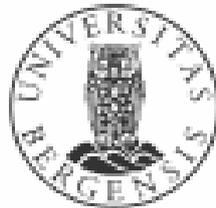


**Intimate Partner Violence against Women in Uganda:
Victims and Perpetrators' Points of View and Their
Implications for Prevention Strategies**

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Dedication

Dedicated to all men determined to join hands in fighting intimate partner violence against women in Uganda.

Acknowledgement

First of all, I would like to thank the almighty God for such a great accomplishment. It is by his mercy and grace that this work has come this far.

I would also like to thank my wife for her love, care and understanding. I am so grateful for her endurance throughout the time I have been in Norway pursuing this course. Her continued words of encouragement and comfort, the love and care for Phoebe and Victor our children gave me a peaceful mind to concentrate. I am forever grateful.

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
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| CEDOVIP | Center for Domestic Violence Prevention |
| DEVAW | Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women |
| IPV | Intimate Partner Violence |
| IPVAW | Intimate Partner Violence against Women |
| NAWOU | National Association of Women's Organizations in Uganda |
| NSD | Norwegian Social Science Data Services |
| UBOS | Uganda Bureau of Statistics |
| UDHS | Uganda Demographic Health Survey |
| UNST | Uganda National Council of Science and Technology |
| VAW | Violence against Women |

Prologue

The 25th day of May 2005 has left a weight of questions in my life. Early in the morning, while at my desk preparing for my final bachelor's degree examinations, a police man called me from Lyantonde Police Station¹. He asked if I knew Mr. Turyamwijuka Stephen. I got a morning shock when he told me that my father was in police custody, because since I was a child, I had never seen him being subjected to any authority for any reason. I quickly answered the policeman, 'that is my father! any problem?' My father had turned himself in to the police. He had not told them the extent of his actions, only that he had had a misunderstanding with his wives and he was afraid he could have hurt them. I requested to talk to him on the phone and the police quickly accepted. I asked him what the problem was. The only word he could say was 'Tuyombire', meaning that they had quarreled. In the meantime the policeman advised me to call home, which I was already doing to find out what the problem was that made the man to go to the police himself. My first call was to my sister who like me was in a town far from home, to ask her for any news. Narrating the story to her, my sister started crying immediately: 'Eric, it is finished....' I asked her what she meant was finished and she replied, 'Daddy has killed Mummy'. I still did not believe her and tried to calm her down as we find the true information about what was actually the problem. Just after talking to her, I received a call from one of the neighbors in the village. And Mummy was dead: killed by my own farther. She died together with our step mother, by the same man, using the same weapon.

This is an incident that my life will take long to recover from. But the tragedy is not the focus of this prologue or this study; I want to tell this story to introduce you, the reader, with a personal experience to the complexity of the problem of intimate violence. Intimate Partner Violence is a problem that has consumed the lives of thousands of women killed by the people they have trusted, with whom they have spent almost all their lives, raised families, shared visions and dreams, shared pains and celebrated victories. Women have been and continue to be brutalized and killed by those who are least expected to commit such acts, and this contributes to the continuation of the problem because many such acts remain hidden for long periods. Living with my parents for 24 years, I saw violence from my father, but everybody

¹ Lyantonde was then Kabula Sub-District in Rakai district, but is now an independent district.

condoned it as the father's or husband's acts of disciplining, showing his discontentment and so forth. I cannot say that we lived happily with these acts. As we grew up we started to hate and object to the acts of violence, but our objection was silent and full of disgruntled discussions among ourselves: My brothers, my sisters and I looked forward to when we would become independent and free from such family chaos and hopefully be able to free our mother. I did not at any point ever imagine that my father could kill anyone, let alone his own wife. I should note here that in our village, almost all families close to us that had marital conflicts used to run to our father as the elder and a person they trusted could help harmonize the partners. After all this tragedy, I must confess that I hated my father more than I have ever hated a person in my life, and I vowed that nothing would ever bring us together again. He had destroyed every good feeling I had for him and every sense of respect. However, our reunion was first inspired by my Christian faith, where as Christians, we ask our Father in heaven to forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us. So, my father and I came together again as father and son, and the next question in my heart was to find out why he did what he did. To this day, he has never been able to give me any proper reason for what he did, like something related to his experiences in the family.

At this point, I want to turn to the rationale behind this study and draw your attention to the problem of intimate violence in Uganda and the efforts to fight it, which generally have been focused on the victims. Even if millions of women were rescued from millions of men like my father, the problem would still remain with the millions of women who will be victims in the future. Intimate partner violence against women in Uganda is a silent evil that gentlemen, officers, peasants, politicians, academics, herdsmen, old and young men are involved in; the least expected person could turn out to be the most harmful. Some men consciously perpetrate such acts, whereas others are unconsciously involved in practices and customs that are likely to spark violence at some point. Therefore, the focus of the efforts should be aimed at these men at least as much as at their victims, because if we manage to change the men, then women will find conducive environments to live in. The focus on women is not a waste of efforts, but it will yield limited results if they are the only target, since the victims' circumstances are consequences, while the perpetrators' actions are the cause. Activists and organizations need to devote time and resources to reshaping the

ideas that men hold about relationships with their female intimates. Some actors, like for instance the press, continue to exploit these issues to the benefit of their business, and their aim is headlines that sell newspapers, rather than contributing to the reduction of the problem. For example, in my case, in the many articles that were written in the national newspapers about the incident, the news reporters were happy to publish the trivial issues that my father gave them as the reasons for killing his wives, and even to make up some. In one paper, they reported that he said that his wife had refused to give him water to bath and that is why he reacted! They did not look beyond this or even question it, and through their coverage of the story, they were telling the world that that is how it is, a woman has to get water for her husband's bath, and anything else he requests, and if not, he can do anything to her. I just had to laugh reading these articles. My mother died early in the morning, say around 2:00 am. The two were already in bed, what had water got to do with it? Did he wake up to have a morning bath at 2 am? As some scholars have started to argue, and as this study will show, it is important to shift our attention and begin to focus more on the perpetrators of intimate partner violence. I think that fighting this problem can only be successful if we aim to change how such men think and the reason they think like that. We also have to work on how they act, and what makes them act the way they do. That will be a great contribution to the efforts to end the problem of intimate partner violence, and I hope that the results of this study, as presented in this thesis, will provide useful information that will contribute to this process.

Chapter I: Introduction

Introduction/Background to the Study

Violence against women (VAW) has been recognized as a violation of human rights by international, regional and national organizations, by a range of nations across the world, developed and underdeveloped, western and southern, black and white. The problem of VAW has left millions of women bruised, psychologically traumatized, maimed, and so many have been killed. The violence that women experience ranges from public to private violence. Women experience violence in times of conflict as target of the fighting parties, violence at their workplace, violence in the streets, and violence from family members. One of these kinds of violence that has hit millions of women hard is violence from their male intimate partners. The United Nations General Assembly, in recognition of violence against women as a violation of human rights and principles, in its 85th plenary meeting 20 December 1993 adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW). Article 1 of the declaration states,

‘For the purposes of this Declaration, the term "violence against women" means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life’ (DEVAW, 1993). This definition universally forbids every kind of violence against women in any form, and thus condemns Intimate Partner Violence against Women (IPVAW).

Several studies around the world indicate the multiple effects that violence has on women of all ages and colors. They range from effects on their physical lives, women’s participation in the community activities and in the economy, and their participation in politics among others. The effects of these violent acts affect not only the individual women experiencing the problem, but also their families, children, the community and the states within which these women live.

Of all kinds of violence that women experience, Intimate Partner Violence against Women (IPVAW) is the kind that is documented to have one of the highest

occurrences in a range of studies (Boy & Kulczycki, 2008; Krug, 2002). Women continue to be traumatized, disfigured and killed by men they have loved, shared their lives with and had children with, shared food and drink, beds, and almost all aspects of their lives with. This presents a more complex situation compared to other kinds of violence that women experience: the people most intimate to them turn out to be their intimate terrorists. Debate is going on and research is being done to find the causes of this kind of violence. Many factors have so far been associated with the problem of intimate partner violence, including alcohol, poverty, drug abuse, traditional norms and values that continue to keep women in subordinate positions, lack of education, especially for women, cultural practices like bride price, female genital mutilation, and many others. One of the factors associated with the problem of IPVAW is masculinity. The ways that men are being socialized within various cultures continue to be problematic for them and for the people they relate to. The attributes of a 'real man', like being aggressive, strong, the head of the household, the breadwinner, a fighter, and so many others continue to have great influence on the lives that men live, young and old alike. These are not usually actual attributes of all men, implying that a great number of men do not live up to the ideal in real life, which creates a conflict of normative verses the real life they face.

However, despite increasing insights into the kinds of difficulties that women facing IPVAW go through, activities towards ending the problem still face challenges. For instance, some of the findings of research on intimate partner violence have indicated that in different parts of the world some women living in violent relationships do support the practice of use of force by their male intimate partners in some cases. According to an analysis of cases of different studies on intimate partner violence in the Middle East and North Africa by Boy and Kulczycki, women supported men to use violence if for example a woman was sexually unfaithful, if she burnt the food, or argued with the husband among others. (Boy & Kulczycki 2008). The situation in Uganda is not very different from the Middle East and North Africa. For example, in a survey of men and women in Rakai, one of the districts in the southern part of Uganda, 90 percent of women and 70 percent of men supported the idea that violence against one's wife or partner was acceptable under certain circumstances (Koenig et al 2003). The research shows that more women (28%) than men (16%) justified a man beating his wife for example if a woman adopted a contraception without permission

from the husband, if a woman refused to have sex with her partner, and if a man suspected or knew about his wife's infidelity. This presents the problem in an even more complex way: It shows how the socialization of people may make them to socially believe that use of violence at times is necessary as a behavioral enforcement mechanism. However, there's a problem of defining the extent of force that would be perceived as discipline. These distinctions maintain a gap between women and men: men as power holders and women as subordinates.

In Uganda, IPVAW is a widespread problem experienced by women. The problem has been documented widely through research, the media, the police, and at community level. Nevertheless, the reporting on the problem of IPVAW through these channels cannot be considered to draw a representative picture, because many cases are not reported. Many women continue to suffer in silence in their private homes. It is typically the most dramatic cases that come to the attention of the public, for example women who have become really tired of the abuse and want to end the relationship, or when they have been severely brutalized or death has occurred. Women in various situations experience different kinds of IPVAW but most commonly, women are subjected to violence of physical, sexual, psychological, or economic nature (Gelles 1997, Koenig, et al. 2003, Boy & Kulczycki 2008). Some common ways through which the violence is perpetrated are slapping, kicking, hitting with objects, pouring of acid, burning, use of guns, sharp objects like bush knives, and strangling (Uganda National Health Demographic Survey Report, 2006). In Uganda physical violence has recorded the highest prevalence compared to other forms of violence reported (Koenig, et al. 2003; Uganda National Health Demographic Survey Report, 2006). In Uganda, IPVAW has caused physical injuries, subjected women to HIV/AIDS, it has caused reproductive complications like miscarriages, still births, and low birth weight, and has made women unable to participate in public arena, among other consequences. Generally, women experiencing intimate violence have limited opportunities to explore their potentials because of psychological trauma, lack of ability to concentrate on their careers, and in some cases death (Boy & Kulczycki 2008, Watts and Zimmerman (2002).

In Uganda, there is no specific law that forbids IPVAW, which makes the problem even more complex. There are however, general laws that protect human dignity for

all citizens that sometimes can give violated women a shelter to run to. For instance, in its national constitution (The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995), Uganda condemns any acts that violate human rights. Chapter 4, Article 24 in Constitution of the Republic of Uganda states that no person shall be subjected to any form of torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Furthermore, Chapter 4, Article 31. (1) States that men and women of the age of eighteen years and above have the right to marry and to found a family and are entitled to equal rights in marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. This article in a way condemns IPVAW since it denounces inequalities in the family power relations. It also forbids violence because it rules out acts that are inhuman and degrading, and protects individuals from cruel treatment. Finally, according to Article 33, (1), Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men. This clearly shows that neither man nor woman has a right to use violence against their partner. Therefore as said earlier, although there is no law in Uganda that explicitly condemns IPVAW, these articles in a way give protection to women. There are also other laws that forbid violence against women, but on a more general level. For instance, in the Uganda Penal Code Act (Cap. 120), the country's major criminal legislation, there are various provisions that protect women from violence. For example chapter XIV, section 123 stipulates the criminality of acts of rape, and section 128 forbids indecent assaults against women. Chapter XVIII, section 187 and 188 criminalize manslaughter and murder, and the sentences are life imprisonment and death respectively. These and other laws bring hope to women living in violent situations. However, such laws do not clearly criminalize violence perpetrated against women by their intimate partners, and coupled with the traditional conceptions of the family as a private domain; treatment of these cases becomes a problem for women. Activists and organizations are still pushing for the Domestic Relations Bill to be passed by parliament as they have for many years now. This bill is hoped to give women much more protection from their perpetrators since it clearly regulate matters in the family and in relations that for long have been considered private.

With the recognition of the problem of VAW and more specifically IPVAW, various activists and organizations have become engaged in various work to fight it. Different strategies have been adopted, including dialogue with key stakeholders, sensitization of communities including men, shelter provision for abused women, linking women

to legal service providers, and financial support. Human rights and violence based organizations have taken to the streets to demonstrate against acts of violence against women. They have participated in radio and television talk shows, written in newspapers, organized public talk shows, seminars and workshops, among other activities. However, most of these approaches have devoted their efforts to women as victims. Less attention has been given to men, who are the key force behind these acts of violence.

Recently, some activists, researchers and organizations have started to realize the need to involve men in activities to fight the problem. Organizations have started incorporating men at the level of administration, in community training mobilization teams, and in seminars and peer to peer discussions aiming to change men's violent behaviors. One of the organizations that have made this move is Center for Domestic Violence Prevention (CEDOVIP). This is an organization that was started as a partnership between the Non Government Organizations (NGO's) National Association of Women Organizations in Uganda (NAWOU), Action Aid Uganda and Raising Voices. It later developed into an independent organization and in 2003 it was established as CEDOVIP. Since its initiation, CEDOVIP has been engaged with both men and women at community level in Kawempe Division in their fight against IPVAW (CEDOVIP Annual Report, 2006). CEDOVIP has adopted the strategy of making people at community level take responsibility for their actions, especially men. Some men have been actively involved in activities to end domestic violence, and there are achievements to be proud of in this area. One of the approaches that CEDOVIP follows and hope to improve is the holistic approach. They try to get everyone in the community involved in meetings, drama performances, seminars and workshops, which has made some men to appreciate and be part of the work. There are indications that their holistic approach has yielded results in fighting IPVAW in Kawempe. This is an organization that has had a core function in my study concerning the understanding of how involvement of men may improve the efficiency of the initiatives to end IPVAW in Uganda.

Against this background, in order to understand the problem of IPVAW and initiatives to fight it, this study was designed with one key focus: to explore the experiences of men and women as victims and perpetrators of IPVAW. Listening to

men and women who have been in situations of violence, have gone through a process of re-conceptualizing it and developed new life styles to me seemed the best way to find useful ways of ending the problem. I also set out to look at various efforts to involve men in fighting IPVAW and the possible contribution of male involvement in the various activities. How do men and women talk about these themes and what are the implications of their perceptions for the fight against the problem?

Main Objective

The main objective of the study is to explore the experiences with and meanings of violence for victims and perpetrators of IPVAW in Uganda, and the implications of these for the efforts to end the problem.

Specific objectives

- To explore how victims and perpetrators of IPVAW in Uganda understand the phenomenon.
- To understand how IPVAW affects the lives of victims and perpetrators.
- Explore the importance of involving men in efforts to end IPVAW in Uganda.

Research questions

The following questions have constituted a guide to obtaining the information necessary to fulfill the study's objectives:

- 1 How is IPVAW understood among victims and perpetrators and what are their attitudes towards the phenomenon in Uganda?
- 2 How are these attitudes acquired and maintained?
- 3 How can the involvement of men as perpetrators improve the efficiency of the initiatives to fight this problem?

Significance of the Study

1. The study intends to contribute to the available literature seeking to provide a solution to IPVAW in Uganda.
2. I hope that the findings will be useful for various organizations and individuals involved in the struggle against IPVAW in Uganda.
3. I envisage that this study will be able to stimulate further investigation in the area of men and IPVAW in Uganda.

4. Utilizing the experiences of men with the activities to end IPVAW documented in this study, I will suggest possible entry points for men's involvement.

Chapter II: Methodology

Research Design

Right from the onset of my research, I set my mind to follow a qualitative approach. I was interested in the story as told by people who are or have been in situations of intimate partner violence themselves. I wanted to get to in-depth communication with the informants about their life experiences, and qualitative methods would give me the best opportunity to do this. As Ellsberg and Heise (2005) have noted, using qualitative methods can be a good way of getting the insights of men's use of violence, their actions and the meanings of their actions. Qualitative methods are also a better way of understanding people's attitudes and behaviors (Ellsberg and Heise 2005, Barbour 2008, and Kvale 1996) As Kvale noted, "the personal contact and the continually new insights into the subjects' lived world make interviewing an exiting and enriching experience" (Kvale, 1996). Thus, I have used qualitative methods in my data collection, and interviewing was my primary method. In this chapter, I will describe the different steps and procedures that I went through to collect data on my research topic. I will describe the methods that were used in data collection, why I chose these methods, where the research was conducted and why in this particular area and the people from whom the data was collected and why I chose these people as informants. I will also describe the process of selecting the informants, challenges faced during the process of data collection, and the ethical issues that I took in consideration.

The main objective of my study was to explore the experiences and meanings of IPVAV for victims and perpetrators in the fight against this violence in Uganda. Understanding people's experiences is different and more complex than head counting of how many people experienced violence. I aimed to get into the innermost concerns of their individual experiences with intimate violence accounts. Therefore, quantitative methods would not have helped me achieve my goal. Qualitative techniques allowed my informants to open up and express their feelings about the situation. Bellow I will give a detailed description of each step of the data collection. .

The Process of getting Access

I started the process of accessing my study area and informants long before I left Bergen for Uganda. Through electronic mail communication, I had received a

confirmation message from the senior programme officer, department of violence against women in the NGO Raising Voices. This gave me access both to Raising Voices and the related NGO CEDOVIP (See chapter 1 for description of CEDOVIP).

On my arrival in Uganda, I needed to be cleared by the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology (UNST), the authority which is in charge of all research clearances in the country. My research was approved by the council. I also needed the organizations to make me acquainted with their activities within Kawempe division, and to give me access to possible informants. One week after my arrival in Uganda, I managed to meet a senior programme officer at Raising Voices, and she gave me a briefing about Raising Voices and CEDOVIP since CEDOVIP came from Raising Voices and works in the same vicinity. However, as my interest primarily was the experiences and perceptions of people in situations of intimate violence, my discussion with a representative of Raising Voices convinced me to work with CEDOVIP, because their activities are more relevant for my topic, and because they work a lot on the ground with people.

The coordinator of CEDOVIP kicked off my data collection with a briefing meeting together with the programme officer of local activism. In this meeting I was given practical information on how CEDOVIP was working with the community, people, the issues they were addressing and common concepts on IPVAV in the local language. They also briefed me on where and how I could meet possible informants, and the type of people that I was going to meet with.

Study Area

The study was conducted in Kawempe division, one of the five divisions that make up Kampala district. I purposely did my study in this area because of the activities of CEDOVIP there on prevention of intimate partner violence and domestic violence as a whole. I particularly selected the three parishes of Bwaise I, Makerere II, and Kikaya Zone. I selected these parishes because I found the multicultural nature of these communities interesting for my study and also because CEDOVIP had had some level of impact on the people of these area after talking to the staff and the local leadership. The impact that CEDOVIP had had on the people was crucial in two ways; the first is that since these men and women had participated in intimate

violence initiatives as victims and perpetrators, and had more information about the problem, then they were more likely to talk about their experiences than people hearing it for the first time. Secondly, since my study was interested in people talking about their own experiences, perceptions of the problem, and their opinions about initiatives to end it, these informants would more likely be able to give me the kind of information I needed. They had had time to reflect on the problem especially on the ways to fight it, and therefore they more likely to provide answers more useful to the purpose of this study.

Study Population

The study included men who were part of the activities of CEDOVIP, and had testified to or been reported as being perpetrators of violence against their intimate partners. It also included women victims of violence, who had reported their partners or testified about their situations. Since the research was on intimate relationships and violence in these relationships, I included as secondary informants men and women who were in intimate heterosexual relationships but had not reported or testified to the use of violence in their relationships. During the interviews, I was surprised by the information I got from my secondary informants. I found out that almost everyone in one way or the other had an experience of IPVAV. Because of this, I have chosen key informants from all the groups I interviewed to inform my analysis. Representatives of the local councils and the police were also part of the study population as providers of contextual information. These offices in Kawempe are vital in resolving issues of violence among intimate partners. CEDOVIP was also included, as an active local NGO that is preoccupied with fighting violence in Kawempe Division and at national level.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Working in a community where domestic issues are considered private required careful selection of the informants to interview, otherwise I would come back without the information I intended to gather. Prior to my travel to Uganda, I had agreed with my supervisor that selecting 5 key informants of each gender would give me sufficient information and insights about the topic provided that I was able to have more interactive interviews with them.

Since my interest was in perpetrators and victims of violence, I did not think that it would work to approach my informants directly, as I would brand the men criminals and also marginalize the women who are victims. Also informants approached this way, were considered unlikely to be willing to talk about personal experiences with the issue at hand. So I decided to choose my informants through CEDOVIP, who had had contact with men who had confessed to using violence and women who were victims of violence. Through its records the organization provided me with the mobile numbers and location addresses of some community volunteers and counselors: several of whom were also earlier perpetrators and victims of intimate violence. These community counselors and volunteers linked me to the people in the particular parishes that were in the category of my desired informants, either through phone calls or appointments. Even though this could have affected my choice of the informants by the volunteers and counselors taking me to the people of their convenience, I tried to avoid it by making choice on either or not to interview the first people I was linked up with. Sometimes, I would through the people they identified get in contact with other informants that were more suitable for the study. Also, I had control of the lists that were provided by the staff of CEDOVIP, because among them I would choose my own informants after short talks with the volunteers and counselors or with the people at a community level.

I purposely decided to interview 5 men and 5 women as my key informants, who were perpetrators and victims of IPVAV respectively. This was a small number, but big enough for me to get in-depth communication with them about their violent experiences with their partners. In addition to these key informants, I interviewed 3 men who were in intimate relations but had not confessed to or been reported for use of violence in their relationships, and 3 women who were in intimate relations but had not confessed to or been reported as victims of intimate violence from their partners. These were chosen based on the activities in CEDOVIP which they were all involved in.

Methods of Data Collection

My study is qualitative by design. I predominantly used semi-structured interviews as key method of data collection .I however, also used participant observation at the

local council I, and in a police station. Below is a presentation of each of these methods.

Semi-structured Interviews

The study largely used semi-structured interviews with the perpetrators and victims of IPV in Kawempe. My interest in semi-structured interviews was to allow my informants more time, space and freedom to express themselves as they shared their experiences. Design of a questionnaire that sought ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answers would not provide room for the informants to share their experiences and the researcher to learn from them and acquire central information. The way they talk in the interview situation, hesitations in conversations, and other features of an interview situation speak more than just words written on paper. This is the prime reason why I opted for this method when I was preparing my project proposal and still insisted on it in the field.

Although the interviews were open to allow the informants to express themselves in relation to the topic of intimate violence, I normally provided them with a briefing on the research before the interview started, particularly on the main themes that I wanted us to discuss, and also tried to bring some of them back to the point in case they diverted.

The interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes. This normally depended on how fast we were able to exhaust the topic with the informant and the informants’ speaking abilities. Because the majority of the informants have Luganda as their native language, I conducted most of the interviews in Luganda. I had earlier gone through my interview guide and the topics to make sure that I did not miss out important information on what I was looking for in case I did my interviews in Luganda.

The informants were all asked to choose the most convenient venue for the interview for themselves given the sensitivity of the topic that we were discussing. The majority of them wanted to be interviewed in their homes or friends’ homes, others at their workplaces since they were not willing to lock up their businesses for the interviews.

All my interviews were recorded except for the three interviews with women who had never confessed to facing violence in their intimate relations, because they stated that they were not comfortable with their voices being recorded. I was even only given chance to take notes after explaining to them that the information was not to be shared with anybody. For all the interviews, informant's consent was first sought before the recorder was turned on.

Participant Observation

I used observational methods to some extent in my study. This method was important to me because it took me beyond the individual elaborations that I got in formal interviews. It was important for me to observe how different actors in the fight against IPVAW related to each other. It was an opportunity to observe people's expressions of their feelings through interactions in different life settings and how they reacted to different words and statements related to intimate violence. More so, this method was a great tool to observe perpetrators and victims in the same environment since my interviews focused on one individual in a formal interview.

This method was used during a national demonstration by women organizations in which a petition was presented to parliament against violence against women and children. Here I observed how women from different classes, age groups, and backgrounds together with men reacted to the problem of intimate violence, its gravity and how they sought to resolve the problem.

It was also used at the office of the Local Council I in Bishop Mukyaya Zone, Bwaise I parish, and at Kawempe Police Station. In these formal office settings, I got an opportunity as a researcher to observe the interaction between the victims, perpetrators and the authorities of the area who are the service providers.

Review of Secondary Data

Review of documents that inform the activities of CEDOVIP and annual reports was done alongside data collection and after. These were important as guide to the actual meanings of what people were saying and what the organization was doing. I also did a review of Bukedde (the local newspaper), which has a wide coverage of domestic violence, of which IPVAW is the leading kind of violence. This was important

because it brought out the voice of the society in a media setting. These reviews improved my knowledge of the subject and focused my study even more.

Methods of Data Analysis

Data processing started with transcription of the interviews from the recording instrument to the computer. Transcribing interviews from the recorder also included translating from Luganda, the local language in which most of the interviews were conducted. Only one interview was conducted in English. This involved careful listening to the scripts in order to avoid distortion of the information and meanings from the informants. I did not find difficulties to do the translation from Luganda to English because I have very good command of the language, especially in verbal communication. Alongside this I developed further the notes that were taken during field work. These notes were integrated with the transcripts of the interviews during the analysis. For the safety of the informants, I gave them pseudo names to protect their identity. During this process of transcribing, different ideas came up as I listened to the recordings again and again and also reflected on the field notes, and then I started categorizing the ideas to help formulate themes for the presentations. The chapters and different themes in this thesis were derived from the informants' responses, and I have often used quotations to reflect their ideas in the analysis and presentation.

My Position as a Researcher

Doing research in Kawempe Division and on a topic like intimate partner violence situated me as a researcher both on the insider and outside. I suppose I looked a bit sophisticated to many of my informants, since I was a Master student whereas the highest level of education among them was a bachelor's degree.

I was considered an insider by the organization staff, knowing that I was a teacher in the department of Women and Gender Studies, Makerere University. Many of them did not consider that the topic was something new to me both as a student and as researcher. Statements like 'you know these things', 'you may also remember that', would come in again and again in the conversations. This did not create a big problem for me though, but sometimes some basic information could be withheld as they might consider it insignificant. However, I was also considered by some on my informants as an outsider when they knew that I was studying in Norway. Despite

being fluent in Luganda and being a Ugandan, many would look at me as new in the area, and also as a class apart. I tried to limit the effect of this perception of me on the interactions and discussions with my informants by dressing like them, having a drink with them, taking a walk together, and sometimes helping to do some shopping in the markets, keeping it in mind that I was a researcher. My status as a student also became my main identity in quite a lot of situations. Some staff of the CEDOVIP organization including the community volunteers and the police officers, considered the student status as the definition of my position, and therefore sometimes did not give me due attention.

There was one personal attribute that was important from my informants: my marital status. Researching intimate violence is a very sensitive study, and most of those I interviewed wanted to discuss intimate issues with married people with some degree of experience. Although I had not been married for long, their key concern was you had to be married to be able to discuss intimate relations and this was an advantage for me in many cases, since many of my informants opened up after knowing my marital status.

Challenges

I did not find so many challenges during my study in Kawempe division. Some of the challenges that I faced, I was able to settle. One challenge though was that different researchers had conducted research in the area related to my topic, given the progress of CEDOVIP on domestic violence. Many of these researchers had been interviewing people who were part of the organization's activities, or perpetrators and victims had participated in the studies. Many of them thought that they were being used by these organizations and researchers for economic purposes without receiving any care as participants. However, after explaining to them that my research was academic and seeking to contribute to the available information on the problem, they opened up to be part of the interviews.

Ethical considerations

Researching on issues of intimate violence is very sensitive and therefore I had to take a lot of ethical steps and considerations to avoid compromising my informants. Before I left Bergen, I was cleared by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD), the authority responsible for research ethics in Norway. On my arrival in Uganda, I

submitted an application for research approval which was approved by the National Council of Science and Technology (NCST). These various national authorities were concerned about how I was going to treat my informants and the information they provided. In the field, I tried before all the interviews to explain my research and seek voluntary participation at individual level. All informants were also informed that the information they were sharing with me would not be shared with third parties. Anonymity was observed, for example informants' names were not taken during interviews, although some of them would happily introduce themselves even before interviews started. Language and interview venues were chosen by the informants.

Chapter III: Literature Review

The problem of IPVAW

Studies from around the world provide massive evidence of women experiencing violence from their intimate partners. Studies from different countries show that almost half of all women who have lived in intimate relationships with men have experienced at least one incident of violence from their partners. Women experience this violence differently depending on the perpetrator, the situation of perpetration, the social settings of the perpetrator and the victim, age, ethnicity and race among others. The problem of IPVAW is of multidimensional nature; it has so many faces, even when studies are done in the same area, the results may be different (WHO 2002).

According to Watts and Zimmerman (2002), the most accurate data on the prevalence of intimate partner violence come from cross-cultural population surveys. They point out that findings from such surveys indicate that between 10% and 50% of women who have ever had partners have been hit or otherwise physically assaulted by an intimate male partner at some point in their lives. The findings from these surveys indicate significant differences in prevalence of the problem across nations, communities, and individual groups. They also show that not only do nations have different experiences of IPVAW, but also individuals within various countries and communities have different experiences of the problem. This can be seen from the figures presented by such studies. The World Report on Violence and Health (Krug, 2002) for example, reported that 10-69% of women in marriage or current relationship world wide experienced intimate partner violence. The experiences of the violence by women vary according to the location of the women experiencing it, for example rural and urban settings. There are also differences between west and south. The results may also vary according to the research methods used to collect data, the culture of silence that may make victims withhold information about the problem, among others. However, these findings also show how widespread the problem of intimate violence is across communities and countries. The extent of the problem in particular parts of the world may vary, but the results show that you will find it almost everywhere. This brings to light the complexity of the problem. Discovering the

problem and working towards its end therefore pose a great challenge for individual activists and organizations dealing with it.

The problem of IPVAW is common both in developed and developing countries. Men and women from different ethnic groups, economic classes, racial groups, and with different academic backgrounds do experience IPVAW to some extent (Krug, 2002, Watts and Zimmerman 2002, Family Violence Prevention Fund², Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2006, Alio et al 2009, Andersson et al 2007). In America for instance, it has been estimated that 22.4% of American women have experienced intimate violence in their lifetime (Breiding and Lynberg 2005). In 2001, women accounted for 85% of the victims of intimate partner violence in the United States of America (Family Violence Prevention Fund). In the African context, the problem of IPVAW still continues to make the lives of many women miserable. In a cross sectional study of domestic physical violence in eight African states (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe), Anderson et al (2007) found out that all the countries were affected by the problem. This study indicates different prevalence of the problem, with some countries experiencing high rates while others experience lower rates. Mozambique and Malawi reported the lowest rates of 9%, and Zambia reported the highest with 32%. This study found that the factors responsible for violence varied depending on age, education, the language of the country and differences in languages within one country, rural-urban disparities, attitudes about sex, and multiple partners. However, across all the countries, having multiple partners was recorded a common cause of physical partner violence. In other studies too, the results vary according to the area of study, the participants in the study, ethnic differences, and individual differences among others. For example, whereas in most of the studies in African settings, low level of education is a risk factor for intimate partner violence (Anderson et. al. 2007, Krug 2002, Karamagi et al 2006, Koenig et al 2003, Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) and Macro International Inc. 2007), this was not the case in Cameroon according to a study by Alio et al (2009). This study shows that, intimate violence was high among women with higher education, and also that the lower levels of income did not aggravate the problem. Women in high income groups actually experienced more violence than those in poor settings.

² Retrieved on 08.02.09 from http://endabuse.org/content/action_center/detail/754

In Uganda, according to Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) and Macro International Inc in the Uganda National Health Demographic Survey (UDHS) 2006, up to 68% of ever married women are likely to experience violence from their intimate partners. The survey noted that men are the common perpetrators of violence against their partners and identifies women as the victims of violence among intimates. The prevalence of IPVAW varies within Uganda and across periods and contexts. The (UDHS) 2006 notes that the results from a national wide study indicate clear regional variations. Even within the same regions, the prevalence of the problem may vary according to age, ethnic groups, income levels, and educational attainment (UDHS 2006). The survey indicates for example that 76% of the women in the eastern region had experienced physical violence, which differs from the 52% recorded in Kampala. According to the report, the causes of the problem also varied, from alcohol use, age of the spouses, rural verses urban residence and number of children among others.

Other similar surveys and various reports on violence against women in intimate relationships in Uganda also confirm that male partners are the typical perpetrators of IPVAW, and women are the typical victims (Karamagi et al 2006, Koenig et al 2007, Kaye et al 2006, Musuya, 2008). Most of these studies focus on exploring the association between intimate violence and issues like infant morbidity, HIV/AIDS, women's reproductive health related to pregnancy, and similar topics. These studies give less attention to the deep-rooted factors they identify the primary origins of the problem. They only to a limited degree question the underlying causes of factors considered to cause IPVAW. Issues of power and control, the socialization of men and women, and cultural norms and values are some of such factors. One factor considered essential in understanding intimate violence is masculinity. Understanding intimate violence requires one to understand the ways that men in a particular context behave, and the mitigating factors for such behavior. Some studies, surveys, activists and organizations, are beginning to focus on masculinities and how it relates to the different factors that cause IPVAW. Understanding this link between masculinity and intimate violence will offer more opportunities in fighting the problem.

Masculinity and men's violence against their intimate partners

In the area of intimate partner violence today, efforts to fight the problem have begun to consider the inclusion of men in their activities. In a more general area of gender equality struggle, scholars and researchers have recognized that for gender equality to be achieved there is a need to better understand men and the complexities around issues of masculinity (Gelles 1997, Connell 2005). Some scholars have argued that for gender equality to be achieved, men have to be considered as partners who can enhance equality efforts (ibid). In a similar way, scholars and researchers that have been involved in efforts to end IPVAW recognize that there is need to consider issues of masculinity if effective results are to be realized (Connell 2005, Flood 2003, Morrell 2009, DeKeseredy and Swartz 2005)

The problem of masculinity is a complex phenomenon to explore. Issues of manhood as conceptualized in different communities represent a great challenge for equality issues. In Uganda, the cultural setup of the various communities produce gendered practices that scholars have identified as contributing intimate violence. For instance, the issue of traditional bride wealth has been associated with violence in the home³,⁴(Wakabi 2000). Many men who pay bride wealth for their spouses feel a sense of ownership and therefore consider that they have the power to do anything with these women, including using force. It is also reported that some men resort to use of violence after frustrations resulting from bride price (ibid). In many communities across the country it is expected of women to have children for her husband in order to be recognized as complete wives and adult members of their communities. This implies that a woman only has a social existence through her husband and her reproductive role. Other practices, like male inheritance of the family property and lineage after the death of the father, female genital mutilation⁵, the practices that women and girls should kneel down for males among others still speak a lot about power relations, women's vulnerability to violence from their intimate partners, and men's strong hold on patriarchal power.

³ Retrieved on 14.03.09 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3562305.stm>

⁴ Retrieved on 14.03.09 from http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2872/is_1_26/ai_62793787

⁵ Retrieved on 14.03.09 from <http://www.womenaid.org/press/info/fgm/fgm-uganda.htm>

Scholars that have devoted time to studying men and masculinities agree that the expectations that societies place on men present a great challenge not only for men themselves but also for their relations in communities. In 'Masculinity as Homophobia' Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity', Kimmel presents insightful information on the problem of men and the social constructions of maleness (Kimmel in Brod and Kaufman 1994). Kimmel for example, points out that the complexity of maleness is that, men are not defined according to what they are, but what they are not (ibid). It is a very demanding and continuous life process that is expected of men. Not only do they have to live to the best of their abilities, they also have to live to the opposite of female life. A man is man enough if he is the opposite of a woman. If a man manages to live in a way that does not reflect womanhood in him, then he can be qualified by society as a man (ibid).

According to a study by Silberschmidt (1999) of gender relations in Kisii district in Kenya, one of the reasons for antagonism and aggression between men and women was that ongoing socioeconomic changes were leading in the opposite direction of men's traditional expectations. The changes were redefining women's roles and contributions to the family, allowing them to take on social roles like management of their families. These were previously perceived as men's roles and men resented that women were taking over. The socioeconomic changes in Kisii district hit men harder than women, thereby strengthening women's self identity and esteem, while men's identity and esteem changed in the opposite direction. The inability of men to live up to their social expectations brought feelings of inadequacy and in the effort to reassert their positions, antagonism and conflict emerged. For instance, whereas men sought to have more children as a sign of their status, women stood strongly on control of their fertility. This deterioration of men's source of power and control resulted in antagonism and aggression between spouses (ibid).

In a more recent study from rural Kenya and urban Tanzania, Silberschmidt continues to explore how socioeconomic changes have reduced men's power. Issues of lack of employment and insufficient income have negatively impacted on men's ability to live up to their social roles as breadwinners and heads of households, leaving their self esteem, expectations, and identity devastated (Silberschmidt 2001). In the midst

of such changes, men tend to look for an alternative way of reasserting their position and legitimizing their masculinity and extramarital relations in this context becomes an option. In her study, Silberschmidt provides a careful analysis of the social economic changes and how they affect men's identity and sexual behavior. It is very clear in this study that social changes tend to redefine both men and women compared to traditional social definitions of manhood and womanhood in particular contexts. Without immediate positive alternatives that may boost men's perceptions of themselves, violence and conflict may result.

In Uganda, a study of men's violence towards their intimate partners reveals a great association between violence and masculinity. The study shows that one of the core reasons why men kill their intimate partners is adultery (Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza 2007). The socialization of men and women in Uganda emphasizes sexual freedom for men, but strongly limits women's sexual freedom. Men can have more than one sexual partner at a time, which is unheard of for women. For many men that were interviewed in various prisons, it is clear that a woman having an extra sexual partner or suspicion that she has one is a challenge to the man's power. It challenges the husband's manhood; it is an expression of a man's inadequacy. It indicates the insecurity that men live with that when they just suspect or have a feeling that women are trying to challenge their traditional authority, power and control, they will stop at nothing to redress the situation, and violence often becomes one of the tools to achieve this. These ideas have great implications for efforts to end intimate violence against women.

Related to the above scenario, there is general agreement among scholars and researchers of masculinities and male violence that the majority of men who perpetrate violence against their intimate partners are those who adhere to familial patriarchy (DeKeseredy and Schwartz in Kimmel 2005, Connell 2005, Gelles 1997, Umberson et al 2003, Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza 2007). And like most African societies, Uganda can be characterized as patriarchal. This patriarchal set up theorizes power in the hands of men that most times does not march men's real lives. There are few studies that so far have sought to look at how masculinity relates with intimate partner violence in general or in African societies. Much has been committed to the study of women, women's status and other variables that are associated with male

violence against their intimate partners. But from the literature it is evident that eliminating IPVAW will continue to face great difficulties if masculinities are not taken into the picture. Together with the few activists, organizations and researchers beginning to think about masculinity issues in Uganda, I hope that this study will contribute to enhancing the knowledge of its association with intimate violence and how paying attention to it may facilitate the efforts to fight the problem.

Chapter IV: Theoretical Framework

This section will present the theoretical framework of this thesis. To make a valid inquiry, it is important to have a theoretical grounding as a tool to help look into the chosen area of study and make a fruitful analysis of the findings. In this study, I will be guided by theories on masculinities in my understanding of men's behavior.

The rich scholarship on masculinities, which I will turn to shortly, provides a body of literature that can help understand the behavior of men in general, and the behavior of men in relation to violence, violence against women, and particularly in relation to IPVAW. In the recent theorizing on masculinities, and also in some studies of IPVAW, questions like why some men are violent towards their intimate partners, what the link between their violence and masculinity is, and what kind of implications this may have for the efforts to reduce the problem have received considerable attention. Different arguments about the role of masculinity in explaining the problem of IPVAW have been presented. Some scholars view masculinity as the core factor in understanding men's violence, while others look at it in relation to other variables that are at interplay with masculinity. Whatever the approach, it is now firmly established that the issue of masculinities needs attention from scholars and activists if the problem of IPVAW is to be fought effectively.

Therefore, I intend to use the theorizing on masculinities in understanding the problem of IPVAW in the specific Ugandan context. This section will look at three issues, namely; masculinity, hegemonic masculinity, and the relationship between masculinity and IPVAW.

The concept of Masculinity

The quest to understand the concept of masculinity is a complex one. In its literal usage, 'masculinity' is used synonymously with male, man, and manhood. It is also used directly as the opposite of femininity. In the use of the term today, masculinity is used to refer to characteristics that are attributed to being a man like aggressiveness, assertiveness and lack of submissiveness. Further, men are considered to be leaders rather than subjects, marrying rather than being married, pursuing the economy rather than the domestic sphere, among others. It is a common perception of individuals as well as scholars and writers that manhood is an entity: something tangible and

objective, which exists somewhere, in the real world. Kimmel in Brod and Kaufman (1994) describes this more clearly,

'We think of manhood as eternal, a timeless essence that resides deep in the heart of every man. We think of manhood as a thing, a quality that one either has or doesn't have. We think of manhood as innate, residing in the particular biological composition of the human male, the result of androgens or the possession of a penis'
p: 119

Kimmel and other writers argue that dealing with manhood this way creates a feeling that it exists in absolute terms somewhere (Connell 2005, and Kimmel in Brod and Kaufman 1994). Manhood like masculinity tends to be perceived – as something real, tangible, and natural. If taken literally, this picture however, creates a deceptive understanding of the concept of masculinity, as masculinity does not exist in absolute terms, but is socially constructed and changes over time in different social contexts and different times (Connell 1995).

There have been various schools of thought that have sought to study men's behaviors. In its early development, the concept of masculinity was studied and interpreted as a relational concept for example in relation to men's biology and social environment. Studies have employed psychological, sociological, biological, and clinical methods among others. From the time of Freud, all the explanations put forward have focused on advancing an understanding of male behaviors with each arguing for an understanding of men's behaviors in relation to a specific model: mental illness, the body, social structures, to mention some. However, as the theorizing of the field grew, different scholars realized the need to integrate two or more models, for example the body and the social structures, to offer a more useful understanding of masculinity and male behavior (Connell 2005). However, Connell points out that this did not necessarily provide a success since a combination of two or more failures is unlikely to constitute a success (ibid).

In more advanced analyses of the concept of masculinity, other schools of thought have been critical of traditional masculinity. They have tried to dissect the differences within masculinities in relation to for example men's social groups, looking at

minority masculinities like, poor men, powerless men, and men in ethnic minorities, among others (Connell 2005). I will look at this further in the next sections.

The development of the study of masculinity shows how it is a complex, ever changing, and relational concept. It is constructed and can imply various meanings in different settings, in relation to class, gender, race, individuals and age among others (Connell 2005, Food 2008, Umberson et al 2001). This is what characterized contemporary studies of the phenomenon that explores its complexity and cross cutting nature. In relation to this puzzle, Connell has noted that ‘to grapple with the full range of issues about masculinity, we need ways of talking about relationships of other kinds too: about gendered places in production and consumption, places in institutions and in natural environment, places in social and military struggles’ (Connell 2005 p: 71). Connell points to the fact that in order for us to have a clear understanding of the concept of masculinity, we have to look further into systems of gender relations, because masculinity ‘does not arise, except in a system of gender relations’ (ibid).

According to Connell, ‘Masculinity, to the extent the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture’ (Connell 2005). This definition highlights important elements of masculinity that need to be carefully observed in efforts to understand masculinity and violence. It emphasizes an understanding of masculinity as not about men as biological beings, but about practices and social ideals and their effects on men and the wider community. This implies that masculinity is not an independent entity, but a phenomenon that is constantly being shaped by and within particular cultural and contextual practices. These practices keep changing in their different social terrains, and may therefore carry different meanings and impacts at different points to the individuals and groups that are involved. Masculinity, in other words, is an interactive concept; it is differently defined according to the interactions it makes with the rest of the world. In relation to violence, this implies that it is not men as biological males that are violent, rather the attributes that cause men to be violent come from their relations with the rest of the world, as I will be discussing in the next sections. We may also note here that since men and masculinity are not one

static and single entity, there are many and various masculinities and not a single masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity

In his writings on the concept of masculinity, Connell (1997; 2005) has put emphasis on the issue of *multiple masculinities*. He points to the fact that there are various masculinities exhibited by different men at different points in time and in different situations. Different men may exhibit different reactions to the same phenomenon, and also, one man can have different reactions to the same phenomenon. In his prominent book 'Masculinities', Connell indicates that masculinities are heavily dependent on class, race, ethnicity, and abilities among others (Connell 2005). This kind of thinking is supported by other studies on masculinity (Umberson et al 2003, Crowell & Burgess 1996, Connell 1997). However, according to Connell, recognition of multiple masculinities is just a first step. (Connell 2005:76). Important to note here is that although there are various masculinities even in one single community, say for example Kawempe, there will be a common masculinity that all these masculinities adhere to in that cultural context: this is what Connell calls 'Hegemonic Masculinity'.

Hegemonic masculinity is defined by Connell as the 'configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women' (Connell 2005:77). There are very important elements that we need to point to in this definition. Issues of gender practice, patriarchy and male domination seem to place men in a dichotomous world in relation to women. This power that is culturally attributed to men, the ideals of male dominance and women's subordination, continue to live in conflict with reality as men and women relate to each other as husbands and wives.

This kind of masculinity (hegemonic masculinity) is the one popularly portrayed in cultural contexts in order to keep the image of men as opposite of women. However, as Connell and other scholars have noted, not all men do perform this kind of masculinity. There will be minority masculinities in all communities, and also those who adhere to the hegemonic masculinity will not live up to its full expectations (Flood 2003, Connell 2005). In relation to violence, we need to note that within a

defined hegemony, some men are violent, while others are not. All men's reactions to situations that may lead to violence are not the same. Some men react violently, while others do not. More still, these reactions will vary depending on the context, implying that one man may exhibit different reactions to similar situations. In a similar thinking, Umberson et al. (2003) have noted that 'different masculinities may have important implications not only for relationship quality but also for the potential for violence in intimate relationships' (ibid: 234).

Similar to the above discussions, Morrell has noted that violence is a product of cultures (Morrell 2009). Morrell adds that the different actions that arise within specific cultures like violent acts do reflect the cultures in which they arise (ibid). This is the line of thinking that has guided the investigation of the problem of IPVAV in this thesis, keeping it at the back of my mind that culture in its definitions of masculinity shapes men's ways of behaving, acting, and reacting, although these behaviors may differ from man to man. However, cultures do change, and if we recognize that cultures do change, and that masculinities and masculine attributes are defined and incubated within these cultural contexts, it follows that masculinities can also change and that therefore, change is possible if a new approach to masculinity is sought for violence perpetrators.

Masculinity and male violence against intimate partners

Perceptions of a real man in various communities vary across ethnicities, age groups, and cultures as noted earlier. However, there seems to be certain commonalities in understanding of a 'real man' across cultural contexts and times. Various characteristics have been used to describe men in relation to women. For example, a man should not cry, he should be brave and aggressive, should defend his family, should be interested in football, sexual conquest, and others. These attributes are related to male power that is defined by the different cultures and their dominant positions. However, it is not a given that men have this power. Men at all times have to defend patriarchy which is at the root of these culturally constructed male characteristics. Men's relationships become central arenas for them to do this. It is important to note that the way most societies socialize men seems quite the opposite of how it socializes women. Whereas men are socialized to demonstrate power and protect it, women are socialized to submit to the power. The socialization of women

entails preparing them for reproductive roles like producing and taking care of children, caring for the members of the family, and doing domestic chores like cooking, cleaning and satisfaction of their husbands. This kind of socialization of women puts them in a position as subordinates and obedience. The division of spheres into the public for males and the domestic for females creates different worlds for them where women become dependants on the men and thus submissive to their authority (Michele and Scott in Kimmel 2005) Although some studies demonstrate that some women have been violent towards their intimate partners, it is also documented that many women do persevere violence from their intimate partners due to the cultural norms and myths about marriage and violence (Gelles 1997, Musuya 2008). Gelles for example notes that among the things that keep women in violent relationships are: society's perception of male use of violence as disciplining, that battered women like being hit, and that family matters are private (Gelles 1997). These ideas are part of the burden of socialization that women get from society which is also an important aspect in understanding intimate violence. However, in my study I deliberately focus on men as my main interest. Whereas all aspects and parties of IPVAW are important and deserve attention, the male side of it has so far received less attention than the female. That is why I have chosen to make men the main focus of this study, and the emphasis on masculinity theory follows naturally from this choice.

According to DeKeseredy and Schwartz in Kimmel et al (2005), there is a strong link between masculinity and violence. Men live in a world of definitions of what a man is and how he ought to live to meet this standard. However, throughout the lives of men, social changes and situations emerge that conflict with the life that men ought to live as culture shapes them. It thus becomes quite difficult for men to negotiate between for the life they ought to live and what they actually find themselves living. For instance, as discussed in the previous chapter, men face challenges of failing to live up to the masculinity expectations as a result of social-economic changes in communities. Men want to show power but this power has no backing. The socialization of boys to roles in the public rather than the domestic world has great implications for their later relations in their private lives. The continued separation of boys from girls throughout the process of socialization impairs their abilities to relate to the opposite sex in future (Adams and Scott in Kimmel 2005). Elements of power

and control that they are socialized in continue to manifest throughout their lives and these have implications for men's ability to share and communicate with family members on an equal relational level. Inability to such communication is a likely condition for violence against their intimate partners (ibid). Masculinity encourages men to hold their 'emotions', for example that they should not cry (Phillips 1994 in Kimmel 2005). This socialization impairs boys when they grow into men from being able to express their feelings in the face of real life and this is a likely core source of violent behaviors (ibid).

According to masculinity scholars (Connell 2005, Kimmel et al 2005, and Umberson 2003 among others), the way that men are brought up as children, and how they live in masculine circles, disable them in relation to handling situations that may lead to violence. There is a strong link between the social norms and violence (ibid). Important to note is that the eruption of violence among partners can be seen as a coping strategy by many male partners. For example, when masculinity norms and values are coupled with men's inability to demonstrate and uphold these norms and values, violence may easily become the chosen coping strategy (DeKeseredy and Schwartz 2005, Connell 2005). It is important to note that the problem of masculinity and IPVAW is a continuous conflict between what men actually are, and what they think they ought to be (Umberson et al 2003).

In contention with masculinities scholars, this study is guided by the thought that IPVAW best can be understood through an analysis of masculinity traits as constructed in social norms and cultures. Within particular communities, the different practices and norms that men and women grow up with have a lot of implications for their lives. These are practices that are passed on from generation to generation, and every generation will at a particular time work in defense of these cultural practices. The struggle between what men are and what they think they ought to be still poses a great challenge for men in relation to masculinity and possibilities of violence against their intimate partners. These ideas are a guide into the investigation and analysis of this study. From this, we can firmly say that to understand masculinity itself, we need to apply an approach that engages the people involved in its practice. This is one of the issues that this study investigated through listening to the voices of men and

women who were or had been in situations of violence. In the next chapter, I present the perceptions of IPVAV by the victims and perpetrators.

Chapter 5: Perceptions of IPVAW by the victims and perpetrators

In *'Mobilizing communities to prevent domestic violence'*, a resource guide for activities of CEDOVIP published by Raising Voices, the authors emphasize the complexity of defining intimate violence. In their focus which is made clear both in the resource guide and their practical activities, CEDOVIP gives more emphasis to intimate partner violence than other kinds of domestic violence. This is evident from their approach to the problem in the resource guide;

'Domestic violence, therefore, as used in the Resource Guide encompasses the spectrum of abuse women experience from their intimate partners. It can refer to the level of fear in a relationship, the absence of mutuality, the low status of women, the presence of injustice, and the level of disrespect'(Michau & Naker 2003 p:8)

The resource guide provides a definition of domestic violence, but gives greater emphasis in their work to IPVAW with respect to the victims (women) of the violence and its perpetrators (men). A close look at the definition of domestic violence shows that the focus is on violence experienced by women from their intimate partners (men), and not in relation to public or political conflict or others. It does not focus on violence experienced by children or violence experienced by men from women. Although the organization recognizes other forms of domestic violence, they chose to focus on violence against women from their intimate partners. This definition indicates that this particular kind of violence is considered more pronounced in the general picture of domestic violence in Uganda by one of the major NGO actors in the field. This places IPVAW at the core of an understanding of even other types of violence in the home. This suggests that this study's focus on IPVAW corresponds well with the situation on the ground.

As I will use the terms in this thesis, "intimate partner" refers to a man or woman who is involved in a current or interrupted relationship as a spouse. It does not include dating relationships, or people who are divorced, but includes those who are temporarily separated. "Spouses" refers to men or women who are living together or

who lived together as husband and wife, regardless of the type of marriage they have or had (that is to say, customary, Christian, Moslem or any other).

In this chapter, I will present the perceptions of IPVAW by the victims and perpetrators. I will present and discuss what they consider as acts constituting violence against women in intimate relationships, the differences and similarities between men and women in understanding intimate violence, and an analysis of these dynamics in victims' and perpetrators' perceptions of the violent acts. While the perceptions of IPVAW are the informants' views, they are presented in 4 categories which were constructed based on the discussions with the informants. These categories are; physical, emotional, sexual and economic violence. They also to large extent correspond with categories used in other studies in this field that have categorized violence against women (Gelles 1997, Pickup et al 2001, Koenig et al 2003, Musuya 2008, & Karamagi et al 2006 among others), but here, their foundation is the perceptions of the informants.

According to the findings, various acts are considered by informants as acts of violence. Some of them are related to or similar to those reflected in the CEDOVIP definition presented above and in other literature, while others may be unique to this study. In this chapter, I focus on bringing out the voices of men and women on how they understand these forms of violence and what they mean to them. The perspective of these informants brings new insights into the understanding of the problem of IPVAW.

Physical Violence

Physical violence is what almost all my informants mentioned first when we started to discuss IPVAW. When they started to narrate their marriage stories, women labored to take me through the process of the relationship before they mentioned acts of physical violence. By contrast, men would drive at conclusions more easily if you asked them to tell you about their marriages and IPVAW. Statements like “*yes I have beaten my wife*”, “*yes I have slapped my wife but this is how it happened*”, and similar statements which shows that in their minds physical injuries is what defines being violent. Physical violence was the most recognized form of violence, and as good as all the informants easily recognized such violence. Concerning other kinds of

violence, it was primarily when the informants were engaged in deeper discussions of IPVAW that they emerged as issues.

Informants' definitions of physical violence included male perpetrators' use of physical force that had bodily effects on the victims such as beating (okukuba), kicking (okusamba), slapping (okuyisamu emmpi), and chasing the woman out of the house. Whereas some of these are similar to what other studies have found out (Karamagi et al 2006, Kaye et al 2003, and UDH 2006) the women informants raised an issue not defined as physical violence in other studies, namely the issue of being chased out of the house by their husbands. Being chased out of the house was associated with acts that had potential physical effects, for example being raped, or hit by thugs. Most of the kinds of physical violence that were mentioned by women were acts that hurt them, and ranged from bodily pain and minor bruises to serious injuries. Nalongo for example in sharing her experiences said;

'My husband would beat me in the night when everybody was sleeping, and I would not make noise for fear of what the neighbors would think of our family. The next morning, I would just go out with my pains and bruises, and if anyone asked me, then I will say that I knocked myself on the wall or something like that, and it was really a period of pain and suffering for me...'

In this quotation, we can see how Nalongo endured the pains of beatings from her husband without even daring to report to the neighbors or parents for along period of time. It indicates the culture of silence that surrounds issues of intimate partner violence experienced by women. Women are bruised, hurt, and disfigured by their partners, but they hardly can confess it as violence to the rest of the world. However, in the quotation below, its evident that in most cases even when women expose the problem of physical violence to the neighborhood, it is still considered as a private matter: a matter between her and her husband.

Maama Nanyondo said,

'When my husband started seeing another woman, every time he came home and I asked about the woman, he would just beat me. He used to beat me and I would run

into the neighborhood for hiding until even the neighbors got tired of me and our family's violent nature'

While the women considered acts like beating and slapping as painful and violent acts, men considered them as a way of disciplining their wives and making them listen and do what they wanted; to the majority of the men, they were normal disciplinary acts, and acts that would give them immediate results. Mr. Kabangala for example said that; *'if you don't use force like beating, she cannot settle and when you beat her she will listen to you'*. Mr. Matovu in the same way said; *'as I said earlier, women are like children. You have to beat her for her to know that you are the head, a woman goes with beating...'* Although physical acts were considered by some men as acts that would yield immediate results, other men took a lot more time thinking before applying physical violence to their wives; they would use it as the last resort after trying other disciplinary acts that could be categorized as sexual and psychological violence.

I wish to point out here that in order for us to understand the problem of intimate partner violence and particularly physical violence from the perspective of victims and perpetrators; we need not only to understand contextual differences, but also individual differences. Narratives of acts and the extent to which they are considered acts of violence vary according to social, economic, cultural and geographic context, gender and individual differences. However, in as much as the narratives may indicate variation, the general picture portrayed here, especially by men, shows some level of difference between the genders in understanding and interpreting physical violence. From the above quotations, it shows that men hold to the beliefs of having the power to discipline the women, being the heads of household, and the ones to determine how women should behave. The attitude that men have is that, even though this would be considered violence, it is violence with a purpose. In relation to the masculinity, violence seems to explode as men try to keep themselves in positions of power. Women do not have to behave as women; they do not portray their inherent individual characters, but they have to behave as men ask them to. It is considered that normal woman's behavior is the one that reflects the husband's demands. More still, the socialization of men and women positions men to think that they are above women and that women must be submissive. In case the woman is not submissive, then the

man has to look for ways of making her submit, of which physical violence is one of the most common.

Emotional Violence

As mentioned earlier, discussing IPVAW with the informants quickly drew their minds to acts of physical nature. Violent acts that had no physical effects were considered secondary and less serious, especially by the perpetrators. Even though such acts were mentioned by women as the most frequent acts of violence that they experienced and the most painful in the long run, they were talked of as social problems that women lived with in their marriages on almost a daily basis rather than as violence. They were more regular than physical violence, and also occurred as effects of other kinds of violence like physical and sexual violence. Violent acts of psychological nature were considered by women in most cases as physical or sexual violence or economic violence is likely to occur soon.

The informants' understanding of emotional violence included acts that created stressful situations for women and anxiety, and sometimes acts resulting in physical pain. Acts mentioned included: chasing the woman out of the house to sleep outside, shouting at the partner, keeping silent in the house for long time, refusing to eat food and staying hungry in the house, coming back home late without notice to the spouse, staying away from the family for long periods of time, frequent and unending quarrels. According to the responses from the female informants, this is the most common and most regular form of violence. In most cases, physical violence occurred as a result of aggregated acts of emotional violence. For example, a man will have quarreled for some period of time and have kept quiet for some time before he reaches the act of beating. This also corresponds with findings in other studies of intimate violence (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007; Morgan & Björkert, 2006). For example, Kilmartin and Allison, in an analysis of violent relationships note that 'It took three years for the verbal power and control tactics exacted by Joel Steinberg to escalate into horrific physical violence' (Kilmartin and Allison 2007 p. 13).

In my own study, several men attest to this. For example, Mr. Ndaula noted that *'There are a lot of things you go through before you switch to use of force. And so I think it takes quite long for someone to start using violence in the home'*

Matovu noted the same thing: *'In my family I use three things, the first one is to talk to my wife, then I will just keep quiet and ignore everything, and if she cannot listen, then I will pick up my stick and beat her'*.

This indicates that many women go through quite a lot of psychological torture before physical violence erupts, and acts of emotional nature greatly dominate. I also wish to point out here that these tactics and resultant physical violence still depict the masculinity control tendencies held by the men. The male informants' statements clearly show that, it is a process through which men try to exert their power over the women. Emotional acts of violence resulting in physical acts imply that men feel that they have to do everything within their means to make women adhere to their orders. It seems that emotional violence is more like an integrated part of the common life of intimates, whereas physical violence is more like an explosion after many instances of emotional and sometimes sexual violence.

Women also mentioned various sexual and economic issues as forms of emotional violence. Throughout the interviews women mentioned as worst of all psychological actions like keeping silent in the house, coupled with economic acts like refusing to provide for the family, take the wife and the children to the hospital, refusing to pay house rent, refusing to buy clothes for the children and the wife, pay schools fees for the children and confining them in the house. On the surface, these are more economic kinds of violence, but women mentioned them as being of psychological nature. Maama Nanyondo was so inclined to this;

'At the time that these women came to me [women volunteers from CEDOVIP] I was almost giving up on my marriage. I had just delivered by cesarean and my husband abandoned me and the children in the house. We had no food, no money for medical treatment and no care from anybody at all; I was actually giving up if it was not for these women. I had a lot of pain in my life, weeping and crying every night'.

Such situations also create painful memories that women can hardly overcome throughout their marriages. Nalongo, who had experienced almost all kinds of

violence from her husband in her marriage, said that quarreling was actually the worst kind of violence in the family;

‘There are men who just quarrel all day and all night, in fact you just wish that he beat you and that the matter ended there. Its not that I support beating, but there are times when it really gets out of hand and you have no peace at all in the house’

The men were aware of this too: Mr. Kabangala mentioned the same thing in relation to psychological violence:

‘Some women just like it that way [that you beat them] other than doing all the other things like quarreling and keeping silent in the house which is a long term pain, whereas if there was a beating, the matter would have ended there’ .

This quotation reflects ideas documented in other studies of IPVAV. According to a study by Morgan & Björkert (2006), the informants who were sharing their experiences of violence from their male intimate partners, indicated that they would rather have beatings from their partners than going through psychological trauma of abuse, insults, quarreling, and a lot more symbolic acts.

Psychological violence was experienced by many of the female informants as very traumatic throughout their lives, a maltreatment that women had to go through without even reporting it to anybody. And in case they reported it, it was something that would never be believed or taken seriously and not even the children in the house would be aware of it in some cases. The particular thing about emotional violence is that it tends to interact with and cut across all other acts of violence. In some cases it will be a sign of another kind of violence coming up, or an effect of the other kinds of violence experienced by the women. In communities like Kawempe which are surrounded by a lot of myths about the family and where whatever happens in the family is considered private, psychological violence becomes even more complicated.

Sexual Violence

Sexual violence was not a topic that many informants went into directly during their narratives. It was brought up later in in-depth discussions, and seemingly as a result of

the discussions on other violent acts like physical violence. According to the informants, sexual violence includes unwelcome sexual advances and sexual starvation. The element of physical pain was not mentioned by either men or women, but force was most commonly recognized as sexual violence by women. Sexual violence acts included forced sex, acquiring another partner; refusal to use protection methods especially after a man had been with another woman and came back to his wife, sex starvation and dissatisfaction, and forcing women to have sex during their menstrual periods.

Forced sex was reported used mostly after physical violence or quarrelling. Some husbands said that they later would force a woman to have sex as a form of reconciliation. For example, Mr. Matovu, a resident of Makerere Zone II said;

‘After we had a fight during the day, I wanted to have sex with my wife to put things right, but because she was still angry with me, she could not allow me, so I had to force her and after that we got better.’

Similar situations were brought up by women and according to them this was not considered as reconciliation but as accumulation of anger and a way of violating her consent and readiness in sexual matters. Nalongo considers that her husband, by forcing her to have sex, showed no regard for her;

‘For him after beating me, he will come for sex whether you want or not. He does not care if I am interested, whether I am ready for it or not, but only cares for his satisfaction. For you, you are still angry, but for him, he has put everything aside and now he wants to have sex with you’.

Whereas women experienced forced sex as painful and even as additional pain to the physical pain they already would have gone through, men considered it as an act that would reconcile them with their partners and restore love and the positive feelings they would have disrupted earlier. In a sense, some men also considered sex with their wives as a right and that they could have it at anytime they wanted. To the men, it implied something completely different than it did for the women. A woman taking long periods without having voluntary sex with her husband was considered

unwelcome by men and a matter of great concern. Some men complained about loss of love feelings from their wives because of their entry into the public workforce, while others attributed it to family planning's effect on the women; Mr. Matovu considered that;

'Since my wife started working she drastically declined in matters of love. Every time she came home, she would be complaining of being tired'

The problem of sex starvation was not mentioned by women as an act of violence, not even by those who considered their husbands getting extra partners as violence. However, to the men, it was a big problem if a woman refused to have sex. It could have more violent results, like forced sex or that the man got an extra partner to meet his sexual demands. This in turn would imply additional sufferings for the woman like neglect of the family and the responsibilities of providing for the family, and also physical violence during the time of sex objection and after.

With reflections on masculinity and control of women by men, sex in this case becomes a tool of conquest by men. They use sex with their partners as a means of reasserting themselves. The way in which men and women think about withholding of sex can be seen as a reflection of the power structures in this community and the male ownership of women including their bodies. Women in this study clearly considered forced sex as violence. By contrast, even though the men considered withholding of sex as a great problem, less sex did not stand out as an act of violence for the women, since it is the men who initiate sex. These findings correspond with previous studies on intimate violence. For example Kaye et al (2005) found that 'stigma associated with sexual violence and the prevailing perception that a 'married' woman can not be raped by her spouse since a woman is not expected to refuse his sexual advances' were explanations for the underreporting of the problem of sexual violence. Therefore, as identified in my interviews, these male complaints should be seen in relation to the social constructs about women, marriage and sex, which implies that as long as a woman gets married to a man, she automatically accepts to have sex with him any time he demands for it.

Economic Violence

Economic violence was normally mentioned by the informants either as a result of other violent acts or as a cause and a sign of other forms of violence. Although to some women, this was a primary and serious form of violence, other women considered it secondary compared to other forms of violence experienced. This was described in terms of family resources, including human resources. Women more than men, mentioned acts of economic nature as acts of violence. Economic violence was defined as acts like prohibition of women from working, confinement in the house and limitations on the amount of time they were allowed to spend on work for those who worked outside the home, control of women's earnings, the husband's refusal to provide for the family, and spending family resources on other women and alcohol. Women mentioned that this was a way that men wanted to control them: through controlling the finances the men kept them as dependants. Maama Nakagwa, who had a banana stall, said;

'My husband refused me to work for so many years in our marriage. But when he started going out with another woman and neglected the family provisions, I decided to start selling bananas because at this time he cared so little about what was happening to me. When he returned home, he did not stop me but wanted me home so early and you know people who buy bananas normally come late in the evening after work.'

Maama Nakagwa was emphasizing how uncomfortable she was because of her husband constraining her from working. The limitation of the time to work was attributed to men worrying that their wives have affairs with other men if they go out to work. Important to note here is that the majority of the women who find themselves in situations of violence are also dependants on the men in this study, socially, economically, and emotionally. Even those that have tried to break this cage of dependency through acquiring productive work are still drawn back by the patriarchal power structures in the society and the home; some men consider that they have having the right to control what their wives earn from their work. The other control of women than taking away their earnings was that men would pull out of providing for the family so that a woman spends everything she earns on meeting family needs. For example, Maama Nanyondo who sells tomatoes in the market said,

‘When my husband started treating us badly in the family, he refused to give us money. He would just leave 1000 Shillings [This is less than a US dollar] on the table before leaving home in the morning. I had just delivered by cesarean and needed money for treatment and buying food, I needed money to buy milk for the baby and the other children. What could I do with the 1000 with all this? I spent all the money I had saved from the stall which was not even enough’

Women’s entry into the workforce was perceived as a problem by men. Some men complained that when women started working, they became disrespectful towards them. They also talked about dissatisfaction in love and sex in the relationship, and some of them were regretting why their wives went to work. Matovu, an electrician, said with a petty face

‘Since my wife started working, she lost interest in love making [meaning having sex] and this disorganized us greatly. Every time my wife came back home, she complained about being tired...’

These in a way also indicate the masculine tenets of controlling women and keeping them dependent on men. Society socializes men into breadwinners for their families and it becomes a way of controlling their partners as they have power over family resources. The fear in most cases is that a woman’s economic independence will also break the dependency and control of men.

Conclusion

In conclusion, narratives in this section show the extent to which intimate partner violence rotates in a circle. The understanding of the various kinds of violence is quite intertwined; they are not easily separated although somehow they can be differentiated. For example, for some women being sent out of the house would be perceived as emotional violence, while others could see it as physical or economic violence. More still, the understanding of the different forms of violence by men and women is in most cases different. Whereas men may perceive slapping as an act of disciplining, women may see it as violence. Some acts that may appear physical in nature may have more psychological effects on women than the physical effects

themselves. Even with a distinct presentation of these forms of violence: physical, sexual, and economic violence, I would like to point out that none of these forms of violence stands out alone, the differentiation can only come from the informants' perceptions and the context of study. One kind of violence in one context would mean another in another context, and one form of violence would be a cause to another. What remains as a common element is that whatever kind of violence and however it may be interpreted, it will have consequences for both the victims and perpetrators. Contextualizing them will help to design solutions that will give results in specific contexts. In the following chapter, I will present and discuss the risk factors for these forms of violence.

Chapter 6: Risk factors for intimate partner violence

Intimate partner violence in Kawempe division and in Uganda, like elsewhere in the world results from a web of factors (Kaye et. al. 2005, Gelles 1997, Karamagi et al 2006, Musuya 2008, and WHO 2002). In the same line of thinking, Gelles for example has emphasized that if we concentrate on one type of family violence or intimate violence, we can easily miss the point (Gelles, 1997, p.2). In the *World Report on Violence and Health*, the WHO also puts emphasis on the multidimensional, context specific and individual nature of the risk factors for intimate partner violence (WHO 2002).

In my own interviews for this study, I did not find any single risk factor that can be a core explanation of IPVAV for all the informants. This supports the view that concentrating on one factor would miss the link to understanding the interactive nature within which intimate violence starts, grows and manifests. As discussed in the previous chapter, this study also indicates that one cause of intimate violence could also be the cause of another or a result of another kind of violence that the woman may have experienced previously. In this section, I will present and discuss the risk factors that emerged during the interviews. These were categorized according to the information that was provided by the informants. They include factors like influence of cultural values and norms, poverty and associated constraints, the duration of the couple's marriage, extra marital sex, weak legal structures, and the influence of the activities of women NGOs and the tension between men's use of violence as an expression of power and helplessness.

Cultural values and norms

'It is very hard for women to be equal to men, in the Muslim community. If a woman does not understand what has been said, she is not supposed to ask, but she must go home and ask the father, brother or husband, or an uncle. Even among the Christians a woman is not supposed to go on the pulpit. If you add this to our own culture, that a girl kneels down when she is greeting, giving or receiving from an elder while the boy stands, that when you are buying toys for children, you give the boy cars and the girls baby dolls, there is a way you direct someone's mind from childhood towards how they are meant to behave and what is to be in their adulthood. We strictly separate

them, even if the girl is the elder, the boy will be the heir to the father and the family....the problem is still big'. (Mr. Ndaula)

Cultural values and norms and the perceptions of violence in the families and particularly intimate violence against women still prevail among people and in the society. The way men and women are socialized as children, what they do and what they hear and see shapes the way they perceive life at a later stage. It stands that the society in which men and women grow up proposes particular gender roles for them that the individuals somehow will try to uphold. Challenges to these gender roles often seem to trigger violence by men against their intimate partners. The informant Mr. Kabuye, who had separated from his wife a few weeks before the interview, said something that highlights a different cultural perception of the violence in the family to the quote above. This indicates the varied views that may exist within a culture which influences how they will look at issues and act in the future.

'A woman can not beat a man.....it's in nature! Like the way it is that a woman can not marry a man, like it is that a baby can not discipline a mother but a mother disciplines the baby, so a woman can not discipline a man[meaning beating], but a man disciplines a woman. This is not something that is written anywhere, it is just in the way we live our lives '. Mr. Kabuye

This was not only mentioned by men. Also women put emphasis on the issue that culture, including the way women and men are socialized, creates a potential for violence in cases when these social constructions are interrupted. For example Nalongo, who has been married for twenty years, more than half of which has been violent, said:

'Ha ha ha [she laughs] a woman can not beat a man, for us when the senga [a sister to the girls' father] is preparing you for marriage, she tells you that you should never beat or even attempt to beat your husband, you should not face the wall in bed [which literally means that she should never deny her husband sex], that you should never answer back when your husband is speaking, but put water in the mouth when he is quarrelling [meaning you must shut up].' Nalongo added,

'Even though the Sengas prepare us this way, some girls do not get this preparation and even some who do, do not actually follow these instructions. Some of them will fight with their husbands, abuse them or even harm them....but I think the way we are shaped also makes men seem more powerful and women seem as subjects to follow the men in everything'.

These and many other social and cultural conceptions by men and women have great implications for use of violence among intimate partners. Cultural norms and values that are transmitted through verbal communication, sayings, songs, social interactions and in other ways mould men and women as power holders and subordinates respectively. Music for example, is one of the tools that are used to maintain this culture in Uganda. As many people enjoy the music as entertainment, they also use it as a learning tool. For example Silver Kyagulanyi, a male contemporary musician, in his song *Guuma* writes a letter responding to a sister's outcry for her husband's violence towards her and her plea to quit the relationship. Silver encourages the sister that she should be stronger because she is better off than many who are not married. Sophia Nantongo, one of the most popular female artists, sings a song to her friend (*Bakulimbye*) who is threatening to separate from her husband that she has relied on rumours to leave her home, but she should be aware that all men are the same in all parts of the country and anywhere in the world. An upcoming musician, Marriam Nantuume, sings a song to her husband on her wedding night and in this song she tells her husband that from that day he can turn her into an asset the way he finds suitable. These songs and many other examples show women their position in marriage in relation to men; they emphasize and justify the power that men hold over women in the family. Compromise of this power seems to be an important factor that sparks the problem of violence against women in intimate relationships.

In the feminist understanding of violence against women, violence is perceived as deeply embedded in the patriarchal structures that continue to keep women in subordinate positions and men in dominant positions. The use of force seems to be one of the means that people in the positions of power (oppressors) can use to maintain their positions. In the context of intimate partner violence, this seems to be the means that men resort to more frequently to maintain their positions in the family and in communities (Gelles 1997, Connell 2005). In the same way of thinking,

Umberson et al noted that men who use violence do actually act out and demonstrate the cultural identity of masculinity (Umberson et al 2003). This literature very well relates to concepts of masculinity and the stress studies in violence of men against women. There is a relationship between the male struggle to maintain the cultural constructs of masculinity and the stress that may arise as a result of the gap between the normative and the reality. As I discussed in the previous chapter, relating this to the situations expressed by men and women in the interviews, it indicates the tension within men and women's positions as a result of the social norms and values they grow up with as children and continue to live with later as husbands and wives.

In societies where there is a high acceptance of use of violence in other social situations like for example when disciplining children, there is also likely to be high rates of intimate partner violence. In many parts of Kawempe and Uganda in general, there is a general culture of using violence as a way of disciplining, and intimate partner violence can be seen as one part of this general picture of violence acceptance. In 2006, the Ministry of Education and Sports banned the use of corporal punishment (Sunday Vision, 13th August, 2006). Until this time, the use of corporal punishment in schools was a very common phenomenon both among teachers and student leaders. Canes were commonly used by teachers as a way of disciplining the students. For example in a New Vision article on the 7, July 2003, Juliet Nsiima lamented how she was caned 58 times, and argues that the head teacher attributed this to disciplining. She said that sometimes if we cried, we were caned further for rejecting discipline, insisting that, 'No Pain, No Gain'. In 2002, the then vice president of the Republic of Uganda Dr Specioza Kazibwe, came out publicly due to her husband's beatings. She was considered as a voice speaking for so many women who had been beaten by their husbands but had no way to be heard. Wife beating was culturally, and still is in many Ugandan communities, a way for a husband to discipline his wife. This cultural tolerance of violence as a way of disciplining can be seen as one explanation why women experience a wide range of violent acts from their intimate partners. It is also supported by earlier studies (Kaye et al 2005, Musuya 2008) that use of force is perceived by the men as a way of disciplining rather than as violence towards their female spouses.

The gendered nature of social structures that men and women live in have also a lot of implications for men's use of violence. In the *World Report on Violence and Health (WHO 2002)*, it is noted that studies around the world have found great association between use of violence and issues like structural inequalities, the unequal gender roles, and notions of manhood linked to dominance among others.

In Kawempe Division and many other communities in Uganda, the social structures are strongly gendered. Quite a lot of things are determined by people's understanding and practice of gender. Issues related to social inequalities as a result of cultural upbringing, the unequal gender roles, and notions of manhood among others have greatly influenced the use of violence by men. In the interviews, issues of male power in the house and struggle to maintain this dominance, including the man's ability to command, women's submission to the command, clearly emerged as risk factors for intimate violence. Moreover, these issues operate in an environment that brings together a host of other factors that are likely to lead to violence. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, these factors do not stand alone but work in an interconnected way.

Extra-Marital Sex

A study in Mbale district Uganda identified infidelity as the most common cause of intimate partner violence (Karamagi et al, 2006 p: 9). Also in my study, a man acquiring another woman was the most common start of trouble within couples. Women, when beginning the tale of their relationships, mostly stated that their relationships were well until their husbands acquired new partners. In many of the cases I did not find any information from the female informants about violence before they knew or suspected their partner was going out with another woman.

In Uganda, and particularly in Kawempe where I conducted the study, polygamy is a widely practiced norm. This practice has gendered perceptions and meanings. Some men take it as their right to have as many women as they want whether the women accept it or not. The informant Maama Nanyondo brought this up in her story about the violent times with her husband. Her husband said to her when she tried to stop him from relating with a woman she suspected to have HIV/AIDS that he was free to have as many as 15 women if he chose to and as a woman she had nothing to do about

it. She further said that the man asked her to leave if she felt that she could not take his habits. Many women do not support this practice, but others are part of its perpetuation in the community whether consciously or unconsciously. Again the music industry plays a role in preserving status quo. For instance, the female musician Catherine Kusasira in her song *society enongosemu* sings to a woman that in a modern society not every one's co-wife is a rebel, and encourages co-wives to love one another. Sophie Goby in her song *Spare Tyre* sings to her co-wife and points out to her that she recognises that she knows about her existence, but also emphasises that she is just a helper and Sophie is the real wife. Men are also making music in support of this practice. For instance, the musician Abdu Mulasi sings a song called Farm, in which he states that, he is going to make a farm of women and he will be the one attending to them on the farm; he will rock them up and give each one a number with a tag marked Mukyala Abdu⁶. These messages from popular artists illustrates that polygamy is a highly common practice, and that while some people oppose it, many other people tolerate it. In the local language, there are several sayings that support the practice. For example, Nalongo said that her aunt, in the pre-marital counselling sessions she took her through, instructed her that '*a man never belongs to one woman*', meaning that a man can get as many women as he wants. These and similar ideas keep upholding the values of polygamy in the communities. Therefore, men can choose to have extra partners at will and they will be considered wives, [*abakyala*] as they call them locally. Women on the other hand, are treated the opposite way. A woman who has extra marital sex will be treated as a social perverse and a prostitute. Some families do manage to live peacefully even with a man having many wives, but in most cases it is in the situation of polygamy that violence tends to erupt. Moreover, some men do acquire extra women as concubines for sex purposes and not necessarily as their wives. In such cases they just go out with them for fun and sex, and the women are not actually introduced to the man's family as wife. Whereas women may tolerate polygamy with its complexities to some extent, this practice is highly rejected by women who will make efforts to stop their husbands from keeping concubines. In the interviews, the husbands acquiring a concubine was greatly associated with the beginning of violent acts in the family, like neglect of family responsibilities such as

⁶ Mukyala Abdu means Mrs. Abdu. In this song Abdu says that all his wives will carry this tag wherever they go.

buying food and paying school fees. It was also associated with quarrelling and beating. Ms Nalongo noted:

'After my husband realised that I had learnt that he had another woman, he started to mistreat me and the children, and he would throw us out of the house. He neglected us and even decided to leave us in the house alone for the other woman. When he came by the house, he would spend the whole time fighting.'

Maama Nanyondo noted that

'It was his relationship with this new woman that caused the entire problem. He neglected the family and rarely came home, and when he happened to come home anything could easily lead to a slap. He started wasting money, I could no more know about his earnings and savings. He refused to give us money and I had to look for money myself to pay for school fees for the children. My husband hated the children and one day he asked me to take them and throw them in the river if they were becoming a problem to me. This was really a very hard time for me.'

Men getting other relationships as the above quotations show brought a lot of problems in the family, which easily culminated into violence. More so, many couples had conflicts over sex if a man acquired a new partner without the consent of the older wife. With the current prevalence of HIV/AIDS, many women demand use of condoms and/or having blood check ups, which is detested by many of the men. Women reported that if they asked the husband to go for a test, he would turn it around and accuse the woman of infidelity and prostitution.

Maama Nanyondo said:

'I feared the partner that my husband had acquired, and during the time when I was having problems with my husband, I started contemplating separating from him. He came back and I asked him for a blood check up for me to know that he was ok and for him not to say that it was me who left him infected. At the mention of this he started accusing me of infidelity and that I had given him the virus. He abused me and beat me frequently'.

Some women insisted that they would have nothing any more to do with their husbands regarding sex, demanding that the men should stay with their new partners and leave them in their houses with their children. For men, this was equivalent to a woman chasing you out of the house, even in cases where the man was accepted in the house, but did not share the bed with his wife. Common results of such scenarios were reported to be quarrelling and use of force in sex and physical violence. In relation to the masculinities theory, this clearly depicts how men derive their power as men. In this case the socialisation of men makes them believe that it is in no situation that a woman should reject a man's advances, and complete denial of sex and chasing out of the house in this case could yield negative effects for women involved.

Poverty and intimate partner violence

'Irrespective of the method, sample or research design, studies of marital violence support the hypothesis that spousal violence is more likely to occur in low- income, low socio-economic status families' (Gelles 1997, p: 83). Studies of intimate violence across the globe indicate a positive relationship between poverty and intimate violence against women (Karamagi et al 2006, Musuya 2008, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2003). My interviews also point in the general direction of a relationship between poverty in the family and intimate partner violence. They indicate that poor families are exposed to greater risk of intimate partner violence because of challenges caused by financial constraints in the family, for example the inability of the husband to meet his financial obligations to the family, and women's economic dependency on men. Poverty on the side of women reinforces the traditional ideas of women's dependency on men and as power holders through their provisions for the families. This makes them even, more vulnerable to acts of violence from their husbands in case of disagreements in which the men feel they can use power to achieve their desires. Poverty on the part of the parents may also result in early forced marriages which emphasizes the man's power and facilitates his controlling behaviors. where a man marries a wife because the parents need wealth from their daughters, it will follow her in her marriage that a man will look at her as a purchased piece of property with whom he can do anything with her and incase a woman rejects to his demands in many cases, a man will feel compelled to use force to make her act. However, I wish to note that according to the informants, poverty is not necessarily the cause of intimate violence. Rather, it increases the risk for many

women married to poor men to experience violence and also women's own poverty puts them in a risky position. In other words, it is not the case of being poor per se that brings violence in the family since there are some poor couples but not violent. Instead, is the problem of the social perceptions of a poor man that makes violence more possible in poor families and for some men, the situation of poverty gives rise to other relationship problems.

The majority of male informants state that being poor and stressed with the constraints of financial provisions creates tensions that trigger violent behaviors towards the people in the family, especially their partners. Men feel that they are expected to demonstrate that they are the heads of their families and one way to do this is through providing for family needs like food, housing, medical treatment and clothes among others. Lack of money, having poor jobs that demand too much of one's time but still pays little, joblessness, frustrations at the work place coupled with demands at home, were seen by some men as risk factors for intimate partner violence. Mr. Kabuye points out this clearly:

'When you don't have money as a man, then you know that problems are setting in, in your marriage. The woman expects a lot out of you which you can not provide, she also begins to compare you with other men who are better off than you in your conversations and as a man you can not stand this. So if you talk to her and she can not listen to you, then you have to use force somehow to discipline her'.

This quote is full of confirmations of the earlier discussed theories of masculinity. Reading it, you realize that poverty is not actually the problem at hand. Rather, the problem is what the man understands as being poor and also the family's interpretation of his inability to take care of the family financially. In such a situation, the man is confronted with the reality of life (as not having money), and what the man thinks he ought to be, which is a product of the social expectations (the woman's expectations of the man and also the man thinking that the woman expects a lot out of him, the comparisons of the man with other men and the man's inability to stand all this). This situation becomes the melting point for violence to erupt as the reality conflicts with the normative. In this case there is a visible association between lack of resources and use of violence. The problem of the crisis of finances in the man's life

posses a big challenge, the inability to meet his expectations and the expectations of the wife results in feelings of inadequacy and powerlessness as the head of the family, which is likely to lead to use of force to reassert the man's position in the family. The man does not only suffer under his personal financial difficulties, but also suffers from economic inferiority to the other men. This kind of comparative living under the strong holding of masculine norms pushes men further into violent acts. This corresponds well with masculinities theorists that attribute the violence of men to the conflict between the social constructions of maleness (Gelles 19997, Kimmel 1994, Connell 2005, DeKeseredy and Schwartz 2005), and the real lives they live in their later ages.

The problem of poverty and intimate violence does not only arise from the men's financial difficulties, but also from women's financial problems. Women's poverty and dependency on men keeps them in violent marriages. They find their husbands to be their source of survival and in the face of male desire for dominance, these women are forced to abide by their husbands' power and violence. For example, in my discussions with some women in Makerere Zone II, one woman pointed out that:

'I have suffered under violence since I married my husband. First of all I got married to him because of the financial difficulties I was going through with no job, and basically no means of survival. Even now, I can not leave because I have nowhere to go to there is nowhere to start from'. This demonstrates how women's poverty and difficulties in life in other circles make them more vulnerable to intimate violence.

In other studies of violence against women by their intimate partners, it has been discovered that changes in the status of men and women due to economic changes have had negative impact on their relations (Kaye et al 2005, Silberschmidt 1999, Karamagi et al 2006). An association between women's increased access to work and men's violence has been documented. The interviews reflect these tendencies. Mr. Matovu's emphasised the issue of his wife getting into the work sector. He points out that since his wife started to work, their relationship started to deteriorate, as his wife would no longer have sex with him as before and even give him satisfaction. This resulted in force and violence. According to Silberschmidt's study in Kisii District in

Kenya, the economic changes in relations between men and women strongly coupled by social changes affected men and left them powerless and this created feelings of 'powerlessness and a certain fatalism' (Silberschmidt 1999). Among my informants, some men also felt threatened by their wives going out to work as they feared that they would have extra partners. This suspicion was raised even when the women in fact did not go out with other men. Some men would for instance insist to monitor the phone calls their wives received.

They also monitored the people that their wives associated with and decided for them whether the people were acceptable or liabilities to their marriages. For instance, Mr. Kabangala pointed out that;

'I bought my wife a mobile phone because I thought that she also needed one. But after she started working, she will come home and when she receives a call she will talk without words coming out clearly or sometimes even move out. This did not happen before she resumed work and I was wondering why all the change. So I decided to monitor her phone call, and we had several quarrels and misunderstandings.'

The point that I would like to emphasize here is that men of such kind that find themselves in such situations, use violence as a way to reassert their masculinity over their partners since they can not demonstrate this rather in a non violent way. Issues of provision in the family hold great values for men and their identity as heads of their families, and inability to live to this expectation leaves some men devastated. Experience of poverty has a great relation to the cultural constructs of men and women. Cultural definitions of masculinity and male expectations put a shadow on men who find themselves poor. Issues of leadership and power arise but with no resources to meet them, and men have to do everything to redeem and uphold their positions. As mentioned in the beginning, the problem of violence is intertwined in a web. Poverty therefore, has a great influence on violence, but it is also influenced by the environment that men grow up and live in, the differences between the life they live at present and the life they ought to live as according to the cultural environment.

Age of entry into and duration of marriage

The age at the time of marriage and the duration of marriage were also mentioned as risk factors for male violence against their intimate partners. The informants spoke about this in two ways. On one hand, there were higher chances of violence for people who got married at an early age, as teenagers, unprepared, than for those that got married at a mature age and after preparations. In Uganda, several young boys and girls are either forced or encouraged by their parents to get married under pressure because the family want to get money and other items as bride wealth. Others are forced to get married due socio-economic difficulties in the family that may lead to dropping out of school, and others get married after getting pregnant unexpectedly. Unexpected pregnancies in this case seem to be the biggest problem when it comes to forcing young men and women into marriage. Mr Kabuye, who had separated from his wife a few months before the interview, centred his explanation for his misunderstandings, quarrels, and fights around age and ‘childish behaviours’ as he called them.

‘What I would see as the major reason I think I may say, is maybe age. We were both young and there was a problem of each one of us not giving respect to each other. Because she looked at me as a boy before her, she also undermined a lot of things that came out of me after we were in marriage, and how do you get to an understanding with such a person? We were always quarrelling and fighting until we separated to give each other some time’

For some men and women, getting married at a young age put them at great risk of violence from their partners. Important to note also here is that many of those who get married young do not receive the counselling services that would be of help in the later years of their marriages. The Sengas (the paternal aunt of the woman) give counselling as part of the traditional way of being prepared for marriage, and the church and the Islamic community give counselling at a religious level at the time of marriage. This is one of the reasons why this category of partners who marry accidentally and at a young age tend to be more violent due to lack of counselling in advance. Poor communication skills and inability to understand and tolerate their partners were some of the reasons for the violence. This corresponds with what was found in a study done in Wakiso district, a neighbouring District to Kampala where

Kawempe Division is found, which found that poor communication and inability for partners to resolve issues amicably was one of the causes of violence (Kaye et al 2005).

As mentioned earlier, age has another face for the couples who took time to prepare for their marriages. Most of the informants I interviewed reported peaceful periods of love, understanding and caring in the family for the first five years or so. A lot of women who complained of financial neglect, prohibition to work, husbands acquiring a new partner as kinds of violence experienced, were saying that things were fine in the beginning. It seemed that the longer the couple stayed together, the more conflicts and violence arose. Ms Nalongo, in her opening narration of the journey of her marriage, says;

'Things were fine with me and my husband for the first years until my husband got a new partner. Then the whole life was never the same again'. Maama Nanyondo one of the few informants who wedded her husband in church, has been married for 19 years. She opened with the same story,

'In the beginning, things were fine until a certain woman from Masaka came to stay in our neighbourhood and my husband started an affair with her. When I tried to talk to my husband about what was going on between him and the woman, he totally turned against me and even shifted and rented a house for the woman in a different area. That started the whole problem in the family'.

Even though the responses from men do not directly depict this picture, their perception of violence in relation to time and age is almost the same. The explosions of violence take quite some time to occur, especially physical violence. As discussed in the previous chapter, it takes a number of things to keep piling on each other, for example, from silence to quarrelling, quarrelling to neglect, to absenteeism from the home, and lastly physical violence. They experienced that they accumulated anger over time. For example, Mr. Kabangala, who had separated from his wife a month before the interview, said that;

'This happens [use of physical violence] because we are trying to look for how to live with our wives. You first talk to her for some time, and if it does not work, you talk to her relatives, and then you will resort to acts like keeping silent about the whole situation, until all options fail to yield an answer, then you beat her..'

In the same way, Mr. Ssenyondo said,

'I thought that my wife would change....in my family I use three things, talking to my wife about what I want , if she does not respond, I keep quiet, and if that does not work, I will pick up my stick and beat her'.

Mr. Ndaula on the same issue said,

'You can not wake up one day and quarrel, or slap or hit your wife....there are lots of things you go through before you switch to use of force. And so I think it takes quite a long way for some one to start using violence in the home, except for some men who are just violent not just in the home but also in the public' .

There are a number of things that can be derived from these statements and others of the like. Given the cultural grounding of the males and females after some periods of close intimacy in the first years, power issues begin to manifest. One has to command and the other has to listen. In the course of the relationship, there is a breakdown in communication, and the inability of the two partners to reach agreement on many of the differences. However, the age of entry into marriage and the duration for some couple do not emerge as independent variables in explaining the problem of intimate partner violence. As noted earlier in the situations explained, it can not be the timing of marriage that causes the problem. There are several couples that have been married at a very young age and yet grow up into mature fathers and mothers without experiencing violence. But for some couples, as demonstrated in the cases above, the issue of age is coupled with enormous challenges that these partners go through. Poverty, culture and extra marital sex are all issues that may begin to arise as partners live for longer periods together. As such challenges arise, masculinity tendencies created by culture leave men at cross roads, and violence becomes a tool to mater the problems. The ideas of masculinity theory are thus well suited to explain the process leading up to violence described by the informants.

Male use of force as an expression of power and helplessness created by the gendered socialization of men and women

'It is in nature, a woman can not beat a man' Mr Kabangala

'Impossible! A woman can not beat me, and then I must come out and show that I am the man in the house' Mr Ndaula

In the interviews with victims and perpetrators of intimate violence, there is an indication of tension among men between the use of violence as an expression of power but also as a manifestation of their helplessness in their relations with their female partners. There are many men who use violence to show their partners that they are the heads in every decision making and that they are always right. Men do this because they are not able to show this in different ways. As presented before in the discussion of culture, I wish to point out that the tension created by culture results in situations that make men violent and women submissive. The core values of marriage, including love and care and companionship among others are not based on violence, but on peace and understanding between the partners. However, many men who have grown up with feelings of being on top in everything enter marriage with very limited abilities to harmonious coexistence. When their partners act in a way that seem contrary to what they believe is right, violence is likely to erupt as they feel that their partners are trying to challenge not only their authority but also their abilities. Mr Kigongo demonstrates this in his discussion of the causes of violence towards his partner:

'They came about [violent acts] because I thought I was the final decision maker and the final person in the home. They also came about because I never used to concede defeat in my relations with my wife. I used a win-win strategy in all arguments and decision making in that I used to make sure that in whatever is going on, my argument is the best. This did not give me a chance to listen to my wife's argument even if it was the right and better for us. And if I concluded and she went ahead to do the contrary, then violence would erupt in the family. Sometimes I really knew that she was right but I had to prove that I am the right and final, otherwise this would make my position as a man to be questioned'.

Many men who use violence, are men who live defensive lives. They are men that are always struggling to prove themselves to their partners, to their fellow men in their communities, some to their family relations, and others to their peers. As social constructs of men, being expected to show their manhood, they are in reality left quite helpless. Ms Nalongo in her discussion about male use of violence, emphasised that as a man in the family when matters go the way he does not please, then he must come out and show that he is the head of the family:

‘Omusajja alina okusanjalata [this laterally translates that a man has to be a man]

The saying sounds quite so simple and to the point, but it pools a huge burden on the men in the family. For a man to show his machos includes controlling his wife to the level of community expectation and appreciation. The methods of controlling are very varied and may differ from man to man. Men, who would not reject these concepts and expectations, normally end up in violence. Violent men are men that can not stand to be challenged and show their response abilities as individuals. As a way to counteract any challenges from women, if they can not win over women in a more peaceful way, they will resort to use of violence in the hope that the women then have to submit.

Friedman and Collins (in Gelles 1997) found out that men who batter are those with low self esteem and vulnerable self concepts. Gelles notes here further that with such kinds of men, ‘a remark insight or comment that might not affect someone else may be interpreted as a sight, insult or challenge to many of these men’. Contrary to the saying quoted by Nalongo above, there are lots of other sayings that show that a man is supposed to win his family through good actions and not violence. There are very clear indications of alternative masculinities in the different parts of the country and help by different individuals. For example, in Ankole, the western part of the country, the Banyankole have the saying that ‘Amaka gafubire, amushejja ayeyanjurira abaana be’ [meaning that in a family where relations have gone wrong, a man introduces himself to his children]. This saying shows that a man in the family is supposed to be recognised by his children without him introducing himself. But if the family has gone bad, then he will always be asking his children questions like: Don’t you know

that I am your father? Do you know how you came to the world? The same applies to the woman; he then asks if she does not know that he is the husband and similar questions. These situations demonstrate the men's helplessness and their struggle to reassert themselves through use of force. This is supported by previous research on the problem. Ball et al (Gelles 1997:79) have noted that abusive men have been described as feeling helpless, powerless and inadequate.

In communities like Kawempe, where there are social norms for how men and women should be in their relations, men as well as women find themselves in helpless positions, with the social expectations becoming problems to them. One of the renowned women's activists in Kenya has been quoted emphasising this in situations of men's and women's gender positions.

'I think that when we talk about the position of women in Africa and see how miserable it is, quite often we forget that these miserable women are married to miserable men. (Wanagari Mathai, 1992, Kenyan women's activist cited in Gordon, 1995, cited in Silberschmidt 1999)'

Many men who use violence maybe constrained to live to fight any forces that challenge their power and position as men and as the dominators. However, there are various forces that challenge the cultural gendered power constructs and go beyond what men can actually control, both within their personal lives and in the society. These include economic shifts, political forces, social changes due to global influences, including unemployment, human and women's rights movements and new meanings and interpretations of family and marriage concepts. Such forces increasingly challenge and question the supreme power of the man in the home and the community, and in order for some men to guard against these influences and protect their positions, they resort to use of violence.

In her study in Kisii District in Kenya, Silberschmidt (1999) found out that antagonism between men and women emerged from the social changes experienced by the community, which challenged the identity and self esteem of men more than that of women. Her study demonstrated that it was not easy for men to give way to these social forces that challenged their traditional social positions. In men's struggle

to sustain these positions of dominance, conflicts emerged between men and women that resulted in use of violence.

Connell notes that ‘violence is part of a system of domination, but at the same time a measure of its imperfection. A thoroughly legitimate hierarchy would have no reason to intimidate. The scale of contemporary violence points to crisis tendencies’ (Connell 2005). His emphasis is on crisis in gender relations rather than on the crisis of masculinity. Transferring this idea into the understanding of intimate partner violence, it clearly shows that use of violence by men is a sign of tension among the perpetrators to reassert themselves but also as an indication of gender crisis, experienced by men due to the alteration of the gender order as socially expected. Mr. Ssenyondo points out this clearly,

‘Use of violence does not earn a man respect, but fear. When a man feels that he is being challenged by any circumstances whatsoever, in domestic matters, he will resort to violence to demonstrate his power’

Mr. Matovu also noted, *‘Of course it is my responsibility that I must provide for my family, I must demonstrate that I am the man in the family by giving my wife what she wants’* this implies that in case Mr Matovu and other men who think like him can not provide for their families, then their positions are threatened and they resort to other measures to command their positions. At this point, I wish to state clearly from the discussions so far that culture demands for dominance and not violence. Non violent dominance is ideal and largely accepted. Therefore, the use of violence is one way of reasserting a man’s dominance in cases where he can not dominate otherwise.

From this therefore, it is important to closely examine the socialisation processes, cultural norms and values, the languages and meanings of different words for men and women, and the cultural institutions that uphold the cultural norms and values in the understanding, prevention and fight against intimate partner violence. There will always be disharmony between the social constructions in societies where men and women live and the actual reality of their lives. It is the appreciation of this dichotomy between the social norms and the reality, the ability to help men and women

harmonise their lives in relation to these dichotomies that will provide one avenue to the solution to the problem of IPVAV.

Weak legal structures and violence

Another issue that was associated with violence by informants was the lack of legal regulation of the use of violence in the family. Whereas the constitution of the republic of Uganda prohibits maltreatment of individuals and imposes respect of individual dignity (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995), there is no specific law that prohibits use of violence against the spouse. Women especially attributed the male use of violence to the unavailability of this law, and the poor response by the police towards intimate partner violence issues. They also attributed violence to the police demands for fees from the violence victims to file their cases, demanding money to arrest the perpetrators, and that even when the perpetrators were arrested, they could pay money in order to come out of prison. If the men came out of prison after bribing the police, then violence would increase even more for the women. Talking to some women who had reported their husbands to police for violence, one woman noted

‘This police is also a problem. When you report a man for violence, he will pay money and tomorrow he will be out. It is even worse if you take him there and the next day he follows you home’

Another woman told me

‘I reported my husband to the police for beating me and neglecting the family. He was arrested and stayed at the police station for one day. The next day he was released and when he came back he boasted that a person with money cannot be kept in prison, he said he had paid the police to let him out of the station. But when I reported this to police again, he denied it’.

Problems with the police are also related to the problems women face at the local council levels. Most of the violence cases reported at these offices normally involve reconciliation between the victim and the perpetrator. In most of these cases, the perpetrator makes promises that end in the council offices. One of the leaders at the council in Bishop Stuart Zone emphasised that when they resolve matters of domestic

nature, they have no legal guidance to make decisions, and this leaves the decision in the hands of individuals which makes it difficult to castigate the perpetrators. Even though most the informants advocated for reconciliation and harmonious resolution of violence matters, in the interviews, many of them agreed that having a law would be good to scare away those that were hard to change peacefully.

Intimate violence and the women's organizations at community level

Lastly but also important among the reasons mentioned by informants, was the issue of connection between the work of women's rights organisations at community level and the increased use of violence by men against their intimate partners. This was an issue that was rather more emphasised by men than women. For many men, the work of women's organisations was an outright challenge to their position in the family. The interpretation of these organisations was that they were working towards making women equal to men, which they found unacceptable. They also experienced a problem with the approach of these organisations toward family matters. Many of the organisations singled out women from the community and worked with them, leaving out the men. One organisation that was mentioned was FIDA (Association of Female Lawyers). Any woman that went to this organisation for help was referred to as a FIDA wife and people would shun away from her. The men accused the organisations of causing antagonism rather than harmony. Maama Nanyondo highlighted this as one of the things that fuelled violence from her husband. For example she said,

'One day my husband was beating me and he kept saying that let me beat you and see what your Specioza [The former and only female Vice President of the republic of Uganda] will do in this matter. The Vice president had promised that she will train all the women taekwondo so that they will be able to fight their husbands that were violent towards them. So my husband sometimes would beat me to show that these activities would not be able to challenge his authority'.

A 45 year old man for example during an informal discussion, said:

'I think these are just hired organisations that have come to accomplish a certain mission and go away. They are preparing a situation that they will not be able to uphold in the future' another man noted *'these organisations do a big mistake. They come and take away our wives for their seminar and workshops. We don't know what happens in these meetings, but when our wives come back, they want to practice what they were told. This is impossible'*. The way of approaching the issue of intimate violence has probably been a cause or a stimulus of the problem in some situations. However, what we should note is that these men are not against the existence of organisations trying to end IPVAW in the area. They seem to recognise the problem and also know that it requires a solution. The problem is how the issue is approached, by singling out women. This seems to them as an effort to challenge the traditional power of men. In the next chapter, I will discuss the issue of male involvement in the fight against IPVAW in detail.

Conclusion

According to Heise (1998), there is need to adopt an integrated framework in understanding issues of intimate violence. Heise proposes that there are many factors that are interrelated that can explain the phenomenon of intimate partner violence. Gelles (1997) also notes that intimate violence is a combination of various factors and that one factor alone does not have the potential to explain the problem. Other studies (Kaye, et al 2005, Karamagi, et al 2006, and Musuya, 2008) also indicate the interplay between many social, economic and cultural factors in situations of intimate violence. The interviews with my informants do support these earlier studies and also indicate that intimate partner violence is a complex issue. Discovering, understanding and resolving it makes one to be aware and appreciate the many factors embedded in our daily lives. Many factors are relevant for the understanding of male intimate partner violence against women. These factors are so interconnected that one may not be able to understand one without the other. The factors responsible for intimate partner violence against women range from socio-cultural-including the cultural tolerance of violence, the socialization processes, and the cultural languages and norms-to economic factors like unemployment and demographic factors like age among others.

As I have argued in this chapter, an analysis of the problem of intimate partner violence against women in Kawempe and in Uganda requires effort. Every detail of the lives of people involved matter a lot, the way they speak to one another, the way they greet, the way they sit, the way they use family resources, what they do and what they don't, the way they dress, what they eat and do not eat. These factors and many others have implications for the relationships they are in. The links between these factors are quite interesting to explore. For example, culture has a great influence on men and how they respond to the partners and violence yielding situations, but looking at it more closely, one realizes that culture alone is not an independent factor in making men violent. However, combination of culture and financial constraints, for example, or the lack of an effective law enforcing organ, may easily trigger the problem.

This picture of intimate partner violence poses a great challenge to people and organizations in their efforts to fight the problem. The next chapter will deal with this topic in more detail through focusing on the role of men in fighting the problem. However, an important lesson to learn from the interviews presented in this chapter is that efforts should focus on holistic measures that will leave a harmonious community in all aspects of relations. The interviews show that getting into any community from one side neglecting the other could possibly worsen the problem. In as much as a particular area may seem severe and deserving due attention, activists should bear in mind that paying attention to other areas alongside their priority areas may yield much more results.

Chapter 7: Opportunities for involving men in efforts to end intimate partner violence against women

There are a multitude of factors that trigger intimate partner violence in Uganda, as presented in the previous chapter. These range from individual to social, economic, cultural and political. In the presentation of these factors, I pointed out that the risk factors are interconnected. I also noted that many factors are incubated within particular situations that partners go through, within which conditions for violence to erupt are created. The factors are also complex in that they are so intertwined with the social structures, values and norms that people live with in their everyday lives, making the situation even more complex to deal with. Many individuals and organizations like CEDOVIP, FIDA Uganda, Raising Voices and many others have been actively engaged in activities to reduce the problem, but to this date, there are a lot of violence cases among couples, ranging from minor incidences to death. It is almost impossible to read local newspapers, listen to local radios, or watch television news without finding a case of intimate partner violence, and still we should bear in mind that there are a lot more cases that are not reported. More important still is the way that the media report on cases of intimate partner violence. The reports are targeted to hit the interests of their consumers and to catch the attention of the readers. Media pay limited attention to the details and realities of the cases. Instead of getting to the depth of the cases of violence, the media rushes to publish sensational pictures to show the incidence. The problem with the way the media covers the issues of intimate violence is that they tend to reconfirm the power relations and prolong the problem. The media also in their reports tends to continue to portray men as the perpetrators and women as the helpless victims. Activists and organizations have used various approaches to expose the problem and seek its ending, including sensitization programmes, counseling, and legal aid for women victims seeking legal justice against their perpetrators, demonstrations, advocacy for legal reform, community mobilizations, and others. Many of these strategies have targeted the victims of IPVAV, while less attention has been given to the perpetrators.

DeKeseredy and Schwartz, in their advocacy materials for male involvement in the fight against interpersonal violence against women, specifically look at the violence of men against their intimate partners. They point out that focus on the victims alone

will relieve the victims but will not solve the problem of violence against women (DeKeseredy, and Schwartz, 2008). Providing relief to one woman or a group of women will only make the men move on to their next victims and will not have solved the problem (ibid). More still, working with rescuing the current generation will not save the coming generations. There is need to pay more attention to the prevention of the problem, and since the perpetrators are the core cause of the problem of IPVAV, they must be given due attention in efforts to fight this problem. One of the issues I brought up with my informants was the issue of including men in efforts to prevent intimate violence against women, and how they could be involved. This chapter will explore this inquiry. I need to note here that the focus of activism against violence by men against their intimate partners has been based on issues of equality and justice. This means that there are elements of power involved, and change of this power arrangement as a way to achieving justice and equality has been the core of the efforts of these groups. These are relational concepts, implying that one party is not happy about the other; there is inequality because some people are 'more equal' than the others. Men have power that they use in the form of violence against their intimate partners. Most likely, this has been the reason why men were closed out and efforts concentrated of rescuing those that are oppressed, the women. Issues that will be explored in this chapter include: creating awareness among men, men to men peer programmes, the effects of violence on men, and engaging the young generation in antiviolence campaigns.

Targeting men for campaigns against intimate partner violence against women

Many of the campaigns that run in the media channels like advertisements to stop violence, articles in newspapers, radio programmes and television talk shows, condemn men as the problem in perpetrating violence and target rescuing women. Activists and organizations have organized numerous campaigns through seminars, workshops, village and community meetings, brochures and posters, placards, newsletters, radios and television talk shows among others. Most of these seem to exclude men as the problem and targeting women as victims. The services provided by the different organizations in intimate partner violence prevention tend to target women. However, as generally accepted by the advocates and people in general in the Ugandan context, and as confirmed by my findings, men are a core part of the

problem and it is rather hard to eradicate the problem without considering the core cause. Mrs. Nalongo noted:

'Yes we have to involve men. It is very important and will be very rewarding. Men are the cause of this whole problem that organizations are seeking to resolve. If you only take out the women and give them the services like counseling and sensitization about violent acts in the family, teach them how to identify violent situations and how to escape them, you are just worsening the problem, because you are only looking at the outcomes and not the cause of the problem. In fact, since men are the problem, the organizations should have their efforts on helping them to stop their actions, otherwise even if the organization gives me help after my husband has beaten me but leaves him home the same way, he will beat me again and again and the problem will not be solved'.

It seems to run across the interviews that having only women in these campaigns or predominantly women will be problematic. Many of the informants seem to emphasize the issue of equality, including issues of numbers. Mrs. Nalongo noted: *'it should be equal, both men and women'.*

Maama Nanyondo also supports this idea:

'Men must be involved. There is need for organizations to consider involving men in these activities to stop the violence. You know many times I have been involved in demonstrations where we hold placards with information on violence against women. But in these activities, there are very few men that come to participate, because they think that these are issues for women. But if they are women's issues and we are saying that men must stop, what do these men think about our actions? Me, I think that we need their support in this work'.

In the interview with Mrs. Nalongo, she emphasized that if only women are targeted, there is actually a possibility of more violence in the family. I have discussed in the previous chapter that men who were reported to police stations became more violent when they returned to their families. Those who worry about using physical violence for fear of being imprisoned again opt for more silent methods of dealing with their

partners. Mr. Matovu recounted that his wife at some point reported him to police, and on the return he became more furious:

'I was very angry with her. Even my relatives were. Funny enough at the police station, when they asked her what she wanted to be done with me; she said she had forgiven me. When she returned home, I was asking her that if she thought that the police would solve her problems, then why did she have to return to a violent man. And you know these organizations are the ones that have been telling our wives to report this and that to them and then they advise them to go to the police'.

In the previous chapter, I also discussed how some men become more violent because of their partners' involvement in activities to end intimate partner violence like meetings, seminars, rallies and demonstrations, because the men were not part of these activities and had no appreciation of what their wives were engaging in. Many men felt that this was an attack from the women and the organizations on their position. In Ugandan culture, where the women are subordinate to their husbands, they are required to seek consent in most of the things they do, including involvement with the community. Men who have no appreciation of the activities towards fighting intimate partner violence may not permit their wives' involvement in such activities. For example, Mr. Ndaula pointed out,

'I did not really like these issues of women and violence until CEDOVIP came to me. The women go out there and when they come back home, they want to practice organization doctrines in the home. I had no idea whatsoever of what she was doing. Not until when the organization started to enlighten us on their activities and involving us, I was strongly against her and would have done something really bad to hurt my wife'.

This shows that organizations that target involving women also need to have men as part of their work in order to avoid backlash. Women informants also emphasized the issue of men's access to information. They pointed out that it is very hard for them to share the information they got from the organizations when there's violence in the family. Important to point out here is that the inability of women to share the information they acquire from the organizations, makes them the worst placed to

share this information. This implies that if the organization targets the women, it largely excludes the men and therefore leaves the problem of intimate violence unsolved, if not increased. Female informants emphasized the problem of breakdown in communication that often happens and that they cannot share the information they get from the organizations. Therefore, the expectation of the organizations of women as the middle link between the organizations and their husbands becomes rather unrealizable. For example, Maama Nakagwa said,

'Just imagine a man who has not been talking to you for almost a month. When he comes home he just goes to bed and does not even care how your life is, he could not be bothered about your family and the children. In the morning he just jumps over you in bed and leaves without a good morning, So how do I start talking to him about the organization and its work, and what they told us about the same violence in the home?'

This was also a problem for Maama Nanyondo. In fact, she had feared for the organization to go to her house for fear of the consequences. She said:

'Let me tell you, these women asked me if they could meet my husband after listening to my story. I was scared of them coming to my house, especially if my husband learnt that it was me who told them about our conditions in the family. But since I had endured a lot of mistreatment from my husband for some time, and because these women promised that they were going to handle the matter without my husband realizing that I had knowledge of it, then I had to give it a try, otherwise, it was rather very hard'.

It is very important for the intimate partner violence campaigns to work on the information accessibility for both men and women, and to make men part of the campaigns so they can learn how to appreciate this work. It is important to point out that the issues related to intimate partner violence are considered private by many in Ugandan communities and as demonstrated in this study, this goes for both men and women. Therefore, making the violence public may be considered as an assault on the privacy of the family and may cause great trouble for the women doing it.

The findings in this study concur well with Ferguson writings. Ferguson et al pointed out that it is very important to shift the attention in approaching IPVAW from looking at men as the problem to treating them as partners (Ferguson et al 2004). Such a shift will also imply a shift from concentrating on the consequences of IPVAW to preventive approaches which will be more efficient in the fight against this problem.

Creating male peer groups

In the interview, Mr. Ndaula noted that some men, in their peer groups, do encourage other men to hit their wives just to show that they are real men. Men will always belittle other men on how they are able to show their manhood. Mr. Ndaula noted that *'some men just hit the mattresses or any objects and they will ask their wives to scream for people to hear outside in order to prove to their peers their power'*. This clearly demonstrates the power of peers in the construction of manhood and shaping one's masculinity. Musuya in her study noted that men in their 'Marwa' groups [these are groups of men who come together on specific times to drink locally brewed alcohol] have a lot they share in common; men do have the power to influence their peers in so many ways in their decisions in their families (Musuya 2008).

Male peer groups are very common in Uganda, and have a lot of ways they influence those that are involved. In their cultural settings, these groups are founded on macho grounds and those involved in these groups have a great role in holding on to these masculine values. Many groups that men hang out with, including alcohol drinking groups, sports groups, working groups, entertainment groups, and sometimes credit and savings groups are points of interaction for the men. Men who get involved in some of these groups stand to be influenced negatively or positively. It is in these groups that men are encouraged to stay outside their home and spend more time with fellow men, to uphold their powers in the homes and similar things. In other words, these groups are active in reinforcing masculinity. However, this kind of influence can be harnessed by the organizations, especially by men who have a different masculinity ideology than the demanding one, which is propagated in these groups. Such groups can be factors that organizations can use to create alternative masculinities.

In the interviews with my informants, both males and females, there was a general emphasis on the idea that there is need to have man to man talk in the fight against intimate partner violence against women. In many of the communities in Uganda, the voice of a woman is highly oppressed and undermined in community matters and most other matters. Women are treated as subordinates by the husbands, brothers, uncles, and other male relations. Many of the informants believed that in such a set up, it is rather difficult for women to speak to men and get their attention. The informants also emphasized the issue that the basic reason why efforts to end IPVAW still face resistance is that the activities are predominantly run by women and so most men consider it as a woman's business. There was general recognition that having men in the mainstream was a very important idea. Mr. Ndaula, for example said;

'It is very important to have men in the struggle. I was one of the men, for example, who stood up and told CEDOVIP that they would not see results unless we started seeing men in their offices, men coming to the community and also having men in the community mobilization teams. I can assure you that if we did not have men on the voluntary committees for example in my area, we would not have the results that we can see today. Men are partners and active for that matter, not merely the perpetrators of the violence'.

In a community dominated by men in most sectors, any movement that is purely female easily may be object of rejection or sabotage. I wish to notes here that the people that are most likely to sabotage activities to fight the problem of IPVAW are the ones we seek to change. Having only or predominantly women involved makes mobilization efforts very difficult, as men are unlikely to turn up for activities like seminars, workshops, and trainings. Providing counseling to the perpetrators when the victims have reported the case to the authorities also becomes rather difficult. It is also likely that using men to talk to fellow men would yield better results than if women are the ones approaching men. Ron Thorne-Finch (1992) suggests that programmes that promote male one-on-one confrontations on the use of violence against women would go further to convince men to stop or even rethink their actions. In correspondence with this, Mrs. Nalongo noted that:

'I think it is important that the men get involved. Men should talk to men and women talk to women. For one sex to talk to the opposite sex should be a matter of choice, but there should be alternatives for people to choose. Men also listen to fellow men more than they do to women. In case the women cannot make the man understand the problem of IPVAW, it is likely that a man can do it better since men normally believe that they share a lot in common'.

Looking at the cultural constructions of male power and the struggle to keep family issues private, men can hardly open up to the outside world on issues of the family, and especially not to women. They normally view women as people with women's problems who should share with their fellow women, not with men. A man is more likely to open up if it is a fellow man he is talking to, as Mr. Matovu noted:

'No wonder, when they invite a village for intimate partner violence issues, councils will send women representatives, and individual women will attend, as men think that it is a female issue. If a fellow man came to me, I would talk to him because I hope that he has possibly experienced what I am going through, but what does a woman know about male life? I wouldn't waste my time because I don't expect any solution'

Therefore, I wish to say as the different writers and the informants say, that male peer groups have a great influence they can exert on society and especially on those involved in these groups. If this power is explored by the organizations seeking to end the problem of IPVAW, they can go along way in fighting the problem.

Preventing violence through work with boys and young men

As discussed in the previous chapter, it is evident that men's violence can be traced way back before they even met their victims, to their socialization process. Meeting their victims only provide an environment for violence to erupt. As studies and scholars have indicated (DeKeseredy 2008, Connell 2005) the problem of violence by men against their female intimate partners has origin in the societies they live in, the norms and values they are exposed to and what they witness as children. This implies that efforts to prevent intimate violence that target the victim alone are only looking at one level of the violence what one could call the climax of violence (Flood 2008). Dealing with this problem requires getting to its centuries old roots. Programmes

should therefore also focus on working with boys and young men in order to prepare them for responsible adulthood.

In my interviews, this idea had great sway among the informants, who emphasized that to end the problem of male violence; the young generation ought to be part and priority of these efforts. Mrs. Nalongo, for example, said, '*emiti emito gyegigumiza ekibira*'. [This is a traditional local saying which means that it is the young trees in the forest that make it strong]. In other words, it is the young people who are the core of the society, and whatever this group adheres to is the future of that society. She further added,

'If we do not consider this group [of young people] then we are neglecting the root cause of the problem. I think that efforts should focus on working and educating the young men on how to live responsible lives free of violence both when they are young and in the future. If these young men are left out, they just join marriage with scattered ideas with no grounding on how to live responsible. Remember that much of their behavior is just learned from their associations with others as they grow up. But if someone comes in to talk to them about the reality of life, then they can be better people.'

In the same line of thinking, Mr. Mukiibi put emphasis on creating education programmes for the boys and girls who are in school to discuss issues of marriage:

'We have to engage the men and you know that it is the boys that become men. When we talk about men we normally mistake it for only old and married. But remember that in our communities a young male student in secondary school is a potential husband and his potential has to be influenced at that level.'

There is commendable appreciation among the informants of the efforts by the organizations to work with couples in preventing IPVAW, but they consider that it leaves a lot to be desired. Mukiibi further puts emphasis on how women and men are prepared for marriage:

‘There is a problem related to how men and women are prepared for marriage. For example when the church leaders are to prepare a couple, they give them just a few days of counseling before their wedding day and in most cases, it stops there. The church must speak to these people as ordinary Christians and as husband to be and after they are married’.

Most other informants, both male and female, seemed to point out the same on the importance of considering men. Mr. Kabangala said; *‘akakyama amamera, bwokagolora kamenyeka’*, [meaning that a tree that bent when it was growing, if you try to make it straight when it is old, you will break it]. This is a Luganda proverb that is normally used to emphasize the importance of shaping people when they are still young. It implies that what people learn as young ones is hard to let go as mature people. Connell points to the structural influence of the gender constructions which continue to shape the masculinity traits. Tensions rise as the gender order created by the structural forces begin to be altered. In the face of “imperfections of power dominance”, as Connell puts it, various strategies to uphold this power are opted for, and violence strategy is a main one opted for by men. In the study by Silberschmidt from the Kiisi district, one of her basic findings was that antagonism resulted from the alteration of the gender order where the roles of men were altered and the power affected (Silberschmidt 1999). All this indicates that the violence by men against women starts much before it actually takes place and that therefore, it is very important to engage young men in reshaping the masculinities and attitudes towards women in relationships.

It is important to develop new ways of perceiving what a man is in Uganda. Alternative masculinities need to be developed and strengthen the existing ones that promote non violence to give young men a new focus into the future. Ideas of dominance, control and power as reflected in the previous chapters can not be changed overnight but through a thorough process. A great deal of options replacing the formerly perceived ways of living can give results if opted for when these people are still young. Mr. Ndaula noted in relation to this,

‘I think women got the point wrong. When they started this struggle for women’s empowerment, they seemed to say that they wanted to be the same as men. In fact,

what they were saying was that there is no difference between a woman and a man in the absolute sense. They sought to change everything in the society targeting all the positions of men. Then we wonder as men, what is left for us in society if we have to let go of all that we have seen as defining a man. You cannot just come and take away the only thing that one has, without providing alternatives. They needed to have known that if they engaged the men, especially telling them how they would benefit from the equality and providing new options for living together, then I hope there would be limited resistance’.

Ideas presented in this quote and others in this section, bring to light the social constructions of manhood and how this can impact on the lives of men and the efforts to reduce the problem of IPVAW. The informant here expresses worries as a man, showing the insecurity that he and probably other men feel when their position and power is challenged in society. It shows that there are things that make a distinction between a man and a woman, and these things maintain the gap, the distinction between a man and a woman. Kimmel has pointed out that men are not actually defined by what they are, but what they are not (Kimmel 1994), in the same way, Connell points out that masculinity only exists in situations where there are gender relations (Connell 2005). These examples of theorizing of male behavior are clearly reflected in the informant’s argument. Therefore, any efforts that pose a challenge for example to power are perceived by men as closing the gap and therefore trying to make men the same as women, which will make them lose their identity. These are clear manifestations of masculinity traits that men cling to, and they can not be easily done a way with. There is need for these ideas to be remodeled to make men understand the social convolutions packed in the ideals they hold on to as men. These ideas present a multidimensional picture of informants’ perception of involving young men in the struggle to end IPVAW. Whereas some think that involving them would reshape and redirect the masculinity in the socialization process right from childhood, others stretch it further, to providing alternative masculinities in relating with women even at a more mature level.

Men's control of major resources

In many societies across the globe, there is evidence that the majority of the resources are controlled by men. Poverty has been mentioned in demographic and population reports around the world as affecting women and children more than men, and today poverty is looked at as a feminized problem (Thibos et al 2007). Thibos noted that despite the fact that countries like United States are enjoying mass wealth, social policies still have not been able to bridge the poverty gap between men and women (Thibos et al 2007). The Global Monitoring Report, World Bank (2007) put emphasis on the lack of gender equality as a major cause of poverty, but also as a problem that has kept more than half of the world's population (women) in poverty. In Uganda, where almost all sectors of society are dominated by men, its not surprising that the majority of the resources are male controlled. For example, despite that 72% of all employed women and 90% of all rural women are occupied in agricultural work, over 70% of the decisions to market the agricultural products are made by men⁷.

The above picture indicates a great challenge for the efforts to fight intimate partner violence. I have noted in the previous chapter that the use of violence is a manifestation of power resulting from the culture, and from men's struggle to uphold this power. The power that men have is derived from the resources they control, including the women (Kimmel 1994). In fact we can say that the more men continue to control resources like land, energy, money, and power to make decisions the more they will dominate the women. The persistence of this dominance may result in failure of the laws and policies fighting against IPVAW to find their way into the mainstream public business. I have also noted that there's a link between being poor for both men and women and being at risk for IPVAW. As also noted from the interviews, challenging men's use of violence in many cases is a direct challenge of their power and control. In this struggle, discussions of women's resource control and ownership and autonomy are some of the issues at the forefront. Let me mention again what I indicated in the previous chapter, that the level of poverty among women has a lot of influence on their subjection to violence from their intimate partners. We need to remember that as the old saying goes, 'for one to gain, another one must lose'. For women to gain access to the resources that men have controlled long before, men

⁷ Retrieved from <http://www.ifad.org/gender/learning/role/labour/54.htm>

must let go of the ideas holding on to property control, they must release some of these resources to women, open up to let women gain access to public space among others. This is difficult to achieve, and impossible if one does not engage men and make them appreciate the importance of women's access to resources. Mr. Ndaula noted in the interview:

'You know we have a problem of who owns and controls what in the family today. If you go around talking about giving women access to family resources and issues of independence without considering who is holding the resources you are talking about, you are creating chaos: men need to be sensitized first to appreciate the problem, and then you can bring in your issues of equal access to resources'. In the same way, Mr. Matovu noted,

'This issue of women going out to work is a big problem. At first I thought that if my wife worked, it would be better, but when she started working, things worsened. I think because she could now earn some money, she could do as she pleases. She has no regard for me anymore and for me, this is something I could not tolerate'

I would like to note here that at the levels of administration, the units through which programmes and resources to fight against intimate partner violence against women are channeled are still dominated by men. For these units to be able to allocate resources with gender considerations there's need for them to appreciate its importance. The parliament of the Republic of Uganda, local government councils and other decision making organs are still dominated by men. Even in areas where women have found a way into the system, the key positions are still held by men. This situation reflects the patriarchal forces that still drive the communities. It is through these public spaces that policies and laws can be taken to prevent intimate violence up to the level of family and intimate partners specifically. But if the majority of the office leaders, policy makers, law makers, and others [who are the men] are not given due attention, there still remains a problem in the struggle. Decision and policy makers, who are predominantly men, need to be involved in efforts to stop IPVAW especially to appreciate the need for the fight against the problem.

Men are also affected by the violence against their intimate partners

Lastly but not least, in the interviews it was indicated that the problem of IPVAW does not only affect women who are the victims, but also some perpetrators (the men). I have discussed in the previous chapter the problem of male use of violence against their intimate partners as an expression of power but also as an indication of their helplessness as they are held between the normative descriptions of what they think they ought to be and what they actually find themselves being. I need to recognize here that while some men inflict violence and get away with it, other men have to face the consequences of their violent acts.

Intimate partner violence affects men's economic progress. Men who have inflicted physical violence against their victims have been jailed; some men today are standing death sentences in prisons across the country for the murder of their wives, a lot more men are on the run and hiding for fear of the consequences of their inflictions on their partners. These cases are not well documented, but the police indicate that many such cases exist. Also, some men face social rejection, especially by those that oppose their use of violence. Looking at the problem of IPVAW as affecting only women negatively would therefore be diminishing the real effects of this problem, and continued lack of focus on men could maintain the invisibility of this side of the consequences. Mr. Kigongo emphasized the need to consider the missing link between men and women that eventually lead to violence:

'What we need to know is that in a situation of violence, there is a breakdown in how partners relate. The problem here is lack of communication. At the time of violence, if you ask me, everybody thinks that they are right, especially the men. We need to talk to these men and show them how this problem is not only the problem of women, but their problem too'. Mr. Mukiibi also points out something similar,

'We need also to link this problem of violence with what men hold as valuable in society and show them how these areas are affected by the violence. For example link it to their earnings, health, and the children. Then they will know that it also affects them'

The information from the informants indicates that there is need for an approach that links the problem of intimate partner violence to the wider lives of men and women. It would be a good strategy if men for example are sensitized on how their violent acts affect their finances, the health of the relationship, and the stability of the communities in which they live in among others.

Conclusion

In conclusion, from the above, what we can derive is that the problem of IPVAW is not only a problem of the victims, but also of the perpetrators and the communities in which they live as its effects spread to affect virtually everyone. Its occurrence has many faces, which have to be tackled on a multidimensional level for effective results.

We need to understand that there are various partners involved in the problem causation, but primarily these are men. As scholars and studies have indicated (DeKeseredy, 2008, Connell, 2005, Musuya, 2008 and the World Bank, 2008), the issue of male involvement in preventing intimate partner violence is vital. In Uganda there has been little focus on the perpetrators of IPVAW. This study shows that there will be very limited results if the perpetrators are not given attention in the struggle. Men need to be engaged when they are still boys and young men to redefine what the social norms have shaped them into throughout their lives. There is need to involve men as peers and role models for other men. The study indicates that there are men who are willing to listen and be part of the struggle and activists and organizations need to use these men to talk to other men as it may be easier for men to listen to and follow the advice of men. It is also evident from this study that even men who are violent have higher possibilities of changing from being violent to non violent if attitudes and perceptions are changed.

The problem of IPVAW has roots in men's attitudes, and these attitudes cannot be changed only by rescuing the victims. According to DeKeseredy, as noted earlier, if we concentrate our efforts on rescuing the victims of violence, then the perpetrator will move on to the next victim and only the single victim will be helped (DeKeseredy, 2008). It is therefore important for organizations to put more emphasis on reshaping the attitudes of men. Connell, in his writings on masculinities,

emphasizes that masculinities are shaped by external forces. He also notes that different masculinities can exist in a particular community (Connell, 2005). However, Connell states that there will be a hegemonic masculinity in every society. The different masculinities in the society adhere to this hegemonic masculinity. He further states that even those that seem to adhere to this masculinity in a particular community at the time will not completely act according to its values and principles (ibid). This implies, therefore, that men are not the same, no matter the common values they share. Similarly, with the problem of IPVAW, not all men are violent, but also those who are violent can change with new alternatives provided, since violence is not an inherent virtue that they carry, but something that is acquired through external influence on individual lives of men. Therefore, efforts to prevent and end IPVAW have to adapt multidirectional and holistic approaches that include integrating men at all levels for effective and efficient results.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The problem of intimate partner violence is a world wide phenomenon. It affects numerous women irrespective of their locality, social and economic status, and education, ethnic and racial backgrounds among others. It is a problem that has penetrated communities in almost all walks of life: women are abused by seemingly gentle men, by professionals, learned and unlearned, small and big, black and white, powerful and powerless, strong and weak, with whom they are involved in intimate relationships. This problem has been recognized as a women's health problem, as a violation of women's rights, and a social problem that hinders the development of women and communities (Karamagi et al 2006, Kaye et al 2005, and Krug 2002). Acknowledging the problem of IPVAV and its multifaceted effects on people and communities has been coupled with various efforts by organizations-international, regional and national-to bring it to an end. In Uganda the activities to fight the problem of intimate violence have seen creditable efforts from various actors. Different civil society actions have actively been involved in efforts to end this problem at national, regional and local community level, and CEDOVIP is one of the numerous organizations involved in these campaigns. However, despite these efforts, the problem still persists. Hundreds and thousands of women continue to be brutally violated by those they love, live, eat, and sleep with, and basically share their lives with. There is still much more work needed to fight this problem. Especially important is looking for effective ways to reach out to the individuals and communities affected. I hope that the findings of this study will make a contribution towards the efforts to end the problem.

From the onset of the study, I sought to explore the experiences of men and women of IPVAV and the meanings that different acts of violence carry for them, some of the factors that influence the way they perceive and interpret these kinds of violence and what would be the implications of these to the struggle against the problem. I also was interested in how this violence affects the lives of men and women. I assumed that if all the above were captured in this study it would enable me to look at how giving more attention to men could contribute to the fight against IPVAV. My research questions were on how IPVAV is understood among victims and perpetrators and their attitudes towards the phenomenon in Uganda, how these attitudes are acquired and maintained, and how the involvement of men as perpetrators can improve the

efficiency of the initiatives to fight this problem. Here I will present the main summary of the findings and remarks on the study in relation to the objectives and research questions that were at the forefront for this study.

CEDOVIP as the core organization in my study has had some good results on men and women in Kawempe division, which was an inspiration for me to use it as earlier mentioned in the method chapter. The organization has tried to get all people involved in the work to end intimate partner violence in the area. Apart from the main technical staff at the head office, the organization has established community volunteers who from time to time can talk to people and also resolve intimate related matters. The volunteers and the general community also act as overseers of any acts of violence against women by their intimate partners in the community and if they can not resolve them, then, they will send them to the higher authorities. At the time of this research, there was a quite general recognition of the problem of intimate violence in the community. People had some level of understanding of the problem of intimate violence, although this understanding still remains scattered among individuals. However, even in the activities of CEDOVIP that has tried to include men, there is still lack of attention to breaking the cultural norms and values that have shaped some men into violent individuals. The focus on men as perpetrators and how they are affected by the problem of IPVAV still lags behind. However, the general recognition of the problem formed a very good starting point for the study and analysis of the findings: it also gave a good foundation for the informants to discuss how the involvement of men would enhance the efforts to end the problem, since they already had some experience working with it.

Based on the experiences of the informants 4 kinds of violence were identified: physical, sexual, emotional, and economic. The perception of these acts, though with some commonalities, varied from informant to informant in the way they experienced them. Physical violence seemed the most recognized and most prevalent if we quantify them. Most of them came with hitting, kicking, slapping, arm twisting, or use of weapons. Different from women who normally considered violence holistically, men were more inclined to regard infliction of physical pain as IPVAV. But also in recognition of use of physical force as violence, some men considered it as a way of disciplining rather than as violence. It is only with regard to the degree of severity of

the force used and the effects it may have that some men may consider it as violence. This way of perceiving physical violence also influenced the way they understood and interpreted violent acts of emotional nature. To most of them, emotional acts like refusing food, keeping silent in the house, and withdrawing from family provision were more gentle ways of expressing dissatisfaction in the relationship. Whereas physical violence tended to be peak violence, emotional violent acts occurred on almost daily basis; they are acts that women lived with everyday. Such acts traumatized the victims and often had more far reaching effects than physical violence. In a community surrounded by a culture of violence, women have to battle with effects of emotional violence. These are not recognized by the community, and their effects on women can not be verified. This makes it the most frequent and possibly the easiest way of oppressing women, and it goes on even if there are activities against violence like in Kawempe. Intimate emotional violence was also commonly a signal of physical violence to come. Most of the men that participated in the interviews seemed to agree that before they would use physical violence, most of them had a lot of other strategies of emotional nature to achieve their goals. Emotional violent acts are also sometimes a result of physical or sexual violence. For example, refusing food, chasing the wife out of the house could happen after the fight, while in other cases; these actions could also be indications of a fight about to erupt. Such acts also mirrored economic violent acts such as prohibiting a woman from working, controlling her earnings, or the time she spent at work. Some men, if their wives started working, developed a sense of insecurity, and this became more visible if they noticed change of behavior in their partners. This could in turn result in monitoring and controlling of their partner's movements to and from work. These acts of control and insecurity among men correspond well with masculinity theory as presented in the theory chapter, stating that male violence against their partners is a result of insecurity, and the inadequacy of traditional power assumed by men (Gelles 1997, Silberschmidt 1999, Connell 2005 and Kimmel 2005). Even though these acts of violence were considered as economic in nature, many women agreed that they had numerous emotional effects on their lives. These were also related to sexual violent acts like rape in cases where a woman would not have sex after a long heavy day. This implies that men do not only assume control of women in their social lives but also their physical lives including their sexuality. From the informants' narratives about IPVAV, we derive that various kinds of acts of violence can sometimes be

inseparable. They are interconnected, one resulting from the other, and one being caused by the other. The understanding and interpretation of the violent acts are also influenced by the attributes that a particular gender holds in regard to violence and relationships. Efforts targeting these kinds of violence and groups of people must be holistic in nature. They should also pay attention to the primary influences on relationships between men and women like cultural and socialization processes.

In this study, I chose to discuss risk factors and not causes of IPVAW. I have looked at risk factors from the perspective of the informants, in the sense that their definitions of risk factors have guided the analysis. I considered risk factors as factors that create a situation in which violence is likely to occur rather than as absolute causes of violence. I chose this approach because it would require data on a very high level of detail to ascertain that particular factors cause IPVAW. Risk factors mentioned by the informants ranged from economic, social, demographic, and cultural factors. Some of the risk factors mentioned included cultural values and norms and the large importance that men and women still give to these values and norms, the age of entry into marriage, the duration of marriage, weak legal framework, poverty, and multiple partners. Although cultural values and norms may be slightly different among the informants depending on their ethnic backgrounds, they all seemed to find commonalities in how they were interpreted in relation to men's power and women's subordination the community. These factors have great implications if they are interpreted from a masculinity theory perspective. The informants' understanding in relation to men and their violent acts can reveal new ways of approaching the problem. In this study, instead of looking at these different issues as independent risk factors, I sought to see how they can instead contribute to understanding men's actions. In Uganda, and particularly in Kawempe, the socialization of the majority of tribes puts a big gap between men and women. Girls are socialized to be submissive; they kneel before boys and men while greeting or offering something, most of the work they are allocated defines them as more suitable for the domestic arena, like cooking, cleaning the house, washing dishes, and caring for babies and elders in the home. As most of the masculinities scholars and researchers have pointed out (Connell 2005, DeKeseredy and Schwartz 2005, Flood 2003, and Kimmel 2005), the separation of girls and boys in their gender roles have implications for their relations in the future. This kind of socialization also prepares women as submissive wives and

dependent of their future husbands. On the contrary, men are socialized into the public arena, they are socialized to believe that they have more power-for example young boys have much older women kneel before them, they are socialized into being strong, muscular, aggressive, defenders, and other characteristics. These cultural ways of socialization also shape how men and women initiate and live in their relationships. The study indicates that challenging these social ways is likely to create violent situations.

One of the most common risk factors of IPVAW that I found in this study was the issue of extra marital sex. This was raised by all the women I interviewed as the first gateway to violence in the family. This study does not provide basis for claim that all men with multiple partners are violent, but I can confidently say that the study findings strongly indicate that, a man acquiring a new sexual partner is a big risk factor for IPVAW. This is also in correspondence with other studies done in different parts of the country. For example, according to a study from eastern Uganda, acquiring a new partner was reported as the most common cause of IPVAW (Karamagi et al 2006). In most of the interviews, a man acquiring a new partner was considered as their right; traditionally they are free to choose how many partners to have. Issues of power and control arise in such situations, where women are not supposed to question their husbands' decisions. As other studies have found, this also can be interpreted as a way that men seek to exert their dominance over women (Silberschmidt 2001, Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza 2009). On the other hand, men who suspected their wives of having an affair with another man, violence would be very violent since the woman would be held responsible for disorganizing the relationship. Whereas polygamy is also a widely accepted practice for men, it is widely forbidden for women to have more than one partner. A woman questioning a man for having multiple partners was seen as questioning his authority.

Poverty is another issue arising out of the study that is linked to violence. The culturally constructed image of a real man relies heavily on his material power in the home. The social expectations of a man as the head of the household, the breadwinner and provider pose great challenges. Poverty, according to the informants, does not appear as a cause of violence in absolute terms, but the social perceptions of a poor man could trigger violence. Men, who are confronted with a lack of money, begin to

feel insecure because they without money have no positive way of maintaining their dominance and power over women. Lack of money puts a man in a stressful position and questions about financial provisions from the wife could be regarded as insults. Some men are scared that women may also compare them with other men who seem to be doing well to show them that they are not men enough. The available literature also demonstrates that in most cases, men are defined according to what they are not, instead of what they are (Kimmel 1994). I also noted in the theory chapter that men do not only try to prove themselves before women, but also before fellow men. It is a struggle in which men are always trying to justify their inclusion in the male category. Therefore, when a man cannot exert his power economically, other controlling behaviors begin to crop and violence becomes an immediate alternative. Reducing poverty levels may therefore contribute to ending IPVAW, but this is not likely to help unless the social and cultural perception of a poor man and all that comes with it is also changed.

Other issues that emerged as risk factors included the duration of marriage, the age of the partners at the time of marriage, weak legal structures. Also the influence of women's organizations and their activities at the grassroots level and the use of violence as an expression of men's power and powerlessness were discussed. The duration of marriage is a very important factor of concern in the eruption of violence. It seemed that most of the couples considered the first period of marriage a period of peaceful love, especially the first five years. Men seemed to love and care for their partners for a while. It is not that there were no quarrels and disagreements in this period, but men were willing to listen to their wives, some differences were tolerated, and mistakes could be mended. The factor of duration of marriage was related with the factor of acquiring a new partner. For most of those that acquired an extra partner, this started the problem of violence. This study did not explore the motivation for men to acquire a new partner, but it is possibly related to power and exertion of control. Silberschmidt, in her study in Kiisi district in Kenya and urban Tanzania, found that acquiring a new partner was a new way for men to reassert their masculinity (Silberschmidt 2001). I would like to note at this point that the risk factors for IPVAW are just like a cycle. They are so intertwined that it becomes hard to treat one as an independent variable. Their interconnectedness also implies that we may not solve the problem through eliminating one risk factor. Men's authority, for example,

has been defined in terms of how much economic power they hold; the more resources a man has, and the less a woman has, the more authority he commands. This economic power is what they use to exert power over those dependent on them (women). Studies have also documented that women's economic dependency on men is a cause of their vulnerability to violence. However, this study indicates that eliminating women's poverty without changing the customs and values attached to men's power, control, authority and resources may increase rather than decrease the violence.

In this research I have focused on one approach to fighting IPVAW, and how it can improve and supplement the current efforts. The study explored the involvement of men, and how their involvement can improve the efforts to fight IPVAW in Uganda. The findings of the study show that the socialization of men and the cultural norms and values into which they are socialized, have a lot of implications for their perpetration of violence. The social expectations of a man: to find a woman, marry her, provide for her and the family, and protect the family, weigh heavily on him. Moreover, a man is supposed to withhold his emotions, be the authority of the family and so forth as discussed in the previous chapters. All these demands and expectations put men in a skewed position. Men are brought up to consider these as virtues that define a man, and live to protect them. There are many forces that continue to perpetuate these ideas of a real man in the society. Though not documented as rules or guidelines, social practices expressed through verbal communications, entertainment, and the media, among others still draw a line between men and women. The separation of men and women into gendered roles and responsibilities is normally coupled with obligations of men and women, and failure to fulfill these will tend to create tension. Therefore, acknowledging that all these norms and rules are shaped by ourselves, this study points out a few avenues through which new self perceptions and understandings can be modeled and the existing alternative masculinities can be strengthened, through a reshaping of predominant norms and values to create new men.

Information is one way to enhance progress, but more important is probably an understanding of oneself. Knowing who you are and the potential inside you makes possible new models of life. And one way to change men's attitudes is through

engaging them in campaigns against violence. More results may be achieved if the predominant approach to men is reconsidered and they are included as potential partners rather than potential enemies in the struggle. Some men are violent, but it is wrong to look at all men as violent. Moreover, this study gives evidence that a better approach can make even the violent ones less violent. Male peer groups seem to have a significant potential as a first contact point to reshape men. There is evidence from other studies (DeKeseredy 2008, Musuya 2008, Flood 2003, and Silberschmidt 2001) as from this study that male peer groups play a key role in shaping and maintaining masculinity characters. Men have a big influence on fellow men through their interaction in workplaces, drinking joints, sports meetings, through talking and listening to one another (ibid). Through targeted campaigns, these groups can be harnessed to focus on a new non violent man. This study indicates that men, especially in a patriarchal society like Uganda, are likely to listen more to fellow men than to women, especially in regard to practices that are considered manly. If the campaigns take advantage of this fact, then efforts to fight the problem of IPVAW would hopefully yield better results they so far have. In the same line of argument, the study indicates that men's behavior is not acquired later in life; it is imparted into them as boys and young men. In most cases, the training that boys and young men go through, through practices and roles, becomes part of their lives in adulthood. In fact, there is a general agreement among the informants of this study that efforts that target couples only look at the peak points of violence, not its beginnings. Involving young men and boys is one way to get to the origin of the problem. Efforts to end the problem of intimate violence need to consider changing men's attitudes towards themselves, women and relationships as an essential entry point. The ideas that men hold about resources, their control and distribution, issues of power and control, relationships, the gender roles and responsibilities, the value of women among others largely determine their behaviors, and changing these ideas would bring a new bright day for both men and women in their relationships.

It is important also to note that activities towards fighting IPVAW have a lot of impacts on the traditional relations between men and women and therefore, redressing issues of intimate violence implies redressing some of these traditional arrangements. Without doubt changing these aspects, like the power and authority of men in decision making, their power over resources, and power through women and children will

continue to have a lot of implications for men's masculinities and the problem of IPVAW. It is important to make a careful analysis of Ugandan masculinities and the changing of masculinities as traditional social arrangements continue to be reshaped. Also one should study how these may impact on the efforts to end intimate partner violence. It is important for organizations and advocacy work to investigate the position of masculinities in IPVAW. Specifically one should look at how masculinities in Uganda have shaped men's violent tendencies. This is very important in positioning men in the campaigns against the problem. It is also vital for the organizations and advocacy work to recognize and investigate how the activities against IPVAW may reshape new masculinities in the process of fighting for women's freedom.

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Interview Guide

Research Topic:

Intimate Partner Violence against Women in Uganda: Victims and Perpetrators' points of view and their implications for prevention strategies

Kvale in his frequently quoted book on interviews noted that “the personal contact and the continually new insights into the subjects' lived world make interviewing an exiting and enriching experience” (Kvale 1996, pg 124). The research that I will be doing involves a lot of engaging with people's lived experiences relationships between women and men and as part of the larger social community.

The choice of the methods that one makes in preparation for the field research will greatly determine the kind of information that you will get from the respondents. I choose to use in-depth interviews because I think they will help me to get deeper understanding of the respondents and thus a better insight into the problem under investigation as men and women informants will speak about their feelings during our dialogues in their own words, not directed to be for example using a questionnaire. This interview guide has been designed within mind that each part and every question under the parts seeks to produce particular information useful to the study.

1. Personal data. This section will seek general information about the informant. This is important in proving basic information about the informant. It will also be important as the informant and the researcher first get to know each a bit other before the more sensitive discussion on intimate partner violence starts. Particularly the age, marital status, education and occupation are important in understanding the ways that informants experience Intimate Partner Violence against Women (IPVAW) at various levels and in different social classes.

2. Prevalence of intimate partner violence. Questions under this part will particularly seek to gain into the meaning of IPVAW among the informants, and how they understand IPVAW, the existence of the problem and its magnitude.

3. Attitudes towards use of violence. This section will look for information on the relationship between individuals' interaction with the social community, social

structures in which they live and the use of violence and how the social environment construct and maintain these attitudes.

4. Organizational activities, male involvement and IPVAV. This will look for information on the current organizational efforts towards fighting IPVAV and the involvement of men in relation to the victims this will be used to understand their experiences and their thinking towards the possibilities of reducing the problem. is move. It will also through interaction shape insights including the way forward as we look into the future of this phenomenon.

Women victims of IPVAV

Personal Data

Age

Marital status

Year and Type of marriage

Education

Occupation

Prevalence of intimate violence and experiences

- Tell me about your relationship with your partner
- What kind of violence have you experienced and how often?
- How do you experience violence?
- What do you think prompts your man to use violence against you?
- How does it affect you?
- Do you think it affects the rest of your family like your husband and children?
How?
- Do you think that your man gains from these violent acts? How?

Attitudes towards use of violence

- What does your family think about your man using violence against you?
- Are they helpful? When and how?
- What do you think about this violence? What is your opinion on male violence against a partner?
- Do you think being violent makes one a real man? How and why?
- Why do you think men use violence against their intimates?
- Why did you choose to go to the organizations to seek help?

- What does your family think about this move?

Organizational activities and IPVAW

- Tell me about your involvement with organization working on ending IPVAW?
- What kind of services do you receive from the organization?
- What do you think about these services? Do you think they are helpful to the problem? What do you miss in the services offered by this organization/s?

Male involvement and their activities

- Have you met with male service providers in the organization?
- If yes what is your opinion about involving them in such activities? If no, do you think they should be involved?
- How should they be involved and where?
- How useful do you think it will be to involve these men professionals working in different positions in these organizations?
- What about having men in the campaigns to fight these violent activities against their partners?

Men as perpetrators of IPVAW

Prevalence of intimate violence and experiences

- Tell me about your relationship with your partner
- Why would you use violence against your partner?
- How do you have your partner do what you want her to do? Do you use any force? If yes why?
- How often do you use force against your partner and what kind of enforcement do you use?
- What do you think prompts you to use violence against your partner?
- How does it affect you as a man?
- Do you think it affects the rest of your family like your wife and children? How?
- Do you think that you gain from these violent acts? How?

Attitudes towards use of violence

- What does your family think about you using violence against your partner?

- When does your family get to think about you using violence against your partner? Does it depend on the frequency of violence or how severe the violence is?
- Are they helpful? When and how? For example trying to talk to you about stopping the acts, or counseling you and your wife and others?
- What do you think about this violence? What is your opinion on male violence against an intimate partner? When is it ok to use violence?
- Do you think being violent makes one a real man? How and why?

Organizational activities and IPVAW

- Has your partner reported you anywhere for use of violence against her?
- What did the authority do?
- What do you think about it?
- What does your family think about this move?

Male involvement and their activities

- Some organizations are now organizing programmes to talk to men who perpetrate violence against their intimate partners as a way of fighting the problem. Do you know about these organizations? What do you think about these programmes?
- Some men have been recruited in the organizations as counselors, and officers? Do you think this will help? How? If not why?

Women in relationships but have not reported cases of Intimate Partner Violence

Prevalence of intimate violence and experiences

- Tell me about your relationship with your partner
- Have you ever experienced violence –frequency of violence?
- How do you experience violence?
- What do you think prompts a man to use violence against his partner?
- How does it affect partner?
- Do you think it affects the rest of the family like husband and children? How?
- Do you think that men gain from these violent acts? How?

Attitudes towards use of violence

- Do you know about cases of men using violence against their partners in your family?

- What does your family think about men using violence against their partners?
- Are they helpful in case one is experiencing violence? When and how?
- What do you think about this violence? What is your opinion on male violence against women?
- Do you think being violent makes one a real man? How and why?
- When do you think a woman should choose to seek help from an organization?
- What would your family and relations think about this move? What about the community?
- Why do you think men use violence against their intimates?

Organizational activities and IPVAV

- Tell me about your involvement with organization working on ending IPVAV? Where you have attended meetings, acted as a volunteer, or have been in workshops and seminars?
- Have you been involved with any organization in any way?
- What kind of services do you receive from the organization?
- What do you about these services? Do you think they are helpful to the problem?

Male involvement and their activities

- Have you met with male service providers in the organization?
- If yes what is your opinion about involving them in such activities? If no, do you think they should be involved?
- How should they be involved and where?
- How useful do you think it will be to these men are involved both as perpetrators and professionals?

Men in relationships but have not been reported as perpetrators of IPVAV

Personal Data

Age

Marital status

Year and Type of marriage

Education

Occupation

Prevalence of intimate violence and experiences

- Tell me about your relationship with your partner
- Have you ever used violence against you partner? If yes why? And if no why?
- How often do you use force against your partner and what kind of enforcement do you use?
- What do you think prompts you (in case of yes? Or men (in case of no) to use violence against your partner?
- How does it affect you as a man?
- Do you think it affects the rest of your family like your wife and children? How?
- Do you think that men gain from these violent acts? How?

Attitudes towards use of violence

- What does your family think about using violence against your partners?
- Are there cases you know about of men using violence against their partners?(this applies to a man who says he does not use violence)
- Are they helpful? When and how? For example trying to talk to you about stopping the acts, or counseling you and your wife and others?
- What do you think about this violence? What is your opinion on male violence against an intimate partner?
- Do you think being violent makes one a real man? How and why?

Organizational activities and IPVAV

- Has your partner reported you anywhere for use of violence against her? In case you do? (In case the man has used violence), what do you think about women who report their partners who use violence against them?(in case the man says her does not use violence)
- What did the authority do?
- What do you think about it?
- What does your family think about this move?

Male involvement and their activities

- Some organizations are now organizing programmes to talk to men who perpetrate violence against their intimate partners as a way of fighting the problem. Do you know any of these organizations? What do think about these programmes?

- Some men have been recruited in the organizations as counselors, and officers? Do you think this will help? How? If not why?
- What do you think should be done to end these violent acts by men against their partners?

Staff from CEDOVIP and Raising Voices

Personal Data

Age

Marital status

Year and Type of marriage

Occupation

Position

Education

General questions on the Prevalence of intimate violence and experiences, organizational efforts towards the problem and way forward

- Tell me about your organization
- What is your experience working with IPVAV?
- How have the communities where you are working responded to your work?
- What do you want to achieve by the end of your work?
- What strategies have you used to realize this?
- How have you involved men in your organizational activities? And why?
- Where are the men involved?
- Do you find it useful to involve men in such activities? How will their involvement enhance your results?
- Can you highlight some of your achievements so far?
- What challenges do you encounter?
- What is your future plan? Way forward?