REDUCING FAMILY VIOLENCE

SOCIAL MARKETING CAMPAIGN

FORMATIVE RESEARCH

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Prepared for

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FAMILY VIOLENCE IT'S NOT OK

CONTENTS

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

Thirty-seven in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted with male perpetrators of intimate partner violence to inform development of the family violence social marketing strategy (FVSMS). The FVSMS aims to assist reduce the level of family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand through both social marketing and community action strategies.

Pakeha (n=8), Maori (n=12), Pacific Island (n=12) and Chinese (n=5) men were interviewed. Interviews were conducted in Northland (5), Auckland (17), Hamilton (3), Gisborne (4) and Wellington (8). All participants were in some form of intervention for their violence, typically a stopping violence re-education programme. Participants were either mandated or self referred to interventions and were at different stages of completion of the intervention.

Interviews were conducted with perpetrators to understand their behaviours, attitudes and feelings about family violence and their readiness and motivations to change their behaviour. Specifically, the interviews sought to identify and understand:

1. Variations in attitude and behaviour relating to family violence and changing violent behaviour
2. The key sources of tangible and intangible influence on perpetrators
3. Enablers of and barriers to behaviour and attitude change
4. Perpetrators' readiness to change their behaviour and the motivations for doing so.

To understand different potential audiences for the FVSMS, how social marketing interventions may assist perpetrators towards change and the different strategies required to reach different audiences, profiles of perpetrators motivations to change were developed from the research findings. Conclusions drawn from the motivation profiles and the perpetrator findings generally are used to provide strategic direction to the development of the FVSMS.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL NORMS

Social and cultural norms surrounding violence, family violence, masculinity and manhood were examined as these contribute to the wider environment within which family violence occurs.

MASCULINITY AND MANHOOD

Most participants' views of masculinity are drawn from a range of patriarchal traditions. Masculinity is commonly defined in relation to roles such as being the provider, protector and head of the family. Clearly defined role divisions between male and female appear particularly strong within the cultural norms of Pacific men and Chinese men.

Patriarchal views of manhood in turn support attitudes and beliefs ascribing various levels of power and entitlement to men. Triggers or reasons given by participants for their violence commonly link to these attitudes and the exercise of control and authority over their partners. The link between patriarchal views of manhood and violence as a means to exert power and control is further shown in men's justifications or explanations for their violence. For example, violence is often seen to

have occurred because the partner is felt to have failed to fulfil expected roles, has in some way undermined the authority of the perpetrator or has behaved in a way seen by the perpetrators as demeaning, inappropriate or disrespectful to them.

The extent to which patriarchal attitudes and beliefs underpinned participants' use of violence reinforces the gendered nature of family violence and reinforces this as the necessary core or "heartland" of the FVSMS.

VIOLENCE AS NORMATIVE

For many of the men interviewed, particularly Maori and Pacific, violence was experienced as a norm both through their upbringing (i.e. through physical punishment used as discipline) and in their adult lives. There appeared to be a level of acceptance of man-to-man violence and there was general recognition of the predominance of violence and violent related imagery in the community.

DEFINING FAMILY VIOLENCE

Perpetrators commonly see family violence primarily constituting extreme physical violence to women. This constitutes a key barrier to change as it can lead to other forms of family violence being justified or minimised, can limit awareness that a problem exists and, if facing official sanctions because of their violence, can contribute to perpetrators seeing themselves as victims.

It is hypothesised that if limited understanding of family violence also exists in other groups (e.g. victims, families, the wider community) then this is also likely to constitute a barrier to re-shaping attitudes and behaviour in the community.

Violence in the home is also often not considered violence but rather disciple and the rightful and appropriate exercise of male authority within the household. These beliefs are particularly salient within Pacific and Chinese men and can lead to these men seeing New Zealand laws unjustifiably encroaching upon their authority as head of the family.

For Pacific and Chinese men not born in New Zealand, the context of immigration is important, particularly when men perceive and/or experience a conflict between norms and values in the home country and those of New Zealand. This is commonly expressed through men not considering their behaviour as violence or seeing themselves unfairly punished for behaviour seen as acceptable in the home country.

VIOLENCE TO WOMEN

Male-to-female physical violence is generally recognised by participants as wrong and against prevailing social norms. In this context, participants use a range of strategies (e.g. denials, minimisation, dissociation) to explain and justify their violence.

Reflecting perceived social norms, participants can feel particularly stigmatised and labelled as a perpetrator of family violence and it is hypothesised that this may constitute a barrier to men seeking assistance for their violence.

CHANGING ROLES AND UNCERTAINTY

Participants typically recognise that traditional roles between men and women are changing, however, they differ in the extent to which they have successfully adapted to this. In the context of this change, many describe a level of confusion for about what is expected of them and what is acceptable behaviour. Notably, the New Zealand Herald suggests that the loss of the traditional role of primary provider within the family is a factor increasingly contributing to family violence by men ('Change Places', Saturday, November 11).

COSTS AND BENEFITS FROM VIOLENCE

Social marketing theory suggests that increasing the costs of undesired behaviour while decreasing the benefits encourages behaviour change. Increasing the benefits of desired behaviour and decreasing barriers to achieving this is also advocated.

Perpetrators with sufficient insight into their violence recognise that a number of 'benefits' are received through using violence to exert power and control over their partners. Benefits are typically immediate and therefore reinforcing. In comparison, longer-term costs from violence are not necessarily appreciated by perpetrators and are therefore likely to be less influential in behaviour change. Often it is not until some form of critical incident results in unexpected consequences (e.g. arrest, protection order, loss of access to family) that perpetrators more fully appreciate the costs of their behaviour and the need for change. Notably, once longer-term costs are understood, the desire to avoid these can be an important motivator of change. Communicating the costs of violence to target audiences may therefore have value in the FVSMS. Such strategy would assume that social marketing can increase awareness of costs and that this motivates change. Any strategy highlighting the costs of violence should also emphasise positive actions and what men can do to avoid identified costs.

INFLUENCE OF OTHERS ON CHANGING BEHAVIOUR

The findings show that the impact of violence on children is a major concern for perpetrators who are fathers. Fathers are typically concerned about the negative impact of violence on their children and this is often a motivator for behaviour change. Visible signs of this negative impact (e.g. children showing fear of the father) can be particularly powerful. Perpetrators recognise that violence provides negative role modelling and many express a desire for their children not to grow up in a violent environment, particularly if this has been the perpetrator's experience. Not wanting their children

to see them model anger, abuse, and violence is a common motivator for Maori men. The desire to avoid a variety of losses in relation to children is also motivating. This includes a desire not to lose the relationship or quality of the relationship with children, loss of access to children, loss of the fathering role and responsibilities and loss of the authority over ones own children.

The impact of violence on children could be communicated in the FVSMS as a way of increasing the perceived cost of violence as well as increasing understanding of the consequences of violence on others. A comprehensive approach would show the desired behaviours to avoid negative impacts on children, the benefits of this behaviour for children, men and the wider community and would provide direction and support for achieving desired behaviour.

Any approach appealing to the impact on children will need further consideration, particularly in relation to unintended consequences (e.g. potential increased risk to victims) and whether there are circumstances and audiences for whom this approach may not be appropriate. For example, loss of access to children may be an appropriate response to violence in some cases and therefore appealing to motivations around access to children may be inappropriate and potential harmful for both perpetrators and others. Further it should not be assumed that all perpetrators who are fathers will be motivated to change by emphasising the impact of violence on their children.

For many of the men interviewed, action by the partner victim (e.g. leaving the relationship, ringing the police) constituted a critical incident and a significant trigger to men accepting the need to address their behaviour. This influence suggests victims to be potential audiences for the FVSMS, however, further research with victims (from a social marketing perspective) and consultation with those working with victims is recommended before further conclusions on the targeting of victims is possible.

Many sector experts consulted in the first phase of the research support the use of social marketing to encourage wider community involvement in and ownership over family violence. Building a responsive community would include building willingness to speak out and confront attitudes and behaviour supportive of family violence. This could involve providing simple, practical advice on what can be done in situations where family violence is known about or suspected. Participants commonly report efforts to keep the violence in their relationship private or hidden and in this context, perpetrators respond differently to the possibility of intervention by others. Whether responses are positive or negative seems influenced by a range of factors (e.g. quality of existing relationships, levels of trust, level of respect for and influence of senior family members). Any use of the FVSMS to encourage intervention by others will need to manage any risk that this could lead to increased risk to victims (however, not becoming involved also carries risks to victims). Lifting the “veil” of privacy around family violence will continue to be an important part of the overall family violence strategy and any use of social marketing to encourage this should work closely with existing efforts.

Some perpetrators indicated a willingness to talk to, or intervene with male friends or workmates if family violence issues are identified. A strategy encouraging men to talk to other men may have some value, however, more research on this is required, particularly examining whether men are willing to talk about violence to women with other men. Any strategy focused on this would need to guard against male collusion or any undermining of perpetrator accountability for their violence.

READINESS TO CHANGE

Most participants exhibited at least some level of motivation to change their behaviour, however, different levels of readiness to change were apparent. This ranged from those with limited insight into their behaviour and acceptance of the need to change to those highly committed to change and with high levels of insight into their behaviour, why change was necessary and the benefits of change.

Those with more developed readiness to change broadly reflected the action stage of the Transtheoritical Stages of Change model while those while still denying the need to change were broadly reflective of the pre-contemplation stage. Perpetrators reflecting pre-contemplation tended to be mandated to programmes and less advanced through their intervention. However, this was not always the case and approximate position on the Stages of Change model does not necessarily correlate to stage of progress through interventions.

Characteristics common of participants in pre-contemplation were reflective of a low level of readiness to change. Characteristics identified included: entrenched patriarchal beliefs and expectations; the use of denial, justification, minimisation and dissociation from their violence; a lack of insight or empathy regarding the consequences of violence on others; and, low skills to adopt other behaviours. All characteristics could be considered barriers to change and addressing these, potential areas of focus for the FVSMSM. It is hypothesised that these characteristics also provide a profile of perpetrators not yet in any formal intervention for their violence. Given this profile, it is hypothesised that within this group, change or heightened awareness of the need to change is unlikely until some form of critical incident or trigger to change occurs. It is also hypothesised that change is likely to require some form of formal intervention such as attendance at a stopping violence programme or violence related counselling. The FVSMS may therefore have a role in encouraging these men to move from pre-contemplation to contemplation and to seek assistance for their violence.

BENEFITS, COSTS AND BARRIERS TO CHANGE

Identifying the benefits from change meaningful and valued by perpetrators provides direction on the types of benefits that must be offered to perpetrators in exchange of desired behaviour change. Benefits specific to each motivational profile are discussed in more detail for each profile. In general, benefits identified and valued by perpetrators include improvements in relationships, communication, empathy, understanding of others and health (physical, psychological, emotional), positive life direction, broader and more fulfilling experiences as men and liberation from unhealthy expectations as men.

Any costs of change potentially act as barriers to change and may reduce the value of benefits received. One cost identified is the stigma and labelling associated with being a perpetrator. It is concluded that this may act as a barrier to men seeking assistance for their violence and that the FVSMS may have a role in addressing this. However, in doing so, the FVSMS should not provide perpetrators with kudos for changing and must not condone their violence in any way. Help seeking should not be positioned as courageous or heroic but as an appropriate and sensible action to take.

The extent to which perpetrators justify, minimise, deny or dissociate from their violence also constitutes a significant barrier to change. The need for change is often only recognised by perpetrators after some form of critical incident or trigger which can heighten awareness of the problem, or which results in consequences which force men to confront the need for change. Related barriers to change include patriarchal views of manhood which support notions of male entitlement within intimate relationships, social and cultural norms supportive of family violence (e.g. violence considered as discipline), feelings of self-victimisation (e.g. unfairly blamed/ targeted by the system) and disempowerment (e.g. anger at consequences, shame about seeking assistance) and the perception that the consequences of change will be undesirable or untenable (e.g. loss of authority within the household).

MOTIVATIONAL PROFILES

Six motivational change profiles are identified. These provide understanding of different motivations for behaviour change, including the specific consequences from both violence and behaviour change, which are particularly motivating. Change is broadly defined as taking some step to address the use of violence in the intimate relationship. Change is often associated with a particularly salient moment, crisis, or 'trigger'. Triggers are often situations where events expected or assumed by the perpetrator fail to take place in response to their violence (e.g. arrest rather than the victim not reported the violence). Change does not necessarily occur at the point of the trigger, however, triggers can lead to recognition of the need to change.

The motivational profiles identified are:

- Family Unit
- Official Sanctions
- Significant Loss
- Better Man
- Health Relationships
- In Conflict
- Victim.

Profile, motive and attitude characteristics are provided for each profile in the body of the report. Specific triggers for change, barriers, enablers and benefits of change are also detailed. Possible social marketing strategies aligned to each profile are also discussed as are issues needing further consideration.

It should be noted that the profiles are not necessarily predictive of the future course of change, the stage of change or what else may need to happen in order that the motivation to change leads to effective change outcomes.

Four themes lie at the heart of the motivational profile model. These are suggested as core needs or desires and potentially, as foundation values around which new non-violent masculine identities may ultimately need to be developed.

The themes are a fundamental desire:

- to fulfil ones responsibilities and roles as father, husband, partner, provider and protector
- for stability, security and belonging
- for balance and harmony
- to be valued as men and the contributions, roles and responsibilities undertaken.

Changing perpetrator behaviour may ultimately need to satisfy the needs identified in each theme. Some men may have felt or may feel that these needs could be met through violence. Non-violence may need to be "sold" on the basis that it can meet the needs expressed within the four themes.

'Family Unit', 'Official Sanctions' and 'Significant Loss' are considered to have most potential in the FVSMS, particularly if the target audience is perpetrators or current perpetrators. Each is summarised below.

FAMILY UNIT

Primary motivations under 'Family Unit' relate to the desire to retain the family unit or intimate relationship, to have stability and security in the family and partner relationships and to meet responsibilities as a father and partner. These motivations were commonly identified in men who were fathers and for those both self-referred and mandated to programmes.

If targeting perpetrators or potential perpetrators, positioning non-violence and change for the sake of the family and children may be particularly effective under the profile. However, this may not be appropriate in all situations and the risk of unintended consequences needs to be considered further under the profile. Indeed, the motives under Family Unit may be most appropriately used as a primary rather than secondary or tertiary prevention strategy.

OFFICIAL SANCTIONS

Motivations under 'Official Sanctions' are essentially negative; that is, behaviour change is driven by a desire to avoid negative sanctions such as arrest or imprisonment. The wish to avoid the shame associated with official sanctions is also common. These motivations were particularly common in men mandated to programmes and for Chinese, Pakeha and Pacific men.

If targeting perpetrators or potential perpetrators, specific social marketing strategies under 'Official Sanctions' could include reinforcing that family violence is unacceptable and has certain and severe consequences and ensuring that the systemic response to violence delivers on the consequences highlighted.

SIGNIFICANT LOSS

Motivations under 'Significant Loss' are also negative; the primary motive is to avoid the various losses associated with the consequences of violence. Losses can be at a personal, family, social, economic, cultural, and functional level. Perpetrators fitting this profile were often mandated, in situations where losses have particular significance (e.g. based on age, employment position, reputation or standing in the community) and often Maori, Pacific and Chinese.

Exchange theory suggests that social marketing could be used under this profile to increase appreciation of both the immediate and longer-term costs and losses associated with family violence. If targeting perpetrators or potential perpetrators, this could include communicating the specific dimensions and consequences of loss, reinforcing that family violence has certain and severe consequences leading to loss and ensuring that the systemic response delivers on the consequences highlighted.

FVSMS RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, it is recommended that the FVSMS should initially have two main foci, these being:

1. A social norms strategy focuses on defining the problem and shifting existing attitudes and beliefs about family violence in the general community and in key audience groups (i.e. perpetrators, victims, family members, general community).
2. To move current perpetrators in pre-contemplation on the Transtheoretical Model of Change to contemplation with the aim of moving them closer to seeking assistance for their violence.

SOCIAL NORMS STRATEGY

A social norms strategy is supported by the research findings on a number of levels. These include:

- The likelihood that the beliefs and attitudes of perpetrators have been shaped by and are reflective of the beliefs and attitudes of those around them.
- That there exists a lack of understanding about what constitutes family violence and therefore a lack of understanding of what the problem is.
- The need to address patriarchal beliefs and attitudes as an underlying determinant of family violence.
- That perpetrators are often in a state of some confusion about being men and what is expected of them.
- The importance of positioning non-violence as the norm. This provides a vehicle for non-violent men to engage with the strategy and avoids stigmatising them through the FVSMS as perpetrators or potential perpetrators.
- That the FVSMS needs to be clear and firm on setting an agenda, position and understanding of family violence.

Addressing these issues through a social norm strategy would enhance acceptance of the FVSMS, would directly challenge existing denials and justifications for family violence and would reduce the likelihood of resistance or rejection of the overall strategy.

The social norms strategy would have three 'platforms': 'intimate partner violence', 'masculinity and manhood' and 'community involvement and ownership'.

The 'intimate partner violence' strategy would:

- Clarify the problem (e.g. broadening understanding of the range of behaviours constituting violence within intimate relationships). It will be important that audiences understand and accept the connections between physical violence and more subtle forms of power and control.
- Clarify the impacts and consequences of family violence on others, including providing evidence for the scale and costs of the problem.
- Reinforce the unacceptability of all forms of family violence while providing certainty about appropriate behaviour in relation to others. This could include highlighting the values that would lie at the heart of desired behaviour (e.g. respect).

Audiences for this would include men and their female partners, perpetrators, victims and potential victims.

The 'masculinity and manhood' strategy would:

- Clarify and promote what is healthy and respectful behaviour and roles in relationships.
- Reframe masculinity to position non-violence as normative. Non-violence may be most effectively positioned and defined in the strategy through the core values underlying the concept of non-violence for both perpetrators and those around them (rather than talking about non violence directly). The research identifies the values of respect, stability, security, harmony and valuing as relevant for this purpose.
- Provide broad definitions of masculinity and highlight the many roles undertaken by men which are not tied to violent or patriarchal traditions.
- Define masculinity in relation to men's roles and relationships with others.
- Communicate the benefits and rewards for men, partners, children and the whole community from reframed masculinity and the broad range of roles undertaken by men.
- Provide support and information to men to achieve the desired behaviours.

A key aim of the masculinity and manhood strategy would be to encourage men to form broader identifies as men while maintaining 'face' and connection to those things considered important in their masculinity.

Primary audiences would include men, perpetrators, female partners, victims and potential victims. Secondary audiences would include those influential in the upbringing of boys and young men (e.g. mothers, fathers, other family members).

In providing simple, practical advice on what can be done if family violence is known about or suspected, the 'community involvement and ownership' strategy provides the community call to action in response to the key messages in the 'intimate partner violence', find 'masculinity and manhood' strategies (e.g. violence is unacceptable and must be stopped). Key audiences would include the broader community and particularly those for whom family violence is an issue in their family or wider community.

Further research is likely to be necessary to inform development of the 'community involvement and ownership' strategy.

PERPETRATOR STRATEGY

The perpetrator strategy assumes perpetrators in pre-contemplation to be an appropriate audience for targeting. It would ideally be implemented some time after the social norms strategy, however, synergies exist with the social norms strategy and some concurrent implementation may be appropriate.

The perpetrator strategy assumes that change by pre-contemplation perpetrators not already in interventions is unlikely without direct targeting and that change requires participation in some form of intervention (e.g. stopping violence programme, counselling). The perpetrator strategy would seek to move perpetrators from pre-contemplation to contemplation and encourage them to seek assistance for their violence. Resourcing and service demand implications from this strategy will require further consideration. In particular it should be noted that men self-referring to stopping violence programmes are currently not publicly funded and that this is potentially problematic should the strategy increase the volume of self-referrals.

Strategy targeting would be informed by the motivational profiles identified in the research. The profiles of 'Family Unit', 'Official Sanctions' and 'Significant Loss' are suggested as having particular potential for targeting. In targeting to key motives for change, it is assumed that social marketing interventions can 'act' as critical incidents or triggers for change and this can be effective in moving perpetrators closer to change.

The perpetrator strategy would seek to operate as an early intervention or secondary prevention tool by: encouraging change before violence becomes entrenched; by increasing the number of perpetrators self-referring to interventions; and, by pre-empting other critical incidents being the trigger for change (as these typically involve increased risk or harm to victims). However, further consideration is required as to whether targeting under some profiles may more appropriately be undertaken as primary prevention. For example, targeting current perpetrators under 'Family Unit' may risk unintended negative consequences for perpetrators and victims.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

The following report provides research findings from 37 in-depth interviews conducted with male perpetrators of intimate partner violence.

Conducted on behalf of the Families Commission and the Ministry of Social Development (MSD), the interviews comprise part of a research programme informing development of a family violence social marketing strategy (FVSMS) aimed at reducing family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand. A core objective of the research programme is to determine how, when and where social marketing can effectively contribute to an overall strategy aimed at reducing family violence.

1.2 RESEARCH GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The family violence social marketing research programme aims to increase understanding of behaviours, attitudes, beliefs and feelings about family violence and the drivers of reducing family violence from a range of perspectives. The initial interviews conducted seek to understand the perspectives of male perpetrators of intimate partner violence. Future research phases will likely involve victims, peers, family and others who have an influence on perpetrator behaviour and perpetrator behaviour change.

The goal of the overall family violence research programme is:

To provide understanding of the different potential audiences for the family violence social marketing strategy

The purpose of the in-depth interviews with male perpetrators of intimate partner violence is:

1. To provide broad 'base level' understanding to inform the overall family violence social marketing strategy.
2. To inform the first phase of the family violence social marketing strategy by understanding the attitudes and behaviours of male perpetrators of partner violence and the triggers and drivers of behaviour change.

The specific research objectives for the perpetrators interviews are as follows:

1. Identify variations in attitude and behaviour relating to family violence and changing violent behaviour by identified perpetrator behaviour change segments.
2. Identify the characteristics associated with different attitudes and behaviour and the factors underlying this variation.
3. Identify key sources of tangible and intangible influence on perpetrators.
4. Identify enablers of and barriers to behaviour/attitude change including triggers and inhibitors of violence, sources of influence and the importance of public/societal attitudes to violence.
5. Identify perpetrators' readiness to change their behaviour and motivations for doing so.

The FVSMS may or may not eventually involve specific social marketing interventions targeted directly to male perpetrators. A further objective of the research is to further explore the issue of appropriate strategy targeting.

It should be noted that family violence sector experts consulted as part of the current research project did not support social marketing to directly target current perpetrators[1]. Experts voiced greater preference for social marketing to change the environment around perpetrators in a way that would ultimately contribute to reducing family violence (e.g. addressing societal factors that support family violence or which present barriers to perpetrator behaviour change).

1.3 AUDIENCE PROFILES

The overall goal of the family violence social marketing research programme is to provide understanding of the different potential audiences for the FVSMS. This requires the development of discrete and coherent profiles of primary audience groups.

Profiles discriminate between audience segments in terms of their behavioural and attitude drivers, their underlying motivational and reward structures, their triggers and drivers of behaviour change and their amenability to behavioural change through social marketing initiatives.

Understanding derived from audience profiles will inform strategy development decisions such as who should be targeted with social marketing interventions, when they should be targeted and appropriate strategies for specific segments.

Profiling perpetrators on the basis of motivations to change violent behaviour was considered by the research team as appropriate to inform development of social marketing strategy aiming to achieve attitude and behaviour change. Understanding motives (as well as barriers) to change will enable strategies to be developed to create, appeal to or reinforce those factors particularly motivating for different audience profiles. The profiles are multi-dimensional, incorporating attitudes and behaviours with motivations for change lying at their core (see later discussion of the profiling process in ‘Research Method’).

1 Not reported in the current report

1.4 INITIAL FOCUS ON PERPETRATORS

There are a number of reasons why the social marketing family violence research programme has begun with a focus on further understanding male perpetrators of intimate partner violence. In summary, these include:

- Under a social marketing approach, all strategies start with the audience. One function of the current research is to explore whether perpetrators constitute an appropriate target audience for the FVSMS either initially or at some time in the future.
- Social marketing recognises that behaviour change is only likely if the target audience recognises change to be in their interest. Starting with an understanding of their needs, wants, values and perceptions is therefore important.
- Men will ultimately need to develop ownership and responsibility for the issue of family violence and it is likely that at some point, the FVSMS will require behaviour change from men. To do this, the FVSMS will need to successfully engage with men in the pursuit of non-violence in their intimate relationship.
- Intimate partner violence is a gendered phenomenon; understanding violence and change therefore also needs to understand its relationship to masculinity and manhood.
- Taking account of men's constructions of their violence and motivations to change will provide direction on appropriate strategies necessary to address the contexts in which violence is promoted or supported.

1.5 SUGGESTED PRINCIPLES FOR THE FVSMS

Men must be responsible and held accountable for their violence. Hearing men's voices in the current research is not considered to diminish men's individual responsibility for their violence or at odds with an overall strategy prioritising victim safety.

However, a fundamental challenge for the FVSMS if it is to target men and perpetrators is to engage with men while at the same time addressing some of the constructs and meaning of masculinity contributing to family violence which often constitute male beliefs and assumptions about being male.

Flood (2002/03) believes that successfully engaging with men requires negotiating a tension between two necessary elements; speaking to men in ways which engage with the realities of their lives and appeals to their values, needs and interests while also addressing the patriarchal power relations and gendered discourses upon which male identity is often structured. This suggests particular challenges for social marketing. Men may not be engaged through approaches which initially and explicitly challenge patriarchy. Alternatively, engaging men via areas of interest such as sport, also presents risks. For example, Flood (2002/03) sees a fundamental dilemma for violence prevention in basing campaigns on stereotypical masculine culture such as sporting culture. He sees this potentially contributing to the construction of violent masculinity as a cultural norm and sport playing a role in teaching boys and men some of the key values associated with dominant masculinity (e.g. extreme competitiveness, aggression, dominance). This suggests that if sport

is used as a vehicle of engagement, careful thought will be required as to handling (e.g. are there positive attributes and values associated with sport that are relevant to family violence prevention and could be utilised?).

To balance the tensions discussed above, the FVSMS should be based on a set of principles. Initial principles are suggested below.

- Family violence is often both a contributor to unequal gender power relations and an outcome of gendered power relations. For many perpetrators, family violence is an expression of power and control and violence serves particular functions (Families Commission, 2005).
- Family violence is a crime with significant impacts on health and wellbeing of victims and others (e.g. children). Strategies must not contribute to the further victimisation of women and other victims.
- The need to recognise and provide for the special interests and needs of whanau, hapu and iwi and right of Maori self-determination when determining solutions to family violence. Available data indicate that Māori are significantly over-represented as both victims and perpetrators of whanau/family violence (MSD, 2002). The government's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi determine that Māori must receive at least the same benefits and outcomes from the FVSMS strategy as non-Māori.
- Within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, a colonisation analysis of whanau/family violence must be acknowledged. This analysis identifies the disempowerment of whanau, hapu and iwi a direct consequence of colonisation and this to be a core determinant of family violence (TPK, 2004). Violence is considered an outcome of oppression and a manifestation of powerlessness, resulting from and in a distortion of whakapapa, tikanga, tiokanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana.
- Violence is resident in the culture and social structures (e.g. traditional stereotyped attitudes toward women, societal denial, victim blaming) and must ultimately be addressed at this level (and not only at the level of individual behaviour) (Families Commission, 2005).
- The FVSMS must fit within the overall family violence strategy and an ecological model of causation and intervention (Families Commission, 2005). Any social marketing intervention must carefully consider the impacts of the intervention on other parts of the whole. This includes negative and positive impacts as well as unintended consequences.
- Men's own stories, feelings and victimisation in relation to violence should also be acknowledged in any violence prevention strategy (Flood, 2002/03).
- Listening to men does not necessarily mean accepting what accounts they may have about their use of violence.
- Men ultimately need to be on "our side" if they are to effectively contribute to change.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The research approach and method is described below.

2.1 COLLATION OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Prior to conducting the in-depth interviews, family violence literature seen as relevant to the FVSMS was collated. This process focused on literature related to:

- existing theories on intimate partner violence
- behaviour change of male perpetrators of intimate partner violence
- existing social marketing and prevention strategies in the area of family violence.

A variety of national and international sources were searched utilising a "snowballing" methodology. Sources included journal articles, governmental and NGO reports, websites and published books.

Identified material was summarised and collated in a report intended primarily for the reference of the research team. A summary of key findings from the report can be found in the Appendix.

It should be noted that the literature collated was not intended as a full literature review and should not be considered as such. The literature has primarily been used to build the researchers understanding in the area of family violence and social marketing. While some reference is made to the collated literature in the report, the authors have not sought to position all findings in the context of the literature.

2.2 FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEWS

SAMPLE STRUCTURE

A total of 37 in-depth interviews were conducted with male perpetrators of intimate partner violence. Pakeha (n=8), Maori (n=12), Pacific Island (n=12) and Chinese (n=5) men were interviewed.

All participants were in some form of intervention for their violence, typically a stopping violence re-education programme attended with other men. Participants were either mandated or self referred to interventions and were at different stages through completion of the intervention. Interviews were conducted in Northland (5), Auckland (17), Hamilton (3), Gisborne (4) and Wellington (8).

Participants were selected at different stages of completion through their interventions as it was hypothesised that this would capture men at different stages of change. The Transtheoretical Stages of Change model[2] was considered a useful framework against which to examine participants' progression through change, however, the research did not aim to formally position participants in relation to the model. It was also recognised that stage of completion through interventions would not necessarily co-relate to specific stages within the transtheoretical model (e.g. a mandated programme attendee at mid-programme could still be in pre-contemplation).

2 See: Prochaska, J.O., & DiClemente, C.C. (1982). Transtheoretical therapy toward a more integrative model of change. Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice, 19(3), 276-287.

The research team determined that it would not be feasible (and likely unethical) to identify and interview perpetrators not in some form of intervention for their violence. However, in examining men's attitudes and behaviour before and after entering interventions, the 'before intervention state' is understood retrospectively. It was also assumed that perpetrators mandated to interventions and at early stages of completion would not necessarily be any further through a change process from those still unexposed to interventions. These men were therefore seen as providing a reasonable proxy of perpetrators not in interventions. Therefore while some caution is required in drawing direct inferences from the findings about men not in interventions, it is assumed that the research will provide some valid understanding about these perpetrators.

RESEARCH METHOD

All in-depth interviews were conducted face-to-face using a semi-structured interview guide (see Appendices for the interview guide). In-depth interviews were considered an appropriate method for the research in that they provided for systematic and comprehensive data collection while also enabling interviews to be flexible and responsive to each participant.

The interview guide was developed by the Gravitas research team and reviewed by the Families Commission and the MSD FVSMS project team prior to use.

All interviewers and participants were matched by gender and ethnicity (Pakeha, Maori, Pacific Island and Chinese).

RECRUITMENT

All interview participants were recruited through Pakeha, Maori, Pacific and Chinese service providers of family violence interventions to male perpetrators. Providers were identified with guidance from the National Network of Stopping Violence and through networking into the family violence service community. Organisations identified as potential recruitment service providers were initially approached by members of the research team and provided with written and verbal information about the research, including the recruitment requirements. Those agreeing to assist with recruitment were provided with further detailed information about the required participant specifications and the informed consent process (see Appendices for informed consent materials).

While there were some differences in the recruitment process between each recruitment organisation, the process typically consisted the following:

- Each recruitment organisation initially approached clients fitting the recruitment specification about the research. Verbal or written information about the research was given to men at this stage. Information informed men about the research aims and objectives, their expected role and requirements in the research, how the research information would be used, their rights as research participants and contacts for further information if required (see Appendices for information sheets).
- Men indicating interest in participating signed an initial consent form (See Appendices) consenting for their contact details to be used for the purpose of following them up further about their participation.

- Interested and consenting men were followed up further about the research, typically by the recruitment organisation. If agreement to be interviewed was achieved, the time and place of the interview was agreed to.
- Agreed details about the interviews were either confirmed with participants through follow-up letters sent by Gravitas (see Appendices for letter), telephone conversations between the researchers and participants or through direct, on-going liaison between the recruitment organisations and the participants.

An independent recruitment consultant employed by the research team liaised with the recruitment organisations to confirm all Pakeha interviews, while the Maori, Pacific and Chinese members of the research team worked directly with their respective recruitment organisations to confirm their interviews.

INTERVIEW PROCESS

Most interviews were conducted in the premises of the organisations having undertaken recruitment of the participants being interviewed. Participants were typically familiar and comfortable using these venues. These venues also provided private rooms in which to conduct interviews while also enabling interviews to be conducted while other people were present in the building.

Prior to each interview commencing, participants were checked to see whether they had read the research information sheet (see Appendices) or had received this information verbally during the recruitment process. Any questions were then answered and each participant then asked to sign a written consent form prior to the interview commencing.

Each interview took an average of one and a half hours. With participant consent, each interview was audio-taped and later, fully transcribed to assist data analysis.

At the completion of each interview, participants were provided with a $40 voucher of their choice (petrol, Westfield, grocery) to meet any costs incurred and to acknowledge their participation in the research.

ADVISER INPUT

The research approach and method was informed through consultation with a number of research advisers established by the research team. All advisers were actively involved in the family violence field and included Pakeha (2 advisers), Maori (2 advisers), Pacific Island (5 advisers) and Chinese (1 adviser) representatives. Each provided review and comment on key aspects of the research design. This included the draft interview guide, the recruitment process, and the interview process itself. All input from the advisers was used to develop the final research approach.

The research approach and method was also subject to review and approval by the Family Commission Ethics Committee.

DATA ANALYSIS

Most interviews were audio-taped and fully transcribed to assist the data analysis process.

Initially, each interviewer reviewed their interview transcripts and recorded the key findings and themes emerging from the data using a structured analysis framework (see Appendices for analysis framework). The framework was derived from the research objectives, the interview guide and the core goal to develop audience profiles from the findings. Verbatim comments were identified from the transcripts and included in the analysis where these illustrated and/or furthered understanding of the key findings.

A series of analysis workshops involving all members of the research team were then conducted to bring together the initial analysis from each interview. Findings from each interview were collectively examined to identify themes, topics, attitudes and behaviours across all the interviews. Attention was paid to identifying both similarities and differences in the findings based on participant characteristics such as ethnicity, whether mandated or self-referred and stage of completion through the intervention. Key themes, categories and sub-categories then were developed from the base data through a process of data reduction and synthesise. A preliminary 'motivation for change' profile model was developed (see later discussion) and further tested and refined through examining the extent to which all participants could be captured and understood by the model.

The lead researcher then brought together the collective findings and further developed the analysis, audience profile model and key strategy recommendations. The draft report then went through several rounds of internal review by members of the research team prior to being disseminated to the Families Commission and MSD FVSMS team for further review and comment. The draft report was then disseminated to the external research advisers for further review and comment. All feedback received was incorporated into the final report.

DEVELOPMENT OF MOTIVATION FOR CHANGE PROFILE MODEL

Motivations for change were explored in the perpetrator interviews through a mix of direct and indirect questions, including projective questioning and other enabling techniques. Motives were identified and understood through exploring a number of issues. These included the underlying needs and end emotive goals participants sought to satisfy through change as well as through the more rational or conscious reasons men gave for seeking change (e.g. to avoid arrest). Motives were also understood through examining each interview in its entirety and seeking connections between overall attitudes, beliefs and behaviour and underlying change motives.

It is important to note that the analysis focused on modelling motivations for change rather than individual perpetrators (i.e. motivation are being shown on the profile model, not individual participants). It was possible for perpetrators to exhibit a number of motivations for change and motivations may or develop over the course of time. However, in most cases, a primary motivation or motivation 'theme' was identified for each perpetrator.

All motivations for change identified were examined to identify the similarities and differences between them as well as the attitudes, behaviours and influences characterising and distinguishing them. From this process, a group of overall core motives were identified. These core motives often subsumed smaller, sub-categories of motives, however, effort was made not to lose the distinctions and specificity within each overall motive. The basis or structure upon which the motives could be defined and distinguished was then examined with this process identifying two fundamental axes upon which the motives lay. These were:

- **Motivation Type**: Whether the motive was positive or negative. A positive motivation refers to actions taken to achieve an enhanced positive emotional state and has as its goal, drive induction or increase. A negative motivation relates to actions taken to solve problems or to avoid problems in the future and has as its goal, drive reduction (Donovan & Henley, 2003).
- **Influence Type:** Whether the motivation was driven by internal or external (to the perpetrator) influences.

These two dimensions were used to create the basis of the profile model with the core motives then positioned on the model according of their motivational and other distinguishing characteristics (e.g. attitudes, behaviours, influencers or triggers for change, costs and barriers to change).

REPORT STRUCTURE

The report begins with an examination of the social and cultural norms shaping the environment in which family violence occurs. This includes a discussion of masculinity and manhood as this is what all men have in common and is likely to be a central factor in achieving attitude and behaviour change. Findings relating to the use of violence in intimate partner relationships and issues related to behaviour change are then presented. Profiles of perpetrators' motivation for change are then presented. A conclusion section brings draws the findings together and provides direction for strategy development.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL NORMS

Social and cultural norms relating to the use of violence, family violence, masculinity and manhood contribute to the wider environment within which family violence occurs. Norms are discussed and implications for the development of the FVSMS considered.

Social norms are understood to be the patterns of behaviour expected within a particular society in a given situation. It is recognised that the shared beliefs of what is normal and acceptable shape and enforce the actions of people in a society. Cultural norms can be understood as a society's propensity towards certain ideals and their aversion from others. A society's cultural norms can also be seen as constituting common standards, rituals, practices, activities and beliefs.

3.1 NORMS AROUND VIOLENCE

Participants commonly report growing up and living in environments where violence was, or is, considered a norm. This was particularly reported by Maori and Pacific men and observed and experienced in many ways, for example: having been frequently beaten as children; observing their own fathers as perpetrators of family violence; observing violence between family members; experiencing fighting amongst men as a common part of life; and, regularly observing violence at social occasions involving alcohol.

> *Mother brought up 11 children after father passed away, and 'the hidings' she gave were her way of 'trying to settle down the kids' (Tongan, Mandated, 41 years).*
>
> *As a drinker you were part of the pub culture where there were drunken brawls and the bad things that happened in that environment and you end up getting involved (Samoan, Mandated, 65 years).*
>
> *As a young person growing up in Tokelau, I used to be punished by both the father and mother.*
>
> *Sometimes beatings by my father resulted in serious injuries (Samoan-born Tokelauan, Self-referred, 39 years).*
>
> *I used to go to school with bruises from beatings. But the same happened with other friends too (Tokelauan, Mandated, 35 years).*
>
> *"We were given hidings at home at boarding schools, the older boys used to give junior boys hidings which was kind of normal. Being boys they thought it was normal for a man to be violent and it was like a cycle that older boys treated younger boys with violence" (Tongan, Mandated, 33 years).*

For most island-born and some New Zealand born Pacific men, violence was considered a norm within the environments they grew up in. Most conceded that their attitudes and behaviours towards family violence may have been influenced and shaped by the milieu they grew up in, whether in New Zealand or in the islands. This included receiving regular 'hidings' from parents or other relatives (although not all had experienced violence within their individual home environments), involvement in street and pub brawls and for those islands born and raised, the normalisation of violence towards wives and children. Comments suggest, however, that such violence is not necessarily considered as 'violence' but rather as 'discipline' or the exercising of male authority within the household. Reflecting this, some Pacific participants express concern that New Zealand laws which afford women and children protection from violent behaviours may encroach on the authority of the man in the family. Interventions can also be seen as unfair or unjustified within the context men consider the violence to have occurred. For example, one Pacific participant justified his violence on the basis of his wife's adultery and felt he should not be getting penalised for actions in response to the adultery.

> *I've been an unfortunate person because someone else has come into the relationship. That's what I told the cops when they took me that night. I told them she has committed adultery which is a big no no in Islam. If she was in a Muslim country she would have been stoned to death. But in this country you have broken the law and put in front of a Judge…" (Fiji-born Muslim Indian, Self-referred, 33 years).*

While violence was often considered normative, participants commonly recognised that physical violence[3] against women was wrong and against prevailing social and cultural norms in New Zealand. Reflecting this, some participants reinforce that their violence to their partner was never physical or extremely physical (e.g. beyond pushing, shoving, grabbing, restraining).

> *…'Harry' knows between right and wrong. And he knows how to behave especially in front of women and children. That's what I'm saying, it's out of character…he knows how to behave and his rights and wrongs… (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).*

> *… I'm not aware of anybody who thinks [physical violence to women] is acceptable (Pakeha, Self-referred).*

> *"Mum just use to drum it into us, me and my brother. Never hit your wife, or when you get, you know, when you get older don't hit your wife. Look after your sisters, don't do what your dad does to me" (Maori, Self-referred).*

3 Indicated by the findings to be understood by many participants as extreme physical violence (i.e. hitting with a closed fist)

These findings suggest that participants can be aware of 'moral codes' within society and may even see themselves living within these. However, these codes may not be strongly internalised or are easily overridden by other needs underlying their violence. The range of strategies used by men to explain their violence (e.g. denial, justifications, dissociation) as well as the use of non-physical forms of violence, are also likely to reflect attempts to reconcile their behaviour in the context of the known 'moral code'.

Reflecting the community's prevailing attitude about family violence, some participants feel particularly stigmatised as a perpetrator of family violence. Some report a shame or labelling in seeking assistance for their violence (e.g. a 'wife beater', having an anger problem). For example, one reports his attendance at a programme being specifically used against him at work in relation to a promotion opportunity.

> *…If you lose your licence drunk driving you lose your licence you know. Or if you get in a fight and go to jail that's fine but domestic violence is not accepted, and I don't say that it should be accepted but it's really hard to tell people what is happening. Because you are still classed as like a social leper (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).*

> *I think everybody just wants it to go away and doesn't want it to be spoken about and is in denial. That if you are a part of it, if you are the male part of it, you are just this mean big nasty leper… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).*

Some participants see the current environment around family violence contributing to men being unfairly blamed or automatically presumed guilty for incidents for family violence. Such beliefs can lead to feelings of their own victimisation and this response may in turn constitute a barrier to change (see later discussion). However, other participants report individuals around them who they believe are 'sympathetic' to the use of family violence or who have attitudes supportive of family violence. The workplace is often mentioned as an environment where such attitudes are expressed. Some Chinese men believe their male friends would support punishment of their wives for being 'bad'. Such support is usually predicated in the belief that the violence was understandable or justified (e.g. he was provoked, it was necessary in order to bring an errant wife back into line).

> *"…you get some guys at work and they talk like this… you get the odd cheeky clown that comes in. "Oh give her a slap bro, tell her who's the man, you's the man bro, just give her the bash and she'll be right", that sort of carry on. I'll give you the bash…. It's like the old Jake Heke carry on, you know" (Maori, Self-referred, 38 years).*

There is also recognition of a "double standard" operating in the community. While there are social sanctions against violence against women, men recognise the predominance of violence and violent related imagery in other areas of life (e.g. movies, games, male sport culture). Comments also suggest a greater willingness to see male-to-male violence as acceptable.

> *"Like to me a man isn't a man who bashes his wife. What's so manly about that? Go find a guy that's bigger and tougher than you and try and take him on" (Maori, Self-referred).*

> *"I was having a fight with a [male] mate a few weeks back and she [partner] jumped in so I bit her ear to get her out of the way" (Maori, Mandated, 19 years).*

> *…on TV men bash the shit out each other, whether it's ice hockey, rugby, whatever. In some cases it's heroic; in a lot of cases it's heroic. It's all right for men to bash men. It's all right to fight and get the shit out of your system and I've never ever been comfortable fighting, but I have had a feeling of pride when someone's been trying to hit me and I've managed to stop him. But I've never ever yet felt good about hurting another dude…*
> *(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).*

However, some Maori participants explicitly reject the concept of having a "warrior" mentality which equates to "mana" in some way as cultural based justifications for intimate partner violence. One participant mentioned that this notion needed to be actively talked-down. The same participant firmly felt that part of his mana as a man was to nurture the growth of individuals within whanau, hapu, and iwi and to celebrate their achievements, and to mourn with them their losses. Within a tikanga Maori framework of being, this participant now did not see a place for violence and saw a need to challenge the thinking that Maori men have about themselves, their potential, and the reasons why violence is perpetuated and tolerated.

> *"Don't talk up the "warrior" and the expectations from it. Don't reinforce the image… it's unbalanced and not acceptable" (Maori, Self-referred, 35 years).*

The above provides an example of a likely key challenge facing the FVSMS if it is address social and cultural norms; that is, contributing to the reframing or giving new meaning to norms which may currently contribute to the perpetration of family violence.

3.2 UNDERSTANDING OF FAMILY VIOLENCE

Participants typically did not understand the full range of behaviours constituting family violence until in some form of intervention for their violence. Participants also typically saw the community viewing family violence as constituting physical violence alone. Limited understanding of family violence is shown to contribute to perpetrators dissociation from or minimisation of their violence ("I never hit her"). It can also contribute to feelings of being unfairly punished or targeted by the 'system', particularly if they do not initially understand or accept that they have been violent. While not directly examined in the current research, it could be hypothesised that if such limited understanding also exists in other groups (e.g. victims, families, communities) that this could also act as a similar barrier to re-shaping attitudes and behaviour in these groups.

The findings show that understanding and accepting broader definitions of family violence can lead perpetrators to new insights into their behaviour. This can be an important step in accepting responsibility and being accountability for their behaviour and can be required before there is a readiness to change. This suggests that there may be particular potential to use the FVSMS to ensure this understanding in both perpetrators as well as other audience groups.

> *…the bit that horrifies me is, you know, that family violence is not just about whacking your wife around, it's a whole lot of other stuff, you know. There's that sexual thing, financial, and emotional, physical, you know, the whole lot. And for a significant number of men in this country, dominating the family is a normal way of life. In its own way even though that's not violent, it's a violent way of having a life…My guess is that if you went to 99% of the men in the country they'd say "no I never beat my wife up. There's no family violence in my family", but I think in a lot of cases if you looked under the skin you'd find yes, there is some level of abuse there which is not healthy (Pakeha, Self-referred).*

> *The problem is the general consensus about family violence is [that it is] actual really, really violent crimes…If you actually mentioned family violence or programs or something like that, people go wow. Have you put your wife in hospital? (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).*

> *...Just bashing, bashing your woman or bashing your kids or coming home drunk and beating the family up… That's what I've always put it down to what you call domestic violence.…I think maybe for my generation they really do need [education]…I did not realise that you're assaulting a woman when you're leaving her in a grey area where she doesn't know what your next move is. Just being unpredictable and raising your hand… I learnt in my first hour [of the stopping violence programme] that there's a heck of a lot more to it and I basically learnt that I haven't been Peter Perfect like I thought I had, basically (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).*

> *…I had never even heard of power and control. And the thing now is that it is so easily identifiable that I can see people using it and you think, no that's not quite what you do… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).*

…And what [the stopping violence programme] showed me, you've got that circle, the domestic violence circle, or whatever it is, power and control. I've done so much on that, not realising that that was deemed as domestic violence…I was shocked…it wasn't until I really read that circle, that power and control, oh yeah, maybe there is a few things that I need to get out of this course (Pakeha, Mandated).

When I found this course and the others explained and I was sitting and I was watching, and yelling was abuse. I didn't know that then… I said to my wife, oh, I am sorry (Samoan, Mandated, 35 years).

Participants see the media as helping to perpetuate the belief that family violence equates to physical violence only (i.e. such cases being those which are typically reported). Some comments also suggest that media coverage can also have the effect of presenting family violence as a Maori or Polynesian problem.

…I think, speaking for myself it's always the Maoris, or the Polynesians….that's not to say that it's a racial problem, but it certainly, you know, that's the feeling that I get from the media, and certainly from my friends, it's not a European problem…(Pakeha, Self-referred).

3.3 MASCULINITY AND MANHOOD

Attitudes and beliefs about masculinity and manhood are an important component of the social and cultural context within which family violence occurs. The following section discusses participants' definitions, views and understanding of themselves as men and the relationships of this to their perpetration of family violence.

MAN AS PROVIDER AND PROTECTOR

Participants commonly define their masculinity in relation to roles they desire or perceive they are expected to take as men. These commonly include the roles of being provider, protector and head of the family.

…all my pride has just been in [being the provider]. I love it when the woman goes shopping and brings home a big thing of groceries and has got a nice vehicle to go to town in and put petrol in… (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

"…without sufficient income, a family cannot be sustained"; therefore, "making money is the most important to a man; family is secondary" (Chinese, Mandated, 28 years).

Man should have stable income so that his wife and children will have a sense of security" (Chinese, Mandated, 55 years).

Being a man I reckon my perception of being a man is not being scared of anyone or being able to protect yourself and your family (Samoan, Self-referred, 26 years).

"Because physically woman is weak, man should protect woman" (Chinese, Mandated, 28 years).

The role of being a good father is commonly identified. Being a good father is often understood in terms of protecting one's children and providing children with love, positive role modelling, security and future opportunities.

> *Just look after the kids and try to provide for your family. When they tell you are a good father to your kids and that, you will find a good future (Samoan, Mandated, 35 years).*

> *…being a top father. One that's really respected and loved and it's kind of how I used to be. Ever since I split with my first lady it kind of fell apart and I've never really got the same thing back once, you know?...It ruined everything that I had sort of worked for in my life… (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).*

> *What is important to me is to look after my family and my kids. I go to work and help my wife… (Cook Islander).*

Providing for family security, stability and safety are common themes in how men define themselves. Being a man is therefore often equated with having significant responsibilities for the current and future well being of the family unit.

Some Maori participants also define masculinity as requiring the demonstration of aroha, integrity, care and respect for others, including the wider community. One recognises that meeting family responsibilities requires men to be reliable, dependable and predictable and that the use of violence in intimate and family relationships is counter to this.

It is notable that men are less likely to define themselves through the quality of their input into their intimate relationship. Commitment and love within the relationship appears to be more commonly expressed through "doing" and the provider role.

PATRIARCHAL BELIEFS

Most participants express strong beliefs and certainty about what it means to be a man with these views drawn from a range of patriarchal traditions (e.g. Western, Maori, Pacific, Asian, Christian, Muslim). Participants often have firm views about the respective roles that men and women are expected to take in relationships. Reports of having observed their own parents adopting traditional gendered roles are common.

> *….It's horrible to say eh? That's come from a long way back but I've heard it. That's your place and I've got my place... [mother and father] definitely had their roles. Dad mowed the lawns, dug the garden and mum did the housework and things and there was an awesome rhythm of life, you know? (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).*

> *Yeah well that's what I saw. There was no communication. There was no discussion. Dad worked, mum did work but sort of part time. Dad did the bulk of it. He gave mum an allowance. He controlled everything (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).*

> *At the end of the day, man has been appointed the head of the house, so he has a greater responsibility…the work of the woman is to come in as underneath the man's work (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).*

Beliefs expressed by participants reflective of patriarchal views of manhood include:

- gendered roles – males and females have defined roles and places (e.g. male should provide leadership)
- that men should be acknowledged and regarded as the head of the family
- that men should work hard, be the provider, provide security for the family
- that if men earn the majority of the money then they deserve respect and to have authority
- it is the right of men to assert authority over their partner and children
- men should be physically and emotionally strong and resilient; men should be in control of themselves men should be able to handle themselves and not demonstrate weakness.

  "…I'll stamp my authority on that one, yeah, if I really have to, yeah. But I just tell my Mrs well, myself being the head of this house, you know, this is how it is, yeah….if you don't like it well that's the way it is, otherwise there's the door, yeah" (Maori, Self-referred, 38 years).

Participants can report feeling that they are not appreciated for the roles and responsibilities taken on as men. If men's self image of themselves as men is highly tied to their success in "doing" and "providing", a perceived lack of appreciation for such actions may be interpreted as a threat or a questioning of their manhood. Some triggers or reasons for violence reported by men such as a lack of respect (see later discussion) suggest that these feelings may be an underlying trigger for violence.

…the modern woman today doesn't know about how fortunate they are to have good food, lots of it, electricity, warmth in the house, firewood and a good car, or just to have a car to go to town shopping…I really appreciate being a provider. I love it. I just love bringing home the pay packet and doing everything like that. But I don't feel it back… it's really nice to be wanted and valued and even, you know, in some cases like, really appreciated (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

I think when a bloke does something and puts a lot of effort and time into something, just to be recognised, you know, not just blokes, probably women as well…you know when Mrs gets crook, you know, and I take time off work to look after her. And when she gets better no thank you, nothing, off to the pub again… (Maori, Self-referred, 37 years).

RECOGNITION OF COSTS

Participants differ in the extent they recognise 'costs' and negatives for men in adopting traditional, patriarchal male roles. Participants recognising this tended to be further along the change process and more likely to recognise that their patriarchal views of masculinity had contributed to their violence.

'Costs' perceived and discussed by men with insight to this include:

- Associated pressures leading to health and other problems.
- Restricted male development, particularly in the context of intimate relationships.
- Development of a self-centred orientation – difficulty considering other peoples views and needs –lack of insight and empathy for others.
- Lack of communication skills.
- Inability or unwillingness to share feelings – to express oneself emotionally.
- Inability or unwillingness to accept or deal with intimacy.
- Alcohol and drug abuse.

…that was expected of us… the woman just does as she is told…There was a lot of noise but not a lot of communication [in the family home]… If you don't learn to discuss things and treat everybody as equal, I guess it gets into your psyche that that is how things are, and that's how things should be. It wasn't until later in life that, now, that I learned that that is not a good way to go. It is not a healthy way to go. (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

I had sort of grown up all my life as either alone or co-existing. I had seen that this is how my parents had brought us up and they just co-existed, they lived under the same roof, but really nothing was ever done. And what I struggled with was somebody wanting to spend time with me. Wanting to talk with me, not talk at me, or discuss you know trivial stuff but actually in depth stuff. Nothing I had ever done before you know. And I struggled with it (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

…I think men are less inclined to talk about their emotions and feelings. And for me what it means is that you kind of get…more and more overwhelmed by the situation…I feel a bit aggrieved that there are no real support groups for men where, you know, you can just go and talk…I have no problem sharing things with 8 people, or sharing them with you, but to go and talk to my friends about it…in my case, you see yourself as having some standards and if you discuss issues with other men, it's like you're admitting you don't have those skills. You'd not as good as what you think you are, you need help…I always use to measure myself on my ability to handle the crisis, or handle the situation and move on, put it behind me. But I'm not sure that I did put things behind me… (Pakeha, Self-referred).

"…That's where I failed the most in my marriage, it's the communication part, yeah… when it comes to the communication part, yeah, you know…I struggle with that all the time, I'm like that" (Maori, Self-referred, 38 years).

CHANGING RULES

Most participants have at least some degree of recognition that the 'rules' in society are changing in respect to male and female roles. It is generally agreed that the distinction between 'expected' roles is now less clear. There are, however, different levels of acceptance of these changes as well as how men interpret the implications of changes for them as men. For example, some accept that women may be more involved in careers and activities outside "traditional" roles, while still holding onto fundamental patriarchal beliefs. Others recognise that men must also change their beliefs and behaviour in relation to being men and what others expect from them.

> *I think it is good to be a lot more equal, but it will always be the man who has the final say, because that's God anointed, that's his appointed way. But being a lot more equal actually shows the women the extent of the mounting responsibility the man has…*
> *(Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).*

> *….And now it's the accepted thing, women work in conjunction with the men and the roles have to be shared and the understanding of the roles need to be [in] better… synchronisation (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).*

> *…I think men these days have to be more tolerant of everybody in their household. You know not only do you have to provide some income, but you also have to be prepared to provide entertainment, education and discipline, social skills, the whole lot. Possibly when I was younger that really wasn't the role. Even if your wife worked, the husband was more often than not seen to be the one who came home and would go and sit down. Now he's just as likely to have to cook the meal. So I think there's more of a partnership in society now than ever before, but I'm not sure that men necessarily have adapted particularly well or very quickly to that (Pakeha, Self-referred).*

A recent report in the New Zealand Herald ('Changing Places', Saturday, November 11) identifies men's loss of the traditional role of primary provider within the family as a contributing factor to the perpetration of family violence by men. The report suggests that in struggling to adapt to changing roles within the family, men can feel powerless and inadequate, with this contributing to violence or other controlling behaviour.

The willingness to seek out and apply new "modes" of masculinity clearly requires working through a number of stages of change. The findings suggest that this first involves awareness of how one has been shaped as a man and then appreciation of the link between this, negative experiences (e.g. unsatisfactory intimate relationships) and the use of violence. Participants were at different points of change in relation to this process. Those engaged in reframing masculine meanings, expectations and roles were clearly more advanced in the change process than those not yet embarked on this process.

> *…because you actively partake in your family's life, you have a better family relationship. You're cooking meals together, or doing the homework together, or playing monopoly with your kids…So you have a better social framework and hopefully it teaches our children to be better social animals… (Pakeha, Self-referred).*

3.4 MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION

The issue of migration and immigration must also be considered in a discussion of social and cultural norms and family violence. Men can be particularly certain about appropriate roles and behaviour for males and females in the context of strong cultural norms about manhood. For example, those Samoan and Tokelau men interviewed in the research clearly assert that the man is head of the family, the 'pule' (authority) and that with this, comes the right to make final decisions for the family. Difficulties can arise when men perceive and/or experience conflict between norms and values in the home country and those encountered in New Zealand. This can lead to frustration and anger if it is perceived that the man is unable to set and reinforce assumed "rules" because of New Zealand laws. Such clashes are particularly seen in immigrant Pacific and Chinese participants in the research.

> *When I have to keep telling the boys not to leave their stinking socks in the bedroom and they don't obey the instructions that make me angry. My youngest son doesn't listen much and so when I threaten him with violence he would say he would ring the police. That annoys me a lot because I think the kids have abused the law especially when they don't listen (Samoan-born Tokelauan, Self-referred, 39 years).*

> *"… [I] just threw a book at her [wife] and it did not hurt her much… In China, that would not be regarded as violence at all (Chinese, Mandated, 50 years).*

Key issues identified include:

- What can be considered normative roles, behaviour and values in the home country can become problematic in the New Zealand context.
- Existing forms of behaviour may not initially be recognised and regarded by men as forms of violence (e.g. verbal abuse). For Pacific and Chinese men in particular, 'violence' may be considered as 'discipline' or the rightful exercise of male authority in the household.
- As immigrant women adapt to the new context, they may develop new levels of independence and assertiveness in relation to their rights[4]. Their male partners may be at different stages of the adaptation process and conflict may result as different expectations and needs get expressed.

For example, island born Pacific men can see the roles and responsibility expected of a male in the Pacific Islands as different to that accepted in New Zealand. There may be an assumed right to exercise authority over the family and greater acceptance of the use of physical discipline as a means to control and resolve family matters. For these men, immigration to New Zealand requires adaptation to a new set of rules and expectations in relation to appropriate behaviour.

> *I told the police that the faka-Tokelau (Tokelauan way) includes sasa (physical punishment), to which the policeman said this is not Tokelau, it is New Zealand (Samoan-born Tokelauan, Self-referred, 39 years).*

4 Also identified by some Pacific men in Pacific children and seen as resulting in disrespect for their authority within the household

…in the islands you as a man can use their own power to control the whole family. But when I came here the law is everything. And that is different you have to abide by the laws (Samoan, Mandated, 30 years).

In the islands I would not feel ashamed to dish out physical violence to my 'Mrs' who had older brothers. I stole chicken at night time, took bananas that belonged to others. Even before we were married they [her parents and brothers] hated me when we were going out. This time, when the police came and took me to the cells I was very ashamed (Tokelauan, Mandated, 35 years).

Pacific participants also highlight how difficulties assimilating to the New Zealand environment can lead to difficulties with alcohol and drugs. Pacific men in particular, commonly saw alcohol abuse as a factor in their use of violence[5].

But when I came over [to New Zealand], I start drinking and drugs and stuff like that…I came over here and see the life over here is different. I try the bad things …. It was a lot of bad stuff (Samoan, Mandated, 30 years).

I was drunk. I was drunk that is why I was being violent. It was the first time I hit my missus (Samoan, Mandated, 30 years).

Me and my wife we argue then we fight because of the alcohol. That was the first time I became violent. Alcohol is the main cause of violence (Cook Islander).

3.5 CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY

The findings show that many perpetrators are experiencing confusion and uncertainty about their role as men and what society expects and accepts from them. While men can initially have certainty about this, consequences from their violence (e.g. arrest, loss of access to family and partners) can bring upheaval in what they previously assumed to be right and accepted. Perpetrators may only become fully aware of changing behavioural norms and what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour through the consequences of their violence (e.g. arrest, protection orders). This is particularly evident for Pacific and Chinese men (facing different values and norms once migrated to New Zealand), however was also apparent in Pakeha men interviewed.

It is notable that confusion or uncertainty around roles was less visibly expressed by Maori participants. They appeared less aware of alternative or reconstructed views of masculinity and less aware of any changing societal expectations. Indeed their struggle tended to be more focused on living up to their own expectations of being a "man", particularly that of the provider role. These differences may need further exploration and suggest the need for different points of entry into this issue for Maori.

5 While interventions with perpetrators accept that alcohol can be a contributing factor to violence, it is generally not accepted as a justification or reason for violence

Participants exhibiting confusion or uncertainty report feelings of not having fully understood changes occurring, of not being properly informed and of being "left behind". Some may even be considered in a state of 'mourning' for the loss of traditional roles, including the loss of previously assumed authority or control in their relationships.

> *You know there's that whole anti-smacking legislation, you know. And of course people my age say that there's nothing wrong with it, we were smacked as kids, it doesn't hurt. But of course the younger people now are saying that's assault and you're not allowed to do that sort of thing. So the world's changing, but somewhere along the line they forgot to tell us (Pakeha, Self-referred).*

> *… [in the past] the roles were clearer, you know? There were certain responsibilities that everyone one had a part to play and [it was]…. Simpler. These days it's getting complicated. Can't do this, can't do that… (Samoan, Self-referred, 26 years).*

> *…There are people in my family and I'm responsible for providing for them and looking after them. You know there are rules in my house and if I'm paying the bills then those are the rules kind of thing. But that's not the case [anymore] and for me it's been a real rude awakening, it really has (Pakeha, Self-referred).*

> *… I just want to be in a real world, in a real world where people are yeah, totally straight up… Everybody covers, hides, tells lies, you don't know where you stand. I don't know where I stand with my lady, I don't know where I stand with my step-kids half the time because they haven't been brought up the same and I can't put my influence on them, I can't force it. So I'm living in a very, very unreal and uncertain kind of situation…*
> *(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).*

Some participants feel that with changes in society, men are now unfairly targeted, blamed or assumed to be wrong in relation to family violence. These feelings may be partially explained by a lack of understanding about social norms, including what is deemed family violence and what is and isn't appropriate behaviour in relationships with others.

> *…You know the way it is for men today, if we put one little foot wrong and say something in the heat of an argument that we shouldn't, then the whole system comes down on you. And there's no escaping that… (Pakeha, Mandated).*

FVSMS KEY LEARNINGS

The findings indicate that the family violence problem is not fully or clearly understood by perpetrators and, it is proposed, by the wider community. It is suggested that this lack of understanding can lead to family violence being justified or minimised by perpetrators and possibly also by others.

While family violence is commonly thought of as physical violence to women, there is less understanding about non-physical forms of violence. Such understanding may increase the propensity for non-physical forms of family violence, both through men consciously avoiding "hitting" and through adopting other forms of violence not recognised as such.

In addition, forms of physical violence may not be considered as such, but rather seen as disciple or the rightful exercise of male authority in the household.

Existing known codes of conduct appear to be rational and in many cases not fully integrated as guiding principles for behaviour.

It could also be inferred from the findings that perpetrators not yet connected to programmes and in pre-contemplation would also lack understanding about the nature and range of family violence behaviour and that this may also contribute to their justifications, denials or minimisation about their behaviour.

A lack of understanding about family violence may also act as a barrier for victims seeking help or for others in the community recognising and responding to family violence.

The findings show that upbringing and family environment are particularly influential in shaping beliefs about masculinity. The research suggests that exposure to traditional, gendered roles is an important basis from which men develop a sense of entitlement in relation to their female partners. The extent to which participants have or did have patriarchal views of manhood suggests this to be an important influence on their use of violence (e.g. through the ascription of power, authority, and control to the male role).

Men's own exposure to and experience of violence also appears significant. For some, the normalisation of violence is apparent with this beginning during their childhood.

While many participants are quite certain about what it is to be a man, changing "rules" about male/female roles is bringing a level of uncertainty and confusion for some men about what is expected and what is appropriate behaviour. Perpetrators often only learn about appropriate behaviour once targeted with interventions because of their violence (e.g. stopping violence programmes). Understanding the full range and consequences of their violence through interventions such as stopping violence programmes can constitute an important trigger for change.

STRATEGY RECOMMENDATIONS/KEY ACTIONS

The findings support the FVSMS initially developing a social norms strategy aimed at ensuring common understanding and clarity about key issues. In doing so, the FVSMS would seek to impart some of the base understanding and knowledge that men are gaining once in interventions for their violence.

The approach would potentially contribute to primary prevention (i.e. preventing violence from occurring), secondary prevention (i.e. reducing the opportunities for violence by supporting men who are at risk of perpetrating violence) and tertiary prevention (i.e. preventing the re-occurrence of violence)

The social norms strategy would have three 'platforms': 'intimate partner violence', 'masculinity and manhood' and 'community involvement and ownership'.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE STRATEGY

The 'intimate partner violence' strategy would:

- clarify the problem (e.g. broadening understanding of the range of behaviours constituting violence within intimate relationships)
- clarify the impacts and consequences of family violence on men (e.g. being feared, losing relationships) and others. This would include providing evidence of the scale and costs of the problem
- reinforce the unacceptability of all forms of family violence while providing certainty about appropriate behaviour in relation to others.

Audiences for this would include men and their female partners, perpetrators, victims and potential victims.

Initially focusing on the consequences and impacts of family violence as a means to define family violence may be an appropriate strategy for a number of reasons. This would:

- Help to create a common link across intimate partner violence, child abuse and elder abuse.
- Help define and distinguish between family violence (as defined by the strategy) and couple conflict violence.
- Help avoid the strategy getting sidelined into debates about what behaviours/actions do or do not constitute family violence.

MASCULINITY AND MANHOOD STRATEGY

Perpetrators' existing beliefs about masculinity and manhood shape the environment in which a social norm strategy would be delivered. The findings suggest a potential role for the FVSMS in encouraging perpetrators to form new or broader meanings and identities as men while maintaining 'face' and connection to those things considered important in their masculinity. Neville Robertson (Personal Communication, 18th September, 2006) feels that it is important that masculinity is defined and positioned in relation to men's relationships with women and others (e.g. children) so to avoid notions of masculinity being defined and understood in isolation from the wider social context (within which it can only have meaning).

Engaging men in the FVSMS will require credible male "voices" which speak to men on their level, with authority and at their point of readiness for change. For this reason, it would seem inadvisable to initially directly challenge patriarchal views of manhood. For example, men may be reluctant to change their attitude and behaviours towards violence if this is seen as undermining their position and authority as the head of the family. However, the FVSMS could:

- Clarify and promoting what is healthy and respectful behaviour and roles in relationships.
- Position non-violence as normative, provide broad definitions of masculinity, highlighting the many roles already undertaken by men not tied to violent or patriarchal traditions. Non-violence may be most effectively positioned and defined in the strategy through the core values underlying the concept for both perpetrators and those around them (rather than talking about non violence directly). The research identifies the values of respect, stability, security, harmony and valuing as relevant for this purpose.
- Reframe masculinity to be understood and defined in relation to men's roles and relationships with others (i.e. masculinity cannot be defined in isolation from social context and reference to others).
- Identify and promote the benefits and possibilities of reformed masculinity for men (e.g. intimacy, trust, love) as well as for partners, children and the whole community.
- Provide support and information to men to achieve desired behaviours.

Reframing non-violence as normative male behaviour will also be important to provide a vehicle for non-violent men to engage with the strategy. It will reinforce existing non-violent behaviour and reduce the likelihood of non-violent men becoming defensive in response to key strategy messages.

Primary audiences would include men, perpetrators, female partners, victims and potential victims. Secondary audiences would include those influential in the upbringing of boys and young men (e.g. mothers, fathers, other family members).

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND OWNERSHIP' STRATEGY

In providing simple, practical advice on what can be done if family violence is known about or suspected, the 'community involvement and ownership' strategy provides the community call to action in response to the key messages in the 'intimate partner violence', 'masculinity and manhood' strategies (e.g. violence is unacceptable and must be stopped). Key audiences would include the broader community and particularly those for whom family violence is an issue in their family or wider community.

Further research is likely to be necessary to inform development of the 'community involvement and ownership' strategy.

The findings indicate there will be different points of entry and different issues to address for Maori, Pakeha, Pacific and Chinese men in each of the strategies. For example delivery to island born Pacific men and immigrant Chinese men will need to be positioned in the context of migration and address issues arising out of clashes between values, norms, and meanings from the home country and those encountered in New Zealand.

4. VIOLENCE IN INITIMATE RELATIONSHIPS

Participants' use of violence in intimate partner relationships is discussed. Reported reasons for violence as well as underlying attitudes and beliefs, provide insight into determinants of violence and therefore, potential points of focus for the FVSMS.

It should be noted that it is not an aim of the research to construct detailed typologies of intimate partner violence and perpetrators. Findings do, however, show general consistency with violence typologies and discourses identified in the family violence literature.

Some factors relating to the use of violence (e.g. triggers, attitudes, beliefs) do not necessarily correlate to any specific motivational profile. Strategy implications from some findings therefore need to be considered for perpetrators generally rather than for specific profiles.

4.1 REPORTED TRIGGERS/REASONS FOR VIOLENCE

Triggers and/or reasons reported by participants for their violence are categorised and summarised below. At some level, most reasons or triggers can be seen as underlined by the desire to maintain power and control over the partner.

POWER AND CONTROL

Loss of Authority/Control

- Violence used as means to regain control (e.g. in response to women's assertiveness).
- As a means to regain control of situations felt to be out of control.
- To exercise authority as the head of the family.
- In response to the partner being disrespectful (e.g. to the 'head of the family').

> *… I said if you hit me one more time I am going to deck you. And she did, and I did. And it stopped, she stopped hitting me from that day on, but I learnt at that moment that oh, didn't I just get a slice of power. (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).*

> *I think in some cases it goes to [women's] head's and they are a bit bold with it. And it is a lot of the reason why these courses actually happen. Because my biggest issue in life for why I came here was frustration in not being able to get my point across. Because of this overtaking effect (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).*

Administer Rules and Expectations of the Male Partner

- To set and maintain expected codes of behaviour, roles, responsibilities, relating etc.
- Violence in this context may be considered a form of discipline.

"Everyday household chores may annoy the couple; if the wife does not make the house tidy and clean, and does not look after the husband, the husband will be unhappy" (Chinese, Mandated, 28 years).

Frustration/Anger (Loss of Control)

- Build up of tension and frustration – violence as an eventual expression of this.
- Anger over partner actions (e.g. stealing, infidelity, lying).
- Frustration at not being heard or understood; inability to reach common understanding; inability to see other persons' perspective.
- Frustration/anger at unrealised expectations/ideals about oneself or partner.
- Frustration/anger in response to a perception that they are not being appreciated/respected by their partners.

My wife was having an affair with our neighbour. So when I finally found out I felt violated in my own house and I wanted her to go with me to confront the person involved. But when we went there, I lost my cool and I beat him up, and beat her up too (Tongan, Mandated, 43 years).

SELF ESTEEM/BELONGING

Inadequacy/Insecurity/Jealously

- To compete with or regain a sense of control over the partner due to some perceived inadequacy in relation to the partner (e.g. inability to compete verbally, inability to communicate at the same level).
- In response to perceived inadequacies/failures to meet their ideals or expectations about being a man (e.g. as the provider).
- Control of partner in order to avoid the potential for loss. This may stem from insecurity about the relationship or the potential to lose the partner or children. There may be dependence on the partner to feel needed and wanted. There may be fear of infidelity, of not being loved or needed.

…My wife is a very intelligent lady and I guess I was not the brains in the family so. And I guess a lot of it came down to frustration…Not feeling as though we were communicating on the same level and not being up to the same sort of level…Yeah. I wanted to control the situation… if I brought her down then it wasn't so far for me to have to come up (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

What happened with one of my relationships was that it was no big deal because the government will look after them on the DPB kind of thing. She told me that straight up, you know? And that really offended me when maybe it shouldn't have. And I thought, you know, well if it's that easy, you know? And she did, she went and did it. And she is being well looked after by the government. And I guess that did cause some kind of, well it's a lesson in security for somebody like me, just to know that you're not really needed (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

AVOIDANCE/DISSOCIATION

Closure, Distance and Control

- To close a situation down.
- To remove/distance/quieten the partner.
- To bring an end to conflict – to end the provocation.
- To avoid need for emotional engagement.

"When man wants woman to shut up but woman does not stop arguing" (Chinese, Mandated, 28 years).

Lack of Insight, Care, Empathy, Responsibility

- Belief in rightfulness of position.
- Inability to consider other persons needs/views.
- Inability to compromise.
- Lack of responsibility for actions.

For a long time I just thought it was my wife's fault. I was in complete denial for years. It wasn't my fault I can't see what the problem is (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

…I used to be narcissistic and I really didn't give a toss about monogamy. I didn't care about anyone's feelings. I cared about mine, my feelings, what was important to me is what went… (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

DISEMPOWERMENT (AND NEED TO REGAIN POWER)

Loss of Face

- Actions/behaviour of partner in public seen to be demeaning, inappropriate or disrespectful. For example, a public display of assertiveness by Chinese women or not standing up to the female partner in public can represent a loss of face for Chinese men, leading to violence.

Before in Tokelau, I may have given her physical punishment twice, especially when she would swear in front of my parents and sisters. She was a very good caring mother, but she would sometime say things that make me angry (Samoan-born Tokelauan, Self-referred, 39 years).

Escalation

- Escalation of tensions and argument.
- No way to resolve the conflict and remain in control other than the use of violence.

  …I had been brought up where there was no discussion at all and then it was, like hang on if I've got an opinion and you've got an opinion and your opinion is different to mine, I really hadn't learned how do we get to a resolution. How can we agree to even disagree, you have got to agree my way and if you don't like it then we will keep on arguing until you give in… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

Lack of Alternative Skills

- Belief in or reasoning of a lack of skills to get resolution other than to use violence/abuse.
- Belief in or reasoning of inability to communicate emotions verbally.

  "I'd rather get the plate over the head and then a barrelling than all the emotional and verbal abuse – that would be less stressful" (Maori, Mandated, 46 years).

OTHER CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

A range of other factors are identified or seen by participants as contributing factors to their violence. These include:

- Stress (e.g. financial, employment related, family, health).
- Tiredness.
- Social isolation, lack of social/family support.
- Alcohol and drugs.
- Violence.
- Immigration related issues.
- Mental Illness

While such factors are acknowledged as contributing factors in family violence interventions with perpetrators, they are generally not accepted as reasons or justification for violence.

4.2 ATTITUDES/BELIEFS DRIVING USE OF VIOLENCE

Attitudes and beliefs underlying the use of violence commonly link to patriarchal views of manhood and again show violence commonly used as a means to exert and/or maintain power and control. This reinforces the need to ensure that the strategy remains focused on addressing these underlying determinants of family violence (even if this is done so indirectly or subtly in order to achieve audience engagement).

JUSTIFICATIONS

While participants can accept and recognise that the use of violence is wrong, a range of justifications can be used in support of the violence. These are identified as:

Violence as an Anger Management Problem

- Belief or reasoning that violence constitutes an anger management problem.

Failure by Partner to Fulfil Role/Expectations

- The partner considered not to be fulfilling expected roles or responsibilities.
- Men can feel justified in asserting their authority in this context.

  She never listens to me. You know the Samoan way and you do all this. So I assault the missus for about 2 years (Samoan, Mandated, 30 years).

Disrespect/Lack of Appreciation

- Partner seen to be disrespectful to the male.
- Partner failure to show appropriate appreciation for the roles/responsibilities/mana of the male partner.

  Insults are the worst, personal insults….About you, about what you are, who you are, how you are…As you get older you're supposed to have some kind of mana…like elders in a Maori community and as you get older personal insults are damaging, so damaging because they stay with you and they make you sick, because you don't want to be that, what they've called. And you just can't shrug them off the same (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

  So many times if I was drinking and I would say to my wife can you give me this, and she didn't listen or care. She was just staying there in the sitting room, watching TV with the kids, and I would start yelling. Don't you hear what I am saying? (Samoan, Mandated, 35 years).

Partner Provocation

- Violence as result of provocation from partner (e.g. emotional, verbal abuse).
- Partner not backing off, partner continuing with the argument, partner directing violence and aggression to the male partner. Violence here can be described as happening after periods of restraint and resistance from responding with violence, as being backed into a corner, as necessary in order to close a situation down or as an act of self defence.

- Escalation of tension, stress, anger, frustration – snapped, loss of control, alcohol fuelled.

  …She wouldn't allow me an out, she trapped me…I'd go into another room and she'd pull the chair or stand all over you and scream at you and you know I'd try to get out of the room and she wouldn't, she would physically block my way out of that room. And there's no way that I can get out of the room without actually moving her out of the door… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

  "I lay the law down, tell it like it is, but the Mrs, she just doesn't know when to shut-up, she's strong headed – she's got to attend a course too" (Maori, Self-referred, 35 years)

The Partner is the Problem

- The partner can be defined as the cause of the problem (e.g. she does not know or understand compromise, she is unreasonable, she has extreme mood swings).
- Previous relationships can be described as violence free and without incident.

  I still really believe that my ex partner is the one that needs the help. I can honestly say that I have never ever abused any of my previous partners in any way…she's the only one, and I've got people who can stand up and vouch for me on that (Pakeha, Mandated).

Was Required/Necessary

- Control and/or punishment were required and justified (e.g. partner was lying, being unfaithful, stealing, gambling, blowing the money, failing the children etc.
- As self defence.

Acceptance (by partner)

- Partner living with the violence and abuse over time supports partner's perception that violence is acceptable.
- Acceptance provides further reinforcement of continuing use.

Denial/There won't be a Next Time

- On-going cycle of violence and 'calm', violence and 'calm'.
- Belief that it won't happen again, an isolated incident.

  …I never talked about it to anybody. Once I was out of the house that was it. And we didn't talk about it, if we were having an argument, afterwards it was just swept aside. I apologised. It would never happen again until next weekend when it happened again, it was just a revolving circle (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

There has been an Injustice

- Violence as a means to seek and exact justice. A wrong has been committed (e.g. unfair or intolerable behaviour) and violence is an acceptable in response to this.

DISSOCIATIONS

Not the Abusive Type

- Violence is seen to be 'out of character' – that is not who I am.
- Can be linked to a failure to recognise non-physical violence as family violence.

Violence was Limited or Controlled

- Minimisation – physical violence was never used – "I never hit her".
- Violence was only ever used to restrain the partner, to bring a situation under control, as self-defence.
- "Real" perpetrators are those that use physical violence.

Denial

- Denial that violence was perpetrated as accused; was of the frequency, extent, severity accused.

FEAR OF LABELLING

Neville Robertson (Personal Communication, 18 September, 2006) indicates homophobia to be significant in the perpetration of family violence, particularly in older men. Men are brutal to their partners in order to avoid any risk of being considered homosexual or 'soft' by other men. Robertson believes addressing homophobia or 'homophobiaphobia' (the fear of other men's homophobia) is therefore critical in addressing family violence.

FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

Reported reasons for violence and underlying attitudes and beliefs often link to patriarchal attitudes and expectations of male entitlement in relationships. In the context of 'knowing' that you do not hit women, denial, justifications, minimisation and dissociation from violence are likely used to resolve dissonance between what is "right" and what has been done.

The findings therefore suggest that denial, justification, dissociation and ignorance constitute significant barriers to behaviour change; both for perpetrators not yet facing the need for change as well as those facing this need.

These findings provide further support for an initial social norms based strategy which:

- Ensures understanding of what constitutes violence against women.
- Ensures full understanding of the ramifications of all forms of violence and abuse.
- Communicates that family violence is unacceptable in any circumstance.
- Reinforces personal responsibility and accountability for the use of violence.
- Ensures that non-violence is presented as the normative behaviour.

Primary audiences would include perpetrators, their victims and family members. Secondary audiences would include men and women in or with the potential to form relationships in the future.

This strategy would almost certainly require encouragement to seek assistance for violence, with potential implications for service provision and funding. The strategy would also naturally link to the previously discussed strategy on appropriate male behaviour in relationships, including communication of the rewards and benefits of such behaviour for men and others.

4.3 BENEFITS AND COSTS FROM VIOLENCE

BENEFITS

The previously reported reasons for violence as well as underlying attitudes and beliefs show that men can receive a range of benefits from violence in their intimate relationships. However, at a conscious level, participants report few positives or little long-term gain from violence and generally recognise violence or abusive behaviour to their partners as wrong.

> *… it just makes the situation worse. You might get to say what you want to say, but you're just saying it louder. It just hurts the other person (Pakeha, Mandated, 42 Years).*

> *…it shunts that little piece of disharmony into the closet ready to be dragged out again on some other day, you know…[the reason for violence/abuse] doesn't go away, no it doesn't go away (Pakeha, Self-referred).*

> *… it doesn't solve anything. In fact it makes things worse (Pakeha, Mandated).*

> *"I've always known, like since seeing my mum get knocked around and that, I've always known that that [violence] was wrong" (Maori, Self-referred).*

These findings are not surprising if it is accepted that men may be reluctant to admit to benefits or that they may lack the insight necessary to consciously recognise and describe them. What is naturally expected or regarded as a right may also not be regarded as a "benefit". Further there can also be less immediate or conscious recognition of non-physical forms of violence, as well as the benefits derived from these forms of behaviour. Indeed those men able or willing to identify benefits from violence tend to be those further along a process of change and generally with greater awareness of their behaviour and its outcomes.

Benefits of violence in intimate relationships by those men with insight into this include:

- regaining of control
- to assert ones authority – to gain compliance
- to bring a situation to an end
- to achieve distancing from the partner
- to ensure that the partner respects the male partner
- to regain a sense of stability in the relationship (likely inferring less opposition to the male partners authority).

Notably, all benefits identified essentially provide short term benefits, thus adding to their influence and reinforcing nature (whereas many of the costs tend to be longer term and therefore less effective in influencing behaviour).

> *…if I could dominate the situation and control the situation I would probably feel a bit better in myself because then I had control. Whereas for all these other things that were happening I didn't feel I had control over them… decisions in the house and how we were doing things, how we were bringing our child up (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).*

COSTS

Costs associated with the use of violence can be particularly salient and significant for some men. However, costs may not be fully recognised by perpetrators until there are consequences from their behaviour and that these consequences constitute costs which are significant for them. Edminston (2005) identifies critical incidents (e.g. intensely violent episodes, being confronted with their abuse, partners taking action) as important triggers for change and the current findings show that such incidents are often associated with an escalation of costs which the perpetrator has not previously recognised, experienced or considered. For example, while violence may be recognised as having a negative impact on the quality of the relationship, the full extent of this cost may only be recognised by the perpetrator once the partner has decided to leave the relationship or the perpetrator is prevented from accessing family and the family home because of a protection order.

Recognised costs from violence as discussed further under each of the motivational profiles. However, in summary, costs or negatives from violence recognised by participants include:

Futility of Violence

- That violence fails to solve/resolve anything over the longer term.
- That violence makes the situation worse.

Impact on Relationships/Family

- The break down of the partner relationship.
- A negative impact on children (see later discussion).
- Loss of access to children.

Stigma and Sanctions

- Social stigma/labelling.
- Arrest, negative official sanctions.
- Negative other consequences (e.g. impact on application for residency status).

> *… short term gain and long term pain. Yeah it did solve it because I was right but then the feeling in the house and everything was really heavy and dark and miserable (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).*

These findings suggest that perpetrators not yet engaged in some form of stopping violence intervention may lack full appreciation of the immediate and longer costs of their behaviour.

FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

Social marketing suggests that behaviour change can be encouraged by increasing the costs and decreasing the benefits of undesired behaviour while increasing the benefits of desired behaviour and decreasing barriers to this.

Communicating the costs of violence to perpetrators and potential perpetrators as well as others (e.g. victims, family members) may be an appropriate FVSMS strategy. The research shows that the longer-term costs of violence are not always fully understood by perpetrators until after a critical incident and subsequent consequences. A 'costs' based approach assumes that social marketing could raise awareness of 'costs' and therefore motivation to change. The strategy could also prevent critical incidents (often involving victims) being triggers for change with social marketing interventions instead providing this function (e.g. through increasing understanding of costs and consequences).

Such strategy would appear to have particular value targeted to the 'Significant Loss' motivational profile and this is discussed later in the report.

A 'costs' based strategy essentially comprises a 'threat appeal' strategy. Donovan & Henley (2003) define a threat appeal consisting of "a source stating that some negative outcome will result or increase in likelihood as a consequence of non-compliance with the sources recommendation (pg.80). A negative outcome is "some event perceived by the target audience to be harmful or undesirable" (pg. 80). Importantly it should be noted that a threat becomes a threat appeal "when a source states that the negative outcome is contingent on the recipient's behaviour and seeks to alter that contingent behaviour" (pg. 81).

The literature suggests that social marketing strategies should ideally promote positive, action-based messages, rather than focusing on negative or more general messages (Families Commission, 2005; Davies et al, 2003). This suggests that any strategy highlighting the costs of violence should also emphasise positive actions and what men can do to avoid identified costs.

While costs may be "increased" by raising awareness of what they are, this can also occur by raising the certainty of costs occurring. Indeed, effectiveness of this strategy requires that costs are certain and believed by the target audience. Achieving certainty in a number of costs will require an integrated and co-ordinated approach with other parts of the overall family violence strategy (e.g. arrest policy, actions of the judiciary).

4.4 FEELINGS IN RELATION TO VIOLENCE

Two main groups of feelings are reported by perpetrators in relation to their use of violence in their intimate partner relationship. Leading up to and during incidents of violence, common feelings reported are those of frustration, anger and "losing control". After violent incidents, feelings reported tend to be those of shame, guilt and regret.

There was little reporting of feelings suggestive of the deliberate or calculated use of violence, however, care should be taken when interpreting this finding. The current research did not investigate the use of violence in-depth (with the focus more on behaviour change) so this finding may be more reflective of the limitations of the investigation rather than actual motivations and associated feelings.

More specifically, feelings reported after incidents of violent include:

- Guilt – recognition that the violence is not right
- Shame – recognition that the violence is not right
- Shame – the use of violence is seen as a loss of control – a man should be in control of himself
- Anger/Annoyance –that the use of violence does not achieve anything positive; violence constitutes a loss of control; actions are seen as 'out of character'
- Remorse – at consequences of behaviour on others

- Regret –personal consequences (e.g. loss of partner/children, impact on relationships, damage to work and personal reputation, loss of employment, friends, children)
- Failure – the use of violence constitutes failure on the part of the perpetrator; the presence of violence represents a failure of the intimate relationship and/or the family unit.

  That I was getting a family situation into something that I didn't like and I didn't enjoy but I didn't know how to do it a different way…I was failing myself and my family…
  (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

  "…Blokes really, you know when they have an argument or whatever, they don't take time out on their own. Na, #$%@ you, I'm off, and they're off down to the nearest mates, or to the nearest pub and just fuel that anger again…looking for an alibi…they just get so wound up… Their mates will fill them in on more rubbish – then when the money runs out and the hangover's worn off, then the guilt kicks in and they're back knocking on the door"
  (Maori, Self-referred, 37 years).

  …years and years ago it was…you deserved that…you're lucky you just got that…But nowadays yeah if I lose my temper I find it hard to look at myself… you know you've hurt someone's feelings, whether it be verbally, or you've scared them by slamming a door, or what have you, or pushing a table, you know, you've scared them. And you've intimidated them and to actually stop and put yourself into that person's shoes, and think oh…
  (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

  …embarrassed, ashamed…when I hit [previous partner[it was really bad. I felt so bad, you know, it's a bit hard to deal with…Guilt, sorry, you just want to make it up to them if you can
  (Pakeha, Mandated, 42 Years).

  …[violence in the relationship] it's the last thing you want. It's against the grain. It's against everything because at this age you're trying to stay in love…So when you have a failure it's got a double whammy effect…Nothing at all to be gained, nothing whatsoever. It's lose, lose, lose even just a serious argument… it's like another bad point against you when you're getting old…you weren't wise enough, you weren't kind enough, you weren't good enough, you acted badly…[you] know better by this stage…
  (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

It should be noted that the extent to which there are negative feelings after violence may in part reflect the sample of perpetrators involved in the research (i.e. all being at some stage of an intervention aimed at addressing their violence). Feelings may be reflective of the intervention process and not necessarily fully reflective of how men not in intervention may feel after the use of violence. Some comments suggest that feelings of shame and regret may only be developed through increased awareness of the impact of violence on others, a level of empathy which some perpetrators may not initially have.

Furthermore, negative feelings after incidents of violence do not necessarily indicate that such feelings lead to violence ending or even reducing. Some men discuss going through cycles of violence/abusive behaviour followed by periods of remorse followed by further violence and so on. Some describe this cycle continuing for significant periods of time before some critical incident or incidents contribute to breaking the cycle (e.g. through arrest, partner leaving the relationship, commitment to seek assistance to address the behaviour).

FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

There may be potential to appeal to negative feelings commonly reported by men as a consequence of their violence. Such an approach would also constitute a 'threat appeal' strategy. Negative feelings reported by participants reflect their common belief that the use of physical violence in intimate relationships is wrong. Feelings relate to one-self (e.g. personal disappointment and regret that violence was used) as well as to others (e.g. shame because of the impact on others).

Many perpetrators do not initially recognise they are using non-physical forms of violence or that that these behaviours constitute family violence. There can also be a failure to recognise the impact of these behaviours on their victims. Appealing to negative feelings may therefore need to be preceded by communications ensuing that men fully understand the range of behaviours that constitute family violence and the negative impact of these behaviours on others. An initial social norms strategy is therefore further supported by these findings.

It would also be important that any such strategy is accompanied by positive actions or solutions able to resolve the dissonance felt in relation to the use of violence.

4.5 INFLUENCE OF CHILDREN

The findings indicate that for perpetrators who are fathers, children (and younger children in particular) can be a powerful influence on their behaviour and on their desire to change behaviour.

Fathers are particularly aware of the potential negative impact on children from being exposed to violence within the household. This includes concern that violence can create fear, confusion and uncertainty for children. A particularly common motivation to use non-violence reported by Pacific men was the desire to be good role models for their children.

Because of concern about the impact on children, it was common for participants to report attempting to hide or limit the level of conflict or violence within the house while children are present.

> *"…it's a bad example, I would have been really upset if he had have seen that [the violence]" (Maori, Mandated, 46 years).*

> *… "…can't do that in front of my baby" (Maori, Mandated, 19 years).*

> *It upsets me immensely as well when we would argue and they would be within earshot. I know because the older girl has been crying on a few occasions. And I've said why and she's said because you and mum are arguing and I don't like it…(Pakeha, Mandated).*

The conscious desire and effort to avoid the possibility of violence in front of children suggests some control over the use of violence even when violence is perceived as "out of control" violence. It also suggests different levels of concern or awareness about the impact of violence on others. While this can be particularly salient in relation to children, a similar level of concern or awareness does not necessarily seem to be applied to the intimate partner. One reason for this could be that the innocence of the child in relation to the violence is recognised and that there is a desire to 'protect' the child. For example, some Pacific men described their children as 'precious gifts from God' that must be protected while others sought to protect their children from harm, including exposure to humiliation and shame as a consequence of parents' behaviours. Perpetrators may therefore see innocence being violated through exposure to violence whereby this may not be equally recognised in relation to the partner. This conclusion is supported by the many justifications given for the use of violence and the common belief that the partner somehow deserved the violence (e.g. showed disrespect, didn't listen).

NEGATIVELY INFLUENCING CHILDREN

Recognition that they are negatively influencing their children can be a powerful trigger for change for participants. This can occur through recognising:

- negative aspects of themselves in their own children (e.g. levels of anger)
- that their relationship with their children is being impacted by their behaviour
- the level of fear that their child has of them
- that their behaviour is a poor role model for their children.

…kids are like sponges…they learn anything, you know, whatever you put in front of them they learn it. And if they learn to see their father arguing with their mother, or yelling, or whatever, and knocking her around, or whatever it may be, then they're probably going to do that. They're going to think oh that it must be normal, but it's not, it shouldn't be (Pakeha, Mandated).

…What have I created as far as little people go. What's their perception of me? How do those, you know, how do they perceive me? And that's a pretty hard …pill to swallow, because you know it's not good…you know, there's 14 years worth there and 12 years worth there of just bad role modelling. And how I see them, you know, and their behaviour, and I can see this one, he's got oodles of anger and he doesn't know how to express it. And he's going to have problems too, and the younger one, he's still scared of me even though I have a good relationship with him as far as he talks to me. But he's still very scared of me, very nervous of me (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

….it just led to [son] being quite unstable when he started school. And then one day he just turned around and looked me in the eye and he said "I hate you"… I could genuinely see it in his face, the fear in his face…he genuinely did hate me. And that really, really frightened me. That I was just destroying this young boy who looked up to me and just to the point, where I destroyed the trust and feeling in him to where he just hated me….he didn't want to know me, didn't want me in his life… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

…I would just look at my kids, and they were sort of frightened and I was like, I wasn't that bad…But the kids were always pretty scared of me (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

"The consequences of my action would help me change … My son was watching what was happening and he was crying. He probably couldn't understand why there was so much violence" (Tongan, Mandated, 43 years).

The desire for their children not to grow up in a violent environment and/or not wanting children to see them model anger, abuse, and violence is a particularly common motivator for Maori men. This can be linked to a desire for their children to have a different upbringing compared to what they themselves experienced. In this regard, addressing their violence can constitute a step in breaking an intergenerational cycle of whanau violence.

> *"…when I use to see my mum just crying and us in the room behind the door, we were always hugging each other, you know…and I don't want my kids to go through that eh, all that scared at night, shaking, waiting for the footsteps to come down the hallway and things like that" (Maori, Self-referred).*
>
> *"Don't want to make her [daughter] a victim of the whole thing…" (Maori, Mandated, 42 years).*
>
> *"Kids are part of the story too" – it's bigger than oneself" (Maori, Mandated, 42 years).*

LOSS IN RELATION TO CHILDREN

Identified motivations for change relating to children often involve the theme of loss. This includes perpetrators not wanting to lose:

- their relationship with their children
- the quality of their relationship with their children (e.g. in terms of communication and trust)
- access to their children through the courts and/or through their partner leaving with them
- their role and responsibilities of being a father.

FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

The findings suggest that the impact of violence on their children is a major concern for perpetrators. This theme may be usefully developed in the FVSMS as a further dimension to a 'threat appeal' strategy (however, it shouldn't be assumed that all perpetrators with children will be motivated to change by seeing the affect of violence on them).

The impact on children could be communicated as a way of increasing the perceived cost of violence as well as increasing understanding of the consequences of violence on others.

Raising awareness of the impact on children will not in itself be sufficient for social marketing strategy. The strategy should also be clear about desired behaviours (e.g. respectful, non-violent relationships) to avoid the costs/consequences on children and provide direction and support for achieving these (e.g. where to access assistance). The strategy should also communicate the benefits of the desired behaviour on children and the wider community as well as for men, particularly regarding their relationship with their children.

However, the implications of appealing to impacts on children will need further consideration, particularly in relation to unintended consequences. For example, the findings suggest that perpetrators can be more motivated to change their behaviour for the sake of their children rather than their partners. Appealing to this motive may not necessarily motivate a change of behaviour in relation to the partner and may in fact lead to increased risk of harm to victims. Further, loss of access to children may in fact be the most appropriate response to violence. Strategy linked to children may therefore be most appropriate as a primary prevention strategy rather than a secondary or tertiary strategy targeting current perpetrators.

It may also be possible that a 'hidden' motive underlying men's concern about the impact on children may be their fear of losing their assumed or desired authority over their children. If this is the case, there may be need to address and reframe men's expectations about this as well as what are considered appropriate ways to exercise this authority.

The influence of children in motivating behaviour change seems particularly salient within the 'Family Unit', 'Significant Loss' and 'Better Man' motivation for change profiles and strategy implications are discussed further within each of these profiles.

4.5 INTERVENTION BY OTHERS

Participants commonly report efforts to keep the violence/abuse in their intimate relationship private or hidden from others. A number of reasons or motivations for this are observed.

- Belief that family violence is private business and not the concern or interest of others.
- Belief that the private home is the appropriate place for conflicts between partners to occur.
- Recognition of the social disapproval attached to family violence and the social stigma attached to it.
- Desire to maintain an image of a healthy, well functioning relationship or family unit to others. This can be particularly influential when there are feelings of shame, guilt, embarrassment or failure associated with the violence. Victims can also be a party to keeping the violence hidden due to the shame, embarrassment or stigma they can feel in regard to their situation.

  …there's no doubt there is a social conscience that says you won't be abusive to your partner…There is a social conscience about it, so you wouldn't want other people to know that it was going on (Pakeha, Self-referred).

Within the Chinese community there can be strong cultural norms that authorities from the outside should not interfere in the private matters of the home and if family violence has not been disclosed publicly, the desire for it to remain hidden can be strong due to the associated stigma. It is noted, however, (Patrick Au, Personal Communication, 27 November, 2006), that once disclosed, people are more willing to get involved and families open to receiving support and assistance. Au provides a number of explanations for this. Disclosure can enhance the perpetrators recognition of the threat of negative official sanctions and/or that his behaviour is not acceptable. He may also recognise the support being provided to the victim and seek similar opportunities for support to address the problem.

While not explicitly reported by men in the research, it is generally recognised that family violence is encouraged by the privacy often surrounding it, including public attitudes that one should stay out of the "private" affairs of others. Recent efforts in New Zealand to encourage the reporting of family violence incidents have been widely attributed to significant increases in the reported incidence of family violence (and not necessarily indicative of an actual increase in family violence rates). Support to victims to provide safe options for leaving abusive relationships will continue to be central to the overall family violence strategy in New Zealand.

In the general context of preferring that family violence remains private, findings show a variety of responses from men in relation to intervention by others. These range from a defensive response ("get out of my business") to appreciation of offers of help and support. There can be understanding and acceptance (if not support) for others such as neighbours intervening by calling the police in response to a violent incident. While some Maori men spoke of being influenced by the opinions of others around them, others considered that the "issues" between them and partner should be worked out within the relationship.

Notably, some participants themselves talk about a willingness to intervene with male friends or workmates if family violence issues are identified. This suggests that for some, "mate to mate" type interventions can be more acceptable, possibly in being considered less threatening. This approach appears to have general resonance with Maori men in that some felt it would be more likely for men to voluntarily attend a stopping violence programme, at least initially, if they were invited by a close friend who attended and if the words "help" or "stopping violence" were not specifically mentioned in the invitation. These findings may suggest particular potential in positioning the strategy 'mate to mate', however, care would be needed here to ensure that such an approach does not invite male collusion or undermines the message of perpetrator accountability for their violence.

A range of factors (e.g. quality of existing relationships, levels of trust, level of respect for and influence of senior family members) seem influential as to whether intervention by family members is seen as helpful or appropriate by men. For example, a New Zealand born Samoan male reports being motivated to change because his parents identified his anger as a problem. His desire to change is in part directed at regaining the approval of his parents and in not letting them down further.

4.6 INFLUENCE OF VICTIMS

For many of the men interviewed, action by the partner victim (e.g. leaving the relationship, ringing the police, taking the children) constituted a critical incident and a significant trigger to men accepting the need to address their behaviour. Actions such as leaving the relationship or taking out a protection order can send a significant message to perpetrators that their behaviour is unacceptable.

For some participants, action by the partner only occurred after many years of abuse. Previous research has identified many reasons why a victim may not initially act in response to their violence and these issues need further consideration in relation to the FVSMS. The current research does, however, identify the action of victims as influential in the change process and therefore victims as potential audiences for the FVSMS. For example, as a prevention or early intervention strategy, the recommend social norms strategy could have a key role in educating women about acceptable/ non-acceptable male behaviour in relationships, early warning signs for abusive, options for seeking assistance and so on.

> *…I think it would have been if you don't go I will leave you. Pretty much I would say that's how it would have been (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).*

FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

Lifting the “veil” of privacy around family violence will continue to be an important part of the overall family violence strategy and the FVSMS should work closely with existing efforts in this area if this becomes a focus within the strategy.

It is unclear whether the current findings highlight any particular opportunities for the FVSMS to target involvement by others. Many sector experts consulted in the first phase of the research support the use of social marketing to encourage wider community involvement in family violence. Building a responsive community would include building willingness to speak out and confront attitudes and behaviour supportive of family violence. This could involve providing simple practical advice on what can be done in situations where family violence is known about or suspected.

Participants commonly report efforts to keep the violence in their relationship private or hidden and in this context, perpetrators respond differently to the possibility of intervention by others. Whether responses are positive or negative seems influenced by a range of factors. Any use of the FVSMS to encourage intervention by others will need to manage any risk that this could lead to increased risk to victims (however, not becoming involved also carries risks to victims).

Encouraging community involvement in and ownership over family violence and providing support and direction on this is perhaps most appropriately positioned as a third strand within the social norm strategy. This would provide the call to action to the community in follow-up to the initial strands which focus on defining the problem and reinforcing that family violence is unacceptable and must be stopped.

5. BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

The following section discusses core findings in relation to perpetrator behaviour change. Implications for the FVSMS are also considered.

5.1 MOTIVATION AND READINESS TO CHANGE

Most participants in the research were seen as having some level of motivation to change their behaviour[6]. This may be explained in that all men interviewed were about to either enter stopping violence programmes, were completing programmes or had completed programmes. Participants were, however, at different points of readiness to change. This reflects that participants were at different stages of stopping violence programmes/interventions and included those both mandated and self referred to programmes.

Readiness to change can be seen as equating to different stages of change under the Transtheoretical Model of Change. The current research did not explicitly seek to segment perpetrators by stage of change[7], however, previous research has examined this in relation to men's progress through stopping violence programmes (see for example, Eckhardt, et al 2004).

Different state of readiness to change, identified in the current research are described below. Possible links to the Transtheoretical Model of Change are suggested for each state.

6 However, it should be noted, that motivations can be superficial or negatively driven, and do not necessarily predict the subsequent course of change, the type and extent of change that may occur, or whether men will eventually be successful in changing. There may also be a motivation to change (e.g. to avoid another arrest) in the absence of a commitment to fundamentally examine and take responsibility for behaviour.

7 Through telling their stories (e.g. from prior to entering programmes), participants in the current research provided quite a lot of understanding about the characteristics of perpetrators in pre-contemplation. Further interviews with perpetrators not currently involved in any stopping violence intervention would help to validate these findings. Because of logistical and ethical issues, it was decided not to attempt to locate and interview such perpetrators in the current research.

"DENIAL/DENIERS"

- Limited insight or acceptance of need to accept responsibility for behaviour and consider change.
- There can be high levels of denial, justification, and dissociation from the violence.
- Often seen in men mandated to programmes and considering themselves only to be attending the programme because they are required to.
- Men here tended to be in the pre-contemplation stage under the Transtheoretical Model of Change.

"CHANGE FOR PURPOSE"

- Openness to the concept of change because this is seen as necessary in order to meet a goal (e.g. regaining access to children, reducing severity of punishment).
- May lack real commitment to fundamentally address underlying beliefs and attitudes.
- Change may be limited to behavioural management (e.g. attaining anger management skills).
- Men here tended to be in the contemplation and preparation stage.

ACCEPTANCE OF NEED TO CHANGE

- Recognition and acceptance of the need to examine behaviour and change.
- There can be acceptance that events and consequences from their violence (e.g. arrest) indicate that there is an issue/problem which needs to be addressed.
- There may be a particular desire to understand what has triggered the violence
- Change may still be limited to behavioural management (e.g. attaining anger management skills).
- Men here tended to be in the preparation and action stage.

EMBRACING CHANGE

- High commitment to change.
- Developed insight into behaviour and understanding of the impact of their violence on others.
- Change beyond behavioural management to that indicating fundamental re-examination and repositioning of attitudes and beliefs.
- Benefits of change can be recognised, experienced and believed.
- Men here tended to be in the action stage.

REFORMATION

- Fuller emergence and acceptance of a new non-violent identity.
- Men here tended to be in the action and maintenance stage.

…I had reservations about [the stopping violence programme]…Being with a bunch of violent people… I was just totally blown away…I'm not that kind of person. I shouldn't be there. This is against my will, you know? (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

…when I first came to the course, I had been there a while and I was thinking this is a waste of time, I'm not a gangster, I don't beat my wife up, I don't hit my kids. I'm not a violent person… (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

Yeah I came hoping to get some insight into my trigger points, I didn't even know that they were called trigger points at that stage and find some way of expressing myself better, communicating to others about my anger (Pakeha, Self-referred).

Well I was hoping that [counsellor] would point out things that I was doing wrong, you know… I've got a short circuit on something because I'm violent with other people's rubbish, there is something wrong I need to change it…(Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

You've just got to take responsibility eventually. And it's not until you get to that point where you're ready to take responsibility for not only your future behaviour, but also all of that stuff in the past…(Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

While the current research has not explicitly profiled perpetrators by stage of change, some understanding is provided of different states of readiness to change. The findings can be used to build a profile[8] of those perpetrators not yet in any formal intervention for their violence. From this, it could be concluded that these men are likely to be predominantly in pre-contemplation and unlikely to see the need, or be faced with the need to change, until after some form of critical incident acts as a trigger for change. As discussed, critical incidents often involve enhanced risk and harm to victims and social marketing may have a role in avoiding the need for such incidents through the role of trigger for change.

Further, the profile characteristics suggest it unlikely that change will occur without some form of intervention. An appropriate goal therefore in moving these men from pre-contemplation to contemplation may be encouraging them to seek assistance for their violence. Such strategy will obviously have resourcing and service demand implications and will need further consideration (e.g. men self-referring to stopping violence programme are not currently publicly funded).

The motivational profiles identified later in the research provide understanding of different motivations for behaviour change. This includes understanding of the specific consequences from both violence and appropriate behaviour change particularly motivating for different profiles. Each profile provide direction as to how different motives could be used in the FVSMS to move perpetrators from pre-contemplation to contemplation (i.e. primarily as a secondary prevention strategy). At a fundamental level this should focus on raising men's understanding of the problem, the benefits of change, the consequences of not changing as well as the level of control or ability one has to address the problem. The findings also suggest that the FVSMS could aim to reduce the stigma for men in seeking assistance. However, in doing so, perpetrators should not be given kudos for changing and strategies must not condone their violence in any way. Help seeking should not be positioned as courageous or heroic but as an appropriate and sensible action to take.

8 For example:

Entrenched patriarchal beliefs and expectations about being a man and being in relationship with others
Denial, justification, minimisation and dissociation from violence commonly used.
Lack of recognition of there being a problem, particularly if physical violence is not perpetrated
Often being in an environment were violence is normative
Low skills and ability to adopt other behaviours
Lacking insight and empathy regarding the impact and consequences of their violence
Receiving immediate rewards or reinforcement from their violence

5.2 MEANING OF CHANGE

The meanings attached to behaviour change are typically related to what men hope to get out of changing. Goals or what men hope to achieve typically correlate to the motivational profiles and are discussed further under each.

Understanding meanings and goals for change are important as these begin to identify the sorts of benefits that will need to be communicated to men as arising from desired behaviour change. In overview, change goals can be broadly categorised as follows. The first three factors are pull factors that draw perpetrators towards non-violence and the last two push factors repelling men from violence.

RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHERS

- Retaining relationships.
- Making relationships work.
- Improvements in existing relationship/s.
- No longer causing harm and hurt to others.
- Gaining or re-gaining the trust, respect, love of others.
- Proving oneself to others.
- Meeting responsibilities in relation to others (e.g. .as a father).

When it affected my kids, and I saw my son crying because the police were taking me away, that's when it hit home (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

I have enjoyed the programme, not just trying to make me a good dad and father but there may be a few things wrong with me as a father, so this will help me in the future. It may also help me manage my work place staff … (Fijian-born Muslim Indian, Self-referred, 33 years).

SELF IMPROVEMENT/DEVELOPMENT

- Understanding triggers to violence.
- Improved ability to deal with the triggers to violence and to avoid future violence (e.g. through anger management skills).
- Feeling better about oneself/gaining self respect.
- In control and confident in ability to be non-violent; at ease, peace with oneself.
- Commitment/desire to address fundamental causes/issues.
- Developing greater personal self-awareness/understanding.
- Developing greater self-awareness/understanding as to acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.
- Becoming better.
- Developing self-control and self-responsibility.

"I can walk away from that kind a stuff now [retaliating, wanting to fight, someone looking at you funny], but before - I used to just hammer" (Maori, Mandated, 19 years).

BREAKING THE CYCLE

- Desire to break the cycle of violence (e.g. generational, in the relationship).
- Desire to understand what is going wrong.
- To provide a positive legacy for future generations.

TO AVOID LOSS

- To avoid loss and negative consequences from violence (e.g. social, cultural, financial).

TO AVOID OFFICIAL SANCTIONS

- To avoid arrest, imprisonment, other official sanctions.

5.3 BARRIERS TO CHANGE

Some barriers to change identified correlate to specific motivational profiles and are discussed further under each. However, in summary, barriers to change either reported directly by participants or inferred from the findings include:

DENIAL

- Extent of strategies used to justify, minimise, deny or dissociate from the behaviour.
- Extent willing/able to be accountable for actions, take responsibility, accept new understandings and meanings in relation to their behaviour.

JUSTIFICATION

- Level of sense of personal victimisation/belief that actions were justified.

ASSOCIATION/NORMS

- Prevailing social attitudes about manhood and masculinity.
- Support/reinforcement from others (about the use of violence).
- Continuing to live/associate with those whose attitudes and behaviour are not supportive of change.

FEELINGS OF VICTIMISATION

- Feelings of being unfairly targeted as the one needing to change.
- Belief that partner also needs to change/to attend a programme).
- Disbelief that she has filed for divorce when it is her that has left the family fold.

DISEMPOWERMENT

- Level of anger at subsequent consequences.
- Feeling ashamed about seeking assistance for anger/violence; help seeking seen as an admission of weakness.
- Uncertainty about where to go to for assistance.
- Perceived lack of support to change.

FEAR OF CONSEQUENCES

- The perception that the consequences of change will be particularly negative, undesirable or untenable. For example, there may be particular reluctance to change if this is seen as undermining the role, position and responsibilities of the man in the family.

INFLUENCE OF OTHER FACTORS

- Recognition that change will require address of issues seen as contributing to the violence (e.g. alcohol).

FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

As previously discussed, the extent to which perpetrators justify, minimise, deny or dissociate from their violence constitutes the most significant initial barrier to change for many perpetrators. It is often not until men are mandated to attend a programme that they are challenged about their behaviour and the underlying attitudes and beliefs supporting this. Indeed, men mandated to programmes often report it unlikely that they would have attended a stopping violence without it being compulsory. Typically these men would see little reason to attend a programme and as previously discussed, in the absence of physical violence, may not see the need to consider their behaviour. It is often not until some critical incident or trigger, that awareness of the potential need to change is aroused.

As discussed, it could be inferred that these findings and conclusions would also apply to many perpetrators not in interventions for their violence. Further, families and communities may also buy into male justifications for their behaviour if they don't know otherwise.

The extent to which men in the research had or did have patriarchal views about the roles and rights of men also suggests such views as common barriers to change. Substantive change (beyond behavioural management such as anger management) may be unlikely while men's view of masculinity is closely tied to notions of entitlement.

These findings can be read as further support to a social norms strategy which defines and promotes appropriate behaviour in relationships and via this approach, increases understanding about the range of behaviours constituting family violence and challenges patriarchal assumptions about male position, role and entitlements within relationships.

5.4 BENEFITS AND COSTS OF CHANGING BEHAVIOUR

BENEFITS

Identifying the benefits from change meaningful and valued by perpetrators is important as this provides direction on the types of benefits that must be offered to perpetrators in exchange of desired behaviour change.

Reported and/or identified benefits from changing violent behaviour in intimate partner relationships include:

- Health gains – release of stress and tension associated with trying to dominate and control
- Improvements in relationships and communication with partner and others
- Improvements in relationship with children
- Release of anger and other negative emotions
- Development of greater empathy/understanding of others
- Sense that moving forward, achieving positive outcomes, progressing (rather than in negative cycle or rut)
- A sense of liberation in giving away unhealthy or negative expectations and/or responsibilities
- Experiencing broader and more fulfilling dimensions of being a man
- Experiencing positive outcomes for those previously impacted by the violence

RELATIONSHIP

I'm more aware of what a woman's needs are… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

…I'm a lot more relaxed now… also, probably, yeah communicating a lot better with my wife (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

… [without change] I would be missing out on the two most important things in my life, which are my wife and my son. Watching my son grow and learn. And you know my wife's smile. She has just got the most amazing smile, which I never saw for, well I saw briefly and then I lost it completely for years. And it is started to come back… that is something that I never realised (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS

…the guys at work reckon I've changed. The boss at work reckons I handle things a lot better…a lot easier to work with… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

I don't know probably a bit more about being interested in other people and their circumstances and about where I am going (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

COMMUNICATION/FEELINGS

Well, more caring, I'm more caring to her. I was always a caring person but I had different ways of showing it, you know (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

I think probably one of the biggest things that I'm going to get out of it, and I am getting out of it is the ability to talk to people about the most intimate things in my life. That's what we do in here. And I find with friends I can talk about these things now. And it's amazing, it really is amazing…You know instead of being worried about an outcome you can discuss the situation with somebody and it's amazing. They say that a problem shared is a problem halved and there's no doubt in my mind that that's the case (Pakeha, Self-referred).

For me to be able to communicate my fears and concerns in a constructive way, that's what I want to learn…instead of being overbearing, or aggressive, or loud…to be able to voice your concerns and your fears, discuss problems in a constructive way, to share problems (Pakeha, Self-referred).

Yeah that it is okay to be wrong. You don't have to be staunch about things. You are allowed to show emotion, you are allowed to have emotions. You are allowed to have feelings (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

I am not physically aggressive anymore. I am more prepared to listen, to work things through. It doesn't have to be my way or no way. I communicate a lot better with different people. I can sit down and have a discussion with my wife… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

FAMILY/CHILDREN

They are much happier; they are in their elements right now with mum and dad very happy at the moment (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

The greatest pay off is probably that I have got my family on a direction. We are probably working towards, working together in a direction, a path we are following now together…for years it was always a battle (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

..[being a] loving dad, that good partner, trustworthy partner, but also being able to lie straight in bed at night and go to sleep and know that yeah, today was a good day. And you're a good person, and being happy with yourself and respecting yourself. And knowing that your kids are tucked up in bed at night-time happy, because they haven't heard any arguments. And they've said we love you dad, goodnight. And your partner's looked at you and said I love you … (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

I guess the enjoyment that I see in my family. It is not a chore to be a father, and it is not a chore to be a husband. And it is not a chore to want to do things with people that do love me, and you can have fun with them without doing the things that you thought you had to have fun with before (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

Before I used to live to work, now I sort of work to live. You know. I can't wait for Friday afternoons, for the start of the weekend…the weekend is the highlight of my week, rather than the week when I wasn't at home. Because if I wasn't at home then I wasn't arguing and there was no problem (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

I guess a sense of unity. There is a unity in our family now. With my wife and son. Where it is okay I don't have to feel like I'm the boss. I don't have to prove that I'm the boss. There doesn't have to be a pecking order (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

The course has made me a good model for my kids and even the kids now have noticed that instead of the swearing and the hidings on my wife or my kids … I started to improve my anger and started to control my anger….(Tongan, Mandated, 33 years).

BETTER LIFE/HEALTH

It is a hell of a lot better life. It is a hell of a lot more enjoyable than feeling like crap. Because you do it is just a heavy weight and you are just carrying it around for no reason (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

It is like a weight you don't have this big weight on your shoulder. And your health is one way that [shows this]… I used to get sick all the time… We were just run down and your immune system is just not there because you are just drained (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

….I don't get angry, I don't have, I don't seem to be under stress anger-wise…if I'm angry I tell people I'm angry. I think that's lessened my blood pressure… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

COSTS

It is also important to identify the 'costs' of change as these can act as barriers to change and can reduce the value of benefits received.

- Reported costs from change include:
- Stigma of attending programmes
- Society labelling of perpetrators
- Society failing to support men who are trying to change (e.g. more likely to label as someone with an anger problem)
- Needing to break away from negative peer influences (extent this is a negative may depend on the strength of attachment to these influences in the first place).

  …you get that label and I don't think that's necessarily fair. I didn't think, other than where there's the negative connotation about doing this, whether your call it anger management, or abuse intervention, it's not a pleasant thing to be labelled with, you know, a graduate of the school (Pakeha, Self-referred).

…you almost are quite a social leper. And I had a situation where I told somebody at work that I was coming to Dealing with Violence, and both of us just happened to be going through a promotion at work and it was used against me. They used that against me that I had an anger problem…And you find when that happens to you, you then go back into your shell again. You can learn to correct yourself but it is really hard to try and openly say look this is what I am doing, this why I am doing it, when it can be used against you in certain situations as well…(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

But I still think in New Zealand there is a lot of the bravado macho sort of talk. Work, the men are still quite degrading towards women in the way they talk, in closed quarters of course, not in open. I don't think a lot of social conditioning, it still seems to be acceptable amongst men to talk about women in the circle…I don't agree with what is happening I just keep my mouth closed. And I don't want a confrontation about it. And a lot of them there is no convincing (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

Social marketing theory indicates that increasing the benefits and reducing the costs of desired behaviour change can encourage behaviour change.

Perceived benefits to men adopting non-violent forms of interpersonal behaviour suggest a range of possibilities for targeting. Many benefits correlate to specific motivational profiles and are discussed further in the next section.

5.5 SUPPORTS TO SUSTAINING CHANGE

Participants commonly acknowledge that change is an on-going process and sustaining change challenging. Identifying factors supportive of change are important as this provides strategy direction should the FVSMS seek to support and encourage men already undergoing change (e.g. a tertiary prevention strategy).

For participants sufficiently advanced through a change process and seeking to maintain changes made, the following factors are identified as supportive of this.

SUPPORT FROM OTHERS

- Supportive helping relationships– the value of attending stopping violence programmes is commonly mentioned in this regard (positive and supportive relationship with facilitators, support from other men).
- Support and understanding of partner and other family members.
- Conditions and ultimatums from partner.
- Support and understanding of other influential figures (e.g. other men).

DEVELOPED SKILLS

- Support and success in implementing learnt strategies for change (e.g. anger management strategies, avoidance strategies).

SUPPORTIVE ENVIRONMENT

- Willingness/ability to move away from negative influences (e.g. peer group attitudes and beliefs supportive of family violence, drugs and alcohol etc).
- Ability to construct a supportive environment around them (e.g. development of a peer group that will not support violence).
- Religious support and belief.
- Development of spiritual beliefs.

TRANSFORMATIVE DEVELOPMENT

- Development and acceptance of wider constructions/meanings of manhood and ways of expressing this.
- Development and acceptance of new understandings in relation to the intimate relationship (e.g. importance of trust and respect).
- Determination to derive benefit and positives from the change process/attending the programme.

REINFORCEMENT

- Experience of the rewards and benefits of change (helping to reinforce the changes made).
- Recognition of the positive impacts on others (e.g. wellbeing of children) at home.

…some weeks I'd come along here feeling really down and out. And you'd be feeling a lot better when you get here. And the last couple of weeks since I finished, I've sort of been feeling pretty down and out. I was nearly going to come back last night just for the simple fact that it's a good place to come and talk about what's been happening (Pakeha, Mandated).

…She gave me an ultimatum as well and said you have to mate. You know I'm not having my son at home if you don't continue to try and do things differently and make change… (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

I know how I feel and I know how the people that love me feel. And that's what matters to me. And I don't care if I am not a man because I don't go to the rugby and I don't drink. Because part of change was that I completely stopped drinking. You don't have to go to the pub to be a man. You don't have to write yourself off…And I don't care and if they don't like me now because I don't drink. Or I don't want to have a drink after work or whatever, I don't care. I would rather go home and play a game with my son, or talk to my wife that is a lot more enjoyable to me… (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

It is difficult to estimate the magnitude of the findings on factors supportive of on-going change. Only some participants were at a stage of change where factors supporting change could be identified. Further research may be required with more men who have successfully gone through a change process if the FVSMS seeks to reinforce and support men who have successfully changed. However, at this stage of the strategy, such targeting may not necessarily be a strategic priority.

6. PREPETRATOR PROFILES

The following section introduces and discusses the perpetrator motivational profiles.

6.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The profiles consider attitudes and behaviour and have motivations for change at their core. Motivations are modelled to examine whether and how social marketing interventions may assist perpetrators towards change. For example, understanding triggers and underlying motivations for change may inform strategies which take the role of triggers, which increase the salience or recognition of motivating factors or which stimulate consideration of change earlier than what may otherwise occur.

It should be noted that despite designated labels, motivations for change are being modelled, not individual perpetrators. Motivations are not mutually exclusive; men may exhibit a number of motives at any one time and may experience different motives for change at different points in time.

CHANGE

'Change' is broadly defined as taking some step to address the use of violence in the intimate relationship.

There may be different levels of change. Some level of change may be possible without achieving change at other levels. For example, anger may be controlled through anger management tools but underlying power and control drivers may persist.

TRIGGERS OF CHANGE

The research findings show that change is often associated with a particularly salient moment, a crisis point or 'trigger' (e.g. partner threatens to leave, partner does leave, loss of access to children, a particularly violent incident, intervention by others).

Triggers need to be recognised as different to motivations for change and do not necessarily denote that change has or will ultimately occur.

Change does not necessarily occur at the point of the trigger. Triggers can, however, be important events in perpetrators' recognition of a need for change and helping them make the decision to embark on a change process.

Triggers are often associated with situations where the expected or desirable sequence of events as assumed by the perpetrator fails to take place in response to their violence. For example, the perpetrator is arrested as a consequence of the violence rather than the partner accepting the violence.

INTERPRETING THE PERPETRATOR PROFILES

The perpetrator profiles should *not* be considered:

- indicative of a certain type, reason or trigger to violence
- predictive of the future course of change – change is not linear, predictable or broadly ascribed to the motivation to change profiles developed
- predictive of future change or success in changing
- indicative of different stages of change – however, some do suggest different points on a continuum of change
- indicative of what else may need to happen in order that the motive leads to effective change outcomes (e.g. through a subsequent educative process).

Further, the qualitative data upon which the profiles are based do not permit any prediction of the relative size of respective segments or their specific demographic characteristics.

6.2 COMMON THEMES

Audience segmentation seeks to understand both what differentiates profiles and that which unites or is common to them. The research findings suggest that the perpetrator motivational profiles are underpinned by some common themes and in these, potential areas for general or broad targeting are identified.

Four themes are suggested and these are described below. It should be noted that the themes are not necessarily motivations for change from violence but rather describe fundamental roles, states or experiences that man are seeking. Indeed the desire to achieve these roles, states or experiences may be factors underlying the use of violence (i.e. violence is seen as a way to fulfil these needs) although this hypothesis was not directly examined with men in the interviews.

FAMILY MAN/GOOD DAD/GOOD PROVIDER

A fundamental desire to:

- do a good job as a father/husband/partner
- have a role and input into the family – as discussed, for some men this may reflect a desire to exercise assumed or perceived, rightful authority over the family
- to meet responsibilities as a father, husband, partner, provider and protector
- to provide for their children
- to contribute to their children's health and well-being
- to be acknowledged, appreciated and respected in these roles.

  Now I make sure with my kids that I go to all their soccer games, all their games. Just seeing their face when they know you're watching, that's pretty good (Pakeha, Mandated, 42 Years).

… the well-being of my kids is foremost to me (Pakeha, Mandated).

…I loved bringing up the kids, I loved, you know, like the little ones and having the babies and everything, I just cherished, all of that, the whole lot, even the hard nights as well (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

STABILITY AND SECURITY

A desire for some level of stability, security and belonging in relationships and in relation to their place in the world.

Just having a place to come home to and a friendship with his partner, as well as a good relationship with his children (Pakeha, Mandated).

…I so appreciate a clean and well kept house and the washing and all that kind of done and just the rhythm of life. I so love the rhythm of life…you're secure. In the rhythm of life you're secure. When everything's hit and miss and you don't know, it's the unknown, I think that you're scared… (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

BALANCE/HARMONY

A desire for some level of balance and harmony in their relationships with others and in their life generally.

I think at my age, at his age, he's probably looking for stability. He's looking ahead to retirement in the next 10-15 years. He's conscious that probably in his previous relationship split up assets got divided and he wouldn't want that to happen to him again. It's too late for him to start again…he wants this relationship to work. He wants the family to be happy. He wants common goals. He wants a peaceful life (Pakeha, Self-referred).

…he keeps his Sundays free for his family. He works between 5 and 6 days a week. He comes home and reads his kids a story at night. He has a good relationship with his wife. He owns his own home. It's just a middle of the road home. He enjoys, you know, a bit of outdoor sport, maybe he plays for a touch team at night time, once a week, or something like that (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

… love the one you're with, be content and be happy in your work (Samoan, Mandated, 65 years).

"man wants warmth from his wife and children… this is basic to all men" (Chinese, Mandated, 50 years).

VALUING/RECOGNITION

Desire to be valued and recognised as men and what they contribute.

> *…all my pride has just been in [being the provider]…I love it when the woman goes shopping and brings home a big thing of groceries and has got a nice vehicle to go to town in and put petrol in. All the things that were hard in our days when we were little, just to have that for my woman now gives me a huge sense of pride…(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).*

> *… [I need to feel that I] still have an ounce of ego and I'm still the provider and I'm wanted and needed, basically. There's so much out there telling me that I don't really need you… (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).*

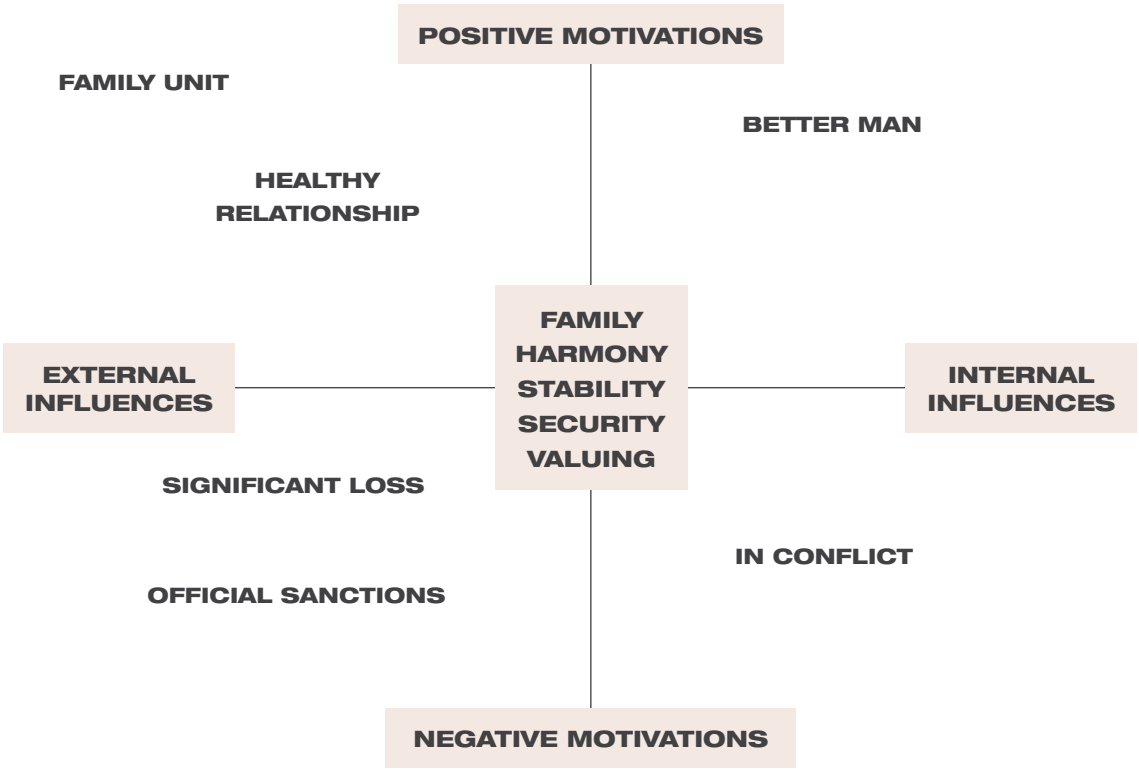
FVSMS IMPLICATIONS

Social marketing strategy aimed at changing perpetrator behaviour may ultimately need to satisfy the needs identified in the key themes above. Indeed, some men may have felt or may feel that these needs could be met through violence. This suggests that alternative behaviours need to be "sold" to men on the basis that the needs expressed can be satisfied through non-violent means. Findings suggest that this is not implausible. Identified triggers of change include the realisation that the use of violence is ultimately not providing perpetrators with the outcomes they desire or the needs they wish to satisfy through their relationships with others. The extent to which perpetrators recognise that violence does not lead to long-term gains also suggests potential receptiveness to re-framing how needs can be met through non-violent behaviour.

The four themes may also indicate foundation values around which new non-violent masculine identities and meanings are ultimately developed and positioned by the FVSMS.

PERPETRATOR MOTIVATIONAL PROFILES

The perpetrator motivational profile model is shown below. Identified profiles are positioned in relation to two axes – motivation type (positive and negative) and source of influence on motivation to change (internal and external to the perpetrator). Further description of each profile follows. Profiles are discussed in order generally representing most to least potential for use in the FVSMS (as interpreted by the research team).



"FAMILY UNIT"

Positioned in "positive motivation/external influences" quadrant of model

Profile Characteristics

- Self referred and mandated.
- Have children – typically younger/dependent.
- Commonly identified for all men who are fathers.

Motive Characteristics

- Desire to retain the family unit or the intimate relationship.
- Desire to have stability and security in the relationship.
- Desire to meet responsibilities as a father/partner/husband.
- Desire to have a violence free family environment.

"I don't want to lose my girl [child], she is my world" (Maori, Self-referred, 35 years).

…I moved [from home country] to here. Changed my whole lifestyle, left my family behind, purely for my kids. Not for me, I was happy in what I was doing….I had a perfect life. I love it. But my kids had no future. So I had gone to these extremes for them already….I am going to go to those extremes again for them (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

I made a choice to get married and have a family and the cost to me is that if I carried on carrying down that path, then I would lose those things, which I find the most important things to me now…(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

…the Child Youth and Family they took my kids without a good reason. We are still learning because I miss my kids. I miss them from the time when those people came and up lift the kids. It is going about 5 months now since we are staying away from the kids. I had to change and stop being violent I had to learn everything. I have tried to control myself to bring back my kids (Samoan, Mandated, 35 years).

Attitude Characteristics

- Children/family come first.
- Fathers/male partners have responsibilities that should be met.
- Responsibilities should be met in a positive way.
- Stability and security are important in raising children.
- My relationship to family and others is important to how I define myself, my roles and my success.
- I wish to provide my children with a better upbringing/family environment.

For me it was being in that so lonely space and having nothing that I wanted. And really what I wanted was what I'd pushed away. And what I want is my family, but my behaviour didn't say that. My behaviour said …you're all an inconvenience… (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

Since the course things have changed for me and I want to be a good father for my children, it made me change because I don't want to be a bad father for my kids. I don't want to go to prison and my kids having to come to see me in prison (Tongan, Mandated, 33 years).

"…my wife and I decided too that we just didn't want our kids to be in that environment, a violent environment and even swearing. Because it's not just physical as well, there's the other type, like emotional. Swearing at your wife, that doesn't teach your son very good, or even the daughter" (Maori, Self-referred).

Specific Triggers/Incidents of Change

- Recognition of failure to meet responsibilities.
- Potential or actual loss of the father role (e.g. through potential or actual loss of custody of children).
- Recognition that violence is not achieving desired outcomes in relation to family goals.
- Recognition of negative impacts on children (e.g. being frightened or fearful of their father) can be a powerful trigger for insight into the consequences of behaviour.
- Recognition that consequences of actions can bring shame on the whole family.

... where I actually started to take it seriously was in June last year, [partner] actually walked out and took the kids… the last time I saw her at that time was after getting out of my chair and lunging across the room. I didn't hit her, I didn't even touch her, but I scared her for the umpteenth … time, to a point where she just grabbed the kids and took off out the door with only the clothes that she had on…(Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

… if my wife is going to go to those extremes [protection order], she must have a reason. So I guess I better go along and find out. It is also on my own admission too. At the end of the day if I didn't want to be there I wouldn't have been. That's the bottom line. And also sort of on my own admission, and yeah, well there must be a problem so I must deal with it, deal to it (Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

Specific Costs of Violence

- Break down of the partner relationship and/or family unit.
- Negative impact on children.
- Loss of relationship with children/quality of relationship/access to children/role and responsibilities of being a father.
- Loss of access to partners and children representing failure in the role of head of the family.

Specific Barriers to Change

- Generic- none specifically identified.

Specific Enablers of Change

- Support of partner.

Readiness to Change

- Motivation to retain the family unit may not necessarily indicate readiness/willingness to address fundamental power and control issues (e.g. may be motivated to simply acquire tools to achieve desire control in non physically violent ways thus reducing threat to loss of partnership and children).
- Risk of unintended consequences (e.g. partner may perceive the relationship is now safer, power and control continues in more subtle forms).

Specific Benefits of Change

- Improved relationship with partner.
- Improved relationship with children.
- Happier, more secure/stable children, less fearful children.
- Improved functioning of family unit.

Possible Social Marketing Strategies

- Targeted to All
- Promote/reinforce gender equality and equity in the family unit.
- Promote family non-acceptance of family violence.

Targeted to men

- Ensure men have a broad understanding of what constitutes violence against women.
- Ensure men have a broad understanding of the ramifications of violence and abuse.
- Ensure men understand the relationship between partner violence and violence/physical discipline towards children.
- Position change for the sake of the family and children.
- It is okay to seek help- help is available (including information on how to access help).

Targeted to Women/Victims

- Education in recognising abusive relationships/tactics/warning signals.
- The provision of safe avenues/support for victims to leave/to voice unacceptability of violence.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

The motivations for change in 'Family Unit' are essentially positive and on this basis, targeting this profile may have particular potential. Berkowitz (2004) suggests that social marketing in violence prevention should offer positive messages building on men's values and should focus on men's predisposition to act in a positive manner and on what they can do (rather than an exclusive emphasis on problem behaviours). A positive approach, highlighting what men can do to solve the problem, is also more likely to be effective in reducing men's defensiveness or hostility towards violence prevention efforts (Flood, 2004). Stefanakis (2005) also advocates a positive approach to changing perpetrators' behaviour, through stressing the power of the person to take responsibility and make choices, rather than dwell on any labels or stigma associated with problem behaviour.

The profile links strongly to motivations related to children and in men meeting their responsibilities in various roles. This could link well with the tendency for men to define themselves in relation to the roles they play and the responsibilities associated with fulfilling these roles.

For Maori, the profile fits well with the on-going strengthening and development of whanau and with the desire to break cycles of violence.

Any decision to target this profile requires further consideration of the following:

- Any approach must avoid simplistic notions of change and the process required to obtain desired benefits from change. Change is individual and will not follow a prescribed or linear process. Outcomes desired by the perpetrator may not be those desired by the victim or safest for the victim. For example, there will be situations where it will be inappropriate to promote continuation of the family unit as motivation for behaviour change. A significant period of enforced separation from the family unit may be required to break the interactive cycle that is part of sustaining violence or for the victim's level of fear to be reduced to a point where further decision making becomes possible. Therefore the expectations of a man encouraged to change (e.g. attend a stopping violence programme) on the basis of the family unit may not be met, potentially leading to unintended, negative consequences (e.g. increased risk of harm for the victim, reluctance by the perpetrator to trust future change interventions).
- In the context of the above, it may be more appropriate to emphasize the more immediate and personal rewards associated with the family unit that come from changing behaviour and taking positive action (e.g. becoming a better role model to children, even if the overall family unit remains estranged). The motives under 'Family Unit' may also be best targeted in primary prevention strategy rather than secondary or tertiary (i.e. that targeting current perpetrators).
- The motivation to retain the family unit may not necessarily indicate readiness or willingness to address underlying issues in the use of violence (e.g. power and control).
- The risk of unintended consequences (e.g. partner may perceive the relationship is now safer, power and control continues in more subtle forms).
- The risk that appealing to the fulfilment of "men roles" reinforces gender defined roles and expectations.

"OFFICIAL SANCTIONS"

Positioned in "negative motivation/external influences" quadrant of model

Profile Characteristics

- Typically mandated.
- Commonly identified in Chinese, Pakeha and Pacific men.

Motive Characteristics

- Motivated to avoid negative sanctions and consequences.
- Official sanctions can bring shame/loss of face for the perpetrator, the family and others.
- Experience and consequences of official sanctions can be counter to self-image.

Attitude Characteristics

- Freedom is important to me.
- It is important to me how I am seen by others (e.g. as a good father, a good community member).
- Arrest, imprisonment are not for me/are not how I see myself.
- There are severe consequences to these actions.
- Official sanctions are telling me that this behaviour is wrong/no longer accepted by society.

Specific Triggers/Incidents of Change

- Arrested, imprisonment or receiving a protection order.
- Associated triggers from arrest/imprisonment include: loss of freedom; trauma/shock; exposure to 'undesirables'; shame, labelling and loss of face.
- The action of others in precipitating official sanctions (e.g. reporting family violence) is therefore important.

  …I was locked up... [for] a day and a half and that was the longest time ever. It was horrible… the fingerprinting and all this horrible stuff. It was really degrading, scary, it was scary stuff. I'll never forget…I've never been locked up before…Man I was put in a holding cell all day until you get seen in court and you don't know what to expect (Pakeha, Mandated, 42 Years).

  Some men [in the stopping violence programme] are really sexist, some are homophobic, and some are all of the above. They've just got problems. I don't judge anyone. I'm a happy person usually, just this incident I had dragged me down big time. To come to this actually makes me feel worse…I feel degraded. I mean I made a mistake, [attending the stopping violence programme] feels like punishment every week (Pakeha, Mandated, 42 Years).

  Well yeah I know that, but I mean gee I spent a night in jail and it was the worst night of my life. I sort of figure that if they can lock me up for this, what I consider, and I still consider to be rather a minor offence, then obviously I need some help, you know. I don't want this to happen to me every again (Pakeha, Self-referred).

Specific Costs of Violence

- Loss of freedom.
- Social stigma/labelling – loss of face, shame.
- Negative other consequences (e.g. impact on application for residency status).

Specific Barriers to Change

- May only motivate change designed to avoid official sanctions – could lead to more subtle forms of violence and/or increased threats to victims not to report violence (potential increasing risk to victims).

Specific Enablers of Change

- Belief that further perpetration will lead to further arrest/loss of access to family etc.
- Acceptance that behaviour is counter to expected social norms and behaviour.

Readiness to Change

- May not be associated with any underlying attitude or belief change.
- Behaviour change may be motivated primarily to avoid official sanctions.

Specific Benefits of Change

- Avoidance of negative sanctions.

Possible Social Marketing Strategies

Targeted to All

- Community intervention - encourage friends and families to report family violence or intervene.
- Social disapproval – emphasise on shame and embarrassment.
- Promotion of gender equality and equity.
- Strategies to shift supportive cultural norms.

Targeted to men

- Reinforce that family violence is unacceptable and has certain and severe consequences.
- Ensure that the systemic response delivers on the consequences.
- Reinforce personal responsibility and accountability to the use of violence.
- Ensure men have a broad understanding of what constitutes violence against women.
- Ensure men have a broad understanding of the ramifications of violence and abuse.
- It is okay to seek help- help is available (including information on how to access help).

Targeted to Women/Victims

- Education in recognising abusive relationships/tactics/warning signals.
- The provision of safe avenues/support for victims to leave/to voice unacceptability of violence.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Any decision to target this profile requires further consideration of the following:

- The motivations for change in 'Official Sanctions' are essentially negative and strategy targeted to this profile will essentially comprise 'threat appeals'.
- Appealing to the negative consequences of 'Official Sanctions' requires the wider system to be delivering identified consequences consistently and with certainty. Any approach under this profile clearly requires integration and co-ordination with those parts of the system delivering sanctions.
- There will likely be profiles of perpetrators for whom the threat of official sanctions will not be motivating. This could include 'hard core' offenders and those with significant experience of the justice system.
- Motivations to change to avoid the negative consequences of official sanctions may not motivate change beyond getting caught. This could encourage the use of other forms of violence or increase the pressure men put on victims not to report violence (with potential to increase actual risk for victims).
- Too much emphasis on 'Official Sanctions' may inadvertently reinforce the belief that family violence primarily constitutes extreme physical violence.
- The findings suggest some perpetrators may be motivated to attend stopping violence programmes simply to reduce the severity of the consequences from official sanctions. Care will be needed that this is not encouraged as an unintentional consequence under this profile.

"SIGNIFICANT LOSS"

Positioned in "negative motivation/external influences" quadrant of model

Profile Characteristics

- Typically mandated.
- Fathers.
- Level of position, reputation, status, age – loss has significance.
- Commonly identified in Maori, Pacific and Chinese men.

Motive Characteristics

- Consequences from violence constitute significant loss (e.g. family, social, economic, cultural, and functional). The desire to avoid such loss provides a primary motive to change.
- Personal loss can include:
  - loss of self respect.
- Family loss can include:
  - access to children, partner, home
  - respect of children/others
  - father role
  - loss of authority position/role within the family.
- Social loss can include:
  - status, mana, honour, social standing
  - leadership positions
  - reputation
  - loss of respect from others
  - negative labelling/shame.
- Cultural loss can include:
  - family title
  - mana.
- Economic loss can include:
  - loss of employment, loss of future security of employment
  - immigration/residency potential
  - fines etc.

Attitude Characteristics

- My status and standing is important to me.
- The respect of others is important to me.
- There are consequences to these actions which I wish to avoid/resolve.
- I wish to regain what I previously had.

  …Just to be able to go back to my home and sort our relationship one way or the other like a normal man can. You can go home and you can just talk it over…You can just sit down. I can't do that, you know? I'm alienated totally and if [stopping violence programme] can give me the tools that tell the right people in the right places that I can now go back (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

Specific Triggers/Incidents of Change

- Experience of or recognition of the potential loss consequences from family violence.

Specific Costs of Violence

- Loss representing significant consequences.

Specific Barriers to Change

- The potential for negative, unintentional consequences (see discussion below).

Specific Enablers of Change

- Acceptance that redemption is possible.

Readiness to Change

- May be high if actual loss is being experienced or potential loss recognised and nature of the loss is significant and important.

Specific Benefits of Change

- Avoidance of loss.

Possible Social Marketing Strategies

Targeted to All

- Social disapproval – emphasise on shame and embarrassment.
- Promotion of gender equality and equity.
- Strategies to shift supportive cultural norms.

Targeted to men

- Reinforce that family violence is unacceptable and has certain and severe consequences.
- Ensure that the systemic response delivers on the consequences.
- Communicate the specific dimensions of loss and the consequences of the loss.
- It is okay to seek help- help is available (including information on how to access help).

Targeted to Women/Victims

- Education in recognising abusive relationships/tactics/warning signals.
- The provision of safe avenues/support for victims to leave/to voice unacceptability of violence.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Applying Exchange Theory to 'Significant Loss' suggests that social marketing could be used to increase appreciation of both the immediate and longer-term costs and losses associated with family violence. This is important as benefits from violence are often short-term and immediate (e.g. the gaining of control). The findings suggest that perpetrators may not fully appreciate the significance of the longer-term costs associated with family until awareness of these is triggered by a critical incident of some sort (e.g. arrest, a protection order). Social marketing could therefore be used to increase the 'costs' of family violence by increasing awareness of the losses associated with family violence.

Any decision to target this profile requires further consideration of the following:

– The motivations for change in 'Significant Loss' are essentially negative and strategy targeted to this profile will essentially comprise 'threat appeals'.

– 'Significant Loss' is a broad profile encompassing many different areas of loss. Targeting to specific loss may be difficult. Further research may be needed to more fully distinguish between different forms of loss and implications for social marketing targeting.

– Appealing to the avoidance of loss may lead to negative, unintended consequences. For example, shame, loss of face and embarrassment felt in relation to others because of the violence perpetrated can already be particularly salient in this profile. Deliberately increasing social stigma further through social marketing may motivate perpetrators to keep their violence hidden and 'private'. It may also increase barriers to change if the stigma associated with seeking assistance to change behaviour is also increased.

– Simplistic notions of change and the process required to obtain desired benefits from change must again be avoided. Outcomes desired by the perpetrator may not be those desired by the victim or safest for the victim. For example, 'relationship loss' may constitute the safest outcome for victims. Care will be needed that appeals under this profile do not result in unrealistic expectations for perpetrators with the potential to lead to unintended consequences, including increased risk to victims.

"BETTER MAN"

Positioned in "positive motivation/internal influences" quadrant of model

Profile Characteristics

- More likely self referred.
- Children and in relationship.
- Mid 30's plus (however, may also be a relevant motivator for younger men when negotiating relationships) (Paul Prestidge, Personal Communication, 22 November, 2006).
- Older also – 50+ - later life awakening, confusion about changes around them, need to adapt.
- Commonly identified in Pakeha and Maori men.
- More likely in action and maintenance stages of Transtheoretical Stage of Change model.

Motive Characteristics

- Change holds the promise of becoming better (man, person, father, better life).
- Often an internalised commitment to change, for example to:
  - develop more self respect – to feel good about oneself
  - develop more respect from others
  - gain approval from others – to prove one-self to others (e.g. has become a better man)
  - to fulfil ones responsibilities and duties as a partner, father, person.
- Other triggers may be:
  - recognition that there is no option but to admit the need to change (e.g. reaching rock bottom)
  - age related – recognition that previous patterns of dysfunctional behaviour are no longer sustainable
  - explicit decision to reject negative male role models, to break from current situation/ environment, or for themselves to become a more positive role model.

…Life was just, okay great, I'll go to bed, oh well, get up and just do what we need to do for the day and it just turned into a real hum drum sort of thing yeah (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

There has got to be something better than this crap (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

Well I couldn't see where it was getting me. I wasn't going anywhere. I put myself into a co-existence sort of thing with my wife that I saw my parents do. And it wasn't enjoyable. It wasn't fun (Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

You just get too old for this shit, you know what I mean? Like as a young guy I had no intention of [changing]…People could see the path that I was taking, but to me it was sweet… I think just a lot of it comes from age and finding out, are you really happy with yourself, really…For me I had to get to a point where I'd had enough… if you're at a point where the way you're living isn't working, isn't it time to look at yourself…
(Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

…I need to know a heck of a lot more and I know now that I've got a long way to go.…I've never been taught how to deal with [anger and pain] in my life. It's just hurt like hell. For years and years I've carried things for so many years.…I've come away from [first programme session] feeling so shocked and so bad but so good that I could actually come out of this, because it's just felt like a hole and I've been down it for a long, long time. That's the depression, I guess. But that's the first time that I'd felt for a long, long time that there's a way to climb up out of here. So yeah, I just, I want to, I'm hungry for it
(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

Attitude Characteristics

- Traditional roles/ways of thinking are limiting, not working, damaging to me and others.
- There is more to life; there is more to being a man.
- I need to prove myself to others; I can become a better person for others.
- I can accept responsibility for my past wrongs, I can redeem myself.
- I need to heal myself.
- I am prepared to accept responsibility and examine my behaviour in order to become better.
- I have the ability to move beyond the past in order to improve.

…the most important thing for me is for my family to be proud of me. And at the moment I don't think they could say that. For them to respect me, and for me to respect myself… if you've got kids who look up to you and go that's my dad, and if you've got a wife and she can go, that's my husband, I don't think there's really much more that you could want (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

I would have the tools to just to get that spring back in my feet again. I'll have the tools to not let the pain be anywhere near as painful [as it has been]…I'm going to have the right tool for the right situation.…I'm hoping to feel good about myself again…I want to fly, I want to be so many things. Maybe you know, if you get the relationship right then you can start branching off and doing all the things that you actually want to do for yourself…if I just become a better person, more controlled, more whatever, less argumentative, bullet-proof in the way I can't be made angry over a silly argument… (Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

Specific Triggers/Incidents of Change

- A range of triggers are identified; hitting rock bottom, partner leaving/threatening to leave, loss of access to children, realisation of negative impact on children/others, arrest.
- Arrest can serve as a signal that behaviour is no longer acceptable.

  …I suppose the biggest things that have really made me turn a corner, is yeah my family, yeah for sure, but the biggest thing is getting honest with myself and realising you can't keep bullshitting. You just can't. It's getting you nowhere; all you're doing is hurting people...on my own, no car, no family, no money, no job… (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

  Well what it said was that society had dictated that I had stepped over the bounds and although I was really, really angry at the police, all they were doing were enforcing society's rules (Pakeha, Self-referred).

Specific Costs of Violence

- Generic – none specifically identified.

Specific Barriers to Change

- Sufficient social support/reinforcement of new, non-violent identity.

Enablers of Change

- Re-examination of masculinity and willingness to express alternative constructions of masculinity.
- Preparedness to accept responsibility for behaviour and impact on others (development of empathy).
- Stopping violence programmes often provide the structure and support to undergo transformative shifts.
- Experience of benefits of change can further reinforce change.
- Can have clarity on what they are seeking to become.
- Preparedness to make necessary life changes (e.g. give up drinking, find alternative supports).
- Adoption of new reference points to positively evaluate their masculinity and role as men (e.g. quality of their fathering).

  … things are slowly improving, things are improving. I'm not dishonest with [partner] anymore. I'm a better dad than what I've ever been. I'm still not perfect, but I'm a better dad (Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

  I am a better partner than what I have been in the past. But I'm also, I'm honest with myself now too about, I don't hold things in anymore and then generate a resentment, and then use that resentment as a justification for bad behaviour…(Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

…I would have just stumbled along, you know, in an unhappy relationship for years and years and years, you know. So this was the straw, the last straw and it made me realise that yeah, obviously I haven't been providing what I thought I was providing, and that's the interesting thing. I always have considered myself a great provider, but the thing that I didn't provide was the emotional support (Pakeha, Self-referred).

Readiness to Change

Suggestive of greater movement towards fundamental change:

- change accompanied by fundamental paradigm shifts (e.g. in construction of masculinity)
- acceptance of individual responsibility and accountability for their violence
- development of empathy – awareness of consequences, impact on others from their behaviour
- clarity on the end goal – what they are moving towards
- suggests transformative[9] learning.

Specific Benefits of Change

- Health gains – release of stress and tension associated with trying to dominate and control.
- Release of anger and other negative emotions.
- Development of greater empathy/understanding of others.
- Sense that moving forward and achieving positive outcomes.
- A better life, liberation in giving away unhealthy expectations/responsibilities.
- Experiencing broader and more fulfilling dimensions of being a man.
- Experienced positive outcomes for those previously impacted by the violence.
- Increased awareness of feelings and ability to communicate feelings.

9 Transformative learning, as a theoretical concept, involves the deconstruction of meaning perspectives that have been previously constructed in conjunction with familial and societal influences and the construction of new meaning perspectives that are created through critically reflective process within the individual and/or between the individual entities outside the self (Edmiston, 2005)

Possible Social Marketing Strategies

Targeted to All

- Communicate what healthy, equitable relationships are and the benefits/rewards from these .
- Promotion/reinforcement of gender equality and equity.

Targeted to men

- Raise awareness of the limitation and costs to men of traditional male roles and expectations.
- Promote alternative constructions of masculinity/role choice and associated rewards and benefits.
- Provide positive images/role models/validate the type of men these men are seeking to become.
- Ensure men have a broad understanding of the ramifications of violence and abuse.
- Support to confront/accept responsibility for violence while reinforcing the potential for change.
- It is okay to seek help- help is available (including providing information on how to access help).
- Support to move away from negative peer influences.
- Use these men as role models for other, use to provide testimonials.

Targeted to Women/Victims

- Education in recognising abusive relationships/tactics/warning signals.
- Provision of safe avenues/support for victims to leave/to voice unacceptability of violence.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

This profile potentially has broad appeal, linking to motivations found in 'Family Unit' and 'Healthy Relationships'. It links to male responsibility and accountability for their behaviour. It promotes empathy and encourages a definition of masculinity constructed in relation to others and the impact of male behaviour on others.

Any decision to target this profile requires further consideration of the following:

– The extent of insight, self-awareness and motivations for change identified in the profile are indicative of a reasonably advanced stage of change. Functioning at this level generally requires men to have passed through previous stages of change and to have reached certain levels of understanding at each stage. Appeals to 'Better Man' motivations may therefore be premature for perpetrators in early stages of change.

– Further to the above, leading a strategy through directly challenging existing constructions and belief about masculinity is unlikely to be an effective, initial engagement strategy.

– Emphasising the more immediate and personal benefits of change (rather than longer term outcomes) may again be important (e.g. change leading to personal development gains).

"HEALTHY RELATIONSHIPS"

Positioned in "positive motivation/external influences" quadrant of model

Profile Characteristics

- Self referred and mandated.
- May have history of relationship failure.
- Can be older.
- Loss of relationship at stage of life may be particularly significant.

Motive Characteristics

- Recognition that the relationship is not working.
- Desire for a better relationship/s.
- Desire to 'save' the relationship.
- Violence may be construed as part of a conflicted relationship - change seen as a way of resulting in a more healthy, loving, satisfying relationship/s.
- Can be motivating for those currently not in a relationship and seeking to begin one.

…I was concerned that we were arguing about things that couldn't get resolved…we're both intelligent people and we both love each other and there's just that 2% of our lives that [isn't working] (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

[I want us to be able to deal] with the problem sensibly and adult like…what I need to do, what she needs to do and how we can overcome….the cause of our arguments and friction (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

"[I was sick of going] through this shit every two months, the same thing over and over again – are we doing something wrong…. surely we owe it to ourselves"
(Maori, Self-referred, 37 years).

Attitude Characteristics

- Healthy relationships are non-violent.
- There is a need to improve this relationship.
- There is potential for this relationship to be better.
- This relationship is worth saving.

I'm tired of the arguments and of course the physical stuff (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

Specific Triggers/Incidents of Change

- Can be experiencing loss/upheaval in the relationship (e.g. intimacy, trust, communication etc) (may be both a consequence of violence and trigger for change).
- Response of victim (leaving the relationship, taking the children) (may be both a consequence of violence and trigger for change).
- Recognition that violence indicates there are problems (in the relationship, with the perpetrator).

  I was quite enthusiastic about [attending counselling]. I just want everything to be nice (Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

Specific Costs of Violence

- Dysfunctional/unsatisfactory relationship.
- Loss of the partner relationship.

Specific Barriers to Change

- May be less insight/willingness to acknowledge own behaviour.
- Perpetrators' own sense of victimisation can be high.
- Partner blame– partner can be seen as having a key role in causing the violence.
- Justification of violence as a response to partner provocation or problems.

Specific Enablers of Change

- Support of partner.
- Commitment to the continuation of the relationship.

Readiness to Change

- May depend on the level of relationships dysfunction and extent of willingness to accept responsibility for the need to change.

Specific Benefits of Change

- Improved relationship with partner.
- Resolution of relationship stress.
- Improved relationship with others.

Possible Social Marketing Strategies

Targeted to All

- Educate/inform about healthy, functioning relationships – what they comprise, what benefits they provide.

- Promote gender equality and equity in relationships.
- Provide support/assistance/direction in building healthy relationships.
- Reduce stigma of seeking relationship assistance.

Targeted to men

- Ensure men have a broad understanding of what constitutes violence against women in intimate relationships.
- Ensure men understand the impact of violence on intimate relationships.
- Ensure men have a broad understanding of the ramifications of violence and abuse.
- It is okay to seek help- help is available (including providing information on how to access help).

Targeted to Women/Victims

- Education in recognising abusive relationships/tactics/warning signals.
- Safe avenues/support for victims to leave/to voice unacceptability of violence.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Previous authors have suggested that the development of safe, equitable and respectful relationships is an appropriate goal for family violence prevention strategies (Families Commission, 2005; Golding, 2002).

As previously discussed, the FVSMS could communicate and show what is healthy, non-violent behaviour in relationships. It would communicate why such behaviour is considered appropriate and worthwhile and the benefits that would accrue from such behaviour for men, their partners, children and the wider community.

As discussed, focusing on appropriate behaviour within relationships may also provide the opportunity to indirectly address issues relating to patriarchal models of masculinity and male assumptions of right and privilege. It also potentially provides a vehicle to educate about the full range of behaviours constituting family violence and to re-position family violence as not just being about physical violence.

This approach potentially equips others to reduce the potential for family violence, for example, by educating female partners about appropriate expectations for male behaviour in relationships.

Any decision to target this profile requires further consideration of the following:

- A strategy focused on behaviour in relationships can only be effective if framed in the understanding of family violence as a gendered phenomenon, often resulting from the expression of male power and control.
- Simplistic notions of change and the process required to obtain desired benefits from change must again be avoided. Outcomes desired by the perpetrator may not be those desired by the victim or safest for the victim. Emphasising the more immediate and personal benefits of change (rather than longer term outcomes) may again be important in this context.
- Concern or understanding about the impact of violence on partners is not identified as a common, initial motivation for change. A strategy focused on male behaviour would need to educate men about the impact of their violence on others and how this in turn impacts on men's relationships with those around them.
- Not all perpetrators will be primarily motivated to address their behaviour in order to improve their intimate partner relationship.
- A focus on how appropriate behaviour can benefit future relationships may be more appropriate for perpetrators who have experienced relationship break down/loss through their violence.
- A focus on appropriate male behaviour in relationships will not necessarily lead to an increase in family violence related service demand, although the potential for this needs further consideration.

"IN CONFLICT"

Positioned in "negative motivation/internal influences" quadrant of model

Profile Characteristics

- Mandated and self referred.
- Can be linked to "Official Sanctions" if there has also been arrest and imprisonment.

Motive Characteristics

- Change motivated by the need to resolve the conflict felt between behaviour and consequences, the internal view of oneself and subsequent feelings (e.g. shame, guilt, anger).
- Violence may be considered as a one-off, isolated, out of character event – having made a "mistake".
- Violence may be reasoned as an out of control moment – having "snapped", being unfairly provoked.

Attitude Characteristics

- This isn't me - this isn't what I am about or how other people see me – "I'm not a violent person".
- I don't want to be associated with these other men (who are violent).
- The consequences of this behaviour are in major conflict with my self-perception.
- I wish to restore my previous life/view of myself.

  "…I don't like being un-liked, thought of differently….I get a big buzz…helping people…when you go and do something on the negative side, just it's horrible (Pakeha, Mandated, 42 Years).

  "It's just not in my nature to beat up my partner, it's not right…you don't hit women" (Maori, Self-referred, 35 years).

Triggers/Incidents of Change

- Arrest and imprisonment.
- Stigma and other associations that come with being arrested and imprisoned.

Specific Costs of Violence

- High level of cognisant dissonance.
- Shame, labelling, negative stigma.

Specific Enablers of Change

- There can be particular concern about others knowing about the violence or about attracting the label of batterer - violence can be considered out of character and there can be concern about becoming inappropriately labelled.

  I think they would see you differently, they would straightaway think you're a bad person. You know, if you've made a mistake that they've probably done themselves, they might have done it at school, or somewhere else. People can be quick to judge and you know, well you know those sort of people that (Pakeha, Mandated, 42 Years).

Specific Barriers to Change

- Level of dissociation from acts of violence/identification as 'real abusers'.
- May not be committed to any underlying belief or attitude change.
- The partner can be focus for blame and the solution for addressing the problem (e.g. avoid women like that in the future).
- Can perceive of themselves as victims – may reduce openness/readiness to change.

Readiness to Change

- Belief that behaviour was "out of character" may act as a barrier to fundamentally examining and addressing behaviour.
- Can perceive of themselves as victims – may reduce openness/readiness to change.

  No I thought I shouldn't have been there [at stopping violence programme]… I made a mistake and I realised my mistake, where some people don't. And I had been drinking and it was a bad relationship and all those things. And like I said I was with my ex wife for 16 years and never had a problem. It was just bad timing (Pakeha, Mandated, 42 Years).

Specific Benefits of Change

- Resolution of dissonance.

Possible Social Marketing Strategies

Targeted to All

- Social disapproval – emphasise shame and embarrassment.
- Promotion/reinforcement of gender equality and equity.
- De-stigmatising victims.
- Encourage community to be involved in family violence /to intervene.

Targeted to men

- Reinforce perpetrators responsibility/accountability for violence.
- Ensure men have a broad understanding of the ramifications of violence and abuse.
- Communication of the enforcement consequences of family violence.
- Ensuring that systemic responses deliver on their promise.
- Ensure men have a broad understanding of what constitutes violence against women.
- Increase awareness/understanding of the rewards/benefits of change.
- It is okay to seek help- help is available (including providing information on how to access help).

Targeted to Women/Victims

- Education in recognising abusive relationships/tactics/warning signals.
- Provision of safe avenues/support for victims to leave/to voice unacceptability of violence.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

The motivations for change identified in 'In Conflict' suggest that strategies could highlight the differences between known correct codes of behaviour and the perpetration of family violence. Strategies could also highlight the social stigma and shame associated with being a perpetrator.

Any decision to target this profile requires further consideration of the following:

– There may be a high risk of unintended consequences from strategies under this profile. These could include:

– Perpetuating the message that there are certain types of men who typically perpetuate family violence and those that typically don't.

– 'Codes of conduct' accepted by perpetrators typically relate to the use of physical violence against women – a focus on physical violence in order to engage with men risks reinforcing the belief that family violence primarily constitutes physical violence.

– As previously discussed, enhancing the stigma or shame associated with family violence could be counter productive (e.g. could lead to perpetrators increasing their efforts to keep the abuse hidden/to keep their partners silent, increased barriers for men seeking assistance for their violence).

'VICTIM'

Identified as a pre-change segment – not positioned on the motivational model

Profile Characteristics

- Typically mandated.
- Likely to be estranged from relationship/children.
- Pre-change positioning.

Characteristics

- More likely to be mandated.
- Self- perception as victims (e.g. from partner, from system).
- Sense of victimisation if partner is perceived to be equally if not more to blame.
- Official sanctions can be seen as resulting in loss of control and power.
- Sense of injustice and victimisation can be heightened if there has been a loss of access to children.

Attitude Characteristics

- I am being unfairly treated – this is unjust.
- I do not deserve this.
- The other party is just as to blame.
- I no longer have control.

  … It gets to the point where you explode, so to speak. You're the one who ends up in the shit, because they're the one who will put the protection order on you… that can be after years and years of abuse. And you try and say 'hey man this is why, all these years of abuse and this, that and the other'. It doesn't matter, you lost your cool, you threatened somebody, and you hurt and abused them. You used domestic violence. You're the bad one, you know…Like I say, there's always a reason why somebody does something. You don't just do something for no reason. So that's why I think people that are going to get protection orders, unless of course they're being physically bashed and things like that. If they're making shit up and saying that this has happened over all these years, then they need to prove that before they're issues with a temporary protection order… And if they're going to get it, then they should have to do these types of courses, or some type of course, like an anger management course, or an abuse, stopping abuse (Pakeha, Mandated).

Triggers/Incidents of Change

- Not easily determinable, likely to still be in pre-contemplation stage.

Specific Costs of Violence

- Generic – non specifically identified.

Specific Enablers of Change

- Stopping violence programmes can increase understanding of what constitutes family violence/abusive behaviour and can lead to increase willingness to accept responsibility and accountability for behaviour.

Specific Barriers to Change

- High sense of victimisation.
- Level of justification and dissociation from the violence.
- Custody battles etc – can be difficult context within which to be open to change.
- Lack of awareness of subtle forms of power and control.

  … I still think that she's the one who needs to do it. Yeah I still really do, I still really believe that my ex partner is the one that needs the help. I can honestly say that I have never ever abused any of my previous partners in any way. And she's the only one, and I've got people who can stand up and vouch for me on that. You know, I've never been that sort of person and well yeah just, I guess it's like putting a cat and a dog in a cage isn't it? And they don't mix too well. They might get on sometimes but then the dog's going to bite the cat some day (Pakeha, Mandated).

Readiness to Change

- Low and difficult in the context of current beliefs and perceptions - sense of victimisation and powerless likely to be barriers to change.

Possible Social Marketing Strategies

Targeted to All

- Promotion/reinforcement of gender equality and equity.
- De-stigmatising victims.

Targeted to men

- Ensure men have a broad understanding of what constitutes violence against women.
- Reinforce perpetrators responsibility/accountability for violence.
- Ensure men have a broad understanding of the ramifications of violence and abuse.
- Appeal to future relationship potential.
- It is okay to seek help- help is available (including providing information on how to access help).
- Positive group support to provide opportunities to work through feelings etc.

Targeted to Women/Victims

- Education in recognising abusive relationships/tactics/warning signals.
- Safe avenues/support for victims to leave/to voice unacceptability of violence.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

The 'Victim' profile essentially constitutes a 'pre-change' profile and will require specific, targeted interventions. Perpetrators fitting this profile are often already 'in the system' and their perceptions of victimisation can be focused on the response of 'the system' to their action. A key goal would be to move men fitting this profile from a position essentially constituting 'pre-contemplation' to 'contemplation'. The suggested social norms strategy highlighting the range of behaviours encompassing family violence, the consequences of violence as well as men's accountability and responsibility for their behaviour, would be appropriately targeted to this profile.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND STRATEGY DIRECTION

The research findings indicate many options for developing a social marketing strategy aimed at reducing family violence in New Zealand. Preliminary implications and direction for the FVSMS have been provided through out the report. The following section provides a more integrated and strategic response to the findings and provides overall recommendations for strategy development.

6.1 FVSMS FOCUS

Based on the current research findings, it is concluded that the FVSMS should initially have two main foci, these being:

1. A social norms strategy focuses on defining the problem and shifting existing attitudes and beliefs about family violence in the general community and in key audience groups (i.e. perpetrators, victims, family members, general community).
2. To move current perpetrators in pre-contemplation on the Transtheoretical Model of Change to contemplation and to move them closer to seeking assistance for their violence.

The social norms strategy would have three 'platforms': 'intimate partner violence', 'masculinity and manhood' and 'community involvement and ownership'. Initial activities should focus on:

- Defining what family violence is and addressing the social and cultural norms surrounding family violence in New Zealand. This would include addressing existing attitudes and beliefs about family violence. The initial point of entry would be physical, emotional and psychological behaviours typically understood as 'violent' behaviour although the eventual aim would be to extend the focus to all behaviours constituting family violence. It will be important that audiences understand the relationship between physical violence and more subtle forms of power and control. This initial approach would be used to define the issues and address wrongly held beliefs that could act as a barrier to further uptake of social marketing initiatives.
- Reframing non-violence as normative male behaviour in relationships. This provides a vehicle for non-violent men to engage in and become part of the strategy. It reduces the likelihood of non-violent men becoming defensive in response to the strategy and provides reinforcement to existing non-violent behaviour. This part of the strategy suggests similarities to the social norm approach described by Berkowitz (2004 and 2005) (see Summary of Key Literature section).

- Non-violence may be most effectively positioned and defined in the strategy through the core values underlying the concept of non-violence for both perpetrators and those around them (rather than talking about non violence directly). The research identifies the values of respect, stability, security, harmony and valuing as relevant for this purpose.
- Framing what modern masculinity means and what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in relationships. This will include encouraging broader definitions of masculinity and highlighting the many roles undertaken by men not tied to violent or patriarchal traditions.
- Framing masculinity in relation to men's relationships with women and others (e.g. children) so to avoid masculinity being defined and understood in isolation from the wider social context (within which it can only have meaning).
- Encouraging current perpetrators to seek assistance for their behaviour, including reducing barriers to this. (e.g. providing information on where and how to access help, positioning help seeking as an appropriate and sensible act to take).
- Engaging the whole community in discussion about family violence and building a responsive community in relation to the issue. This would include building the communities willingness and ability to intervene appropriately if there is knowledge or suspicion about the occurrence of family violence. Providing simple and practical advice on what can be done supports the community to act on the call to action implicit within the strategy (e.g. family violence is unacceptable and must stop).
- Building male ownership, accountability and involvement in addressing family violence.
- Providing credible, accepted and authoritative 'voices' on family violence (rather than this being provided by other sources such as the media or even perpetrators themselves). Under a social norms strategy, it may be appropriate to position these 'voices' as the 'community voice'.

6.2 SOCIAL NORMS STRATEGY

The research findings support an initial social norm strategy on many levels. Support is summarised below.

PERPETRATORS EXIST IN CONTEXT

Perpetrators do not exist in a vacuum and we can assume that the attitudes and beliefs of perpetrators identified in the research are reflective of, and were shaped by, those around them. The findings indicate that perpetrators attitudes and beliefs are created by a wide variety of influences including existing norms around masculinity, male upbringing, cultural practices, the normative role and place of violence and the media. If the FVSMS does not initially address this wider context, it risks treating perpetrators in isolation from the environment which creates and in turns supports their violence.

STATE OF CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY

A key theme emerging in the findings is that perpetrators are often in a state of some confusion and uncertainty about being men and what is expected of them as men. Men acknowledge that male and female roles in society are changing, however, have different levels of acceptance of this as well as understanding as to the implications of this within intimate relationships. For many men interviewed, stopping violence programmes were functioning to bring clarity to their situation; why their behaviour was considered inappropriate and why they were facing the consequences before them. In an environment of confusion and uncertainty, it can be argued there is need to offer clarity and a social norms strategy contributes to this. This will be challenging as in many areas, bringing clarity will require re-constituting previously held beliefs, attitudes and meanings about being men.

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEM

An initial social norm strategy would include ensuring that the community understands what the problem is and that all forms of family violence must be taken seriously. Confusion or lack of recognition of the problem risks pitching the strategy beyond community readiness or resulting in 'lip service' responses to the problem. It will be important that audiences understand and accept the relationship between physical violence and more subtle forms of power and control.

The research clearly shows that men do not fully understand the range of behaviours constituting family violence and we could assume that this is similar for the wider population. This assumption is supported by perpetrators views about what others around them see as family violence. Some men consider the consequences to their violence to be out of line with social norms, however, for others, consequences can lead to understanding that behaviour is now inconsistent with norms.

Limited understanding about family violence is shown to be a significant barrier to change. In the absence of physical violence (and potentially extreme physical violence), the need for change may not be recognised. It can act to support perpetrators denial, minimisation, justifications and dissociation from their violence. In cases it can also contribute to perpetrators perceptions of themselves as victims. It may also act as a barrier to victims seeking help and may contribute to others sympathising with perpetrators, an outcome which may be counter productive to the overall aims of the strategy.

All these impacts represent potential barriers to further social marketing initiatives to address family violence. For example, if family violence continues to be largely understood as extreme forms of physical violence, the strategy is likely to continue to come up against on-going denials and justifications for other forms of violent and abusive behaviour. Limited understanding of the problem also risks audiences failing to distinguish between "couple conflict" violence and family violence as defined for the purposes of the FVSMS. Without clarity on this key issue, the likelihood of resistance to the strategy may be heightened (e.g. a focus on men may be perceived by key audiences as unfair or overly blaming).

PATRIARCHAL BELIEFS AS CORE DRIVER OF FAMILY VIOLENCE

The research findings support the family violence literature in showing that perpetrators' patriarchal beliefs and attitudes are an important factor underlying their perpetration of family violence. Communicating what is and isn't acceptable behaviour in relationships should be used as a vehicle to indirectly challenge patriarchal beliefs. While the context of relationships becomes the vehicle to communicate this message, it is important that the FVSMS is not seen to be or becomes focused on "relationships" (i.e. the 'heartland'of the FVSMS should be the gendered nature of family violence).

IMPORTANCE OF SETTING THE AGENDA

The FVSMS initially needs to be clear and firm on setting an agenda, position and understanding of family violence. If the strategy fails to do this it risks:

- Perpetrators' continuing to define what is appropriate behaviour and what causes family violence (e.g. through their denials, justifications, and dissociations).
- Victims, families and the wider population also buying into the justifications for family violence. This potentially acts as a barrier for victims to seek help as well as to intervention or involvement by others.
- Failing to engage key audience groups and being dismissed or rejected as the message is not seen as relevant to family violence.
- Failing to establish family violence as a concern for the whole community and in particular, as a male issue. For example, men may not engage with the issue as long as family violence is thought of as extreme physical violence perpetrated by hard criminals.

6.3 PERPETRATOR STRATEGY

An aim of the research was to determine whether current perpetrators comprise an appropriate audience for the FVSMS. The social norm strategy previously discussed is recommended on the basis that the FVSMS should address the wider environment surrounding perpetrators. Appropriate audiences for this part of the strategy are both perpetrators and those around them.

The perpetrator strategy is derived more specifically from the findings on perpetrators triggers and motivations to change. The recommended strategy assumes perpetrators in pre-contemplation to be an appropriate audience for targeting. Other audiences for this strategy are, however, also indicated.

The perpetrator strategy would ideally be implemented some time after the social norms strategy. There are, however, natural synergies between the two and concurrent implementation may be appropriate at some stage.

In essence, the perpetrator strategy is recommended on the basis that, change by pre-contemplation perpetrators not already in interventions, seems unlikely without any direct targeting to them as a specific audience group as well as to influential others around them.

It has been concluded that family violence perpetrators not in any form of intervention are likely to be in the pre-contemplation stage of the Transtheoretical Stages of Change model. The findings suggest that these perpetrators are unlikely to see the need, or be faced with the need to change, until after some form of critical incident acts as a trigger for change. Critical incidents often involve enhanced risk and harm to victims. It has been suggested that if social marketing interventions can 'act' as triggers for change, the need for critical incidents as catalysts for change could be avoided or reduced. For example, increasing perpetrators understanding of the longer term costs of violence through the FVSMS may trigger a motivation to change earlier than what previously may have occurred and/or without the need for a critical incident to occur. In this respect, the perpetrator strategy seeks to operate as an early intervention or secondary prevention tool: by encouraging change before violence becomes entrenched and repeated; by increasing the number of perpetrators self referring to interventions; and, by pre-empting critical incidents being the trigger for change.

The profile of perpetrators not in intervention, as developed from the research findings, also suggest it unlikely that change will occur without some form of intervention. The process of change requires perpetrators to go through a number of stages of change and to undergo an extensive and in-depth process of education and re-education. Clearly social marketing cannot and is not intended to operate in this sphere of the intervention process. However, the findings do suggest potential in using the FVSMS to move men from pre-contemplation to contemplation and to encourage them to seek assistance for their violence. This would include reducing barriers to seeking assistance. Reducing the stigma associated with seeking assistance is identified as important. However, in doing so, the FVSMS should be careful not to provide perpetrators with kudos for changing and must not condone their violence in any way. Therefore help seeking should not be positioned as courageous or heroic but as an appropriate and sensible action to take. The strategy would also provide men with information on where and how to seek help for their violence.

The perpetrator strategy will have resourcing and service demand implications and for this reason will require further consideration. In particular it should be noted that men self-referring to stopping violence programmes are currently not publicly funded and that this is potentially problematic should the strategy increase the volume of self-referrals (e.g. there may be a small window of opportunity for encouraging men to seek assistance and encouragement to do so may be undermined if the initiative taken by men is stymied by the requirement to pay for the assistance on offer).

The motivational profiles identified in the research provide understanding of different motivations for behaviour change. This includes identifying the consequences from both violence and change which are particularly motivating for different profiles of perpetrators.

The profiles of ‘Family Unit’, ‘Official Sanctions’ and ‘Significant Loss’ are suggested as profiles having particular potential for targeting under the perpetrator strategy. This conclusion is based on:

- the extent to which core motives in each profile are suggested to exist across all perpetrators (although definitive conclusions on this cannot be drawn from the qualitative data)
- the likely alignment of the motives in each profile to perpetrators in pre-contemplation
- the extent of likely impact on addressing the problem through targeting to each.

A range of strategy options as well as issues for further considerations are provided for each profile. Importantly, further thought is required as to whether targeting to the profiles offers most potential as a primary, secondary or tertiary prevention strategy. While it is suggested that moving pre-contemplation perpetrators to contemplation is an appropriate strategy goal (i.e. a secondary prevention strategy), some profiles may be better used in primary prevention (i.e. preventing violence from occurring in the first place). For example, a range of possible unintended consequences are suggested if motives in ‘Family Unit’ are used to target current perpetrators. While these may be addressed through careful selection of key messages and offered “benefits” from change, targeting “Family Unit” under a primary prevention strategy may be a more appropriate and less risky strategy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEW FINDINGS

APPENDIX TWO: INTERVIEW GUIDE

APPENDIX THREE: CONSENT FORM

APPENDIX FOUR: INFORMATION SHEETS

APPENDIX FIVE: CONFIRMATION LETTER

APPENDIX SIX: ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

APPENDIX ONE: SUMMARY OF FAMILY VIOLENCE LITERATURE FINDINGS

Key findings from the collated family violence literature are summarised below.

MASCULINITY AND MANHOOD

Heise et al. (1994) suggests that cultural factors that perpetuate family violence include:

- Gender specific socialisation
- Cultural definitions of appropriate sex roles
- Expectations of roles within relationships
- Belief in inherent superiority of males
- Values that give men proprietary rights over women and girls
- Notion of the family as the private sphere and under male control
- Customs of marriage
- Acceptability of violence as a means to resolve conflict

Wood (2004) suggests the relationships between constructs of manhood and violence include:

- Real men – violence as way of demonstrating this
- Real men – violence as a way for making up perceived deficiencies/ concerns that do not measure up
- Men as protectors of women - resolution of this view with use of violence/abuse (e.g. never hit but use of other abuse to satisfy need for power and control).

Edmiston (2005) notes that Gender Role Socialisation theory endorses the belief that men learn that aggression and domination are synonymous with masculinity. This places men in a dominant role and women in a passive one. The learned roles can be related to the behaviours exhibited by parents as the strongest influence on gender development in children.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Jenkins and Davidson (2001) identify five distinct discourses of intimate partner violence:

- Violence as a pathology
- Violence as an expression of inner tension
- Violence as an instrumental power strategy
- Violence as a consequence of the normative social system
- Violence as a learned behaviour.

Three broad explanations for family violence with relevance to social marketing and community education are considered by the Australian organisation Partnerships Against Domestic Violence (unknown date).

Social stressor and individual risk model – focus on the broader social context in which violence occurs – FV as a response to structural stress (e.g. unemployment) – Socialisation condoning the use of violence also identified – however doesn't explain why family violence occurs in some settings and not others - would infer community education focus on those men perceived to be at particular risk

Early Feminist - focus on male structural power enabling men to have power over individual women in the private domain – family violence is gendered violence – expression of the power differentials between men and women and how men abuse power to maintain control over women – infers community education focus should be on social change – political activity important to identify and dismantle social structures and practices that condone domestic violence

Interactive Systems and Individuals - adopts the 'both and position' – brings together understanding from the feminist approach with systemic approaches which include psychological explanations – recognises power differences, need for accountability but also looks at the various facets in the environment – requires multiple perspectives to be used in morally responsible ways that do not ignore the abuse of power in such relationships.

'Benefits' of family violence identified in the literature include:

- Gets own way
- Feel powerful
- He gets to be right
- Abuse gives him a final say
- So he doesn't have to ask twice.
- He gets to make all of the decisions

'Costs' of family violence identified in the literature include:

- Being arrested
- Not being able to return home if arrested
- Loss of access to children
- Having to attend education programmes
- System provides control/power to the partner

Two types of family violence have been discussed in the literature 'Intimate Terrorism' and 'Situational Couple Violence' (The Families Commission, 2005).

'In control' and 'out of control' violence is also discussed (James, Seddon & Brown, 2002). 'In control' violence ('tyrannical violence', 'instrumental', 'predatory') is used to assert domination and control over partners - to gain compliance to their wishes – it is the conscious use of violence to achieve desired ends. 'Out of control violence' ('exploder violence', 'expressive violence') is sudden, explosive, in response to criticism, challenge, continued pursuit, intoxication, frustration – functions to create distance from partner - to silence her – 'lost it' - more likely to blame the partner for the violence - 'she drove me to it' etc.

It is noted that men still typically 'explode' in the context of male dominance (i.e. it is still considered a tactic of power and control, the man still achieves control through his victims fear).

Use of 'in control' and 'out of control' violence may depend on the partner's response to or level of submission to control (e.g. if she is not controlled through tyrannical violence, this may lead to explosive violence).

Tyrants and Exploders have also been examined in relation to whether perpetrators see themselves as rescuers and/or victims (and justify their violence on this basis) (James, Seddon & Brown, 2002).

- Perception as both rescuers and victims in relationship ('Martyrs') – most likely to be 'Exploders'
- Perception as rescuers but not victims in relationship ('Rescuers') – most likely to be 'Tyrants'
- Perception as victims in relationship ('Victims') - both 'Exploders' and 'Tyrants'
- Neither perceive themselves as rescuers or victims in relationship ('Patriarchs') – most likely to be 'Tyrants'

VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Flood (2004) sees strategies of violence prevention amongst men needing to:

- undermine the beliefs, values and discourses which support violence, challenge the patriarchal power relations which promote and are maintained by violence, and
- promote alternative constructions of masculinity, gender and selfhood which foster non-violence and gender justice.

Effective family violence prevention needs to articulate what we are heading towards and promoting, what will take the place of what we are preventing, and what positive outcomes we are aiming for. Some see the goal to be the development of safe, equitable and respectful relationships (Golding, 2002). Social marketing and public education needs to be clear about what healthy, non-violent relationships look like, why we want them and what are the benefits for victims and perpetrators (Families Commission, 2005).

Flood (2002/03) sees that community education violence prevention addressing males should speak to questions of identity. Campaigns should model identities based on moral reasoning, justice and selfhood rather than gender-identity anxiety, dominance and manhood.

Flood (2002/03) sees that effective violence prevention needs to acknowledge men's own (often invisible) victimisation around violence (i.e. mostly by other males but also by their females partners). He sees that failure to address men's own experience of violence risks rejection of violence prevention messages associated with not doing so.

SOCIAL MARKETING AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION

The literature suggests:

Social marketing and public education strategies are most successful if they focus on promoting positive, action-based messages, rather than focusing on negative or more general messages (Families Commission, 2005; Davies et al, 2003).

Social marketing and public education should offer positive messages which build on men's values and predisposition to act in a positive manner (e.g. document and reinforce health behaviours and norms, encourage individual to focus on what they can do, what they shouldn't do, avoid exclusive emphasis on problem behaviours) (Berkowitz, 2004).

Social marketing would suggest that the target audience is more likely to change when they believe they will gain immediate and personal rewards due to changing their behaviour and taking positive action – rather than avoiding negative consequences (Families Commission, 2005).

The use of exchange theory applied to family violence says that people will use family violence when the costs of being violent do not outweigh the rewards. Benefits may be short term and immediate (e.g. gains control). Long term costs may not be initially appreciated, recognised or understood (Healthcare Training Institute, 2006).

Complex attitudinal and behavioural change requires direct forms of interpersonal contact and intervention (e.g. stopping violence programmes for men) and it is generally accepted that such complex change cannot be achieved through social marketing (Davies, et al, 2003).

It is generally accepted that social marketing must seek behavioural change outcomes and must be more than just education and awareness raising (Partnerships against Domestic Violence, date unknown). The call to action is key to promoting behaviour change – awareness and information alone will not encourage change.

Potential calls to action may include:

- Provision of information to enable community members to support friends and family experiencing family violence
- Calling on the community not to tolerate family violence and exert pressure on perpetrators to change their behaviour
- Calling on men who use violence to take responsibility for their behaviour and to change
- Providing information and support to victims – highlighting they are not alone and not to blame.

A simple objective to raise awareness can address suppression or denial of family violence (Partnerships Against Domestic Violence, data unknown). Whether this is a useful objective for the FVSMS requires analysis of where the community is at on the FV issue. Recent events and publicity around family violence in New Zealand may suggest that the country is beyond the stage of suppression or denial?

Under the Community Readiness Model[10] (Families Commission, 2005) and in respect *to prevention and attitude and behaviour change strategies*, New Zealand may currently be in the preplanning and preparation stages.

CHANGING PERPETRATOR BEHAVIOUR

Much of the literature on changing perpetrator behaviour is grounded in the context of stopping violence programmes for perpetrators.

Key issues are summarised so that relevance to social marketing interventions can be assessed.

READINESS TO CHANGE

Perpetrators commonly minimize or deny the extent of their abuse and its consequences (Eckhardt et al., 2004). Justifications and excuses to account for their violence and blaming others (e.g. the partner, the criminal justice system) are common.

Perpetrators can initially have little self motivation to change (Robertson, 1999).

Many are only confronted with the need to change only through a systemic response to their violence (e.g. court mandated to attend a stopping violence programme).

Men seeking to change can feel powerless as they fear or are experiencing negative repercussions from their use of violence (e.g. from the law/courts, negative social labelling etc) (Robertson, 1999).

Minimising men's reactions of defensiveness and hostility is considered a key challenge in violence prevention (Flood, 2004). The potential for defensiveness may be lessened by approaching men as partners in solving the problem rather than as perpetrators of the problem (e.g. focusing on the need for leadership from men on the issue, men as bystanders addressing other men's violence) (Flood, 2004).

10 The nine stages under the model are: Community tolerance; Denial; Vague awareness; Preplanning; Preparation; Initiation; Institutionalisation; Confirmation/expansion; Professionalisation

ENGAGING MEN

A central challenge of violence prevention among men is to produce change in the attitudes, values and behaviours associated with violence against women (Flood, 2004). To do this, interventions must have sufficient intensity and sufficient personal relevance to produce change. Desistence from violence needs to be made plausible if it is to be accepted (Stefanakis, 2005).

Abuse, control, and power may be used to counter feelings of inadequacy or fear of abandonment. Effective change may ultimately have to address these issues.

Stefanakis (2005) believes that "violence is far from inconsequential and as such it cries out for legitimization or explanation". Perpetrators typically use a range of devices to account for their violence (e.g. denial, justification, and minimisation). Engaging men in the process of change is likely to be challenging in this context.

Stefanakis (2005) recognises that change requires men to accept responsibility for their behaviour. However, violence that cannot be accounted for an in acceptable way puts one at risk for being ostracized, pathologized or labelled. You are either - BAD (evil – demonized) or MAD (sick – pathologized). Most people try to avoid being positioned or labelled in this way. If such labelling is an outcome or consequence of accepting responsibility, men may seek to avoid this and such labelling may become a barrier to change.

Stefanakis (2005) therefore sees a dilemma in

- How do men acknowledge their abuse while protecting themselves from pathology (Mad or Bad)?
- How do you take responsibility for using violence/abuse and still remain redeemable as a person?
- If you have acknowledged abuse, how do you make change comprehensible to self and others?

He suggests a motivational approach in response to this dilemma – this approach stresses the power of the person to take responsibility and make choices – rather than ask the perpetrator to accept a label.

PROCESS OF CHANGE

Stefanakis (2005) suggests that the process of change for perpetrators includes:

- Acknowledge abuse – while protecting self from being pathologized or demonized
- Creating commitment – accepting responsibility and remaining redeemable, constructing a transition point
- Stopping the violence – claiming a new non-violent identity
- Sustaining non-violence – moving past non-violent identity to healthy person

Eckhardt et al (2004) applies the Transtheoretical Model of Change to changing perpetrator behaviour. He sees behaviour change involving an experiential process and a behavioural process.

Experiential – This involves thinking about feeling a particular emotion about one's problematic behaviour in terms of how it affects the self and others. The five experiential behaviour change processes are:

- consciousness raising (increasing awareness of the problem and self);
- self evaluation (how one feels and thinks about the self in the context of the problem, value clarification);
- dramatic relief (experiencing and expressing feelings regarding problem behaviour);
- self-liberation (awareness and choosing of new alternatives, any commitment enhancing technique);
- environmental re-evaluation (assessing how one's problem affects others, empathy training).

Behavioural – involving active attempts at behaviour change or manipulation of the environment in order to foster behaviour change. The five behavioural processes are:

- reinforcement management (rewarding one's self for making changes)
- helping relationships (social support, opening up to trusted others)
- counter conditioning (substituting desirable alternatives to problem behaviours, desensitization, assertion)
- stimulus control (avoiding or countering stimuli associated with problem behaviour)
- social liberation (becoming aware of alternative non-problem behaviours).

Eckhardt et al (2004) suggest that individuals who successfully change their behaviour utilise these processes during different stages of change. During Pre-contemplation, individuals utilise none of the 10 processes. Engaging individuals in the pre-contemplation stage is seen to require activities such as providing information about the behaviour in question by discussing how related behaviours may effect clients' physical and interpersonal environment. By the Contemplative stage, men are more likely to use consciousness-raising, dramatic relief, and environmental re-evaluation (experiential processes), followed by self-evaluation. Engagement of men in the contemplation stage is thought to relate to interventions that encourage men to explore their now ambivalent attitudes and feelings about making changes in their behaviour. During the Action stage, men are more likely to use behavioural processes and self liberation. In maintaining intervention gains, Eckhardt et al (2004) see individuals using all the processes that were successful in supporting change, especially stimulus control, formation of helping relationships, and reinforcement management.

Therefore during a change process, Eckhardt et al (2004) believes an individual may:

- initially use no or very few change processes
- gradually increase the number of experiential change processes used during the early and middle stages of change (using few if any behavioural processes)
- eventually use more behavioural processes, and fewer experiential processes, during the Action and Maintenance stages.

CHANGE FACTORS

Scott and Wolfe (2000) suggest change in perpetrators abusive behaviour is commonly related to:

- increased responsibility for their past abusive behaviour,
- development of empathy for their partners' victimization experiences,
- reduced dependency on their partner, and
- increased communication skills.

Negative sanctions and experiences are reported by perpetrators as significant in creating a motivation to stop violence (Stefanakis, 1998). These experiences include:

- official sanctions (e.g. arrest and incarceration)
- social sanctions (e.g. loss of relationships, loss of job or material goods, public exposure of their violence)
- negative personal experience (e.g. accidents, illnesses)
- dissonance (e.g. acknowledging the severity of harm they caused, experiencing empathy for the victim).

Reported events that encourage personal responsibility and non-violent norms (Stefanakis, 1998) include:

- social and spiritual relationships that served as new reference groups,
- intervention strategies (e.g. group counselling, skill and knowledge development), and
- new and unique events (e.g. increased education, role transitions, offering assistance to others, and non-violence despite provocation).

TRIGGERS FOR CHANGE

Edmiston (2005) identifies critical incidents as important triggers for change for perpetrators.

Prior to these incidents, she notes that the context of perpetrators' lives can be out of balance through deteriorating relationships and emotional shifts (e.g. pressure building, anxiety, frustration, fear).

Critical incidents (e.g. intensely violent episodes, being confronted with their abuse, partners taking action against the abuse) are seen as important events in perpetrators' recognition of a need for change, and in helping them make the decision to embark on a process of change.

Actual change does not typically occur at the point of incident, but rather awareness of the need for change.

Edmiston (2005) reports that an important trigger for change can be when perpetrators gain recognition of the effects of their abuse on others and on themselves when confronted about their abuse in some way. This is seen as being very powerful in promoting change in the beliefs men have about their own behaviours and about the nature of their relationships with their partners and children.

Engaging in reflection (e.g. telling their story, responsibility, accountability, describe events from their childhood, connections between these events and their own abuse, understanding the need for change and benefits of change) is seen as an important part of the change process (and a process typically undertaken in stopping violence programmes).

Having an advocate for change is considered important – typically through developing a positive and therapeutic relationship with someone within the program that provides support for change. Edmiston (2005) reports that having another individual who can provide motivation and encouragement appears to be an invaluable component of success for perpetrators.

Edmiston (2005) notes that religion and spirituality can also help facilitate and support change for perpetrators.

FOCUSING THE FVSMS

Violence is caused by different factors at different levels (e.g. individual, relationship, institutional, community, societal) (Families Commission, 2005). Achieving attitude and behaviour change implicates change outcomes at many levels (e.g. programmes, victim action, police/court sanctions, community norms etc). Comprehensive prevention strategy would address all levels in an integrated way (i.e. violence is not singularly an individual problem or singularly a community problem).

PRIMARY, SECONDARY OR TERTIARY PREVENTION

A core decision for the FVSMS will be at what level or levels of prevention the strategy should operate.

Three levels of prevention are recognised in the literature – primary, secondary and tertiary (Wolfe & Jaffe, 1999).

If the FVSMS decides to directly target men, potential perpetrators and actual perpetrators, the following strategies may be of consideration at each of the levels of prevention.

Primary Prevention

Aim to lessen the likelihood of boys and men using violence in the first place

Possible social marketing strategies under primary prevention may include:

Social norm approach: -media campaigns that portray men in positive, non-violent roles or through social norms marketing campaigns that provides data about the true norms for men's behaviour (Berkowitz,2004). The approach relies on the assumption that men commonly misperceive the attitudes and behaviours of other men that are relevant to violence. These misperceptions influence how men act. Men think that other men are more sexually active than them, are more comfortable behaving in stereotypically masculine ways, are less uncomfortable with objectification of women and violence, and are more homophobic and heterosexist (Berkowitz,2004).

Social norm approaches aim to shift men's perceptions of social norms by showing the extent to which other men also disagree with violence or are uncomfortable with common norms of masculinity. Telling men the truth about what men feel gives men permission to act differently (e.g. healthier and more aligned with personal values) to what they have been taught or conditioned to act as men (Berkowitz, 2005).

Men speaking out or standing together against violence: (links to the social norm approach) – presenting men as literal representatives of men's intolerance of violence, presenting men as role models to other men – assumes men will listen more to men than to women.

Developing a culture of non-violence: - aim to build clarity on what healthy, non-violent relationships look like, why we want them, what rewards/benefits go with them (for perpetrators and victims).

Alternative constructions of masculinity: - promote alternative constructions of masculinity, gender and selfhood which foster non-violence and gender justice – could include aim to re-script cultural expectations of manhood or explicitly critique an association between manhood and violence.

Note that Flood (2002/03) warns about approaches which appeal to men's sense of 'real' manhood or invite them to 'prove themselves as men'. There is risk that these approaches may intensify men's investment in male identity, and this is part of what keeps patriarchy in place. He notes that such appeals are especially problematic if they suggest that there are particular qualities which are essentially or exclusively male –potentially reinforcing notions of biological essentialism and determinism, and denying qualities such as strength and courage to women.

Not Acceptable: Reinforce that violence and abuse is not acceptable: – reinforce that family violence is a crime, that there are serious and certain consequences.

Secondary Prevention

Refers to reducing the opportunities for violence by supporting men who are at risk of perpetrating violence

Possible social marketing strategies under secondary prevention may include:

Intervention Approach: - encouragement for men to intervene/not support the violence or attitudes of others

Consciousness Raising: about the need to change (targeting to perpetrators in the pre-contemplation stage) – assuming this is the bulk of men not yet actively engaged in any change process.

Tertiary Prevention

Aims to prevent the re-occurrence of violence and concerns work with males who have already used violence –most focus here is on perpetrator programmes and is therefore perhaps more accurately described as violence intervention.

Possible social marketing strategies under tertiary prevention may include:

Early intervention: – Encouragement to address the violence early (early intervention) and prevent the development of entrenched patterns of behaviour including multiple offending.

Stages of Change: – aim to move perpetrators closer to the point of readiness for embarking on a change process. Could focus on enhancing perceived benefits of change and resolving ambivalence to change (targeting to the contemplation stage).

Reduce barriers and stigma – to perpetrators attending programmes – encourage self referrals? (e.g. address stigma about seeking assistance, promote supportive attitudes to those who seek to address their violence) (could potentially increase demand for services – the feasibility and appropriateness of this strategy would therefore need to be considered in the context of existing service capacity, funding etc).

Relapse Prevention: – To identify and cope with the potential for relapse (targeting to the maintenance stage). Social marketing could potentially have a role here in shaping an environment more supportive of sustained change.

THE PREVENTION CONTINUUM

The Prevention Continuum is suggested by Golding (2002) as a frame for developing a strategic approach to preventing family violence. A strategic approach would incorporate strategies across the prevention continuum.

The prevention continuum starts with concept of a continuum of violence. Each stage provides a potential point of prevention intervention. All stages will not be present in all people and the framework does not predict the course of the development of violence – it simply provides a framework for considering prevention.

The continuum of violence is suggested as:

- Pre-violence
- Violence starts
- Accessing services
- Rehabilitation/recovery
- Future relationships

Within the continuum of violence framework, the following are identified by Golding (2002) as possible points where prevention efforts may be targeted.

- Preventing violence and abuse from happening
- Preventing further violence and abuse within a current relationship
- Reducing the frequency and severity of violence and abuse (not a sufficient goal in itself)
- Reducing the impact of violence and abuse whether or not person experiencing the violence decides to continue the relationship
- Reducing the impact of violence and abuse on any child or young person whether or not they continue to have contact with the person
- Preventing multiple offending or repeat victimisation – or in current relationship or future relationship
- Supporting people to develop safe, respectful and equitable future relationships that are free of violence and abuse
- Supporting children and young persons who have lived with domestic violence and abuse to overcome the effects of this experience and engage in respectful violence free relationships themselves in adult lives

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APPENDIX TWO: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. INTRODUCTION (5 MINS)

- Introduce interviewer and Gravitas as independent research company working on behalf of the Families Commission and MSD
- **Research Purpose**: To help develop family violence prevention programmes, both community based and mass media.
- Acknowledge participants willingness to participate and contribute to helping others
- No right or wrong answers – an open-ended discussion
- Repeat all confidentiality, anonymity and rights assurances
- Encourage open and honest discussion
- Remind that follow-up support is available should they seek this
- Explain and seek consent on use of audio tape and transcription
- Timeframe – 1.5 hours
- Answer participant questions

Remind that we are talking about violence in the context of personal relationships

Note that during the course of the interview we may try some activities/more creative ways to talk about things – these can make it easier to talk and can be fun – participation is voluntary

Complete process of signing of consent form or obtaining verbal consent

2. RAPPORT BUILDING (10-15 MINS)

Objective: To warm up and build rapport. To set the scene for a discussion on masculinity

Interviewer to introduce themselves and share information about themselves as appropriate

Invite participant to introduce himself (e.g. *whakapapa, family, relationships, children, living situation, affiliations, work, interests etc*)

- Establish
  - Reason for attending stopping violence programme/sessions (**check self referred or mandated)**
  - Length of time on programme
  - Type of commitment (times a week / for how long)

3. UNDERSTANDING MANHOOD AND MASCULINITY (20 MINS)

Objective: To explore the meaning of masculinity and the context for violence and non violence

Let's talk further about being a man today in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Use word sort if necessary to identify words and to trigger discussion on Manhood and Masculinity

- Tell me about being a man today.
- What sorts of things are important to men? What do we care about?
- What are the types of things we are expected to do? To be? What do men think about this?
- What's it like being a man today in Aotearoa/New Zealand compared [to earlier times] [in your home country]?
- How is it different for you as a man living now in Aotearoa/New Zealand? What good about this? What is difficult or hard?
- How do we measure ourselves as men? What sorts of things tell us we are successful men?

If needed

Can you think of a place or situation that represents to you what it is like to be a man today? This might be a place or situation in your life today, some place or time where you feel "at home". It could be an imaginary place or situation that says a lot to you about being a man.

Let's think about what this place or situation is like, what is going on there, who is there…

Invite participant to fully describe his chosen place or situation

- What is the place or situation? What is going on there? How do people behave? What sorts of things are said?
- Is there anyone else there? Who are they?

Probes:

- Why this place/situation? What does it tell us about being a man?
- Why do the other people in this place/situation fit here?
- Are there men who wouldn't fit? Who? How come?
- What is really good and enjoyable about this place as a man? What isn't so good about this place/situation?
- What are the really important things about this place/this situation for you? How come?
- How do we learn these things about being a man – who tells or teaches us these things?

MEN'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH VIOLENCE AND NON VIOLENCE (20 MINS)

Objective: To understand the participant's attitudes, beliefs and behaviours in relation to violence

I have here a simple outline of a man which I would like us to imagine being of similar age to you Can we use this man to talk further about being a man today in Aotearoa/New Zealand?

Check understanding and willingness to proceed. Go to direct questioning if required (turn probes into direct questions about the participant)

Explore

- Let's give him a name?
- What would his family situation be? His relationship? Children?
- What other relationships are important to him?
- What sort of work does he do? What does he do outside of work? What does he enjoy doing (e.g. sports, other interests)
- What sorts of things are important to him? How come?

Tell me about his relationship with his family/whanau?

- What is he looking for in his relationship with family/whanau? What does he want? What is important to him?
- What's good about his relationship with his family/whanau?
- What challenges/difficulties does he have in his family relationships?

Can we imagine him in a partnership with a women

- What does he want in the relationship? What is important to him?
- What's good about this relationship?
- What isn't so good? When can it go wrong? When does this happen? Why?

Violent Response

- What might he do when things go wrong? Can we imagine him being violent/non-violent?
- When might he respond with violence? What sets this off? What explains this?
- What or who influences his use of violence? Where is this coming from? (*PROBE: beliefs and attitudes of participant, of others, perceived social/cultural norms/beliefs*)

Non-Violent Response

- When might he respond with non-violence? How is this different? What happens here?
- What influences his use of non-violence? Where is this coming from? (P*ROBE: beliefs and attitudes of others, perceived social/cultural norms/beliefs*)
- How does he feel during these times?
- Is he any more or less likely to be violent in different places/situations (e.g. private and public?) What is different about public/private places/situations?
- Does the violence solve anything? Make anything better?
- What doesn't the violence solve? What doesn't he like about it?

If have children:

- What is happening with the children during times of violence? Where are they? What are they doing?
- Is he aware of the children during the violence? He is concerned about them?
- How does he feel if the children have been involved or have observed the violence?

All:

- How does he feel about the violence? (PROBE: Before, during, after)
- What does he do after the violence?
- Do other people know about the violence? How does he feel about this possibility? Does it make a difference? How does he respond to this? (e.g. attempt to hide the violence)

PROBE: impact of/response to the following knowing about the violence

- partners' family/whanau?
- own family/whanau?
- neighbours
- iwi/whanaunga
- church/clubs
- friends/work mates
- What has he been told about women and how to behave towards them?
    - Explore any codes / rules about hitting / not hitting women
    - Explore if codes/rules are different in general relationships and intimate partner relationships – why?
    - Explore if codes/rules are different in public/private setting – why?
- Where/from whom have these messages about rules/codes been received? (PROBE: other people, society, media, etc)

Let's leave [name] for a while. We may come back to him later.

4. BEHAVIOUR CHANGE (20 MINS)

Objective: To explore attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours around changing violent behaviour

Let's talk about this stopping/living without violence programme that you [are attending] [about to attend] [have attended].

I'd like to talk about your experiences before the programme and with the programme [and after the programme]

Reestablish programme details and reasons for attendance.

If have attended different or multiple programmes, agree which one you will discuss

Definition of Change

- What is this programme aiming to achieve? [what did it aim to achieve]
    - What does this mean to you?
- What were you thinking about change before starting the programme? ***(Explore level of readiness and commitment to change and reasons for this)***
- What do you/did you hope to get out of the programme?

Pre Programme (Self referred and Mandated)

- Talk me through how things were for you before you started the programme?
- How come you started the programme? What brought you to the programme?
    - PROBE: internal triggers/motivations (personal feelings/concerns about their violence)
    - PROBE: external triggers/motivations (courts, instruction/demands of others)
- Did anyone else influence your decision to attend? How did they influence you?
- Did anything else influence your decision to attend? How?

Programme Experiences for Mandated and Self Referred

- Tell me about your life [on the programme] [while you were on the programme]
  - What's been good/was good?
  - What's been/was hard?
- Any changes now in how you are feeling about change? ***(Explore level of readiness and commitment to change/sustaining change and reasons for this)***
- Have there been changes for you? How/why has this come about? (*Explore role/influence of the programme as well as all other factors*)
  - Nature of change (e.g. skills, beliefs, attitudes etc)
  - What has helped/influenced change/sustaining change?
  - What has been hard about change/sustaining change? Have there been any negatives?
  - What hasn't been helpful?
  - Anything else going on in your life now that has helped/not helped?

As appropriate

- What is different now? What has been good about this? (Explore any changes in relationships with others - partner, children, wider family, friends)
- Overall, what has been the best thing about changing for you?

Ensure understanding of nature of change

For participants who quit programme prior to completion

- Reasons for quitting?
- Tell me about your experiences since leaving the programme. What's different/the same about your life now?
- Explore
  - belief in need to change
  - level of readiness and commitment to change
  - belief in ability to change
  - what needs to happen for change to occur

Man Outline Projective

(If used earlier) Can we bring back our man (simple outline) we talked about earlier? Can we use him to talk further about changing violent behaviour?

Check understanding and willingness to proceed. If not, skip section

Let's imagine he has been on a similar stopping violence/living without violence programme to you.

- What does change mean to him? Does he want to change? What is he hoping to get out of it?

Let's imagine that he is trying to change.

- What or who is helping him to change? (PROBE: influences on change – other people, events, thoughts, new understanding etc)
    - What would you say has been most influential? How come?
- What good things is he getting out of change?
- What has been hard for him in trying to change? Are there negatives around change?

Let's imagine him having finished the programme some time ago and that he is trying to be non violent in his relationship

- What is helping him to be non violent?
- What has changed for him? What good things is he getting out of this?
- What is making change difficult? Are there negatives for him?
- Is anything or anyone else now influencing his behaviour?
- What else needs to happen for him to continue to be non-violent in his relationship?

Deprivation and Worst Case Scenario

Let's put aside all this talk about change – let's imagine that [there is no more talk about changing your behaviour] [you go back to using violence in your relationship]

- How would you feel about this?
- Would life be different? How? Would you miss anything?
- What's the worst that could happen [if you don't change what you are doing] [if you started using violence again]?

5. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL NORMS (10MINS)

Objective: To investigate men's perception of social and cultural norms.

Let's talk about how other people might think and talk about family violence?

What do you think [insert identified influential others as appropriate] would say about family violence?*

PROBE:

- How big a problem it is
- How acceptable/unacceptable it is
- How understandable it is
- Does it make a difference in any way what [x thinks/says]?

** for example, family/whanau, mates, workmates, at sports club, identified peers, identified influential others, Maori/Pacific peoples held in respect etc*

If influential others identified are perceived as supporting family violence

Who do you think would be less supportive of family violence (PROBE: people, groups, institution etc)

PROBE:

- What they would be saying about family violence
- What do we think about what they might say?
- Does it make a difference to us? Does this affect us in any way?

There always seems to be something in the media about family violence. People saying it's not acceptable?

- What do we think about these sorts of reports
- Who is saying this stuff?
- Who are they speaking to?
- Does it make a difference to us? Why? Why not?

6. FINAL THOUGHTS AND DE-BRIEF (5-10MINS)

Objective: To invite participants to directly offer solutions and to provide final comments.

To de-brief and close the interview

- If you had the opportunity to develop programmes to stop violence against women, what would you do? (PROBE: types of programmes, messages, communication channels, who would deliver the programmes, who would programmes be aimed at)
- Would you like to make any final comments?

Re-iterate

- Confidentiality and anonymity assurances
- Their right to receive a transcript of the interview (re-check decision here)
- That follow-up support is available

Turn Tape Off

Can we spend a couple of final minutes talking about the interview?

Acknowledge/Affirm

- The value of their contribution (e.g. how it will help others – contribute to a positive legacy for others (and themselves)
- Their courage in sharing – how difficult the interview probably was
- Any positive steps they have taken – changes they have made

Reflect

- On how the interview was for the interviewer
- How the interviewer is feeling about what was said/covered
- On any areas the interviewer feels the participant may need to think about further
- Invite the participant to share how the interview went for them
- Invite participant to assess how they have found the interviewer (e.g. how open, friendly etc)

Thank and close

Koha

APPENDIX THREE: CONSENT FORMS

FAMILY VIOLENCE RESEARCH RECRUITMENT CONSENT FORM

I have been approached to take part in research on family violence being conducted by Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd on behalf of the Families Commission and the Ministry of Social Development (MSD).

I understand that taking part in the research is voluntary and anonymous.

I have agreed that my personal contact details can be provided to Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd for recruitment purposes and that I can be contacted in the future about taking part in the research.

Name:	
Dated:	
Signature:	

FAMILY VIOLENCE RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

I have had the opportunity to read information about the family violence research being undertaken by Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd for the Families Commission and the Ministry of Social Development (MSD).

I have had the opportunity to discuss the research, including my participation in it. I am satisfied with the answers I have been given to any questions I have had.

I understand that:

- Taking part in the interview is voluntary and anonymous;
- I am not required to answer all questions if I do not wish to;
- I may withdraw from the interview at any stage; and,
- I can bring a support person to the interview if I wish.

I understand that should I wish to talk further about issues raised in the interview, I can do this through the provider of the stopping violence programme that I am attending or have attended in the past.

I consent to having this interview tape recorded and transcribed to aid later analysis. I understand that the audiotape will not be used by the Families Commission or MSD and will be held in secure storage by Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd for up to six months before being destroyed.

I understand that if I have any further questions I can contact the Gravitas or Families Commission representatives listed at the bottom of the research information sheet.

Consent to audio tape **Yes / No**

I wish to receive a copy of the transcript of my interview **Yes / No**

Participant Name:	
Dated:	
Signature:	

APPENDIX FOUR: INFORMATION SHEETS

FAMILY VIOLENCE RESEARCH VERBAL INFORMATION FOR POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

Research Project	Research to inform development of family violence education and social marketing programmes
Research Client	The Families Commission and Ministry of Social Development
Research Agency	Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd. Gravitas are an Auckland based research company experienced in social research and development
Use of Research Information	Reported back to the clients verbally and in writing to assist development of family violence education programmes
Participants Requirements	To take part in a face to face interview about family violence. The interview will cover issues such as attitudes and beliefs about violence, use of violence, and things that may either help or prevent men use other behaviour
Interview Details	All interviewers will be male. Interviews will be matched by ethnicity where possible. Interviews will be no longer than 1.5 hours and will be conducted at a time and place to suit each participant
Interviewer Details	The interviewer will be Michael Blewden, who is a Pakeha/European researcher.
Interview Participation	Is voluntary and anonymous. No information will be revealed or used that would identify participants or anyone else discussed in the interview (e.g. names). Codes will be used so that the names of participants will not be attached directly to the written findings from each interview. Participants: are not required to answer any questions they do not wish to; may withdraw from the interview at any stage; can bring a support person to the interview if they wish. A $40 koha in the form of petrol and/or grocery vouchers will be provided.

Management of interview data	Interviews will be taped recorded if participants agree to this. A written transcript will be made from the tape and then used by the researchers during data analysis. Each man taking part in the research will receive a copy of their transcript if they wish. All interview tapes will be locked at the premises of Gravitas Research. Tapes will not be available to anyone outside the research team. Each tape will be destroyed after a period of six months.
Availability of further support	If participants want to talk further about issues raised in their interview, the interviewer will work with them to arrange this. In most cases, follow-up support will be provided by the provider of the programme that the man is attending or has attended in the past.
Exclusions to confidentiality	Interviewers will do the following if, during the course of interviews information is provided which suggests that any person may be at risk of harm. 1. The situation will be discussed with the participant to determine whether it is already being dealt with. 2. The interviewer may discuss the situation with his supervisor. 3. Based on this information, the supervisor may inform the agency providing the programme to the participant. Only information about the potential of harm will be passed on and all other information from the interview will remain confidential.
Ethics Approval	The research has been approved by the Families Commission Research Ethics Committee.
For further information or questions	Michael Blewden at Gravitas Research and Strategy (ph 09 917 1051) Amanda Heath, at the Families Commission (ph 04 917 7040) Sharron Cole, Chair of the Families Commission Ethics Committee (ph 04 917-7040).

FAMILY VIOLENCE RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

The Families Commission and the Ministry of Social Development have asked Gravitas Research and Strategy to undertake research on family violence. The research findings will be used to develop education programmes aimed at reducing family violence in New Zealand.

Gravitas Research and Strategy are an Auckland based research company, experienced in social research and development.

The research will involve face to face interviews with men who are taking part in stopping or living without violence programmes. During the interviews, men will be invited to discuss their experiences that lead them to attend the programme, their attitudes, beliefs and use of violence and things that may help them use other forms of behaviour.

Participation in the research is voluntary and anonymous. The names of men taking part or any other information that may be identifiable, will not be revealed at any stage. Codes will be used so that the names of participants will not be attached directly to the findings from each interview.

In addition, men taking part in the research:

- are not required to answer any questions they do not wish to;
- may withdraw from the interview at any stage; and,
- can bring a support person to the interview if they wish.

All interviews will be conducted by men and interviewers and participants will be matched by ethnicity where possible. If you agree to participate, your interview will be conducted by…….

Interviews will take approximately 1.5 hours and will occur at a time and place to suit each participant.

If participants wish to talk further about issues raised in their interview, the interviewer will work with them to arrange this. In most cases, any follow-up support will be provided by the provider of the programme that the man is attending or has attended in the past.

Interviews will be tape recorded if participants agree to this. A written transcript will be made from the tape, with the transcript then used by the researchers to report the interview findings. Each man taking part in the research will receive a copy of their transcript if they wish. All interview tapes will be securely locked at the premises of Gravitas Research and will not be available to anyone outside the research team. Each tape will be destroyed after a period of six months.

A $40 koha in the form of a petrol and/or grocery voucher will be provided to all men taking part in recognition of their time and input.

EXCLUSION TO CONFIDENTIALITY

Interviewers will do the following if, during the course of interviews information is provided which suggests that any person may be at risk of harm.

1. The situation will be discussed with the participant to determine whether it is already being dealt with.
2. The interviewer may discuss the situation with his supervisor.
3. Based on this information, the supervisor may inform the agency providing the programme to the participant. Only information about the potential of harm will be passed on and all other information from the interview will remain confidential.

The research has been approved by the Families Commission Research Ethics Committee.

For further information, you can contact Michael Blewden at Gravitas Research and Strategy (ph 09 917-1051), Amanda Heath, at the Families Commission (ph 04 917-7040) or Sharron Cole, Chair of the Families Commission Ethics Committee (ph 04 917-7040).

APPENDIX FIVE: CONFIRMATION LETTER

Date

Name

Address

Address

Dear [Participant]

Re: Participation in Family Violence Research

Thank you for agreeing to take part in an interview as part of the family violence research Gravitas Research and Strategy are conducting on behalf of the Families Commission and Ministry of Social Development.

Your participation in the research will assist in the development of programmes aimed at helping to reduce the level of family violence in New Zealand.

Your participation in the research is voluntary, confidential and anonymous. You will not be identified in any way through your participation or through the reporting of the research findings.

Your interview will be conducted by **[researchers name inserted]** and is confirmed for:

Date:

Time:

Location:

Included with this letter is an information sheet about the research and a consent form which we will ask you to sign before we begin the interview. Please take some time to read this material before we meet with you.

If you have any questions about the research, please contact either Michael Blewden at Gravitas Research (ph 09 917 1051) or Amanda Heath at the Families Commission (ph 04 917 7040).

Thank you again and we look forward to meeting with you soon.

Yours sincerely

Michael Blewden
GRAVITAS RESEARCH AND STRATEGY

APPENDIX SIX: ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

OVERALL GOAL

To understand the feelings, attitudes and behaviours of male perpetrators of partner violence, the drivers/triggers of behaviour change and the barriers to behaviour change. On all these factors (particularly drivers/triggers of behaviour change), we need to understand what men have in common as well as where there are core differences between different segments of men.

MANHOOD AND MASCULINITY

Describe how participant define/sees themselves as a man – what are the meanings, roles and expectations of manhood for them? (use their words and images as much as possible)

What does the participant value/see as important as a man?

Where/from whom has the participant learnt about being a man?

How do the meanings and values of masculinity/manhood described shape the context for the use of violence (e.g. belief in their right to use violence, lack of other strategies)

How would perceptions of manhood/masculinity be addressed to reduce family violence?

RELATIONSHIPS WITH VIOLENCE AND NON VIOLENCE

Motivations and Triggers to Violence

Describe the triggers to violence – what situation/events/times lead to violence?

Describe the motivations or needs that are satisfied when using violence. Are these different at different times/situations?

Name the motivation/need if possible (e.g. the need to control, the need to get ones way, to need to exert power)

How does violence help men get what they want in intimate relationships? What benefits are received?

How does violence **not help** men get what they want in intimate relationships? What are the relationship costs of using violence?

Is violence more likely in certain settings (e.g. private vs public settings?) Why is this? What attitudes and beliefs are associated with this?

ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

What are the attitudes and beliefs associated with motivations to use violence? Why does the participant believe that violence occurs? Does the participant feel that violence is justified?

What "codes", rules or beliefs does the participant have in relation to the use of violence in their relationship? How do these influence behaviour?

Describe all **other influencers** over the use of violence? (e.g. other men, society at large, family not intervening). What needs to happen to address these influences so that they no longer support violence?

Where, from whom, and how are men learning about the use of violence? What needs to happen to change this?

FEELINGS ASSOCIATED WITH VIOLENCE

Describe how the participant feels about using violence (e.g. shamed, justified, remorseful). Do feelings change (e.g. before and after violence)

Describe how the participants' **want** to feel through the use of violence (e.g. in control, powerful, strong)

How does the participant feel about other people knowing about their violence? Does this impact on his behaviour in any way?

What does the participant believe about the impact of the violence on children? How does he feel about this? Does this/could this impact on his behaviour in any way?

NON-VIOLENCE

Describe the motivations for using non-violence in intimate partner relationships

Name the motivation if possible (e.g. the need to have a relationship not based on fear)

What are the beliefs and attitudes associated with motivations to use non-violence?

How does non- violence help men get what they want in an intimate relationship? What are the benefits?

What 'costs' do men see in using non-violence?

BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

Meaning and Vision

What does change mean to men? What does non-violence mean?

Describe what men hope to get out of changing/becoming non-violent

Describe how men want to feel through changing/becoming non-violent

How ready to change is the participant? What are the barriers to change? To what extent does the participant feel that change is achievable? What increases or decreases confidence about this?

What does not changing mean to men? What does this tell us about the man's readiness or willingness to change?

MOTIVATIONS AND TRIGGERS TO CHANGE

Describe the specific motivations/triggers to change– what are the beliefs and attitudes associated with each motivation/trigger? (IMPORTANT – this forms the basis of the segmentation)

What motivations/triggers are internal (i.e. come from inside the participant)

What motivations/triggers are external (i.e. come from outside the participant/from someone/thing other than the participant).

Are there motivations/triggers to change more common to participants? What are the beliefs and attitudes associated with these?

Describe all other **influences and influencers** associated with the motivation to change (e.g. age, stage of life, specific events, other people). Can these be used to increase/support the likelihood of change?

PRE- CHANGE/BARRIERS TO CHANGE

For those not at a point of accepting the need for change, what are the attitudes and beliefs connected to this?

What are the barriers to change/of not using violence? What needs to happen to address these difficulties?

What other 'costs' do men perceive or fear in not using violence? What needs to happen to address these costs?

What/who else makes it hard for men to change to non-violence? What needs to happen to address these difficulties?

FOR THOSE IN PROCESS OF CHANGING/HAVING CHANGED

Describe how men feel as a result of changing/beginning to change (i.e. non-violence)

Describe the rewards, benefits, gains of change (i.e. non-violence)

Describe the costs, difficulties and negatives of change (i.e. non-violence). What needs to happen to reduce/remove these costs?

What/who else influences/supports men in changing to non-violence? What needs to happen to make these factors even more supportive of change?

What else sustains change over time? What needs to happen to support and enhance these factors?

Overall, what is different about men who have adopted/embraced non-violence and those that haven't?

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL NORMS

What do participants believe about social, religious and cultural norms around violence? (e.g. acceptable, common)

Do these beliefs influence their use of violence in any way? Are perceived norms seen as supporting or not supporting use?

What needs to happen to change norms or the perception of norms in a way that would support non-violence?

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