



## Campaign for Action on Family Violence FORMATIVE RESEARCH

### Background

The Campaign for Action on Family Violence is using consumer research to inform the development of the strategy and to measure its effectiveness. The project team has also consulted a wide range of academic and sector research, sought input from family violence practitioners and analysed success factors from international and local social marketing campaigns.

**The first research project completed for the campaign aimed** to increase understanding of behaviours, attitudes, beliefs and feelings surrounding male perpetrators of intimate partner violence.

The campaign began with a focus on understanding male perpetrators of intimate partner violence because:

- all social marketing strategies start with the audience. The research explored whether perpetrators are an appropriate target audience for the campaign.
- social marketing recognises that behaviour change is only likely if the target audience recognises change to be in their best interest. Starting with an understanding of their needs, wants, values and perceptions is important.
- men will ultimately need to take ownership and responsibility for the issue of family violence and it follows that at some point, the campaign will require behaviour change from men
- intimate partner violence is a gendered phenomenon; understanding violence and change therefore, also needs to understand its relationship to masculinity and manhood.
- taking account of men's interpretations of their violence and motivations to change will provide direction on appropriate strategies necessary to address family violence.

## Research Method

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A total of 37 in-depth interviews were conducted with male perpetrators of intimate partner violence. Of the 37 men interviewed, eight were Pakeha, 12 were Māori, 12 more were of Pacific Island descent and five were of Chinese extraction.

All participants were involved in some form of intervention for their violence, typically a stopping violence education programme attended with other men. Participants were either mandated or self-referred to interventions and were at different stages of the intervention. Five interviews were conducted in Northland, 17 in Auckland, three in Hamilton, four in Gisborne and eight in Wellington.

All in-depth interviews were conducted face-to-face using a semi-structured interview guide. All interviewers and participants were matched by gender and ethnicity (Pakeha, Māori, Pacific Island and Chinese).

## Findings - Understanding of family violence

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Participants typically did not understand the full range of behaviours constituting family violence until they became involved in some form of intervention for their violence. They typically understood the community view of family violence as one involving physical violence alone. Limited understanding of family violence was shown to contribute to perpetrators' dissociation from, or minimisation of, their violence ('I never hit her'). It also contributed to beliefs about being unfairly punished or targeted by the 'system', particularly in situations where, at the time the incident occurred, the men did not understand or accept that they had been violent.

The findings show that understanding and accepting broader definitions of family violence can lead perpetrators to new insights. This can be an important step in accepting responsibility and acknowledging that they are accountable for their behaviour.

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred).

*The problem is the general consensus about family violence is [that it is] actual really, really violent crimes...If you actually mentioned family violence or programmes or something like that, people go, "Wow. Have you put your wife in hospital?"*

(Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

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

(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

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

*...I think, speaking for myself it's always the Māori is, or the Polynesians....that's not to say that it's a racial problem, but it certainly, you know, that's the feeling that I get from the media, and certainly from my friends, it's not a European problem...*

(Pakeha, Self-referred).

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## **Findings – Social and Cultural Norms**

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### **Norms around violence**

While violence was often considered normal, participants commonly recognised that physical violence<sup>1</sup> against women was wrong and against prevailing social and cultural norms in New Zealand. Reflecting this, some participants stated that their violence to their partner was never 'physical' or 'extremely physical' (e.g beyond pushing, shoving, grabbing, restraining etc).

These findings suggest that participants can be aware of 'moral codes' within society and may even see themselves living within them. However, these codes may not be strongly internalised and are easily overridden by other needs that drive violence. The range of strategies used by men to explain their violence; both physical and non-physical, (for example denial, justification, dissociation), are also likely to reflect attempts to reconcile their behaviour in the context of the known 'moral code'.

Reflecting the community's prevailing attitude toward family violence, some participants felt particularly stigmatised as perpetrators of family violence. Some reported shame or stigma in seeking assistance for their violence (e.g. being described as a 'wife beater', as having "an anger problem"). One participant suggested his attendance at a programme had been specifically used against him, in relation to a promotion opportunity, at work.

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

*I think everybody just wants it to go away and doesn't want it to be spoken about and is in denial. That if you are a part of it, if you are the male part of it, you are just this mean big nasty leper...*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

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<sup>1</sup> Indicated by the findings to be understood by many participants as extreme physical violence (i.e. hitting with a closed fist)

Some participants believed the current environment surrounding family violence contributed to men being unfairly blamed or automatically presumed guilty for acts of family violence. Such beliefs led to their own feelings of victimisation – this response may in turn constitute a barrier to change. However, other participants reported individuals around them who they believed were ‘sympathetic’ to the use of family violence or who had attitudes supportive of family violence. The workplace is often mentioned as an environment where such attitudes were expressed. Some Chinese men believed their male friends would support punishment of their wives for being ‘bad’. Such support is usually predicated in the belief that the violence was understandable or justified (e.g. he was provoked, it was necessary in order to bring an errant wife back into line).

*...you get some guys at work and they talk like this... you get the odd cheeky clown that comes in. “Oh give her a slap bro, tell her who’s the man, you’s the man bro, just give her the bash and she’ll be right”, that sort of carry on. “I’ll give you the bash....” It’s like the old Jake Heke carry on, you know.*

(Māori, Self-referred, 38 years).

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

*Like to me a man isn’t a man who bashes his wife. What’s so manly about that? Go find a guy that’s bigger and tougher than you and try and take him on.*

(Māori, Self-referred).

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

(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

Some Māori participants explicitly rejected the concept of a ‘warrior’ mentality, which was equated to ‘mana’, as a culturally based justification for intimate partner violence. One participant mentioned that this notion needed to be actively ‘talked-down’. The same participant firmly felt that part of his mana as a man was to nurture the growth of individuals within whānau, hāpu, and iwi and to celebrate their achievements, and to mourn with them their losses. Within a tikanga Māori

framework, this participant did not see a place for violence and saw a need to challenge the thinking that Māori men have about themselves, their potential, and the reasons why violence is perpetuated and tolerated.

*Don't talk up the 'warrior' and the expectations from it. Don't reinforce the image...it's unbalanced and not acceptable.*

(Māori, Self-referred, 35 years).

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

*Mother brought up 11 children after father passed away, and 'the hidings' she gave were her way of 'trying to settle down the kids'.*

(Tongan, Mandated, 41 years).

*As a drinker you were part of the pub culture where there were drunken brawls and the bad things that happened in that environment and you end up getting involved...*

(Samoan, Mandated, 65 years).

*I used to go to school with bruises from beatings. But the same happened with other friends too.*

(Tokelauan, Mandated, 35 years).

For most island-born, and some New Zealand born Pacific men involved in this research, violence was considered the norm within the environments they grew up in. Most conceded that their attitudes and behaviours towards family violence may have been influenced and shaped by the settings they grew up in – whether in New Zealand or in the Pacific.

## Findings - Masculinity and manhood

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### Man as provider and protector

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

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

(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

The role of being a good father was commonly identified. Being a good father is often understood as protecting and loving children and providing a positive role model, security and future opportunities.

*Just look after the kids and try to provide for your family. When they tell you are a good father to your kids and that, you will find a good future.*

(Samoan, Mandated, 35 years).

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

(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

Providing family security, stability and safety are common themes in the way these men defined themselves. Being a man is often equated with having significant responsibilities for the current and future wellbeing of the family unit.

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

It is notable that men are less likely to define themselves through the quality of their input into their intimate relationship. Commitment and love within the relationship appear to be more commonly expressed through practical acts of 'doing' and 'providing' rather than through intimacy.

### **Patriarchal beliefs**

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

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

(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

*Yeah, well that's what I saw. There was no communication. There was no discussion. Dad worked, mum did work but sort of part time. Dad did the bulk of it. He gave mum an allowance. He controlled everything.*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

Beliefs expressed by participants that reflect patriarchal views of manhood included:

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

*...I'll stamp my authority on that one, yeah, if I really have to, yeah. But I just tell my missus well, myself being the head of this house, you know, this is how it is, yeah....if you don't like it well that's the way it is, otherwise there's the door, yeah'*

(Māori, Self-referred, 38 years).

Participants reported feeling like they were not appreciated for the roles and responsibilities taken on as men. If men's self-image is closely tied to their success in 'doing' and 'providing', a perceived lack of appreciation for such actions may be interpreted as a threat or a questioning of their manhood. Some reasons for violence reported by men, such as a lack of respect, suggest that these kinds of feelings may be an underlying trigger for violence.

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

(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

## **Recognition of costs**

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

Some of the costs perceived by men included:

- pressures associated with the traditional male role leading to health and other problems
- restricted emotional development, particularly in the context of intimate relationships
- development of a self-centred orientation – difficulty considering other people's views and needs – lack of insight and empathy for others
- lack of communication skills
- inability or unwillingness to share feelings – to express themselves emotionally
- inability or unwillingness to accept or deal with intimacy
- alcohol and drug abuse.

*...I think men are less inclined to talk about their emotions and feelings. And for me what it means is that you kind of get...more and more overwhelmed by the situation...I feel a bit aggrieved that there are no real support groups for men where, you know, you can just go and talk...I have no*

*problem sharing things with eight people, or sharing them with you, but to go and talk to my friends about it...in my case, you see yourself as having some standards and if you discuss issues with other men, it's like you're admitting you don't have those skills. You're not as good as what you think you are, you need help...I always used to measure myself on my ability to handle the crisis, or handle the situation and move on, put it behind me. But I'm not sure that I did put things behind me...*

(Pakeha, Self-referred).

*...That's where I failed the most in my marriage, it's the communication part, yeah... when it comes to the communication part, yeah, you know...I struggle with that all the time, I'm like that.*

(Māori, Self-referred, 38 years).

## **Changing rules**

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

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred).

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred).

## Migration and immigration

Where there are strong cultural norms about manhood, men are more likely to have certainty about appropriate roles and behaviour for males and females. For example, those Samoan and Tokelau men interviewed in the research clearly asserted that the man is head of the family, the ‘pule’ (authority) and that with this, comes the right to make final decisions for the family. Difficulties can arise when men perceive and/or experience conflict between norms and values in their home country and those encountered in New Zealand. This can lead to frustration and anger if the man feels he is unable to set and reinforce assumed ‘rules’ because of New Zealand laws. Such clashes were particularly evident with immigrant Pacific and Chinese participants in this research.

*When I have to keep telling the boys not to leave their stinking socks in the bedroom and they don't obey the instruction, that makes me angry. My youngest son doesn't listen much and so when I threaten him with violence he would say he would ring the police. That annoys me a lot because I think the kids have abused the law especially when they don't listen*

(Samoan-born Tokelauan, Self-referred, 39 years).

*'... [I] just threw a book at her [wife] and it did not hurt her much... In China, that would not be regarded as violence at all.*

(Chinese, Mandated, 50 years).

Key issues identified include:

- roles, behaviour and values that are perceived as ‘normal’ in the home country can become problematic in the New Zealand context.
- some behaviours may not initially be recognised and regarded, by men, as forms of violence (for example verbal abuse). For Pacific and Chinese men in particular, ‘violence’ may be considered as ‘discipline’ or the rightful exercise of male authority in the household.
- as immigrant women adapt to the new context, they may develop new levels of independence and assertiveness in relation to their rights<sup>2</sup>. Their male partners may be at different stages of the adaptation process. Conflict can result as different expectations and needs get expressed.

For example, island-born Pacific men can see the roles and responsibilities expected of a male in the Pacific Islands as different from those that are accepted in New Zealand. There may be an

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<sup>2</sup> Also identified by some Pacific men in Pacific children and seen as resulting in disrespect for their authority within the household

assumption of the right to exercise authority over the family and greater acceptance of the use of physical discipline as a means to control and resolve family matters. For these men, immigration to New Zealand required adaptation to a new set of rules and expectations in relation to appropriate behaviour.

*I told the police that the faka-Tokelau (Tokelauan way) includes sasa (physical punishment), to which the policeman said this is not Tokelau, it is New Zealand*

(Samoan-born Tokelauan, Self-referred, 39 years).

*...in the islands you as a man can use their own power to control the whole family. But when I came here the law is everything. And that is different you have to abide by the laws.*

(Samoan, Mandated, 30 years).

Pacific participants also highlighted how difficulties assimilating to the New Zealand environment can lead to problems with alcohol and drugs. Pacific men in particular, commonly saw alcohol abuse as a factor in their use of violence<sup>3</sup>.

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

(Samoan, Mandated, 30 years).

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

(Cook Islander).

## **Confusion and uncertainty**

The findings show that many perpetrators are experiencing confusion and uncertainty about their role as men and what society expects and accepts from them. Some of the men experienced considerable upheaval in their lives when previously existing beliefs and assumptions were overturned by the consequences of their violence. Perpetrators may only become fully aware of changing behavioural norms, and what is acceptable and what is not, through experiencing the consequences of their violence (for example arrest, protection orders, loss of access to family and partners). This is particularly evident for Pacific and Chinese men (facing different values and norms when they migrated to New Zealand), however it was also apparent in the Pakeha men interviewed.

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<sup>3</sup> While those working with perpetrators accept that alcohol can be a contributing factor to violence, it is generally not accepted as a justification or reason for violence

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

Participants exhibiting confusion or uncertainty reported having not fully understood changes to societal expectations, not been properly informed and feeling as though they were being 'left behind'. Some appeared to be in a state of mourning for the loss of traditional roles, including the loss of previously assumed authority or control in their relationships.

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred).

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

(Samoan, Self-referred, 26 years).

Some participants feel that with changes in society, men are now unfairly targeted, blamed or assumed to be wrong in relation to family violence. These feelings may be partially explained by a lack of understanding about social norms, including what is deemed family violence and what constitutes appropriate behaviour in relation to others.

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

(Pakeha, Mandated).

## **Findings – Violence in Intimate Relationships**

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## **Reported triggers/reasons for violence**

### **Power and control**

#### ***Loss of authority/control***

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

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

(Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

#### ***Need to administer gender rules and maintain expectations***

To set and maintain expected codes of behaviour, roles, responsibilities, relating etc.

- Violence in this context may be considered a form of discipline.

*Everyday household chores may annoy the couple; if the wife does not make the house tidy and clean, and does not look after the husband, the husband will be unhappy'*

(Chinese, Mandated, 28 years).

#### ***Frustration/anger (loss of control)***

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

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

(Tongan, Mandated, 43 years).

### **Self-esteem/belonging**

#### ***Inadequacy/insecurity/jealously***

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

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

## **Avoidance/dissociation**

### ***Closure, distance and control***

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

*When man wants woman to shut up but woman does not stop arguing.*

(Chinese, Mandated, 28 years).

### ***Lack of insight, care, empathy, responsibility***

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

*For a long time I just thought it was my wife's fault. I was in complete denial for years. It wasn't my fault I can't see what the problem is.*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

## **Disempowerment (and need to regain power)**

### ***Loss of face***

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

*Before in Tokelau, I may have given her physical punishment twice, especially when she would swear in front of my parents and sisters. She was a very good caring mother, but she would sometime say things that make me angry.*

(Samoan-born Tokelauan, Self-referred, 39 years).

### **Escalation**

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

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

### **Lack of alternative skills**

- Blaming violence on lack of skills in conflict resolution
- Blaming violence on inability to communicate emotions verbally.

*I'd rather get the plate over the head and then a barrelling than all the emotional and verbal abuse – that would be less stressful.*

(Māori, Mandated, 46 years).

## **Other contributing factors**

A range of other factors were identified or seen by participants as contributing to their violence.

These include:

- stress (e.g. financial, employment related, family, health)
- tiredness
- social isolation, lack of social/family support
- alcohol and drugs
- violence
- immigration related issues
- mental illness.

While those working with family violence perpetrators accept that the factors listed above can be contributors to family violence, they are generally not accepted as reasons or justification for violence.

## **Attitudes/beliefs driving use of violence**

Attitudes and beliefs underlying the use of violence are commonly linked to patriarchal views of manhood and again show violence is commonly used as a means to exert and/or maintain power and control.

### **Justifications**

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

#### ***Violence as an anger management problem***

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

#### ***Failure by partner to fulfil role/expectations***

- The partner is considered not to have fulfilled her expected roles or responsibilities.
- Men feel justified in asserting their authority in this context.

*She never listens to me. You know the Samoan way and you do all this. So I assault the missus for about two years.*

(Samoan, Mandated, 30 years).

#### ***Disrespect/lack of appreciation***

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

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

(Pakeha, Mandated, 50 years).

### **Partner provocation**

- Violence as result of provocation from partner (for example emotional, verbal abuse).
- Partner not backing off, partner continuing with the argument, partner directing violence and aggression to the male partner. Violence here typically happens after periods of restraint and resistance to responding with violence, is experienced as being 'backed into a corner' or as necessary in order to 'close a situation down' or as an act of self-defence.
- Escalation of tension, stress, anger, frustration – 'snapped', loss of control, alcohol fuelled.

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

### **The partner is the problem**

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

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

(Pakeha, Mandated).

### **Was required/necessary**

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

### ***Acceptance (by partner)***

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

### ***Denial/there won't be a next time***

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

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

### ***There has been an injustice***

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

## **Dissociations**

### ***Not the abusive type***

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

### ***Violence was limited or controlled***

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

### ***Denial***

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

## **Benefits and costs from violence**

### **Benefits**

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

*... it just makes the situation worse. You might get to say what you want to say, but you're just saying it louder. It just hurts the other person.*

(Pakeha, Mandated, 42 Years).

*I've always known, like since seeing my mum get knocked around and that, I've always known that that [violence] was wrong.*

(Māori, Self-referred).

Benefits of violence in intimate relationships, as listed by the participants in this research, include:

- regaining of control
- asserting authority – to gain compliance
- ending a situation
- distancing from the partner
- ensuring the partner respects the male partner
- regaining a sense of stability in the relationship (likely inferring less opposition to the male partner's authority).

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

## **Costs**

Costs associated with the use of violence can be particularly significant for some men. However, they may not be fully recognised by perpetrators until such time as the situation changes and costs become apparent. For example, while violence may be recognised as having a negative impact on the quality of the relationship, the full extent of this cost may only be recognised by the perpetrator once the partner has decided to leave the relationship or the perpetrator is prevented from accessing family and the family home because of a protection order.

Costs or negatives from violence recognised by participants include:

### ***Futility of violence***

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

### ***Impact on relationships/family***

- The breakdown of the partner relationship.
- Negative impacts on children.
- Loss of access to children.

### ***Stigma and sanctions***

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

*... short-term gain and long-term pain. Yeah it did solve it because I was right but then the feeling in the house and everything was really heavy and dark and miserable.*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

## **Feelings in relation to violence**

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

More specifically, feelings reported after incidents of violence include:

- guilt – recognition that the violence is not right
- shame – recognition that the violence is not right and that the use of violence is seen as a loss of control given that a man should be in control of himself
- anger/annoyance – that the use of violence does not achieve anything positive; violence constitutes a loss of control; actions are seen as 'out of character'
- remorse – at consequences of behaviour on others
- regret – personal consequences (e.g. loss of partner/children, impact on relationships, damage to work and personal reputation, loss of employment, friends, children)
- failure – the use of violence constitutes failure on the part of the perpetrator; the presence of violence represents a failure of the intimate relationship and/or the family unit.

*That I was getting a family situation into something that I didn't like and I didn't enjoy but I didn't know how to do it a different way...I was failing myself and my family...*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

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

(M6 ri, Self-referred, 37 years).

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

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

## **Influence of children**

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

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

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

*...it's a bad example, I would have been really upset if he had have seen that ([the violence])*

(Māori, Mandated, 46 years).

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

(Pakeha, Mandated).

## **Negatively influencing children**

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

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

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

(Pakeha, Mandated).

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

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

*...when I used to see my mum just crying and us in the room behind the door, we were always hugging each other, you know...and I don't want my kids to go through that eh, all that scared at night, shaking, waiting for the footsteps to come down the hallway and things like that.*

(Māori, Self-referred).

### **Loss in relation to children**

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

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

### **Intervention by others**

Participants commonly report efforts to keep the violence/abuse in their intimate relationship private or hidden from others. Reasons for this included:

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

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred).

Within the Chinese community strong cultural norms resist outside authorities involvement in the private matters of the home. If family violence has not been disclosed publicly, the desire for it to remain hidden can be strong due to the associated stigma.

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

Some participants talked about a willingness to intervene with male friends or workmates if family violence issues are identified. This suggests that for some, 'mate to mate' type interventions can

be more acceptable, possibly in being considered less threatening. This approach appears to have general resonance with Māori men in that some felt it would be more likely for men to voluntarily attend a stopping violence programme, at least initially, if they were invited by a close friend who attended and if the words 'help' or 'stopping violence' were not specifically mentioned in the invitation.

## **Influence of victims**

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

*...I think it would have been, "If you don't go I will leave you." Pretty much I would say that's how it would have been.*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

## **BEHAVIOUR CHANGE**

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### **Motivation and readiness to change**

Most participants in the research were seen as having some level of motivation to change their behaviour<sup>4</sup>. All men interviewed were about to either enter stopping violence programmes, were completing programmes or had completed programmes. Participants were, however, at different points of readiness to change. This reflects participants being at different stages of stopping violence programmes/interventions and included those both mandated and self-referred to programmes.

#### **'Denial/deniers'**

- Limited insight or acceptance of need to accept responsibility for behaviour and consider change.
- There can be high levels of denial, justification, and dissociation from the violence.

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<sup>4</sup> However, it should be noted, that motivations can be superficial or negatively driven, and do not necessarily predict the subsequent course of change, the type and extent of change that may occur, or whether men will eventually be successful in changing in the long term. There may also be a motivation to change (e.g. to avoid another arrest) in the absence of a commitment to fundamentally examine and take responsibility for behaviour.

- Often seen in men mandated to programmes and considering themselves only to be attending the programme because they are required to.
- Men here tended to be in the pre-contemplation stage of change<sup>5</sup>

### **'Change for purpose'**

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



### **Acceptance of need to change**

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



### **Embracing change**

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



### **Reformation**

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

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

Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

<sup>5</sup> The pre-contemplative stage is the first stage in *The Transtheoretical Model for Stages of Change*, developed by Prochaska, DiClemente and Norcross (1992)

## 5.1 Meaning of change

The meanings attached to behaviour change are typically related to what men hope to get out of changing. Understanding meanings and goals for change help to identify the sorts of benefits that will need to be communicated to men to encourage behaviour change. In overview, change goals can be broadly categorised as follows:

### Relationship with others

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

*When it affected my kids, and I saw my son crying because the police were taking me away, that's when it hit home.*

(Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

### Self-improvement/development

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

*I can walk away from that kind a stuff now [retaliating, wanting to fight, someone looking at you funny], but before - I used to just hammer.*

(Māori, Mandated, 19 years).

## **Breaking the cycle**

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

## **Loss avoidance**

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

## **Sanction avoidance**

To avoid arrest, imprisonment, other official sanctions.

## **Barriers to change**

Some barriers to change which were identified correlate to specific motivational profiles and are discussed further under each heading. However, in summary, barriers to change (either reported directly by participants or inferred from the findings), included the following:

### **Denial**

- Strategies used to justify, minimise, deny or dissociate from the behaviour.
- Willingness/ability to be accountable for actions, take responsibility, accept new understandings and meanings in relation to their behaviour.

### **Justification**

- Sense of personal victimisation/belief that actions were justified.

### **Association/norms**

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

### **Feelings of victimisation**

- Feelings of being unfairly targeted as the one needing to change.
- Belief that partner also needs to change/to attend a programme.
- Disbelief that partner is, in fact, leaving

## **Disempowerment**

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

## **Fear of consequences**

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

## **Influence of other factors**

- Recognition that change will require addressing the issues that contribute to the violence (e.g. alcohol).

## **Benefits and costs of changing behaviour**

### **5.2 Benefits**

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

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

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

## **Relationship**

*... [without change] I would be missing out on the two most important things in my life, which are my wife and my son. Watching my son grow and learn. And you know my wife's smile. She has just*

*got the most amazing smile, which I never saw for, well I saw briefly and then I lost it completely for years. And it is started to come back... that is something that I never realised.*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

### **Relationships with others**

*...the guys at work reckon I've changed. The boss at work reckons I handle things a lot better...a lot easier to work with...*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

*I don't know, probably a bit more about being interested in other people and their circumstances and about where I am going.*

(Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

### **Communication/feelings**

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred).

*I am not physically aggressive anymore. I am more prepared to listen, to work things through. It doesn't have to be my way or no way. I communicate a lot better with different people. I can sit down and have a discussion with my wife...*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

### **Family/children**

*They are much happier; they are in their elements right now with mum and dad very happy at the moment.*

(Pakeha, Mandated, 41 years).

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

(Pakeha, Mandated, 33 years).

*I guess a sense of unity. There is a unity in our family now. With my wife and son. Where it is okay I don't have to feel like I'm the boss. I don't have to prove that I'm the boss. There doesn't have to be a pecking order.*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

### **Better life/health**

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

*....I don't get angry, I don't have, I don't seem to be under stress anger-wise...if I'm angry I tell people I'm angry. I think that's lessened my blood pressure...*

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 55 years).

### **Costs**

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

Reported costs from change include:

- stigma of attending programmes
- society labelling perpetrators
- society failing to support men who are trying to change (e.g. more likely to label as someone with an anger problem it is known that they have sought help)
- needing to break away from negative peer influences. The extent that this is a negative may depend on the strength of attachment to these influences in the first place.

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).

### **5.3 Supports to sustaining change**

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

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

#### **Support from others**

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

#### **Developed skills**

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

#### **Supportive environment**

- Willingness/ability to move away from negative influences (e.g. peer group attitudes and beliefs which are supportive of family violence, drugs and alcohol etc).

- Ability to construct a supportive environment around them (e.g. development of a peer group that will not support violence).
- Religious support and belief.
- Development of spiritual beliefs.

### **Transformative development**

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

### **Reinforcement**

- Experience of the rewards and benefits of change (helping to reinforce the changes made).
- Recognition of the positive impacts on others around them.

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

(Pakeha, Mandated).

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

(Pakeha, Self-referred, 35 years).