and maybe I get something out of it.(Man 2)

In addition, talking to the professionals unearthed more preventative reasons why male perpetrators seek help. However, to some, such preventative thoughts come after experiencing hard and hurting consequences due to their violent behaviors for example divorce, punishments by authorities, restraining orders. Such adverse effects motivate these men to seek help to address the root cause of this problem. Others male perpetrators who want to go into new relationships, do not want to repeat the same mistake in their next relationships and this motivate them to seek help to work on their violent behaviors. Others say;

'I don't wanna lose her, and or the family'

'Most of the men are afraid to lose their partner, when she says that 'I am going to leave you if you keep on behaving like this, we have to do something about it'. Then that is a kind of motivation; when they come, it is very clear that the woman said that ' if you don't seek help I will leave you, I can't go on like this, this is not good for the children, it is not good for me, I can't put up with this anymore so seek help or I am leaving' (Professional 5)

This may sound like these male perpetrators are actually 'forced' by such threats from their wives to seek help for their behaviors. For fear of repercussions of losing her and the family, these male perpetrators decide to respond by going for therapy to end their behaviors. Consequently, one professional interacted with added a comment to this group as the most challenging also to work with;

'*and that is the most challenging group to meet for us who work with psychotherapy in that we have to prepared to work with motivation. We have to prepare to realize that such men don't wanna be here, that they really don't want, but it is because someone has forced them here. So*

we have to help them to see and feel that this is a problem. It is my problem. My violence is something that I have to change, and it is causing problems for the people around me. Otherwise it is so difficult to start a psychotherapy with anyone really if you don't see that this is my problem.(Professional 3).

To others, it's Time to 'Repair' the broken hearts

'And it is a heart when you stop up and think of what you have done, you want to repair in some way; You have made something that you know in your deep heart that it is wrong then you want to start some kind of repairing process. To others;
'I am sorry and ashamed'
Some men come here and they tell me the whole story, and that is very good, because they feel very sorry and they want to change their life. And they put, I used to say that they put their shame on the table, because they are ashamed. But they tell me about it, they want to talk about it, they want to change their life, they want to have their wife still and perhaps they feel like it is getting to divorce so they want to save the relationship, their children (Professional 5)

'This is not how I should live'
Because they are not satisfied with their way of living, they do not want to have, you know, a family, live in a family where the wife is scared, the children are scared and that is definitely not a good way of living, and you know they suffer from it and they want to have a better family life. That's the reason.(professional 4)

'I have crossed the line'

To others, they feel that they have crossed the line, and are now fearful of what they are capable of doing. To some men, psychological violence is not regarded as violence. Physical violence is the most feared and once one resorts to using such violence, it is scary enough to motivate them to seek help. As explained;

'it is when they have used physical violence, and they feel that they have been out of control in some way .And what they tell us on phone is that they are afraid of what they are able to do, and they are afraid that they could lose their temper again, lose control again, and may be use violence against children that time, so some fear is sometimes involved in why they seek help, ….and physical violence as always on the top most of the times has been present. They feel like i have taken one step further may be 'I have been psychologically violent, maybe I have behaved in a threatening way but not used physical violence , but when I have used physical violence, I seek help then because I have crossed the line(Professional 3)

Intervention by authorities
This intervention by authorities motivates the men to seek help in different ways. One, it exposes that the man has been violent thus the men want to do something because now everyone knows that they are violent. It is no longer a secret that they hit their women. To others it is a big shock, shame and turmoil to be caught and taken to police for being violent. To others such involvement of authorities leads to a crisis that motivates them to seek help as explained;

I think that sometimes the man comes too shortly after the crisis, for example when the police have been in contact with the family, may be the social services has been in contact with the family, may be the children and the woman have had to move out to a safe house. May be the man is so frustrated, and he cannot meet his children' Professional 4

On the contrary, others still want to be real men and thus and do not want to risk their image and to be named feminine. These have still found it difficult to seek help as explained by one of the male respondents;

'I think men are mostly scared to talk about it, I think, because in my mind, I think that in the men's world, it is much talk about other issues, *so for guys to talk about emotions is much more complicated than for you women. So mostly I think they are scared and do not want to admit that they have problems* (Man 2)

5.2.1. Analysis

In relation to the social construction of masculinity highlighted in the theoretical framework of this study, it is noted that men are socialized not to seek help. This could be because this is regarded as feminine and men are socialized to reject any *sissy stuff*. Men have enormous difficulty with the simple phrase of 'I need help'. However, as a response to their violence, the findings indicate that some of the male perpetrators have sought help from the professionals. Different motivations trigger these men to defy this masculine construction. Some of the motivations are preventive. Others are emotionally motivated. Some men are very sorry for what they have done; others want to repair the broken hearts and other triggers as noted above. In regard of power, this step of making a decision to seek help by these men can be interpreted as an exercise of power and resistance. With the socialization that men get from society to be for example 'sturdy oaks, it is thus imperative to acknowledge the daring nature of such male perpetrators that have defied such and sought psychotherapy. This affirms Foucault's presupposition that in forging a particular kind of subjects, in imposing a particular form up on a human being, the exercise of power allegedly creates its own resistance (cited in Digeser, 1992). Thus, in this sense, the male perpetrators have resisted the imposition and socialization from society that constructs them to behave in particular ways that are masculine of which includes not seeking help.

Notably, men desire to change the way they live, to repair. They want to stop and prevent using violence in their relationships and families. Such insurmountable desires have forced them into psychotherapy. Seeking psychotherapy affirms the resistance presumption that we are neither infinitely pliable nor naturally suited to be one kind of person rather than another. Thus, the male perpetrators desire to change from being abusive to better people. Going for psychotherapy to regain their status that could have been lost because of their violence could as well indicate that men are still under the influence of the 'big wheel' tenet of masculinity. Male perpetrators still want to be achievers.

However, on the other hand, from the findings, one could analyze the issue of when do they really seek the help. Thus some of the men have sought help just as the last resort or when they are far from being cured or when they have crossed the line; when there is a crisis. Men go at the moment of desperacy when everyone is scared of them. This can be explained perhaps that the

men are still battling this social construction of masculinity termed 'no sissy stuff'. Seeking help only after a crisis could indicate unresolved battles of masculinity. And yet for those that still want to remain 'sturdy oaks, they have not bothered to seek treatment as shown that still some men are scared to talk about their emotions and to admit that they have problems.

5.2.1.2. The Power of a Woman and her Resistance

Notably, from the findings, some men have heeded to the threats of their women to go for psychotherapy. Women threaten to leave if the men do not go to seek help for their violent behavior. It is interesting to note that some men listen to such threats and run to seek treatment. It was a surprise finding for the researcher to see that men actually heed to the threats and advise from the women. It is surprising because of the researcher's background where most women still do not have a say especially in advising their supposedly 'all knowing' husbands. Interpreted in the sense of power and resistance as explained in the theoretical framework of the study, such an exercise of power by the women can be interpreted as a resistance. The social construction of resistance and victims of power can be deduced here. This finding could surprise the monocratic picture usually portrayed and constructed of victims of VAW as only victims that just allow catastrophe to befall them and do not do anything. This exercise of power by women can be interpreted in line with Foucault's analysis that power is everywhere and also comes from below. Women have exercised some kind of power even if they are socially constructed to be less powerful. Not so strange, even given my Christian religious background, Eve a wife to Adam, exercised some power over Adam by tempting him to eat the forbidden fruit. Adam was the most powerful, one created in the image of the omnipotent God while Eve was believed to be a weak power as she was created from Adam's rib.

However, the question can be whether these men genuinely seek help to change their behaviors or they are just manipulating and lying their women so that they do not leave them. Therefore, caution may still be taken on how much to take such an action by men on its face value. This could explain the pattern that the findings indicate where such group of men is seen as challenging and de-motivated to work with during psychotherapy. It is noted that such men complain a lot in psychotherapy that their women just exaggerate everything.

5.3. Perpetrators' Responses in terms of their Explanations and accounts of their Violence

For some men, putting words to their deeds does not come that easily and they use all sorts of strategies to explain their behavior. However, the professionals ask the men to explain their violence during therapy. This is not to pin them about if they are guilty of violence or not. The intention is to see how the male perpetrators respond and see the problem themselves. As the saying goes that there is no smoke without fire, at least one would suspect some violence in the air. Consequently, it would be anticipated that the men may acknowledge that they are violent given that it is already vivid because of for example the intervention from different authorities, women's threats as well as the men's decision to seek help. On the contrary, it is indeed surprising and interesting to see the language that the men use, strategically, in their accounts of their violence. Interesting also is the intentions for using such language in their accounts. Thus, patterns of denial, minimization, externalizing and apportioning blame were noted in the male's accounts for violence. These are expounded.

5.3.1. Blaming and talking about the Partner

During the first sessions of therapy, the male perpetrators really talk about the woman (victim) and not themselves. The pattern is that in such a sense, the men are intentionally or unintentionally using such language of blame to change the focus of attention from them to the woman. In this case, they justify the woman's need for change and responsibility, but not the men themselves. They blame her and try to explain how horrible she behaves in provoking them to be violent. They blame their partner for putting them under pressure, putting them down with words. It was noted that it is very hard for the male perpetrators to say what they have done. Through such a blaming language they justify their actions. One professional explains;

... Most of the men want to blame the partner; if she had not been nagging, if she just backed off, or if she had not talked that much, if she had just listened when I said that she should stop, I would not have to hurt her. (Professional 3)

5.3.2. Denial

In other cases, the male perpetrators really deny and swear that they would never be violent or do such a horrible thing. As explained, this could be because of a lot of shame that is associated with being a man who uses violence except for those societies where violence is a normal way to 'discipline' their wives. In such a modern society like Sweden, such denials would be expected because which man would want to be known as a wife beater in such a first world country. It is interesting to note how the men take it to be an identity issue other than a behavioral issue; a thing that makes them decry such an identity. One professional explained such a denial expressed by a man who was told about attending group therapy;
I am not a wife beater!

' *… this guy said it loud to me that , I am not a wife beater and I don't want to be among the wife beaters. Because it's so much with identity like they think if I have this problem, IAM a wife beater. Where as we try to see it that it is ′ it is not something that you are , it is something that you do and you can change it. It is certain behaviors that you can change because it is somewhere you learnt them, and then you can learn something else and replace it…*' (Professional 1)

To other male perpetrators, they actually know that it is contradictory and wrong to hit someone that they say they love and thus they deny how they can ever do such a thing to the women in their lives. But one would wonder, if there is no violence, then why the hell would the police, social service be involved or why would the wife threaten to leave, when nothing has actually happened. Such a language of denial thus shows that there is something being hidden by such male perpetrators under the cover of love. The issue of love highlights the complexity of violence because in normal cases, one is not supposed to hurt the one they love except for the sadists.

5.3.3. Minimizing

Minimization is also present in men's accounts of their violence. And in some cases, this is intended to distort the intensity and severity of the violence. The men want to make their violence to sound as something that is not serious. They minimize their violence into something bearable to talk about. Through this language, they avoid feeling the real impact of doing

something hurting to others. It is hard for the men to talk about their violence so that they will not see the issue. In their minimization for example they can say '*I just pushed her', 'I didn't exactly hit her', or 'I didn't hit her so hard', 'she did not need to seek the doctor anyway', or she did not bleed that much' (Professional 3).*

In another way of minimizing, the men minimize violence to only physical violence. They explain off and don't regard other forms of violence for example the psychological, throwing things, being controlling of who the partner is with. Some male perpetrators also believe that the physical violence should have happened several times for it to be regarded as violence. All such minimization is to avoid experiencing the seriousness of their actions. In talking to man 2, this statement can illustrate minimization of psychological violence.

'Generally I am a good guy and I don't believe in violence but when I heard about this group, I thought, ooh, why not, something to learn. And I have a good temper, you know, I can get really mad, but I have good control anyway so I don't hit, but you know, maybe I can take you in my arms and say 'don't do that to me!!!'(Man 2)

5.3.4. Logic and mutual

Others want to explain or describe what happened so that it sounds logical and mutual what they did. Explaining violence as mutual implies achieving the intention of a shared and equal responsibility between the perpetrator and the victim. One professional explained;
Some men just quite calmly explain what happened. We have been out on that dancing place, me and my girlfriend, I wanted to stay at the place and she wanted me to leave with her and we started arguing about me being there and she going home alone. But he is just explaining calmly how the situation looked like , he is not blaming her or he is not blaming himself, just explaining what happened, but if you think about that on a deep level he is trying to of course connect it with the quarrel about being there and leaving together. So most men are trying to have some explanation of what happened, very few just come here and say that I was so angry that I hit her (professional 6)

5.3.5. Externalizing

While it is clear that very few will say that I was angry and I hit her, other men explain their violence through externalizing it to different situations. In the case of such language of externalizing, the blame should be taken by those situations that provoked and stressed him and not the man himself. One professional explained;

'Some explain it by describing a situation with lots of different problems of stress, I have not any work, she is also unemployed, my son is a little bastard in the school, my daughter is a hard on me as a father. They put it outside on different situations or persons around (professional 5)

It was also noted that some men very painfully explain their violence showing how sorry they are for having hurt someone. Such male perpetrators regret their violence and therefore would like to do something about it.

5.3.6. Analysis

In relation to the theoretical framework, the social constructionist theory presupposes that our negotiated understanding could take a wide variety of different forms. It is thus imperative to talk of numerous possible social constructions of the world. In line with the findings, the different worlds of violence that have been constructed by the male perpetrators are highlighted. Such constructions indicate the men's knowledge and negotiated understanding of their violent actions. Notably, such constructions are in service of some interests rather than others. Consequently, the men deny, externalize, minimize, blame their partners and situations as they explain their violence. Only a few (those that are sorry about their violence) will come to the professionals and admit that they hit their wife. This does not mean that all the other men that deny, externalize do not actually know that they hit their wives, thus the truth about violence as told by the perpetrators is still problematic.

The way the men explain their violence is with intentions, whether this is consciously or unconsciously done. The performative role of language as ascertained by the social construction theory is very influential here. Consequently, language used by these male perpetrators is far from just being a medium of exchange. Thus, male perpetrators employ the language of denial, externalizing, blame in order to escape, share responsibility for their violence. Blaming external situations actually takes away the blame from them. Minimizing is to avoid seeing the severity of their violence.

In psychodynamic theories, however, such behaviors have an explanation and as such denying, externalizing, blaming would be taken to be defense mechanisms. Defense mechanisms safeguard the mind against feelings and thoughts that are too difficult for the conscious mind to cope with. Important to note is that such defense mechanisms are also noted to be for some psychological intentions. In relation to these findings, male perpetrators employ them not to allow their real thoughts about violence into their conscious mind. A case in point is denial and particularly where the men say that they are not wife beaters, or that they cannot hurt the ones they love as well as those that deny completely that the violence is not happening at all. Denial as a defense mechanism is used often to describe situations in which people seem unable to face reality or admit an obvious truth in which case would be that they are violent.

In the same vein, from the findings, some men actually respond and explain violence in a way that it may look and sound logical and mutual. Others justify their violence to be as a result of nagging, provocation from their partners. Rationalization as a defense mechanism can be applied to explain such a finding. Rationalization involves explaining an unacceptable behavior or feeling in a rational or logical manner, avoiding the true reasons for the behavior. And interestingly, rationalization not only prevents anxiety, it may also protect self-esteem and self-concept.

Generally, these defense mechanisms could actually be expected also given the earlier observation that some male perpetrators involuntarily or are 'forced' by fear of repercussions from authorities to come to seek help. Otherwise what would you expect from those men that feel coerced in a way to seek help?

By implication, it may be a blunder to take men's account for their violence from face value. It is thus inevitable to yawn for more, assess and ascertain details of what, how, and where the

violence happened. Such a language of denial, blaming, minimizing is the one contested by the feminist theory that advocates the need to destabilize, deconstruct and contest such language.

5.4. Justifications for Using Violence

One way how men respond and explain their accounts of violence is through giving justifications of why they used the violence. These justifications fit well in the description of 'rationalization' as a defense mechanism as explained earlier. From the findings, there are different motivations or justifications for using violence for the different men. This implies that violence is used to achieve different intentions by the different men. The justifications unearthed in this study can be classified in broad categories. One category is related to violence itself (that it works, it makes her shut up, and it is a way of achieving ones power, it is easy to do). The second categorization entails violence as a result of personal feelings, desires and experiences (feelings of powerlessness, defenseless, inadequate and others).The other is related to traditions of being a man. These categorizations however are not mutually exclusive. Notably, violence is deliberate, aimed at achieving something. Violence in such cases has been thought about other than an accidental happening. This is elaborated.

5.4.1. Violence Works!

Violence is effective; it works; it gets her to shut up. Notably, it is a learned motivation. It is something that yields positive results. It is a way to deal with hard situations for example when one is anxious .When it is used and it works, it is used once again and again. As explained;

'And it is also kind of learned motivation, that violence is positive, it solves the situation in the short term. I get my way through, I make her shut up, I win the battle, it works! It causes a lot of problems and it could be deadly but in the short run violence works and if violence does not work, you have to use more violence…..'(Professional 5)

Violence is easy to do! It's just hard work to have a conversation or negotiation
'..and I think it is also lack of how to express what I think, what I feel deep down, it is much easier to buuu(he illustrates a punch) it is much easy. It is easier to do violence, it is much more demanding to sit down and cool down and have a conversation (man 2*)*

5.4.2. Violence as a power and powerlessness issue

A singer Jimi Hendrix sings that when the power of love overcomes the love of power, the world will know peace. One can substitute the world and say 'the family' will know peace. Some men who use violence in interpersonal relationship express it in relation to power and feeling of powerlessness. One professional highlighted;

*'I think there are different motivations in different men; but in some ways violence comes from the process of being unpowered; and it often has to do with other feelings than aggression. So the start of the aggression for most of the men is that they have been hurt or they have been sad, that they are feeling kind of below their partner and that they are losing power, and they are not in control and they have a lack of words,(*professional *3)*

Violence is a way to avoid and deal with the feelings of powerlessness which can take such forms as highlighted; *'So violence for the men we meet here is not first of all to obtain power, it*

*is more about avoiding powerlessness. The powerlessness can take many forms; I cannot find the words, I feel put down, I feel like I am pushed in the corner, I feel that I can't reach out, I feel I can't explain what I feel, I feel little, I feel bad, I feel small, and yah, things like that. And when we put violence in detail, that powerlessness always Is present in some way and we have to see that it is not only anger but it is also first of all power and powerlessness'(*Professional 4)

Notably, most men that visit crisis centres are mostly those men that use violence as a result of feelings of powerlessness. The ones in IDAP programme and in prisons were noted to be mostly the ones that use violence as a way to obtain power and control. Notice that it is not black and white that male perpetrators fall in those categories. Mixed cases can be found in centres and in prison. Through violence, one obtains power. It was noted that in cases where this may not be the man's original purpose, once he has used violence, then he is in power and in control any way. This can imply that violence brings with it unintended consequences for example obtaining such unintended power. Bad injuries were also noted to be among the unintended consequences. In a quest to dealing with feelings of powerlessness, one can end up injuring the partner badly.

5.4.3. Violence and Traditions of being a Man

In addition to violence being a power and powerlessness issue, it also has to do with traditions of being man. Consequently, real men are supposed to be in power justifying why some resort to violence to live to such a tradition. Real men traditions can also be seen through the angle of feelings and how they are expressed. Some men account that they can't express their feelings to their partners, nor communicate well with them. Some report having cross-communications with their partners where they talk to them as 'girls'. Notably, the only way some men are able to express feelings easily is through one feeling that is believed to be a male/masculine – anger. Yet to others, they do not even want to accept how they feel and as such avoid those feelings that are not 'manly' for example sadness, powerlessness, defenselessness, fears, disappointment. Such scenarios of denial and avoidance end up leading into frustration and violence. One professional explained;

'But also I think this tradition of being a man like what is acceptable for man to express when it comes to feelings, anger is okay, that is a male feeling, many people would say, look at the movies for example like guys feeling angry, so I think anger is something that they feel is okay to express while all the other feelings will be like hidden under the onion. Sometimes we paint on the board like an onion, and then we say that when people see you they think you are angry, that's why you use violence but when like you start peeling away, what feelings are underneath? And the men say, well, I was worried that she was gonna leave me, and I was disappointed that she did not talk to me about this and that , and I was afraid coz I had had a bad experience from my earlier relationships. Usually, guys have a lot of feelings like everyone but they have only one way of showing it and that is through anger, so I think that is one way, like we need to teach our kids to express feelings with words' (Professional 1)

While this finding illustrates a relationship between violence and masculinity in a sense that it is okay to be angry as a man, Bowlby's attachment theory (1973) would explain such anger as the natural response when the expectation of safety, close to the attachment figure, is endangered. While this may sound justified it is added that although anger has an important function within the attachment relationship, aggression that can arise from anger is clearly dysfunctional because it threatens to break apart the attachment bond.

It is also an interesting finding that men use violence not because it brings them near to their feelings but only to avoid the feelings. When one is feeling angry, using violence will not make him feel happy. But some use it because it takes away the person causing the bad feelings by making her shut up for instance. So once the feeling comes up, one will use more violence and that continues like that throughout life. Notably, violence is deliberate and intentional. Man 2 explains how violence can come up;

'Like I said, I am rather a peaceful person and I don't believe in violence in general, but I can appreciate one gets very upset, you know, and when you are so frustrated that you can't talk to some people; you feel almost the need or the urge to , not to hit to make a bad thing, but just to protect yourself, to get the opponent to be quiet. And if I say to you that please can you be quiet now and don't disturb me, and if you don't do it, and you keep on, keep on, keep on (Man 2)

Other men account that they cannot control themselves, a reason that explains their use of violence. For example some explain that they are just overwhelmed by anger. However, this is contested by the fact that most male perpetrators may not use violence to all people on the streets or everywhere but choose to use it only on their women. The explanation given was that there is more to lack of control that explains why they choose to hit only their women. This could be because these men know that they are entitled to dominate the women as men and also regarding their women as weaker compared to them. Such men are thus helped by the professionals during therapy to gain insight into such irrational beliefs about women. On another interpretation, their explanation that they can't control themselves can account to why they are in the psychotherapists' offices to gain tools on how to control themselves.

5.4.4. Personality and Upbringing

Yet to others it could actually be so complicated and personal, mixed with issues of upbringing and other tough situations as explained by one of the male respondents I interacted with;
'The main thing is that I had such a low self esteem, I have been bullied for my whole youth time, I was physically and mentally abused as a child, I have just recently been diagnosed as ADHD[4], so, just like that diagnosis itself, it has been very influential in my life because I have never been able to work in a society. So I have been frustrated (man 1)…

In addition to such personality issues of low esteem or disorder diagnosis, was the question of upbringing and learning how to behave as an adult from your parents. Some men blame their parents for not being responsible enough, to teach them how to behave as men and also how to set limits. Men account that absent male figures are responsible for their violence because they didn't learn from any one close how to handle difficult situations. Also, the questions of what the male perpetrators go through during their childhood also matters as explanations to why they are violent. Consequently, those that have had abusive childhood have ended up being violent in their adulthood. Man 1 highlights that observation in his account.

[4] ADHD-Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder-is a childhood development disorder characterized by inattention, hyperactivity

'*I never had a male figure in my life, never, I didn't grow up with my father, he was never present and when I went to see him, he was not a parent, he was lost. So I never had a male in my life which I think it has been very destructive to me, not having it*,

Researcher: Can you tell me more on how destructive it has been?
Man 1. *'Well, I have been raised by my mum and she was very hateful against men because she was projecting her own lack of responsibility for herself unto the men that disappointed her. So I was always told that men were bad, the only thing I had about men was that they are bad, that they were bad, in any way you can think and so that made me very insecure as a male. So I always, I was very feminine because I had nothing else to relate to, but not like girlish feminine, but still I had those value. I helped very much in the house; I think probably it was like a dream for a girl that really wanted an equal man. It was still strange because when I met girls, they also wanted strong, like alpha male, you know, and I didn't have it, and I hated them for it because they wanted it. They wanted something from me that I didn't have, and they wanted something that my mum hated* (man 1)'

Asked to describe how an alpha male is like, he explained 'him' as one who is decisive, strong and a natural leader. Failure to have such qualities as a man can lead to frustration and this can lead one to be violent. Thus, the social construction about who a man is and how he should behave is brought into focus in relation to violence.

Apparently also, a male learns from fellow males how to be like a man, and since violence is 'malish' it has been sustained in society .It is intergenerational in a way given that men are being socialized and are learning it as they are being brought up. Lack of models to help one in solving their problems is also pointed out. Violence is also a learned thing from society and culture a way of dealing with norm breakers as explained;

'But you have of course learned, you learned by the culture what to do when you come in difficulties, and you also learn by society how to deal with norm breakers, *you can think about it that she is doing something against the norm* (Professional 5)
Own experiences of violence during childhood also are pointed out among the justifications men blame for their violence. One professional in Jonkoping explained this distribution

In the 54 men that we have measured and got some details about, it is about 40-45% of them who have own experience of violence during their childhood. In Oslo in ATV[5] *they say that 66% of the men that they have in treatment they have own experience of violence* (Professional 3*)*

5.4.5. Justifications Related to the Gender Egalitarianism Struggle

Closely related to the above justifications for using violence that the men give, an interesting open question was posed to the respondents as to why they think there is still violence in such a gender egalitarian Sweden. This was only in line with what is argued by the social constructionists that 'there is no point in looking for once-and-for all descriptions of people or society, since the only abiding feature of social life is that it is continually changing. So, the need is to try and understand and account for how the world appears to be at the present time (Burr,

[5] ATV-Alternative to Violence is an NGO in Norway that also works with the perpetrators of violence

2005, p.13). So, why would there be still violence in such a first world country? As per the findings, it is interesting to note that in addition to the above justifications, issues related to the changes brought about by such struggle for egalitarianism were also pointed out. Two things were noted; the dilemma of changed roles and also that men are still under the influences of being a 'real man'.

The dilemma of changed roles; the gender egalitarian struggle has resulted into more work and more stress for the women and the men. The used to be mutually exclusive roles of 'Caring' for women and bread winners for men have been phased out. To some men, it is causing frustration and stress especially those that can't cope or accept such changes. As explained;

'I think it is not so egalitarian like you think perhaps,....(laughs) but if you compare, I think we have come a long way, because almost all women are educated in their studies, have almost same level salaries more or less, and so on. But I think it is difficult because, you know in another society, perhaps, the roles are much more fixed, the man has certain things to do, the woman takes care of the children, cooks food or whatever. But here, women do not accept it like that, they want to share everything. The woman has her work that is challenging, the man also has his work and then they have children and they have to talk quite a lot about how to manage the situation because they both have the responsibility for the children. .....That has been quite a difficult process. It can cause frustrations because, you know, many become stressed, they don't have the time to have to work, to have the children, to cook the food , to wash, everything. sometimes it is too much and then it can cause violence, the stress in itself can cause violence(Professional 5)

Also highlighted was the liberation of women and the fact that they are now days strong in making their own decisions compared to the historical times where the men made all the decisions. This causes frustration and difficulties to live in a relationship. This is because it requires negotiations, discussions and expression of opinions which most men claim that they are not able to do given their socialization as men. As explained

….. But I think the liberation of women has an influence of; it is difficult to live in a relation of man and woman today. People want to make their choice themselves, and women are very strong, and they say if you don't accept the way I want to live, I divorce you and so that leads to other problems as well. But if it is good, it can really be good. But if you can't have the possibility to compromise, discuss and so on, it can result into catastrophe (Professional 3)

Most of the respondents explained that despite the egalitarianism of Sweden, men are still under the influence of being a real man and masculinity. One of the respondents explained;

First of all even if Sweden is one of the most egalitarian countries in the world like they write, men are still under the influence of the pressures of being a real man. Even if we are gender egalitarian in comparison to other countries, these norms, rules, values are still in place and they are still affecting men so we have not reached the goal yet, I could say , and these things really take time to change(Professional 4).

5.4.6. Analysis

Men's justifications for using violence are related to power and powerlessness issues, traditions of being a man, personality and upbringing. They are also related to violence as something that is learned and that works. The egalitarian struggle has increased stress and frustration especially for the men that can't live with such changes. Such findings can gain a lot from interpretation highlighted by theories pointed out in the theoretical framework of this study. Thus, as regards the attachment theory of the psychodynamic perspective, it is presupposed that earlier object relationships with the care giver matter in explaining how the man will behave as an adult. Consequently, a good relationship with parents results into a secure attachment. This means a healthy development of the child that later translates to when you are an adult. One becomes an adult with a high self esteem, successful in peer relationships. The reverse is also true. From the way man 1 explained, an insecure attachment may highlight why he believes he is violent in his relationships.

Also violence is still used because it is a learned behavior. It also leads to results, it works. He achieves his will for example. Accordingly, the social learning theory that is under the cognitive behavioral perspective can explain such a discourse. Thus, violence is used because it is a *learned response* to stressful situations. In relation, is the issue of *rewards* in that because it was rewarding the other time the man used violence, he does it once again, and again. He thus gains a positive motivation explaining why violence may be persistent. In addition, Albert Bandura's concept of modeling where we learn from our parents or role models how to handle situations also interprets such findings that were got where the men use violence because it is used in society and by their fathers, brothers and other male role models. But do all men who grow up in societies that use violence end up being violent? Thus, the personality issues can in addition explain why some men use violence while others do not.

While the above explanations are valid in relation to psychological theories, on the other hand, the social construction theory would interpret them differently. The theory talks of the ability of persons to utilize the linguistic devises in place in order to achieve a certain intention and also in constructing the self. From these findings, it can be observed that the men are able to use the knowledge that is out there in the world of psychologists to explain and justify their violence. With such explanations of personality disorders or abusive childhood, they help the male perpetrators construct themselves as innocent beings only compelled to be violent because of such complicated situations. Blaming such external complications helps to take off the blame and responsibility for their violence off their shoulders. Consequently, these men appear to be victims of circumstances basing on such language that they use. It is on this that the feminist theory asserts that men need to take responsibility for choosing to make the final decision of where to hit, how, and to what extent. Caution is not to put the blame on past or childhood experiences, absent fathers, ADHD, as if these decide at that moment of using violence.

On the whole, the very complexity of violence as a phenomenon is exposed given these different justifications for using violence. Thus, violence by the different men seems to be different, and used for different meanings and purposes. It seems to be originating from a plethora of backgrounds that may be personal, related to upbringing, gender egalitarianism, masculinity and others. Thus violence requires a multiplicity of explanation and theories for it to be holistically understood. This knocks out any one-size-fits all explanations. Consequently, this implies a dire

need for an individual assessment of each individual man to ascertain where his violence is embedded. Such an assessment is inevitable in order to intervene at the right level(s).

5.5. Response Based Therapy

In social work, the importance of 'starting where the client is' is often emphasized. Interestingly, in the sense of this study, the therapy capitalized on is based on how the men have responded to and resisted their violent behavior through the way they explain and justify it. From how the men account for their violence, the therapists find the areas to focus on. A few areas are presented here.

5.5.1 Responsibility

As it was noted earlier that men deny, blame, externalize, justify their violence just because they do not want to take responsibility, the professionals have to ensure that men acknowledge responsibility first. Taking responsibility is vital if the men are to pursue change of their behaviors. Responsibility to take is not only for making the final decision to use violence irrespective of whatever provocations and justifications but also for not leaving the situation or behaving in a non violent way.

But one guy in the group said, 'she was so mean! So I had to …' But why didn't you go out, if you can't think here, then it is right up that you go. And if you don't go then it is your fault, if she does not catch you and tie you to stay, but she does not, no , she does not. Women in most case can't use such kind of violence, even if she wants, may be she can strike you with a knife but that is not so common. She can yell and can be so mean but she cannot hurt you physically, but for you you can. But it is your responsibility to leave if you feel like you are getting so angry and that you might hit her, its your responsibility to leave (Man 2)

One way to ensure that men take responsibility is to encourage them to talk about the violence and once they start thinking about it, trying to find which words to explain what they did, they start to feel it and gain insight and also empathize with the victims . The men have to explain three episodes where they have used the violence, the first time, the worst time and the last time they used violence.

5.5.2. Understanding violence in Detail

Male perpetrators are helped to understand that violence is not only physical violence but also other things that you do. For example controlling who she is with, where she goes. Men are helped to gain insight that throwing things is also violence (material violence) which the majority tend to minimize as not as explained.

'*because may be some men know that, well, like when I get angry, I throw things, I throw my mobile phone into the wall, but that's not violence because I don't throw it at her, I threw it to the wall. No, but we explain to them that, if you have beaten her before and then you throw the phone in the wall, that might be as scary as when you would have beaten her(Professional 1)*

During the therapy men are helped to understand all the forms of violence, psychological, sexual, material. Under the IDAP programme, the power and control wheel and all those forms of violence are tackled. Contested areas like rape, jealous are also tackled in detail. As well, is

helping the men understand that the violence they used before can still affect the victim and what she does for example she can 'involuntarily' consent to sex because she fears what will happen if she said no. Such a sexual act can be seen as rape. *But what we do others* do it! Things can be a little complex sometimes because what these men do, other men in society do them as well. Men out there are jealousy, they follow their girlfriends and say they are in love. So it can be confusing to the male perpetrators and thus requires clarification .One professional highlights this;

'If you use physical violence once, twice or thrice, and then it might be just enough that you just look at her or raise your voice. But if you have been in a good relationship where there have not been violence, it would be okay to raise your voice or look at her, I mean that does not really matter. The winking has intentions if physical violence has already been used, it signals that she should do what I say or if you don't do it, you see what I will do to you'

5.5.3. Manhood

One other important area focused on is on manhood and masculinity given that most men use violence due to the pressures of being a man. Men are helped to deconstruct such pressures. Professionals help the men to see how these pressures of being a real man influence them indirectly or directly. Important also is deconstructing the power inequalities issue and helping the men to realize that they choose to use violence selectively against their women because they know that they can dominate and overpower the women .They also try to deconstruct the men's desires to overpower and be in control as men in the family. As highlighted;

'And one thing concerning context is manhood, (that is how the pressure from society to be in a way as 'a man', to be a strong man, to be a man who does not acknowledge feelings, to be a man who is supposed to be in control, to be a man who always wins, a man who succeeds, bra bra; things that society, family and friends has socialized us to be. We also have to look at that. And also how their past has in some way shaped his views about women. We also focus on how rules and norms about manhood also is a problem (professional 4)

5.5.4. Alternatives to Violence

An important focus is on talking about alternatives to violence; after the men have seen that they are responsible for their violent behavior they are then introduced to behaving differently and in a non-violent way. A number of strategies aimed at skills mix are focused on including time outs, and also talking about feelings. As a response based therapy, men are also focused on. For instance men are encouraged and trained to talk about their feelings instead of using violence. Interpretively, this is perhaps constructing a new masculinity where men are encouraged to talk about their feelings. Man 2 explained that they are encouraged to over explain than to under explain. No one is such a perfect mind reader and therefore, these men are encouraged to express and communicate their feelings instead of being violent.

5.5.5. Upbringing and past childhood experiences

Men talk about their upbringing and how it is affecting the way they behave now. In addition they also focus on parenting, for those men that use kids to spy on the other partner. In other treatments, they discuss the history of childhood in order to gain insight in how this is influencing the present behavior. Noted was the issue of how deep early childhood experiences

are discussed. Thus in some programmes like IDAP, they may not go deep into personal history. A man in need of deep therapy can be referred for individual therapy instead.

5.5.6. Analysis

In relation to the social construction theory, it is acknowledged that knowledge and social action go together. There can be numerous possible social constructions of the world with these different constructions bringing with them or inviting a different kind of action from the human beings (Burr, 2003). Thus, the way the men construct their violence demands a kind of action from the therapists**.** From the findings, men use all sorts of responses and defense mechanisms to escape taking responsibility for their violence. In line with Foucault argument , the way people talk about and think about things, in other words the way these things are represented in the society- brings with it implications for the way we treat these people. Thus, such men that minimize, deny responsibility for their violence, during therapy, they are helped to acknowledge that it was their choice to use violence. Very crucial is that if you cannot see your responsibility, then you cannot change, and so almost in all the programmes, the focus was on responsibility. The feminist theory out rightly emphasizes that men be held responsible for their violent actions. Neither should the victim, nor your father who taught you how to use violence take the responsibility but the individual man who decides where to hit and when to stop.

In the framework is the cognitive behavioral theory that asserts that behaviors are just learnt and therefore you can learn people other behaviors and replace those that seem problematic. Thus, basing on this, during therapy, men are trained on finding alternative behaviors instead of behaving violently. Thus men are encouraged to take time outs, express, communicate and the like. Focus is also in explaining violence in details as more and beyond the physical violence as some men thought. This can be said to be an influence from the feminist perspective and through the famous power and control wheel of the Duluth model that explains violence or the tactics of power and control. In this wheel, physical and sexual abuse are portrayed as only the outer part of the wheel, while the spokes upholding it are manifold and include economic and emotional abuse.
In all, there is challenging the taken-for-granted knowledge as claimed by the social construction theory. Deconstruction of masculinity and manhood, violence and issues of wanting to be in power and in control; beliefs about women is in focus. This could be towards constructing a new masculinity and breaking the intergenerational nature of violence. Men are brought into insight in how they have been influenced by such constructions as being ‘sturdy oarks’, ‘big wheels’, giving ‘em hell and rejecting any sissy stuff. The dangers that such have brought to their lives are discussed and deconstructed and thus challenged. Assertiveness training in relation to the rational emotive behavioral therapy under the cognitive behavioral theory is at focus as well as deconstructing the irrational beliefs that these men have.

There are attempts to going into the unconscious and making what is unconscious conscious which is a central tenet for the psychodynamic therapy. This applies to where therapy is focused on gaining insight into how their upbringing, earlier attachment issues have influenced how the men behave now, and also reflecting and talking about the past experiences.

Important to say in fact is that, although the programmes are under different names, from the interviews one could see that the themes focused on in the therapy were almost echoing the same

with a slight difference in how deep they discuss issues and what 'sort of title' do they use. From the interviews, it was noted that different approaches are used. What was common was that in most of the programmes, it is hard to exclusively use one approach and theory and thus an eclectic approach with psychodynamic, feminist, cognitive-behavioral perspectives were being used. Even those that seemed to be feminist like IDAP programme, they applied some cognitive behavioral principles.

5.6. Responses after the Therapy Intervention

It would leave everyone wanting and thus would not do justice to the readers and the researcher, if this study did not highlight at all, what kind of responses or changes, if any, accrue from such interactions between psychotherapists and the men that use violence. Serious caution should however be taken that this research is not in any way an evaluation of the programmes. In the scientific world, there is a tendency to measure and show successes from the programmes through formal evaluations. However, with the professionals interacted with in this study, problems with formal evaluations were highlighted by these professionals. If their evaluation studies were not pending, with no results yet, the other professionals had no agreement on what should be measured or they simply dismissed evaluation as an obsessive disorder by researchers who want just to quantify everything.

However, through probing for any responses that men show after the therapy, some were highlighted. Most importantly, it was highlighted that some men do not come back as criminals after attending the therapy. This implies that they have learnt something and stopped using violence. Men learn alternative ways of handling situations as well as small skills like 'backing off' and leaving the situation in cases where one feels very angry and fears that he may be violent. Men get the chance to experience themselves, talk about themselves and to some, this can be for the very first time that they are focusing on themselves. The professionals can't change the horrible childhoods these men could have gone through, but men are helped to gain insight on how these are influencing the ways the men are behaving. One professional explained;

'It is not results in a research way it is more an opinion that we get . We get from the man, his story about, that he has stopped himself from the situation where he used to be violent or aggressive. He can report to us that he can be in control of himself now; that he could take a timeout; or he could calm himself down or now that he could talk to his partner in another way . And then in some ways where we have been in contact with the partner she also reports that it has been calm, and that, it is in another way ,and that, it is not any more physical violence' (Professional 3)

Talking to the male respondents, they explained their responses after the therapy. Man 2 explained how focusing on his upbringing and childhood and the insight gained, has helped him in his present parenting. That is, he does not want to repeat what his father did. By implication, this is perhaps an attempt to breaking the inter-generational spread of violence where violent fathers raise violent children. He explains;

'It has given me more thinking about how I raise my own boy and try very hard not to do the same thing that my father did to me, that is the lesson I learnt. So of course, sometimes, you

*don't succeed but I have a son who is 22 and when we see each other, we always hug and when I say bye bye, I say I love you, so it is more of a natural thing than it was with my father. (*Man 2)

Man 1 explained *'The thing is I know where I am going and I do not want to hurt other people, I am very sorry to all the people I have hurt, to the ones I am still close to, I have apologized….'* In such an insight, the man has taken responsibility for his violence and thus would not want to hurt others.

However, it was noted that it is still challenging to know when the violence has stopped or not and whether to believe the reports from both the man and the woman. This is because both partners may not want to report what is exactly happening in the family. Besides, it is still a taboo to talk about violence. The implication is that, therefore, the problem of violence is still related to the problem of representation and language. The extent to which one can believe in such reports that violence has stopped is still contentious and a challenge to most programmes. Thus, as in line with the social construction theory, the truth about violence is still problematic.

5.7. Recommendations

Recommendations on how to target today's VAW were given by the respondents. These lied in three categories; prevention, strengthening the punishments as well as discussing the issue that women can also be violent.

5.7.1 Prevention

In relation to this, emphasis was put on the need to target the young ones and ensuring bringing up a good generation. The need to target institutions like schools was also expressed as well as the family and most especially parents. Parents and schools were noted to be important factors in turning around violence This perhaps relates to the cognitive behavioral theory where these are the role models to young generation. The need to deconstruct what is constructed as manly and how it affects the men was pointed out to be targeted to the young boys in schools.

5.7.2. Intensify the 'red cards' to the stubborn 'footballers'

It was highlighted by the respondents that the most dangerous men may not come for therapy but these might end up in prison at some point. Thus, it was recommended that punishments should be intensified because these will target the already badly brought up generation, those that still want to use violence to gain power and to hurt women. Respondents remarked that the current punishments are too simple compared to the harm that violence does to the women and children and society (both tangible and intangible).

5.7.3. Women can be violent too and we should talk about it!

Most respondents recounted that the issue that women are violent too should be tackled as another challenge to society. Consequently the abusive women could also come for treatment. They however noted that Violence against men is not as severe and that women may not constitute such a threat as compared to the abusive men.

Thus on the whole, though there is progress and a revolution in this phenomenon of violence in close relations, prevention through information sharing to ensure positive masculinities, with parents and schools as targets were highlighted. As well, punishments need to be intensified as

well as court mandated therapy for those men that abuse their ‘so society-given- power’. As well, Violence against men needs to be talked about.

Chapter 6 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

As regards the structure of this section, the discussion is presented following the sub questions and themes of the study. First the findings of the present study are highlighted. They are related to earlier research and literature. Also a Ugandan perspective is put into focus in order to have an international perspective of the problem under study. This is in addition to what was highlighted in the earlier background section.

6.1 Contact

The findings indicate that men get in contact with the professionals through three ways. These are through referrals, individual initiative and through court-mandated. It was also noted that the men indirectly or directly influence their choice of going for therapy. However, those referred by the authorities may not voluntarily seek help. But for fear of repercussions given the power that such authorities have in Sweden, they seek help. Inferring to the findings was that such a group is hard to work with because of low motivation despite that they make the call to seek help by themselves.

In relation to the Ugandan context, there are no specific perpetrator intervention programmes for male perpetrators of violence. There are general counseling centers and churches where both men and women can go for any help of which may entail dealing with marital or family problems. The problem of VAW is still seen as a family issue. It is still seen as a private matter than a public issue. Note that going to a therapist or a counselor may imply making the issue public. However, some government authorities are also involved in handling VAW cases. For example the Uganda Police under the Child and Family Protection Unit and the office of the Probation and Child Welfare Department in every district in Uganda. Due to an intersectionality of issues, most of the work in such authorities is aimed at family reconciliation and mediation rather than individual therapy. For example in a report by Amnesty International (2010, p.4) was a statement from police that "the main focus of the police is to reconcile the family – we do not encourage the detention and arrest of husbands who are bread winners because the rest of the family suffers when he is in jail". Thus women are encouraged to stay with their abusive husbands. However, the police is a much feared institution in Uganda and the women who are daring enough usually go there to ask police to threaten the husband so that he can stop beating her.

To my reflection however, these authorities, if they worked in collaboration with other relevant ones like courts of law, the general community and women, they could be potential avenues where men that use violence can be contacted and asked to go for therapy. This is because male perpetrators might not choose to go for therapy or seek help from individual initiative given the still much patriarchal influence in the societies.

In relation to other researches, perpetrator intervention programmes were found out to be part of a broader intervention system depending on or at least related to arrest practices, court procedures, probation supervision, battered women's services and other community services (Gondolf, 2002). This is true for Göteborg and Jönköping as regards the cooperation between the different authorities like social services, police, healthcare and others which are committed to ensuring the welfare and rights of all, women and men. The famous Duluth model emphasizes such an integrated community response to VAW with a close collaboration between all agencies in criminal and civil justice systems from 911 to courts (DAIP, 2012, Pence&Shepard, 1999

cited in Gondolf, 2002). The argument is that batterer programmes in isolation cannot do the job (Trimble, 2000, Gondolf, 2002, Sendel, 2003). Conclusively, this collaboration between all the authorities could be thought of as an easier way to get in contact with the victims and perpetrators of violence given the private settings in which the monster VAW happens as well as breaking the silence and cycle of violence in both Uganda and Sweden.

6.2 Why men seek help; motivations, responses and resistance to violence

As a response and resistance to violence, male perpetrators seek help from the professionals. From the findings one observes different triggers for finally making such a decision. A lot of emotions are involved in triggering male perpetrators in finally defying the social construction that men do not seek help. Inclusive is that some men are sorry and regretful of using violence, and are so desiring to repair what has been broken. Such emotions are similar to what Wood (2004) found out and termed as 'remorsefulness'.
George Orwell (cited in Wade, 2007a, p.1) was struck by the experience of a slum girl and came to a conclusion that 'we are mistaken when we say that 'it isn't the same for them as it would be for us, and that people bred in slums can imagine nothing but slums'. I was also struck as well because i used to imagine that such men that use violence, the powerful men, only think violence and thus cannot experience such insightful and sorryful feelings. In relation to what is masculine, these may not be manly feelings to experience and express. Such acts qualified to be termed resistance acts. Male perpetrators have dared to show their vulnerability and powerlessness, laying down all their cards to be examined by the psychotherapists.

However the findings still show that men still seek help at the last moment, at a moment of desperation, when they are in a crisis and they are really frustrated. This implies that still seeking help is still seen as something not masculine and thus only a crisis for instance would 'break it loose'. Thus, men are still battling the influences of masculinity. On the other hand this desperation can also be seen as a response to and resistance to violence following the explanations that despair both embodies and engenders resistance (B. Adams, personal communication, 9 January, 2005) while it affirms the insatiable desire for freedom and dignity. What a person *despairs against* points to what she *hopes for* (V. Reynolds, personal communication, 11 November, 2001, cited in Wade, 2007a).

Another trigger to seeking help is after violence is no longer a secret and has been perhaps exposed by intervention from police, social and such. Such findings are in line with what Eliasson (2001) notes that intervention by authorities helps to bring to the conscious the consequences of the man's violence and thus motivates them to do something. Eliasson explains further that many men at Manscentrum, Sweden reported that they were fully aware that their actions were objectionable, but that they were incapable of doing anything about these violent actions before they were reported to police or any other measure against them (Ibid,2001).

Interesting from the findings is also that for other men, they seek help because they do not want to lose their partner and they are heeding to the advice from the woman to seek help. Women threatening to leave and thus manipulating their husbands to seek help was also thought of as an exercise of power and resistance by these women. In the same vein with Orwell's observation, you would think that women in abusive relationships, like the woman in the slum, only imagine

violence and cannot respond to it in any way of resisting it. On the contrary this experience by these women shows how they exercise some power and resistance. This finding could be in line with what Wade &Coates (2004), Scott, (1990) note that resistance is ubiquitous and ever-present. Wade, (2007a) explains that when open defiance is impractical or too dangerous, resistance is expressed indirectly and on the micro-level of social interaction.

Whereas women's threats in this study are highlighted as resistance acts, on the contrary, Moffitt et al (1997) look at such threats to leave as *abuse* in itself following the psychological abuse scale. In Moffitt et al's analysis, these women are abusing their husbands. Dobash and Dobash (2004), however, counteract such a conclusion and assign that the context needs to be put into consideration and that a lot of explanation is still needed on the capacity of how such threats can be regarded as abuse.

That aside, it was also observed in the findings that such men who come as a result of threats are uncooperative because they feel 'forced' and do not want to be in psychotherapy and Gondolf (2002) observes the same that 'Batterer programs involve attempts to counsel and help men, but the men typically view their attendance as 'punishment' (p.1). Brooks (1998) acknowledges that 'such an uncooperative behavior is kind of expected with an affirmation that when a traditional man is confronted by a female partner who insists that he change, the man may be expected to minimize the demand or, if necessary, try to subvert it because no dominant group will welcome threats to its status or willingly abandon power or entitlement' (p.165).

In a Ugandan context, the extent to which men who use violence in Uganda can heed to such threats from women can be a doubtable but a researchable issue. However, most importantly would be the question of how far women are empowered or motivated to use such kind of psychological power to threaten and manipulate their husbands or in the whole, advising them to do things. Ugandan women confront a male-dominated power structure that upholds and entrenches male authority in the home, Karanja (2003). Even given the researcher's experience of this woman in the neighborhood who would come to her mother's house for refuge, even when she would threaten to leave the husband for beating her, it sounded like it didn't have any impact or meaning to the husband. She would threaten and finally go to her original home for a day or two as she nursed her wounds but would voluntariry come back. Such a return is perhaps because of what Cobbah (1987) in Healy (2008) notes below that seems to be true and real. It is noted that many African countries, Uganda inclusive, emphasis is on groupness, sameness and commonality rather than individual freedom. Therefore, some women still choose to stay in abusive marriages (and also not to report violence) for the sake of such at the expense of their individual freedom. In Uganda, a woman would rather fit in a big group of 'married' than be a free woman who has escaped an abusive man.

Thus an inter-sectionality of issues would still hinder the women's exercise of their power of threat. Consequently, other ways of resistance perhaps covert ways would have to be manned by such women in Uganda and these could be interesting to explore in a detailed study.

6.3 Perpetrators' explanations of their Violence

The findings highlight the issue of how men give accounts of their violence by putting to words their actions and experiences. To some male perpetrators, it is painful to talk about their

violence. These are very sorry and regretful to what they have done. Notably, only a few male perpetrators would admit their violence. Thus, other ways are used strategically by men as they account for their violence. Highlighting the perfomative role of language, the male perpetrators minimize, deny and externalize their violence. Others blame their partners for violence instead of talking about themselves and their violence. The findings indicate that such strategies are with intentions. For example they want to escape taking responsibility and blame for the violence used. Minimizing is to avoid seeing and feeling the severity of their violence. In Psychological terms, these were regarded as defense mechanisms employed by such male perpetrators.

Interesting was that some male perpetrators deny their violence on claims that they love their women .Whereas love is advanced as a reason for not hurting someone, on the contrary, in one of the small tribes in Eastern Uganda, if a man does not beat the wife, then it means that he does not love her. Thus to them, violence is taken to be a sign of love. Actually with this common slogan in Sweden, that 'leave at the first slap', in such a tribe in Uganda, it would imply that 'stay at the first slap'. However, these male perpetrators in Sweden denying that they would never beat the woman they love would imply that they actually know that violence is bad or wrong and should never be done to someone you say you love. In some sense, this might actually be true given the earlier finding that the men heed to her advise/threats to leave and so seek help so that they do not lose her. In another sense, however, pretending that they love their women that they batter could also be a way of 'keeping the women to themselves so that the women do not leave them. It is interesting to note Eliasson's (2001) explanation to such denials in the name of love. It is explained that it is quite normal to take a distance from what is discomforting. Moreover, to act time and again against ones better judgment requires a variety of psychological defenses and some kind of moral double book keeping. Better judgment in this case may entail for example knowing that it is not proper to hit someone you say you love).

These findings of denial, minimization, blame were also found out by other scholars in earlier research. Male perpetrators were found out to use justifications, disassociations, excuses, rationalizations and explanations for their violence to avoid responsibility as well as taking affirmative action for change for their violent behaviours (Wallach, &Sela, 2008, Stonsy 2005, Dobash et al 1998). Actually Gondolf (1987) explains denial as a stage where the male perpetrator is egocentric about 'me-against others'. Hennings et al, (2005) found out that perpetrators use minimization, denial and attributions of blame in their accounts of violence. Pence &Paymer (1993) assert that perpetrators use external attribution of blame; victim blaming (Hamberger, 1997); stress and financial difficulties (Cantos et al (1993). Dutton &Hemphill, 1992) found out frequent minimization of severity of the offence or completely denying incidents of abuse. Dobash& Dobash (2004), Moffitt et al (1997) also found out difference in reports of violence where by men report *less* of their violence. Therefore, in line with Wade and Coates (2004), in fitting words to deeds in personalized violence, there are no impartial accounts and language is used strategically. From these findings, men's accounts are not impartial but are rather biased towards escaping responsibility for their violence, facing its real severity as well as mutualising the need for change/solution to the violent behavior.

Conclusively, such denials, minimizations and other defense mechanisms are the strongest forms of evidence for the existence of violence. They also show everyday resistance to violence by male perpetrators. These are the determined efforts made by the perpetrators of violence to

conceal or suppress it (Wade, 1997). Thus accounts and such language by the perpetrators need to be cross examined and not to be taken at face value.

6.4 Justifications of Violence

Almost in the same lines as above is the way men also use a language of justifications to account for their violence. From the findings, it can be observed that violence has intentions and purposes to achieve. This implies its deliberateness and as something thought about by these men that use it. The findings highlight that violence is a power issue; it is used by some male perpetrators to obtain power. Violence is a way to avoid powerlessness. There is power obtained when one uses violence whether it was intentional to obtain such power or not. By using violence you are in power. In addition, violence is also an issue to do with upbringing and past experiences. It is a learned motivation because of its rewarding and positive nature as something that works to achieve the perpetrators will. It also has to do with the masculine or traditions of being a real man passed on from generation to generation through the process of socialization and modeling. Frustrations and insecurities that come from failure to be the 'alpha male' are blamed for forcing the men to be violent. With a closer look, men that justify their violence as a way to deal with powerlessness and to gain power could have influence from beliefs about manhood that men are supposed to be in power and domination.

Generally, from such a language of justifications of violence highlighted by the findings, it can be deduced that violence is seen as a *means to* in some cases and as a *result of* in other case implicating the same explanations and finding by Enander (2008). Justifying the use of violence because it is masculine with anger being a masculine feeling to feel and express compared to other feelings like sadness, defenselessness, is what Brooks, (1998) termed as a dark side of masculinity. Cornnell et al (1995) refers to hegemonic masculinity. Gondolf (2002), Wood (2004), highlight the same relationship between violence and masculinity with violence seen as enforcing and perpetuating the order of dominance by men over women. Violence as motivated by a man's desires for power are in line with Johnson's classification of violence termed patriarchal/intimate terrorism. Situational couple violence which is a function of escalation of a specific conflict can be related to the findings where male perpetrators justify violence as a result of provocation, nagging or conflicts with the victim.

Along the same lines, other studies found out that perpetrators use socially approved rationalizations for justifying their violence. Even in those cases in which the battering men accept responsibility, they blame external stressful situations or internal, unstable, specific, unintentional situations, such as low esteem, frustration, anger or lack of control. Therefore, they avoid condemnation and responsibility (Cantos et al 1993; Wallach & Sela (2008), Henning et al. 2005). Pence and Paymar (1993) explain that issues of abusive childhood experiences, lack of skills to control himself, or anger are excuses used by batterers to why they use violence and why they continue to use it. Violence is a way to obtain power and control (Pence &Paymar, 1993, Orme, Dorminelli &Mullender (2000), Petrik,Olson&Subtnik,1994). On the contrary, Gondolf (1999) noted that participants in the programmes appeared less pathological.

As regards the today's egalitarian struggle in Sweden and its relationship to violence, such consequences are what Brooks (1998, 2010) terms as the crisis of masculinity. From the findings, the dilemma of changed roles and the blurred categorizations of the used-to-be well

specified male and female roles were seen to lead to frustration and violence. The struggle constitutes an attack on the taken-for-granted categorizations of masculinity and femininity that have ruled the world for years. Thus today, new ways of showing that one is a real man are required. Taking on new roles like sharing the caring roles by men is inevitable. The needs for issues like negotiation and expression of feelings and opinions that perhaps most men have not been raised to do is inevitable due to such egalitarianism. Thus, as Brooks (1998) notes 'most men are now in a state of disequilibrium; many are bitter, angry, hurt, or resentful. Although they may not voice it out clearly, many men wonder 'what the hell is going is on? What do the women and society expect from us? The majority are thinking that 'we were not raised for this as regards their socialization for being a man' (p.11)

In relation to studies done in Uganda, as regards the language of justifications, customs like bride price take the blame for causing men to be violent, Thiara &Hague (2008-2009).These cement women's inequality and the likelihood of men feeling that they have a right to dominate and control their wives, including through the use of violence. In a similar vein 70% of men and 90% of women —viewed beating of the wife or female partner as justifiable in some circumstances, Koenig et al (2003). Also, VAW is a natural by-product of marriage where men are regarded as powerful figures compared to their women counterparts (karanja, 2003). As such from such studies, violence can be said to be seen as a *result* of situations.

Conclusively, study results show that men use justifications of the past, manhood, personality to account for their violence. Wade and Coates 2004 explain that such strategies of justifications and denials of violence show the deliberateness and intentionality of violence. The justifications are used with intention of escaping the blame and responsibility and not to see the violence as an issue. The implication is that relying on accounts by men without going deep, can result into half aimed therapy. Thus deconstruction of such above justifications is needed to understand the men's violence and their reasons for using the violence. In fact from a close observation, such justifications can constitute even the impediments these men are experiencing if they are to stop their use of violence. Because in simple understanding, one cannot work to stop something that he still justifies as reasonable to do because of the different external and internal situations that compelled him to do it. Thus, justifications need to be deconstructed and unraveled so that a firm foundation can be laid for a fruitful therapy

6.5 Response based Therapy

In relation to how men account and present their violence, the therapists intervene. In other words, they start from where the client is. The focus is on the different themes as presented by the individual man or the men in the group. Thus, there is no one same programme that can be generalized to all the men that use violence given the different justifications and strategies in their accounts for violence. Violence by the men is different and for different purposes. Thus, from the findings, an assessment and a combination of approaches is manned to reach best the complexity of violence. Nevertheless, some transcending themes in therapy with male perpetrators were identified. For instance the focus on ensuring that men take responsibility for their violence, focusing on explaining violence in detail, deconstructing masculinity, manhood and its influences on how men behave including behaving violently. Also crosscutting is identifying alternatives to violence. The implications of such focus can be to ensure that violence is put to an end by deconstructing whatever justifications that the perpetrators seem to put

forward. It was noted that more than one approach can be applied by the professionals given that violence can be as result of many complex issues that can't be uprooted and explained singlehandedly. In relation to earlier research, these findings are in line with what Socialstylsen, (2010), Rothman et al (2003) observes that although they are programmes under different names, the content and focus is almost the same.

Nevertheless, where as the focus on men's responsibility for violence seems to be crosscutting, with its confrontational nature that the man's behaviour is wrong and thus should be changed, it has been contested in some ways. The issue for discussion pointed out is that this assumption contrasts with more non-directive or reflective counselling that encourages the clients to discover his needs and solutions. In this therapy, the male perpetrators, with whatsoever excuses they give to justify their violence, must take responsibility for their violence. Looking at the findings that show all sorts of ways in which men deny, minimise and are defensive, it would thus be inevitable to ensure that the men take responsibility if they are to change. Thus focus on responsibility is an insurmountable step in this response based therapy.
What needs to be questioned, however, in such cases is how this is implemented by the individual therapists in that if it is mishandled then it can be detrimental (Gondolf, 2002). Thus, the feminist approach advises that, men should be held responsible in an encouraging and caring way that will expose the dangerous consequences of their violence and thus encouraging them to change. Stonsy (2005) calls such treatment programme aimed at bringing personal responsibility to a man who uses violence 'the compassion workshop'.

Interesting also is the focus on violence as a learned behaviour that can be unlearnt rather than an identity or a natural personality issue. Thus violence is not what someone is but what someone does and therefore can be changed. Eliasson (2001) explains that the focus of the talk is about what *he does* but not *who he is*, which makes it possible for violence to be changed compared to if it was to be regarded as an identity issue.

As regards the Ugandan context, the issue of focusing on upbringing and deconstructing manhood and masculinity plus holding the men accountable and responsible, would supposedly be very relevant to any professionals working with male perpetrators. Such an observation is inferred basing on the strong influence of masculinity as well as the attitude that justify violence in some circumstances. Consequently, Y.E.A.H (2012) with its 'Be a man' campaign is aimed increasing awareness about violence and advocating 'true manhood tenets that are not violent.

6.6 Responses after Therapy

The findings highlight that professionals do not labor in vein. There are some changes that accrue from their therapy with the male perpetrators. Thus some male perpetrators have gained insight into what influences their violent behaviors. Others have taken responsibility for their violence to the extent that they have vowed not to hurt anyone again. Important is the observation that some end their physical violence as well as gaining skill and alternative ways of behaving in a none violent way.

It was however noted from the findings that violence is still misrepresented and still reports about such changes cannot be relied on 100%. Still, there are problems with formal evaluations to try to document such changes. Consequently, there is still need to appreciate the importance of

research and evaluations in sorting out the doubts as regards evidence to programmes that work. Given such a coordination and cooperation between the authorities and services like it was highlighted in the earlier findings, it might be imperative to look at such programmes for male perpetrators not in isolation but rather concentrate on the collaborative linkages of which these (programmes) are part of the whole.

In relation to earlier research, there are a lot of critics and doubts on whether male perpetrators are able to change or whether perpetrator programmes work. Argument is for formal evaluations that will document the changes that accrue from such programmes. In relation to the findings of this study, it would instead be paying to ascertain and document any small changes that are experienced by the individual men instead of concentrating on arguing for formal evaluations. Documenting such voices and small experiences could be encouraging to the men out there and could help break the masculine influences associated with asking for help. Hearing and reading any success stories from some men that have gone for therapy could be encouraging to some other men out there. This could end up trickling down to ending violence through changed alternative behaviors to violence gained when such male perpetrators come for therapy.

The men interacted with during this study seemed enthusiastic to share their experiences .This should be encouraged. Perhaps, other men can also be inspired to seek help. Since it is hard to get bigger evaluations done, why not document the small changes? Complete Ignorance about what is going on in perpetrator programmes can be the worst disease that can have detrimental effects on such programmes

The implication here is perhaps, there is still a need for such programmes to appreciate the importance of research and evaluations in sorting out the doubts as regards evidence to programmes that work, however, in cases where this might not be possible, efforts to document any small responses after therapy should be made instead of complete ignorance about what is happening. Like it was observed during the interviews that programmes have been running for over ten years but nothing has been documented as regards results or responses from such programmes. To those that are obsessed with quantifying everything, it might not come on a silver plate to come to an agreement on what constitutes a program that works; because how much of a program is necessary to consider a program to be working? Is making life safer for 1 in 10 women (a 10% chance of change) sufficient to say that a programme works, or is making life more dangerous for 1 in 10 women enough for a 'not working programme' verdict? (Gondolf, 2002, P.34).

Reaching the most dangerous men through therapy is still an uphill task. It was noted that the men that come for therapy are different from the husbands to the women that are in shelters. By implication, the shelters need to collaborate more with the centers for men to ensure that their perpetrators are brought to seek help. Individually, these programmes can be one drop but together with all other efforts, they can be an ocean.

The findings highlighted that there is need to focus on Violence against Men as well. In concordance with Dobash and Dobash (2004), what is required is research and research methods that provide a more adequate representation of this violence and the contexts in which it occurs

rather than conceptual and operationalist abstractions that are once removed from real life events (p.346).

In a brief summary, the male perpetrators of violence come to contact with the professionals through three different ways. These are through referrals from different authorities, individual initiative, and also court-mandated. They are triggered by various emotions like desiring to repair what has been broken, desire to change their violent behaviors and others. Others come as a result of threats from their partners. The desire not to lose them triggers them to seek help. In reaching the psychotherapists offices, one would expect that they will admit their violence. However on the contrary only a few admit to it. Many use language strategically and thus deny, minimize, externalize and justify their violence. This is with intentions of escaping taking responsibility for their violence as well as looking for solution. Male perpetrators' use of violence is as a result of various motivations that are complex at different levels. Consequently, the violence is used because it is effective and yields positive results. It is used to obtain power and also deal with the feelings of powerlessness. Related also are the traditions of being a man whose failure to live up to can cause frustration and lead to violence. The gender egalitarian struggle has brought new challenges, dilemmas and changed roles that have compounded the already complex situation. Personality and childhood experiences also lead men to be violent. Thus during therapy, such responses provide themes of focus. Focus is on ensuring that men take responsibility for their violence. Attempts to discover alternative ways to violence are also discussed. Consequently some male perpetrators have been able to stop their violence as well as acknowledging their responsibility for their violence. From this, new ways of behaving differently have been harnessed.

More and more research is still desirable in documenting and understanding violence from the perspective of the perpetrators, both within the different contexts, and in various parts of the continent. Understanding why and how the perpetrators account for their use of violence and deconstructing such is insurmountable to reach the 'fully egalitarian violent free world and society where women and men, children and the whole society is leaving in harmony. Aluta Continua! (The struggle continues)

Furthermore, further research can be attempted to close off the gaps left by this study. It would be beneficial to try and see if the results in this study are replicated through employing mixed methods of investigation in addition to interviewing that was used in this study. A longitudinal study would help to see if the positive responses after the therapy are maintained for a lifetime by the male perpetrators. In such a study, more male perpetrators should be focused to allow representativeness and consequent generalization of findings. A detailed study focusing on the Ugandan context would be better to attain the scientific international perspective and comparison of men's violence against women with the focus on male perpetrators.

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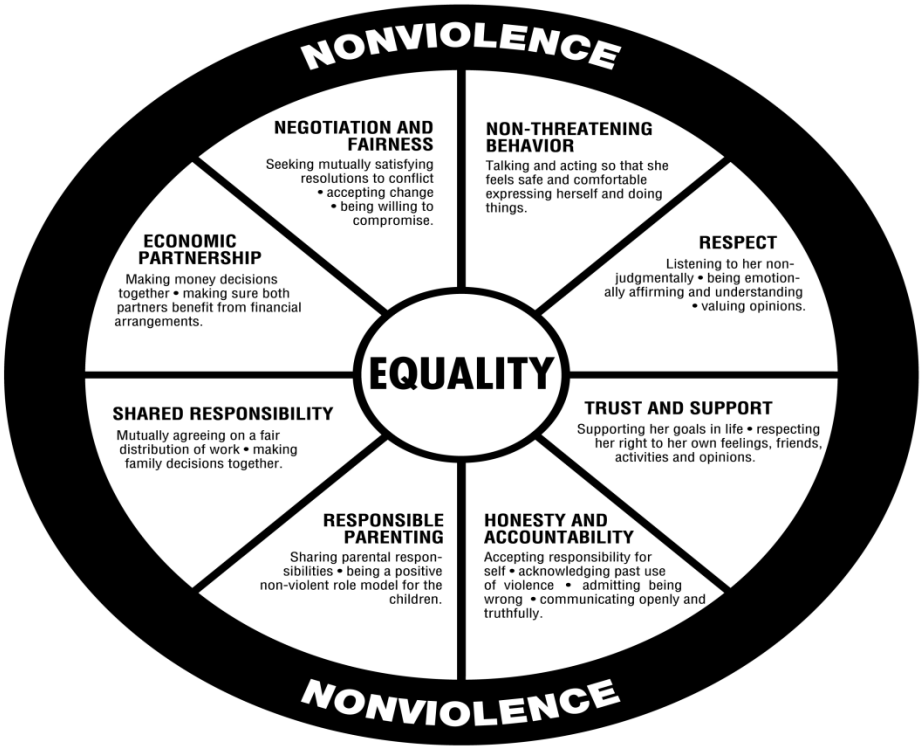
POWER AND CONTROL WHEEL

The Equality wheel



DOMESTIC ABUSE INTERVENTION PROJECT
202 East Superior Street
Duluth, Minnesota 55802
218-722-2781
www.duluth-model.org

Interview Guide for the professionals

- **How do the perpetrators of violence come in contact with the centre**
- **What triggers them to come to seek help**

- **How do they (perpetrators) explain the violence during the beginning of the treatment**?
  -Explore why they explain it or look at it like that
  -Explore the reasons the perpetrators give for using violence
- **How does then the professional intervene?**
  -focus/themes of intervention/treatment (and why such a focus)
  -how do they intervene
- **What results/changes after the therapy**
  -explore the responses they get after the therapy
  -Main goal of the centre in relation to violence
  -Explore how they get the feedback about the successes
- **Explore, from their perspective and experience, why there is still violence in such a gender egalitarian Sweden**
- **What are the envisaged recommendations on how it could be tackled**
- **…….**

Interview guide for male perpetrators

- How did you come in contact with the professionals that provide therapy
- How did you come to seek help?

- What situations encouraged you to seek help or go for the therapy? (Explore those situations related the use and understanding of violence against women)
- What did you focus on during the treatment?
- How did the treatment help you?

  -Changes/successes/benefits/relevance
- Why do you think there is still violence against women in a gender egalitarian Sweden?
- And how do you think it can be tackled?

GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET

Letter of introduction 2012-02-03

My name is Sharlotte Tusasiirwe . I am an International Master student at the Institution of Social Work in Göteborg University. I am conducting research about men's violence against women. The aim particularly is to understand this violence with the focus on how the male perpetrators respond to it. I would therefore like to hear the experiences and practise of professionals who come in contact with men who use violence towards their intimate partners. My intention and humble request, therefore, is to have an interview with you and some of your staff as well.

The interview will not take more than 45 min and I can come to a place, comfortable for you. Importantly, I will respect the ethical recommendations of Social Science research.

If you can recommend some persons, please, give me their email address or give the person my email address for further information. You can contact me or my supervisor for any further information and clarification.

Thank you.

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