PROBLEMATIC MINDSETS REPORT

RESEARCH

ONE ECONOMY
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FOREWORD

Madame Monica Geingos
First Lady of the Republic of Namibia

This research project was conceptualised as a result of countless conversations with frontline service providers, survivors and perpetrators of Gender-based violence in Namibia. Their perspectives were sobering and a reminder that the insights of those directly involved may be useful in guiding the practical application of evidence-based intervention and useful in both contextualising the root causes and understanding effective and appropriate interventions.

The lesson learnt through this process is that we have to allow for all voices to be heard and to be willing to have open and honest conversations about what the practical needs are of those most impacted by violence in its many forms. It also requires a holistic approach where, we not only engage victims of violence, but also those who perpetrate violence. The latter group is a crucial partner when seeking meaningful change, perpetrators of GBV related offences were therefore the principal focus of this research. Perpetrators' voices are the easiest voices to shut out of the conversation, because of society's inability to embrace the fact that perpetrators are often the products of the challenges faced within our very own societies. These challenges come in the form of a perfect storm of risk factors, including cultural norms which support violence as an acceptable means of resolving conflict, societal norms which support male dominance over woman and childhood exposure to violence. We also find that, now more than ever, there is a need to step out of the silos of our comfort and embrace more collaborative efforts towards learning from each other and growing together in our efforts to promote the building of a non-violent, empathic and caring society.

It is my earnest hope, that this research lends significantly towards understanding the root causes of violence in our society, particularly GBV and that the findings supports actions towards the meaningful steps required to address such root causes.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is a general concern that the problem of gender based violence (GBV) in Namibia has reached significantly high prevalence, yet social responses to this problem are not only fragmented but also lack a strong base of research evidence to back them up – Gould (2015) asserts that seeds of violence, as well as criminality, are put in place one to two decades before their effects are manifested within society. It can thus be argued that the manner in which society responds to children who experience violence, neglect and abuse in 2018 determine the level of violence the country will experience in 2028. This preliminary qualitative study was therefore designed to explore the root causes of GBV from the perspectives of survivors, perpetrators and front-line service providers; The aim of this study was to collect culturally and socially valid data with the global goal of using the results of the study to inform a larger study and, in turn, provide evidence for policy makers to consider and inform programmatic interventions. The study also explored participants' experiences with protection orders with the aim of assessing their effectiveness as a preventive tool and starting a critical conversation about diversion programs.

The study was conducted through the use of focus group discussions with survivors, perpetrators of violent offences, as well as front-line service providers. All perpetrator participants were incarcerated in Windhoek, and data was collected using individual interviews and focus group discussions. The data was then analysed using a thematic analysis. The data that was collected from 12 survivors and 16 perpetrators was analysed using a thematic analysis. Additionally, conversations were carried out with frontline service providers, including magistrates, prosecutors, social workers and police officers.

Five key themes emerged from the data, namely;
Relationship insecurity,
Intersection of gendered socialization and alcohol abuse,
Role of parental skills and guidance,
Help-seeking experiences,
Perspectives on protection orders.

The study findings were consistent to the findings in related international and national studies, however, a few local distinctions were observed. This suggests that social responses to GBV need domestic modification, preferably on a regional basis, to have more effective cultural and social validity.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

FLON   First Lady of Namibia
GBV   Gender Based Violence
GBVIU   Gender-Based Violence Investigation Unit
LRDC   Law Reform and Development Commision
MGECW   Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare Ministry of Defence
MoEAC   Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture
MoHSS   Ministry of Health and Social Services
MoJ   Ministry of Justice
NCS   Namibian Correctional Service
NPS   Namibian Prison Service
OFLON   Office of the First Lady
OPM   Office of the Prime Minister
                      Prosecutor General
UNAIDS   the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS
UNAM   University of Namibia
WAD   Women's Action for Development

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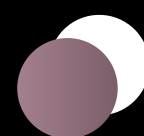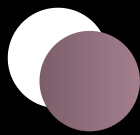
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1.INTRODUCTION

The National Gender Policy 2010-2020 adopts a slightly varied definition of GBV in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. It states that GBV refers to:

"all acts perpetrated against women, men, girls and boys on the basis of their sex, which causes or could cause them physical, sexual, psychological, emotional or economic harm, including the threat to take such acts, or to undertake the imposition of arbitrary restrictions on or deprivation of fundamental freedoms in private or public life in peacetime and during situations of armed or other forms of conflict or in situations of natural disasters, that cause displacement of people."

However, a broader definition was used to guide the research and the discussion contained within this report. The term Gender based violence (GBV) refers to the act of one person, deliberately or implicitly inflicting harm on another, based on unequal power relations between individuals. The power inequalities are rooted in social, cultural and religious practices, harmful attitudes, mind-sets and norms. Therefore, the key drivers of GBV are entirely learned, a fact that is a cause for both concern and hope. The concern arises from the fact that violence can be acquired through a natural process of social learning, when members of the community display violent behavior in front of children. On the other hand, hope is inspired from the knowledge that since GBV is an entirely acquired pattern, it is responsive to "unlearning" through concerted and organized human action (Lilley-Walker, Hester, & Turner, 2016). There is therefore an urgent need to address the drivers of violence as there is a recognition that GBV is a manifestation of a broader issue of violence within the Namibian Nation. The need for action is made more urgent by the fact that Gould (2015) emphasizes that the seeds of violence as well as criminality are put in place one to two decades before the effects are manifested within society. It is therefore argued that the manner in which society responds to children who experience violence, neglect and abuse in 2018 will determine the level of violence the country will experience in 2028.

GBV as an articulation of power differentials is reflected in the statistics that show that men are predominant perpetrators of GBV while women and children are invariably the victims (Legal Assistance Centre [LAC], 2012). Conversely, men are not immune to GBV and are often abused on the basis of their non-conformity to prescribed gender norms (CARE International, 2014). It has also been noted that within the Namibian context, the violent behavior perpetrated by men against women is often significantly more severe than violent acts of women towards men (Legal Assistance Centre, 2012).

In addition, to presenting a major stumbling block to the attainment of the fundamental human right of gender equality and equity, GBV has the potential to disrupt fragile gains attained in other areas of development such as economic growth, education, and physical, mental and reproductive health. Because GBV has a disempowering ef-

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fect, victims are rendered more susceptible to other social problems. From a Southern African regional perspective, the deleterious economic effects of GBV within a number of countries have been explored, though not comprehensively. A South African research study conducted by KPMG ascertained that the estimated economic cost of GBV was between a minimum of R28.4 billion and R42.4 billion for the year 2012/2013, which were outlined as being representative of between 0.9% and 1.3% of the GDP respectively (KPMG, 2014). It is also worth noting that the research also found that most of the cost burden was carried by victims of GBV and invariably the children of those victims were affected. In the seminal work done by the Legal Assistance Centre in 2003, which goes to great lengths to explain the provisions of domestic violence in Namibia and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003, it is reported that during the period of 2007 to 2008, an average of 237 children were removed from their homes for their own protection and thereafter placed in protective care. Children were also reported as experiencing significant levels of poor mental health outcomes. In another study by the LAC conducted in 2003, it was found that 36.6% of learner who were surveyed, reported attempting suicide one or more times within that time period. The reason given for the suicidal thoughts experienced were cited as being "family problems". These occurrences are likely to place a note-worthy burden on services, such as the already stretched state health and social services. The aforementioned findings are a clear indication of the fact that violence, particularly intimate partner violence not only has an impact on the adults, but the children who witness or are subject to such violence themselves.

GBV is a worldwide phenomenon, but variations in prevalence rates and patterns of manifestation are noticeable across different geographical areas and cultures. However, results of different studies are generally difficult to compare due to differences on the methods and definitions used. As a result, estimates of women who have experienced violence according to several in-country studies have ranged from 10% to 70% (United Nation Secretary-General Report, 2016). In Sub-Sahara Africa, a study conducted by UN Women, found that in Eastern and Southern Africa, one in four women have experienced physical or sexual violence in their lifetime (UN Women, 2014). It was further stated that violence against young women within the region was identified as a significant contributing factor to school drop-out rates amongst young women.

At regional level, the SADC heads of states and governments, in 2008, agreed to the binding SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which, inter alia, provides for the empowerment of women, elimination of discrimination and achievement of gender equality and equity through the development and implementation of gender responsive legislation, policies, programmes and projects.

At national level, the likelihood that a woman may experience some form of GBV is made apparent by a statement made in a 2014, UNAIDS report, that "one out of three women in Namibia have experienced or will experience GBV in their lifetime" (p.1). Additionally, on the back of evidence that rape and domestic violence were the two most common forms of GBV in Namibia, appropriate pieces of

legislation, namely the Combating of Rape Act 8 of 2000 and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003, have been passed. One of the key protective mechanisms in the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003 are protection orders. However, there have been observations made regarding the challenges related to protection orders (LAC, 2012; UNAIDS, 2012).

One of the largest scale platforms discussing GBV, was the 2nd national conference on GBV held in July 2014 in Windhoek, where approximately 1037 were in attendance. The conference was aimed towards developing strategies for addressing GBV. This may be argued as the platform which aided towards crafting a strategic way forward for addressing GBV as recommendations made at the conference also identified key ministries and institutions, including the MoJ, MGECW, LRDC, OPM, MoHSS and MoEAC. The various entities were responsible for ensuring that specific recommendations were implemented. Some recommendations that emerged from the conference include the following:

• Establishment of a committee to recommend final amendments to the proposed legislation to parliament.
• Spearhead research and propose reforms to specific legislation outlined within the recommendations.
• Operationalize GBV regional committees in all the 14 regions including stakeholders, GRN, ex-offenders and survivors of GBV.
• Improve processes and procedures at police stations with regards to handling of GBV cases.
• Strengthening the E-policing system to capture, produce and disseminate GBV statistics to all relevant stakeholders.
• The Public Service Commission to work together with the PSM, MGECW, MoD, MoE, MoHSS and PG to increase the number of social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists in public service and develop recruitment and retention strategy for such professionals.
• Remove existing liquor outlets/shebeens out of residential areas.
• Revive Etegameno Rehabilitation Centre and integrate Government alcohol and drug abuse rehabilitation centers in all national referral hospitals.

There is a recognition that some of the recommendations were implemented, including the revival of Etegameno Rehabilitation Centre, however it only has the capacity to admit 80 individuals per annum into the center and it is only able to offer services to those between the ages of 18 and 39. This lack of accessible rehabilitation centers in particular presents challenges as young people under the age of 18 are increasingly experiencing substance dependency which may fuel violence amongst young people. Furthermore, Etegameno Rehabilitation Centre remains the only government Rehabilitation Centre in the Namibia.
There was a subsequent Gender Justice in Namibia Colloquium held in October 2014, where the emphasis was primarily on accelerating implementation of reducing violence against children and gender based violence. Recom-

mendations emanating from that workshop echoed those proposed in various research studies conducted by the LAC (2012), UNAIDS (2013) and MGECW (2009). Suggested recommendations included, strengthening of coordination and convening mechanisms, reinvigoration of prevention and early intervention initiatives and the development of a robust integrated monitoring system.

From the aforementioned as well as countless other recommendations still not implemented, it is clear that there is still a great deal of work to be done when it comes to ensuring that action is taken in relation to not only the recommendations which have emanated from the 2nd National Conference on GBV, but also countless other conferences, workshops, research studies and reports on GBV, which are still to be acted upon.

1.1 Background to the study

Namibia is a relatively young, post-con, which attained independence in 1990 after a brutal and protracted struggle for independence. It has the distinction of having been colonized by two foreign powers – Germany from 1884 to 1915 and South Africa between 1915 and 1989. Both were ruthless occupiers. In addition to the humiliation and brutality carried out against Namibians, Germany is known to have issued an extermination order against the Hereros and Namas in 1904, and South Africa introducing a gratuitously brutal form of oppressive and racist rule called Apartheid. With this stated history, these periods were characterized not only by structural violence which sought to deprive a large proportion of the population of basic needs (e.g., laws restricting free movement), but it was also characterized by instrumental violence as aggression flowed from the regimes in power and was manifested in the form of inter-personal violence.

Post-conflict societies are said to experience numerous societal outcomes, which contribute towards violence. Prevalence of intimate partner violence has been found to be higher in post-conflict societies (Kinyanda et. al., 2016). There may be countless reasons for this observed prevalence of violence, including GBV. Firstly, conflict is said to normalize violence and as a consequence it becomes imbedded in those societies. War, therefore allows for state and group sanctioned violence to celebrate masculine aggression and allows men's violence against women to become an acceptable norm (Kelly, 2000). Shifts in societal structures also take place during periods of war. Within the Namibian context, specifically, in the apartheid era, there were laws enacted which forced men into various forms of manual labor away from their homes, which then made the marital/nuclear family illegal as argued by Jauch, Edwards and Cupido (2011), because laws restricted the movement of indigenous people, the mobility of women and children in particular made it difficult for them to reside with husbands and fathers in urban areas where they worked. Women subsequently became heads of their households as a consequence of the fact that men were either employed as migrant laborers or in industries such as the mining, fisheries and railway industries. During the war for liberation, men left to fight on the battlefields; died in war or chose to move to less affected areas in search for employment also resulting in women headed households.

It is suggested that following a period of conflict when men return, they may feel inadequate in their ability to fulfill their roles as protectors of their family. Men may also not be able to access economic opportunities to provide for their family and thereby fall short of the expectation of what it means to be a man, which would contribute to conflict within the household and result in violence (Dolan, 2003). It is further suggested that due to the fact that women become heads of households during periods of conflict, the burden of caregiving often requires them to find means of providing for their families. Tension is experienced however, when men return and are unemployed, as resentment is aroused acting as a catalyst to violence within the home (UNFPA, 2008).

The remnants of colonial rule, thus includes many negative societal outcomes such as the prevalence of violence seen within Namibian society. This violence may take the form of GBV as supported by the discussion within this section. But the main drivers of violence are commonly the unseen mental health states of individuals, which in post-conflict societies comes in the form of trauma experienced as a result of direct experiences of the violence inflicted by the colonial powers and also the various societal outcomes, including separation and loss of families, as discussed previously. This trauma is at times internalized manifesting in substance abuse, which may be as a consequence of internalizing of symptoms of depression and anxiety, which as was found through the research findings within this report as well as previous research to be a significant driver of violence, particularly GBV within the Namibian context (Kinyanda et al., 2016; Hussong, Jones, Stein, Baucom, & Boeding, 2011, & Breuer, 2016). In summary, though the internal wounds caused by conflict are easy to miss and dismiss, internal turmoil is said to guide the action and behavior of individuals and lead to more violence (Mujawayo, 2014). Trauma recovery work thus becomes critical when addressing the root causes of violence as this allows for not only peace-making in nation building, but also allows for better mental health outcomes, which enable better coping skills and conflict resolution towards a non-violent society. The scale of trauma experienced within the Namibian context is yet to be explored more extensively through systematic research. It is hoped that this research would be viewed as a vehicle which may galvanize more holistic action towards addressing the underlying mental health drivers of violence. The action referenced may take the form of greater investment into community mental health centers as laid out within the Ministry of Health and Social Service's Roadmap (2014).

Certainly, independent Namibia in many ways has made great strides in-terms of building a more equitable society, which ensures the redress of a multitude of societal challenges and is consistently applauded for its progressive social, economic democratic and governance principles and practices. However, it is still faced with several challenges such as high unemployment, particularly amongst the youth, poverty, inequality, youth unemployment, HIV/AIDS and high levels of societal violence.

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2011), the homicide rate in Namibia stood at 17.2 per hundred thousand in 2004, much higher than the rate in the United States of America (5.0 in 2009), but lower than South Africa (33.8 in 2009). Gender-Based Violence accounts for a significant portion of these violent crimes.

In recent years, the issue of GBV has featured prominently in the national discourse. At the academic level, several major empirical studies on GBV have been conducted since independence. Some of these studies include:

- Ministry of Health and Social Services (MoHSS), An Assessment of the Nature and Consequences of Intimate Male-Partner Violence in Windhoek, Namibia: A sub-study of the WHO multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence, Windhoek: MoHSS, 2004
- Women's Action for Development (WAD), the University of Namibia UNAM) and the Namibia Prison Service (NPS), Understanding the Perpetrators of Violent Crimes Against Women and Girls in Namibia: Implications for Prevention and Treatment, WAD/UNAM/NPS, 2008
- Legal Assistance Centre (LAC), Seeking Safety. Domestic Violence in Namibia and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003, 2012.
- Regain Trust. The voice of the survivors. Windhoek: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2015
- UNAIDS. (2014). Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Namibia: An exploratory assessment and mapping of GBV response services in Windhoek

The Legal Assistance Centre in particular has done a great deal of research around the issue of GBV and their publications serve as an invaluable resource in the expansion of the knowledge-base within the Namibian context on various aspects relating to issues such as the reasons why complainants withdraw rape cases in Namibia, corporal punishment and assessment of the operation of the Combating of Rape Act 8 of 2000.

Formative research conducted by the Ministry of Health and Social Services, in the WHO Multi-Country Study in Windhoek, 2004 aptly summarized the main drivers of GBV by arguing that the political history of Namibia, has engendered social values and practices which has contributed towards the inequality between men and women being normed within society, subsequently leading to violence against women becoming prevalent (WHO, 2004).

The above-statement may be expounded by including the fact that there have been increased occurrence of violence in general. This offers an opportunity for Namibian society to become introspective and look at issues such as what it means to be a post-conflict nation, how generational forms of trauma may have impacted the social fabric of this nation and its contribution to the prevalence of families at risk of violence and other social ills. It is also worth exploring the entrenched attitudes and beliefs which underlie the referenced social values and norms, which contribute towards violence in society and accepts the silence that surrounds it.

1.2 The purpose of the overall study

The impetus of this research project was found in identifying root causes for the ever increasing rates of Gender-Based violence occurring in Namibian society and formulating practical interventions that will result in a measurable reduction in GBV related crimes. We do so with the acknowledgement that GBV does not exist in isolation to violence in general. This research thus sought to principally explore the motives and thinking patterns which influence perpetrators of Gender-Based violent offences. The study also sought to take a holistic perspective on Gender-Based violence with an understanding that possible contributing factors would have to be viewed from a multi-dimensional perspective to facilitate the discussion on implementing practical and effective approaches, which focus on preventative and intervention based solutions. The cure for violence serves as a model for this objective as it leverages the experiences of young people who have experienced violence to act as "credible messengers" to convey the message of non-violence to community members; they are also referred to as violence interrupters. It is in this vein that perspectives of perpetrators were sought as their views are believed to hold the potential to act as a disruptive force in reducing violence, through the identification of drivers of violence. There were also other secondary interviews conducted with survivors of GBV and front-line service providers. This was done not only to illicit a broader perspective on GBV, but also to ensure that cross-cutting dimensions are identified. It was hoped that by viewing GBV from the vantage point of perpetrators and survivors, more enriched findings would be gathered to inform practical solutions towards a reduction of violent incidents within the household and Namibian societies as a whole.

Further, the enactment of progressive legislation to protect women and children against GBV, such as the Combatting of Rape Act, 2000 (Act No. 8 of 2000) and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act, 2003 (Act No. 4 of 2003), has been hindered by shortcomings in the implementation and consistent enforcement of these laws (Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, National Gender Policy (2010-2020), 2010). There has also been lack of progress noted in-terms of other related legislation, such as the Child Care and Protection Act (Act No. 3 of 2015), which still is yet to be implemented due to outstanding regulations as well as other challenges faced, In its stead the Children's Act, 1960 (Act 33 of 1960) and the Children's Status Act, 2006 (Act No. 6 of 2006). The aforementioned has also hampered the protection of children, who are especially vulnerable not only to violence, which results in the pervasive effects of GBV. Research has declared itself when it comes to the aforementioned contributing towards children learning to resort to violence as a means of conflict resolution and also relating to others in the course of social interaction. The LAC (2010) conducted research which points to all forms of violence against children, including normalized practices such as corporal punishment, which is administered too severely and too frequently and its impact on aggression in adolescence as well as later life. It was also noted that corporal punishment was likely to be over-used and resulted in child abuse. It was further noted that corporal punishment

is a contributing factor to violence within the school setting amongst learners (LAC, 2010).

Although there have been campaigns to ensure awareness around the issue of abuse of children, the importance of implementation of robust legislation to ensure the protection of children cannot be overstated. From the perspective of addressing factors related to the trajectory of violence, it is important to include the fact that Juvenile Justice would also benefit from legislation such as the Child Care and Protection Act (Act No. 3 of 2015). Statistics received from the Namibian Police for 2016, reveal that boys, as opposed to juvenile, girls tend to be perpetrators of crime and the most frequently committed offence is housebreaking of residential property, followed by assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm. Though the numbers of juvenile offenders within Correctional Facilities tend to be relatively low, it has been noted that there were juvenile offenders sentenced for violent offences during the period January 2016 to December 2016. The offences committed by the aforementioned juveniles were inclusive of murder, common assault, assault on a member of the police force and robbery. This raises a flag that delinquent children, who are often victims of abuse, present a risk in terms of offences which escalate in seriousness and eventually become violent in nature, resulting in the loss of human life.

Protection orders have been identified as an important tool in the fight against GBV, but questions have been raised over the efficacy of these protective mechanisms. It is vital to investigate the efficacy of Protection Orders from all angles, including that of perpetrators who have the practical experience of whether they were effective deterrents or not. In the study entitled Seeking Safety: Domestic Violence in Namibia and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003, the LAC concluded that:

"It is indisputable that protection orders are not always effective. However, most of the feedback from the study indicates that protection orders help more people than they hurt. With improvements in procedure and implementation, the Combating of Domestic Violence Act could become an even more effective tool for protecting those at risk from domestic violence". (p.104)

The other key focal area of the research was the identification of the services and interventions (e.g., counselling and mediation services), which may have acted as a prevention mechanism.

As previously stated, this study contains multiple, perspectives from perpetrators of GBV, survivors of GBV and front-line service providers on the contributing factors that leads to GBV offences. It also provides an assessment of the quality of preventive services in their communities based on the experiences of those who have either been subjected to them or had to apply them. It also intends to explore the participants' perceived efficacy of protection orders and other prevention mechanisms. It is hoped that the results of the study will contribute towards plugging gaps in the national GBV prevention and response efforts.

1.2.1 The purpose of the study on perpetrators of gender-based violence

Gender-Based Violence presents a serious problem in Namibia in terms of its high prevalence and impact. It has wide reaching implications on the enjoyment of fundamental human rights and attainment of national goals in diverse fields such as health, economics and social development. The latter is particularly salient as children are often impacted by GBV in very profound ways, as exposure of children to violence, especially intimate partner violence has the potential of perpetuating violence inter-generationally.

Mental health outcomes of violence on young people include, Post-traumatic Stress Disorder. It is reported that symptoms of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder have been observed among youth who have witnessed or heard about violence; and those who themselves were victims of community violence (Cooley-Quille, Boyd, Frantz, & Walsh, 2001). A study conducted by Farrell and Sullivan (2004) reported that children who had been exposed to community violence were more likely to exhibit increased problem behaviour and attitudes supporting violence. Frequency of exposure to violence has been argued as increasing the likelihood that children and adolescents may later engage in inter and intrapersonal violence (Flannery, Singer, & Wester, 2001). Adolescents who witness a stabbing have been reported as being thrice as likely to have attempted suicide, whereas those who have witnessed shootings are twice as likely to have alcohol abuse problems (Pastore, Fisher, & Friedman, 1996). Both substance abuse and the previously mentioned externalizing behaviour may both feed into a cycle of violence which leads to more individuals becoming exposed to violence within communities.

Gould (2015) makes the observation that accumulated experiences of violence, together with biological as well as environmental factors contribute towards children following a path of social separation and violence. This makes it imperative to go beyond rhetoric and denunciation and begin to initiate a plan that will lead to a demonstrable decline in GBV related statistics, in the medium and long-term. This study, as part of a broader initiative, seeks to contribute to the foundation of a deeper understanding of the factors that contribute to GBV offences with the ultimate aim of developing effective preventive and response interventions.

As indicated by extant literature, the available scientific body of knowledge on GBV in Namibia is largely patchy and lopsided with very few studies dedicated to understanding the perspectives of the perpetrators of GBV. This study seeks to complement the existing knowledge by seeking to capture the voice of perpetrators.

Protection orders have been identified as an important tool in the fight against GBV, but questions have been raised over the efficacy of these protective mechanisms. It is therefore vital to investigate the efficacy of protection orders from all angles, including that of the perpetrator. In the study entitled Seeking Safety: Domestic Violence in Namibia and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003, the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) concluded that:

"It is indisputable that protection orders are not always effective. However, most of the feedback from the study indicates that protection orders help more people than they hurt. With improvements in procedure and implementation, the Combating of Domestic Violence Act could become an even more effective tool for protecting those at risk from domestic violence".

Additionally, adherence to protection orders, including perceived barriers to adhering to protection orders by perpetrators, was explored. This study thus represents efforts to clarify the shortcomings of protection orders in Namibia.

1.2.2 The purpose of the study of survivors of gender-based violence

The aim of studying survivors of GBV was to explore the experiences and perspectives of survivors of GBV and to inform policy and practice and interventions, which aims to address the needs of survivors. In order to have an understanding of the GBV experiences of survivors, the participants were asked various open ended questions. One of the focal areas of the research with survivors was to explore the experiences of survivors in relation to the drivers of GBV as well as their experiences of help-seeking. There have been similar research studies conducted within the Namibian context with a focus on survivors of GBV. Previous findings reflect that it is common for survivors to report two or three different forms of abuse as forming part of their most recent experience of abuse (LAC, 2012). The same LAC report also states that for complainants who had applied for protection orders, 97% reported that they had experienced abuse at the hands of the person they sought a protection order from, before their most recent experience of abuse. It is however widely accepted that despite the prevalence and wide-reaching effects of GBV, there are countless incidents of abuse which go unreported. This is particularly true for sexual assault, particularly rape.

Additionally, a 2009 report by the LAC, highlighted the magnitude of the issue, when shedding light on the fact that rape cases, if at all reported are often withdrawn. Some of the reasons for the withdrawal of rape cases were identified to include the following; women are offered compensation, which sometimes offers the person who has been wronged some financial assistance, however, perpetrators do not always adhere to the agreed upon arrangement; women are sometimes pressured by their family members to withdraw the case; the perpetrator at times physically threatens the complainant to withdraw the case; the woman experiences shame in relation to the rape and decides to withdraw the case and some withdraw their cases because the prosecution process is lengthy (LAC, 2009).

Further, though progressive pieces of legislation have been enacted to protect women and children against GBV, such as the Rape Act of 2000 and the Domestic Violence Act of 2003, their effective enactment has been hindered by shortcomings in the implementation and inconsistent enforcement of these laws (Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, National Gender Policy (2010-2020), 2010). This has had some real-life consequences, such as the loss of life experiences and survivors of GBV being unable to find a way out of the cycle of violence due to the lack of certain safe-guards, which includes coherent services offered to those seeking help. Regain Trust conducted a study in 2015 among survivors of GBV and it was found that the majority of survivors interviewed stated lack of support and empathy from front-line service providers, including police officers and health care professionals (Breuer, 2015).

We would like to recognise the important research undertaken by the Legal Assistance Centre particularly around the issue of protection orders in the context of domestic violence in Namibia and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act (Act 4 of 2003). There is consensus with their recommendations, especially those related to the application process for protection orders, which has been found to be problematic. Respondents in the 2012, LAC summary report titled, "Seeking Safety", stated that protection order application forms are difficult to complete. The forms are reported as being complicated due to their length and the technical language used, which may be difficult for a lay person to understand. The suggestion is therefore made that the forms should be simplified, with an emphasis on narrative explanations with questions to guide the accounts. It was also highlighted that the application process is further slowed down and obstructed by court officials' lack of capacity. A remedy was proposed, including the issuing of a circular explaining the role of court officials in the processing of protection orders and the related appropriate procedures.

We would like to note that the LAC study also relied on data collected from 'key informants', including court officials such as clerks of courts and magistrates. This study anticipates adding to the completeness of the available empirical data by capturing the voices and perspectives of perpetrators as well as survivors together with a small number of magistrates and prosecutors with whom a focus group discussion was held.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.

The quest for answers to violence and crime in general and GBV has generated a vast amount of scholarship – some of superior quality and a myriad of inferior quality. The main aim of this literature review is to highlight, analyse and critique some of the major findings and insights that have emerged from seminal research studies.

As the scholarship, research and knowledge base on GBV accumulated and matured over the years, increasing areas of consensus have begun to emerge. The first area of growing consensus is on the definition of GBV. The definition of GBV that was crafted at the United Nations General Assembly meeting in 1993 is generally regarded as the gold standard. It defines violence against women as "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 deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life."

While some similarities between GBV and other forms of violence are recognized, it is now acknowledged that it is different from other forms of violence on a number of dimensions. Bott, Morrison and Ellsberg (2002) expanded on some of these differences. Firstly, in the vast majority of cases GBV is perpetrated by men on women. Studies conducted in Canada, Australia, Israel, USA and South Africa have found that 40-70% of female murder victims are killed by their husbands or boyfriends compared to only 4-9% of men. Secondly, GBV is predominantly motivated by the need to punish women for perceived transgression of gender norms, to show authority and to save family honour.

Thirdly, society is generally quick to categorically denounce other forms of violence but when it comes to GBV, society tends to display a great deal of apathy. There is a tendency to justify, rationalize, blame, stigmatize and cast aspersions on the victim rather than the perpetrator. Fourthly, the sources of GBV compared to other forms of violence are considerably different with violence against men being predominantly from war, gang-related activities, street violence and suicide while in the case of girls and women, the perpetrator is invariably someone they know and is in a position of trust or authority such as the father, stepfather, intimate partners or acquaintance. It is for these family, economic and emotional bonds that GBV is grossly underreported in most cases. Fifthly, in situations of armed conflict and displacement, GBV especially rape is disproportionately used against women and children as weapons of war (Bott, Morrison & Ellsberg, 2002).

While GBV has a foothold in all parts of the world, its types, prevalence, incidence, distribution and pattern of manifestation tends to vary from place to place and over time. These variations are mainly due to sociocultural factors such as cultural practices, education and economic development within societies that support the dominance of

men over women and invariably registering higher rates of GBV compared to those that propagate equality between sexes.

In spite of the fact that it was realized early on that GBV is a complex phenomenon that is determined and shaped by a multiplicity of factors and forces, attempts to develop single factor theories persisted for a very long time. It was only in last few decades that research efforts began to shift towards crafting integrative and robust models that take into account factors that operate at different levels to explain and account for the full scope of crime and violence occurring across various environments, situations, social, structural, economic and individual domains. In the recent years, narratives and policy discussions on GBV have been dominated by the Ecological Framework (Heise, 2002) and the Revised General Paradigm of Crime (Vila, 1994), due to their ability to combined individual level risk factors with society and community level factors.

2.1 The Ecological Perspective

The ecological framework has gained broad acceptance for guiding discourse, policy formulation and social responses to GBV due to the acknowledgement that the implications of GBV extend far beyond the private arena to impact on diverse issues such as human rights, economic development, physical health, sexual and reproductive health, mental health as well as HIV/AIDS. This framework conceptualizes GBV as being rooted in the interaction of factors operating at the societal, community, relationship and the individual level as indicated in Figure 1. below.

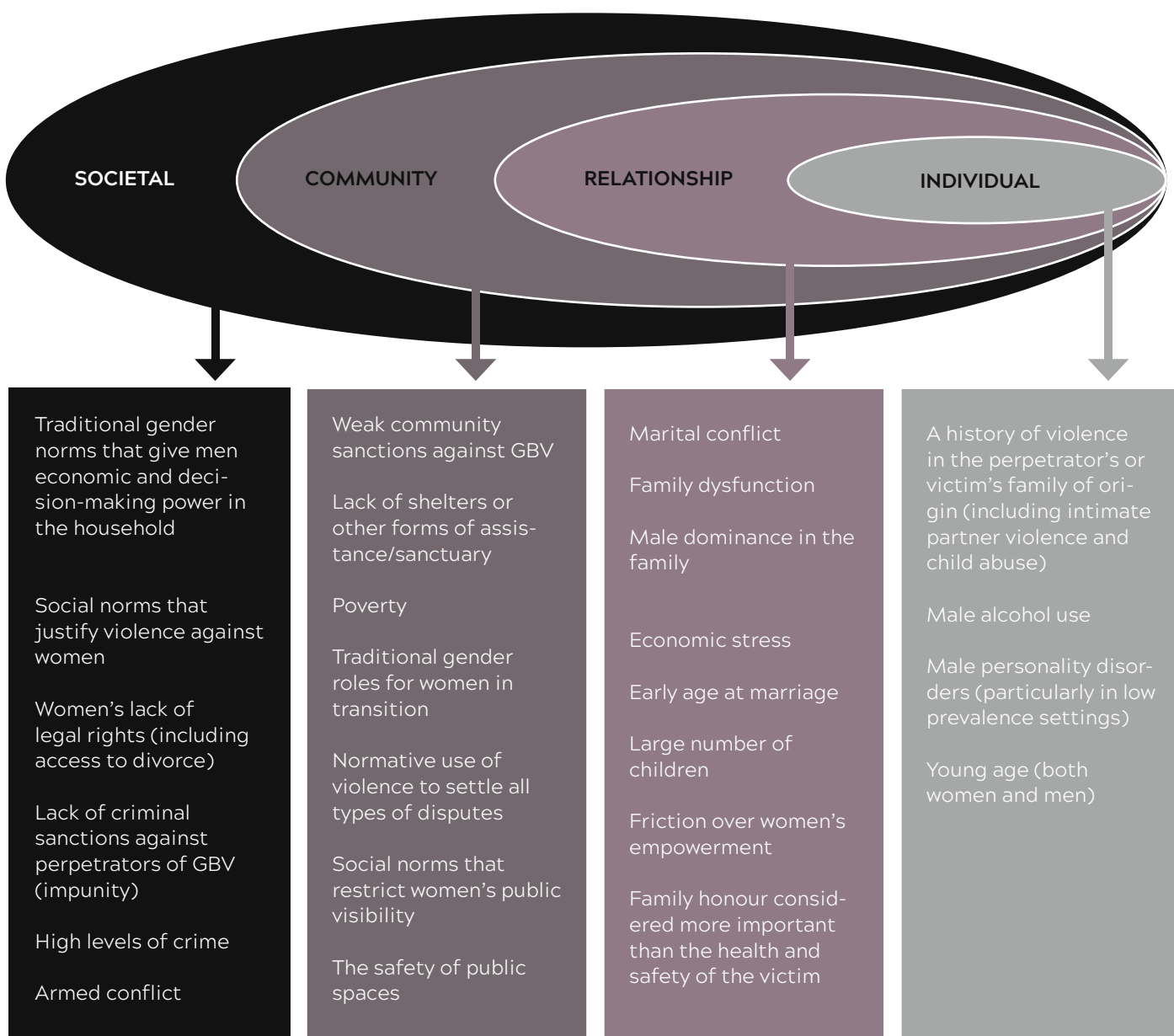| SOCIETAL	COMMUNITY	RELATIONSHIP	INDIVIDUAL
Traditional gender norms that give men economic and decision-making power in the household	Weak community sanctions against GBV	Marital conflict	A history of violence in the perpetrator's or victim's family of origin (including intimate partner violence and child abuse)
Social norms that justify violence against women	Lack of shelters or other forms of assistance/sanctuary	Family dysfunction	
	Poverty	Male dominance in the family	Male alcohol use
Women's lack of legal rights (including access to divorce)	Traditional gender roles for women in transition	Economic stress	Male personality disorders (particularly in low prevalence settings)
Lack of criminal sanctions against perpetrators of GBV (impunity)	Normative use of violence to settle all types of disputes	Early age at marriage	Young age (both women and men)
		Large number of children	
High levels of crime	Social norms that restrict women's public visibility	Friction over women's empowerment	
Armed conflict	The safety of public spaces	Family honour considered more important than the health and safety of the victim	

Figure 1. The Ecological Framework and its Relation to GBV. Adapted from Heise and Garcia Moreno, 2002; and Jewkes, Sen and Garcia Moreno, 2002

The factors at the societal level include social and economic policies and practices that promote and maintain socio-economic inequalities and harmful cultural norms that endorse violence as an acceptable means of resolving conflict and male dominance over women and children. Factors at the community level are represented by formal and informal institutions and social structures in which social relationships occur. Examples of such institutions and social structures include neighbourhoods, schools, workplaces, social networks and peer groups. Relationship factors refer to the immediate context in which violence take place and these are frequently family and other intimate or acquaintance relationships. Individual factors represent biological (e.g. personality) and personal factors (early childhood experiences) that affect how the individuals conducts themselves in relationships.

The ecological framework has made an immense contribution towards the understanding of the identification of risk and protective factors of an individual becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence. However, it has been criticised for implying that individuals are "an agglomeration of risk and resilience factors" (Gould, 2015, p. 11). In other words, apart from enumerating the factors at the different levels, the ecological model fails to go far enough to explain how these factors interact to influence and impact on the individual's life. Bott et al. (2004) observed that there have been few attempts to explore how individual and community factors relate to each other and ultimately influence how violence becomes the outcome. In a similar vein, Gould (2015) suggested that the interaction of these factors may just be as important as the nature of the individual factors themselves.

Among the few studies that explored the interaction of various factors is the study by Koenig et al. (2003) on the impact of saving and credit scheme membership of Bangladeshi women on the level of violence that was experienced. In this study, saving and credit scheme membership was taken as a proxy for high personal autonomy and sociocultural factors were represented by the extent the community subscribed to conservative norms regarding women's gender role and status. The participation of women in the saving and credit scheme was associated with different levels of experienced violence depending on the socio-cultural conditions obtained in the different research sites. Women who were members of saving and credit schemes but were living in highly conservative communities experienced greater levels of violence. Women who were members of saving and credit schemes but were living in setting that valued and promoted the high status of women experienced protective effect against violence. Saving and credit scheme membership had no appreciable impact on the experienced level of violence for women who were living in settings that were less conservative.

Table 1 below outlines the above-mentioned outcomes related to the correlation between savings and credit scheme membership, socio-cultural conditions and violence outcomes.

Table 1. Impact of Individual Status and Socio-Cultural Conditions on Violence Outcomes

Site	Individual Status	Sociocultural Conditions	Violence Outcomes
1	Member of schemes (indicating high personal autonomy)	Highly Conservative	Experienced greater level of violence
2	Member of schemes (indicating high personal autonomy)	Less Conservative	No impact on the level of violence experienced
3	Member of schemes (indicating high personal autonomy)	Progressive	Protective effects against violence experienced

The study shows that the same condition (saving and credit scheme membership) may have completely different effects on women depending on whether the activity is seen as acceptable or not by community norms. So, the salient lesson from this study was that it is unwise to transplant knowledge gained from one site to another without understanding the broader socio-cultural context It is for this reason that local studies like this current study are crucial for generating depth, nuance and additional understanding into complex phenomena such as GBV.

2.2 The General Paradigm of Crime

The General Paradigm of Crime was initially developed by Cohen and Machalek (1988) and later revised by Vila (1994). Over the years, it rose to a position of prominence in criminological literature because, in addition to presenting a conceptualization of general crime and violence that is trans-disciplinary in scope and sensitive to evolutionary principles, it also offers plausible crime control strategies that are consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of the paradigm.

Many extant theories of crime and violence only offer partial explanations because they are constrained by disciplinary parochialism (Vila, 1994). This is reflected in the propensity of researchers to construct explanations and intervention strategies that are congruent with their own disciplinary training. For example, researchers who are trained in the Psychology discipline tend to over-emphasize internal individual factors such as biology and personality factors while neglecting the role of wider inequalities in the society in their conceptualizations of crime and violence. Conversely, researchers of sociological persuasion, tend to display a proclivity to concentrate on external factors such as poverty, unemployment and political systems while virtually excluding internal factors when explaining crime and violence.

The other strength of the paradigm lies in its ability to explain the development of the individual's motivation for crime. The paradigm postulates that certain attributes or strategic styles are acquired in the individual's life course due to the interaction between biological, sociocultural, and developmental factors. Some of these attributes may be criminogenic in that they emphasize the use of force, fraud or stealth to obtain resources and are characterized by self-centredness, indifference to the suffering and needs of others and low levels of self-control (Vila, 1994).

According to this paradigm, the engine room for the development of criminality is the complex interplay between biological, socio-cultural and developmental factors. Biological factors refer to aspects such physical size, strength, swiftness, and the excitability/reactivity of nervous and organ system and temperament which may interact with socio-cultural factors to impact on the development trajectory of the child (Fishbein, 1990). For example, a child with an irritable temperament may invoke a punitive response from the mother, a situation which may in turn result in the child developing a hostile attitude.

The paradigm also emphasizes that early life experiences are critical because individual traits are acquired in a sequential fashion, with early life experiences serving as the foundational blocks for later life experiences and outcomes. Thus, negative early life experiences are expected to have significant long-term impacts unless something dramatic happens to cushion the children from the full impact of the blow. The figure below relates to the General Paradigm Understanding Criminal Behaviour.
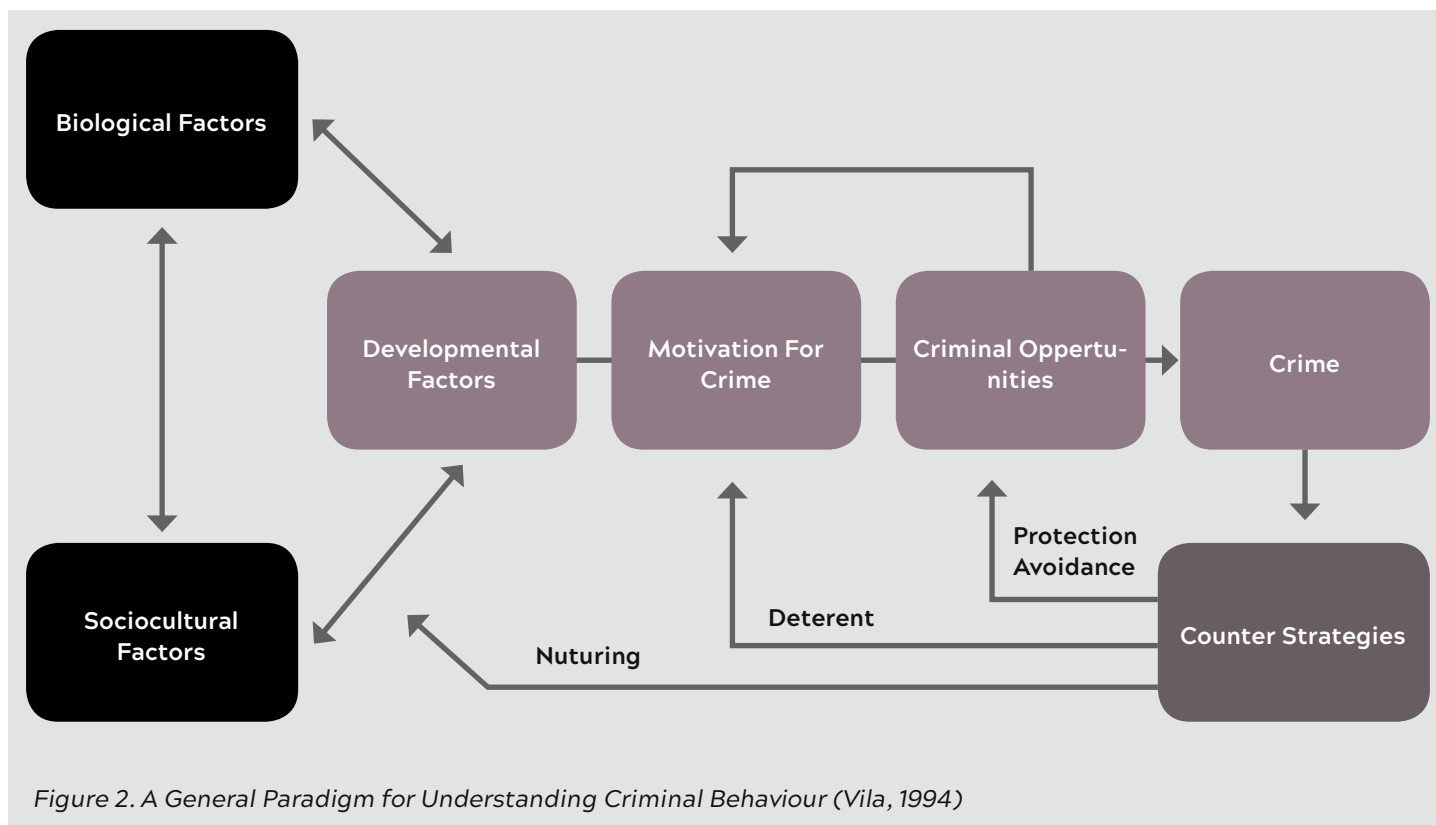

Figure 2. A General Paradigm for Understanding Criminal Behaviour (Vila, 1994)

Through the processes of modelling and reinforcement, sociocultural factors influence the individual's strategic style towards others and ways of acquiring and retaining desired resources. Sociocultural factors not only influence the beliefs and values that the individual acquires over the life course, they also affect the individual's perception of what is legitimate or not in the pursuit of desired goals and resource (Merton, 1938 and Hirschi, 1969). In simpler terms the individual's moral fabric is strongly influenced by the socio-cultural factors that they experience in their early life course.

The paradigm further asserts that human behaviour is not necessarily governed by precise calculation of costs and benefits. This is because the well springs of behaviour are socialisation and social learning – processes that ordinarily operate at a subconscious level (Cohen & Machalek, 1994). In addition, the individual's ability to effectively calculate the cost-benefit of any given behaviour can be degraded by personality traits such as impulsivity.

Vila (1994) further postulated that for crime or an act of violence to take place, three pre-conditions should exist. Firstly, there should be an individual who is motivated to commit a crime or violence. Secondly, there should be a suitable target such as a potential victim, property, or illicit substance or behaviour. Thirdly, there should be an absence of effective guardianship (someone or something capable of preventing the crime). Applying this line of reasoning to GBV, harmful gender norms would ensure a high supply of individuals who are motivated to commit GBV; suitable targets are generally easily available because GBV frequently takes place between people who are connected to each other through family and other intimate bonds; and, in many societies, guardianship is generally poor due to factors such as a lack of relevant laws or poor enforcement of the law.

The paradigm for understanding criminal behaviour, also suggests crime control strategies that target the three pre-conditions of crime. Protection and avoidance strategies aim to reduce opportunities, while the aim of deterrence strategies is to reduce the motivation for crime. Finally, nurturance strategies aim to reduce the root causes of crime/violence. These root causes are conceptualized as the reciprocal interaction of biological, sociocultural and individual developmental factors.
The three crime control strategies are briefly outlined in the next few paragraphs below.
Protection or avoidance strategies involve attempts to reduce criminal opportunities by changing how people go about their routine activities in life or by incapacitating dangerous elements in society by incarceration or keeping a tag on their movements and activities via electronic monitoring devices (Reiss & Roth, 1993, p.325). Another element of these strategies is to harden potential targets by increasing guardianship by instituting measures such as changing architectural designs, living in gated communities, establishing neighbourhood watch committees, and increasing the numbers or the effectiveness of police.

The long-term utility of protection strategies is generally regarded as limited because perpetrators are adept at finding ways to circumvent such protection measures. For

example, it has been seen that criminals quickly find ways to disable electronic protective devices. As noted by Vali (1994), protection strategies have a tendency to provoke an "arms race" in which the perpetrators and the survivors/society engage in a perpetual duel for supremacy. For these reasons, these strategies can only be effective if society is capable of quickly evolving in its responses to changes in criminal strategies.

Opportunity limiting strategies such as incarceration are not only expensive but also have the potential of causing collateral damage by disrupting families and ruining employment prospects (Sampson & Laub, 1993). This has been brought into particularly sharp focus during the course of the work done by OFL with female offenders, including violence prevention and trauma-debriefing sessions. It has been reported that 77 to 90% of female offenders have reported having experienced emotional, physical or sexual forms of violence (Salisbury, 2015). Women's involvement in crime has further been noted as being motivated by different factors from those of men. It has been reported that the reasons women offend may include attempts to evade difficult social circumstances such as an abusive relationship, poverty and economic marginalization (Wright, Van Voorhis, Salisbury, & Bauman, 2012). Findings such as the aforementioned aid in supporting the thesis that female offenders have unique risks and needs which should inform not just the rehabilitation of female offenders, but targeted early intervention efforts for young women and girls who exhibit particular vulnerability. Hence spite of the limitations outlined above, protection strategies still have a role to play because crime is highly opportunistic in nature. Society has to take measures to reduce opportunities for crime as it manifests through the cycle of violence and criminality.

The aim of traditional deterrence strategies is to reduce the motivation for crime by increasing the perceived certainty, severity, or swiftness of penalties. Commonly, this involves the introduction of new and tougher laws, fast tracking trial and sentencing processes and introduction of harsher sentences. In Namibia, the Combating of Rape Act was introduced in 2000 and was quickly followed by the Combating of Domestic Violence Act in 2003.

A slight variation in the traditional approach to deterrence are the "nonpunitive" deterrence approaches, which entail increasing the perceived costs of crime by boosting an individual's stake in conventional activities of life rather than punishing antisocial behaviour (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). This is frequently reflected in prison based programmes such as education and vocational training programmes.

Research indicates that the effectiveness of deterrence strategies is generally limited because the root of criminality is the early life course, thus, making it exceedingly difficult to deflect adults from the criminal strategic styles once they have acquired them. As observed in the famous quote by Alexander Pope (1734), "It is easier to bend a twig than a mature oak." However, some non-punitive deterrence strategies such as increasing the individual's social capital by improving employment opportunities and family ties have been shown to hold some promise in diminishing the risk of offending among adults.

Nurturant strategies involve attempts to prevent the development of criminality in the first place by addressing the root cause of motivation for crime. These interventions are aimed at reducing children's exposure to physical and emotional abuse as well as to intimate partner violence.

These strategies are premised on the view that the greatest leverage for crime control is found in early life interventions because the fundamental strategic and behavioural styles of individuals develop fairly early on in life. In addition, as mentioned, human traits are known to be acquired in a sequential fashion meaning that early life experiences serve as the foundation for the behaviours and attitudes that are displayed later in life. Gould (2015) noted that "the way in which we respond to children who experience violence, neglect and abuse today will determine the level of violence we will experience in 10 years' time." This assertion finds currency in Alexander Pope's (1734) reflection that "as the twig is bent, so grows the tree."

To date nurturance strategies have concentrated on the provision of universal programmes aimed at improving the quality of environments in which children are raised. These interventions have predominantly addressed educational, health and child care related issues.

Since biological, developmental and environmental variations will always ensure that a proportion of individuals in the population will be more impulsive than others, thus, it is imperative that intervention efforts attempt to better match individuals to their environments. For instance, it has been suggested that, in the case of children that are impulsive, the traditional teaching practices that require children to sit down all day must be replaced by those that emphasize learning through active participation.

In the health domain, nurturant strategies frequently involve ensuring that women and children have access to high-quality pre-natal, post-natal and childhood care as well as better nutrition. They also entail the timely provision of treatment and counselling services to children who fall victim to physical, sexual and emotional abuse. In the childcare domain, nurturant strategies often take the shape of parenting programmes in which parents are impacted with skills to better respond to children's physical, psychological and social needs.

Research studies in South Africa and other parts of the world have demonstrated that positive parenting programmes have the potential to buffer children from the effects of violent communities (Gould, 2015). However, the evaluation of the utility of many of these programmes have produced disappointing results due to a number of reasons. Firstly, many of these studies fail to appreciate the fact that a long time lag required for the effects of nurturant strategies to begin to show. Accordingly, the effects of nurturant programmes are expected to show in about 15-20 years, when today's new-borns will start entering the 15-29 age bracket, which is most at risk of criminal behaviour. This implies that nurturant strategies should and cannot be viewed as "quick fix" solutions.

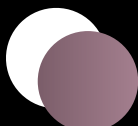Gould (2015) also questioned the utility of parental pro-grammes on the grounds that it is difficult to see how parents who are themselves survivors of abuse in their relationships, are chronically under the influence of substances and/or labouring under severe mental conditions can benefit from such programmes. Gould also observed that parenting programmes in South Africa are currently being implemented on such a small scale that their impact is almost miniscule.

2.3 Summary

Both the ecological framework and the general paradigm of crime suggests that the best strategies to counter crime should ensure that children are not exposed to violence or toxic stress at home, at school and the broader society. Furthermore, the fact that the majority of the perpetrators of crime and violence are frequently also survivors of abuse, renders simple dualities between perpetrators and survivors of little practical value, and behoves empathy and compassion in our social responses. Nonetheless, it should be emphasised that this is not to be construed as suggesting that perpetrators are completely without responsibility for their actions.

If there is anything to learn from this literature review, it is perhaps the point that social responses to crime cannot be quick fixes. They have to adopt a holistic and multi-sectoral approach that attends to a multiplicity of factors on the structural, societal, community, relationships and individual levels.

3. METHODOLOGY:
PERPETRATOR STUDY

A qualitative (Creswell, 2003), exploratory and descriptive approach was employed in the study as it attempted to explore and describe the motives behind the perpetration of GBV offences. The study was conducted at a selected correctional facility in Windhoek, Namibia. This facility is amongst the five (5) NCS facilities that are classified as Level 1 facilities. It has an accommodation capacity in excess of 700 male inmates. It is a multi-security custody facility with inmates with custody level ratings that range from minimum to maximum. This facility houses long term perpetrators with sentences ranging from 18 months to life sentences. It is also among the three facilities where the full version of Offender Risk Management Correctional Strategy (ORMCS) has been rolled out.

The ORMCS is a modern approach to corrections that focusses on the application of scientific knowledge and practices to the management, control, rehabilitation and social re-integration of perpetrators. While the philosophy of the ORMCS is that the rehabilitation of inmates is a collective responsibility of correctional officers, the delivery of specialized rehabilitation programmes is however assigned to carefully selected and trained officers with background training in Psychology and Social Work.

3.1 Profile of Perpetrators in Namibia

When looking at offender populations, it is important to acknowledge the fact that they are not just individuals within society who are completely different from others. Instead, they are a reflection of the various challenges within that society. These challenges may include unemployment, education, substance use and/or community violence.

METHODOLOGY: PERPETRATOR STUDY

3.

Table 2. Incarcerated Offenders Convicted of Violent Offences

	Offence Type	Number	% Of Offender Population
1	Murder	186	7.09%
2	Any Sexual Offence Involving A Child	7	0.27%
3	Attempted Murder	87	3.31%
4	Assault With Intent To Cause Grievous Bodily Harm	367	13.99%
5	Attempted Rape	19	0.72%
6	Rape	231	8.80%
7	Robbery (With Aggravating Circumstances)	98	3.73%
8	Culpable Homicide	44	1.67%
9	Indecent Assault	7	0.26%
10	Robbery (Without Aggravating Circumstances)	60	2.28%
11	Attempted Robbery	3	0.11%
12	Ill Treatment Of Children	1	0.03%
13	Assault By Threat	62	2.36%
14	Common Assault	82	3.12%
15	Crimen Injuria	14	0.53%
16	Domestic Violence	4	0.15

Note: The statistics contained within the table above are for violent offences of offenders who were noted as being incarcerated at Correctional Facilities throughout Namibia in October 2017.

It is clear from statistics provided by the Namibian Correctional Service that the largest proportion of offenders serving sentences for various violent offences, are those offenders who have committed assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, followed by rape offences and murder. These statistics in particular highlight the fact that violence within Namibian society is a significant problem which requires critical attention. Violent offending may be argued as stemming from community violence, where violence becomes normalized. Gould (2015), characterizes this process of normalization of violence as going hand in-hand with a status quo of social disorganization, where communities experience some form of socialization from broader society and a significant lack of order. In this context, there is no appropriate modeling of alternatives to violence and therefore individuals resort to violence in order to solve challenges faced.

Table 3. Ethnic Representation of Perpetrators Incarcerated In Namibia

Ethnicity	Number	Percentage
Afrikaner	26	0.99%
Baster	35	1.33%
Caprivi	85	3.24%
Coloured	79	3.01%
Damara	663	25.28%
German	1	0.04%
Kavango	184	7.02%
Motswana	14	0.53%
Nama	282	10.75%
Ovaherero	205	7.81%
Ovahimba	14	0.53%
Owambo	821	31.31%
San	39	1.48%
Other	174	6.63%
Total		2622

Note: This data only captures incarcerated perpetrators during the period of October 2017

It is interesting to note that despite representing a relatively small proportion of the overall Namibian population, perpetrators from the Damara (25.28%), Nama (10.75%), San (1.48%) and Baster (1.33%) ethnic groups represent a disproportionately high number of the offender population in Namibia. The ethnic groups outlined are predominantly from the southern regions within Namibia, except for the Damara, who are originally from the Kunene, Otjozondupa and Erongo region. This is supported by reports on crime statistics in 2016, which indicated that the Hardap Region as the region with the highest incidents of murder and rape (Angula-Smith, 2016). Police officials have proposed that incidents of violent crimes in southern-towns can be attributed to the increase in the use of drugs and alcohol, which has been reported as being especially prevalent in areas such as Rehoboth and its surrounding rural areas (!Gaeb, 2017). The disproportionate representation of individuals from the south, as well as high rates of community violence. should serve as impetus to further interrogate through research, the psycho-social determinants of this disproportionate occurrence of violence within these communities

Though it is challenging to draw exact parallels, it is interesting that there are similarities between African-American communities who also experience disproportionate rates of incarceration relative to their representation of the overall population within the United States of America. Though it has been argued that there are structural underpinnings for this phenomena, it has also been observed that poor mental health outcomes caused by socializing boys around not expressing their emotions has been found to result in boys exhibiting a type of masculinity which manifests itself in the form of reactive aggression towards themselves or others.

In line with previous discussions, data also shows that 35% of youth who are exposed to violence in their communities develop Post-Traumatic Stress disorder. This is in comparison to 20% of soldiers who develop Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder as a consequence of being deployed to areas of conflict. The mentioned statistics show that children and adolescents may be the most vulnerable population with respects to negative mental health outcomes following exposure to violence. Studies among African-American communities have shown that adolescents who have been exposed to violent events within their community have been found to be more likely to experience negative mental health outcomes (McDonald & Richmond, 2008). Posttraumatic stress disorder and externalizing behaviour (e.g., aggression) have been associated to exposure to chronic community violence. Suicide has also been found as being an outcome of exposure to trauma and occurs disproportionately among African-American youth. This phenomenon is also reflected in the Southern region of Namibia, as the Hardap region was reported in 2015 as having the highest rate of teenage suicide (Hardap has highest learner suicide, 2015).

The abovementioned findings prompt questions around the possible similarities between communities within Southern Namibian regions, where violence is reported to be prevalent and outcomes within African-American communities. A cluster of factors which are imperative to recognize as possibly contributing to observed factors, include, poverty, lack of housing, unemployment and other factors noted as presenting risk for violence. Other probable contributing factors found within African-American communities where incidence of violence are at significant levels, include lack of parental involvement and lack of parental supervision (Chung & Steinberg, 2009). These factors were also identified by Gould (2015) as contributing towards adolescent delinquency, which leads to violent offending.

Additionally, though present day factors remain salient to the discussion of drivers of violence, questions remain about the lasting impact of post-colonial trauma carried by individuals within these communities which were previously designated as police states. Police states are reported to have been located within central and southern Namibia, where white-owned farms were situated and where police control was harshly enforced (Likuwa, 2014). This together with the findings by Inken (1999), where Nama woman-headed households where studied and it was found that there may be conflicting gender roles and new direction in gender relations, which the author stated includes decreased rates of marriage as a consequence of the fact that women were not willing to let go of the ability to make decisions within the marriage especially as they relate to finances. There was also a criterion (singular) which the interviewed women indicated as forming part of their decision to marry and it was stated that not all men meet this criteria. Single motherhood among Nama people is also suggested as having become a normative (Inken, 1999). It may be proposed that the aforementioned may present social challenges within this community, including lack of same gender models for young boys as well as possible conflicts in relationships, because of conflicting ideas of the role of women and men within society. Men's lack of access to the means to provide financially to the partner and children may add to existing psychological distress. The aforementioned may serve as drivers of conflict and violence within the community.

It could further be proposed that other contributing factors associated with patterns of violent crimes within specific communities may include, risk factors such as mental health outcomes as result of disrupted gender norms, poor family relations, unemployment, education and substance use. Being able to determine these risk factors is argued as being a worthwhile exercise, which would inform more targeted action and intervention.

3.2 Sampling of perpetrators of GBV

Purposive sampling (Patton, 1990) was used in this study. The inclusion criteria for this sample included male individuals who have committed GBV offences such as rape, attempted rape, intimate partner homicide or attempted murder and/or assault, and were convicted and sentenced for these offences. A total number of 32 offenders took part in the study, although only data from 16 of these participants was analysed for this study as other groups were held in two languages for which transcription was not possible.

3.3 Demographic profile of sample of perpetrators of GBV

The target population in this study was male perpetrators who were convicted and sentenced for GBV related offences. The 16 participants in the two focus groups were aged between 22 and 54 years at the time of the study. Of the 16 perpetrators, the youngest age at the time of committing the GBV offence was 15 while the oldest was 49 years.

Table 4. Age of Perpetrators at Time of Committing GBV Offence

Age range at time when offence was committed	Number of participants
15 – 17 years	2
18 – 24 years	4
25 – 34 years	5
35 – 44 years	4
45 – 54 years	1

There is no data available indicating the general age range of perpetrators. This is viewed as another gap in statistical information which may be helpful in offering a better understanding of targeted interventions required for prevention efforts. This is particularly important because that in order to design effective prevention programmes, content has to be crafted in a manner which is age appropriate and to which the target population would be responsive to.

Table 5. Offences Committed By Perpetrators

Type of offence	Number of offences
Rape	11
Murder	4
Assault	2
Robbery	1
Armed robbery	1
Grievous bodily harm	1

Note: Some participant had committed multiple offences.

The majority of offences committed by the participants were rape (55%), followed by murder (20%) while other offences included robbery, assault and grievous bodily harm. The number of offences exceed the number of participants, because some participants were convicted of and sentenced for more than one offence. There is consensus in the literature related to this finding as rape has been reported as being a prevalent form of GBV, however rape is also argued as being the most under-reported crime in Namibia (Breuer, 2015).

Table 6. Perpetrator's Relation to the Victim of GBV Offence

Relationship to victim of offence	Number of participants
Neighbour	5
Acquaintance	4
Wife	1
Girlfriend	4
Ex-girlfriend	1
Relative	1
Stranger	2

It is clear from the table above that survivors of GBV are often individuals familiar to the perpetrators of GBV (e.g., neighbour, girlfriend, acquaintance and wife). This is in line with global, regional and local trends in GBV, particularly domestic violence and sexual violence being committed against survivors who are familiar to the perpetrator (UNAIDS, 2013). Most rapes within the Namibian context are committed by partners, acquaintances and family members (19%) (LAC, 2006). A 2012 report by the LAC also stated that children are often powerless and are reluctant to speak out due to fear of being stigmatized as well as feelings of shame. Complex relationship structures also develop when the victims of abuse, particularly sexual abuse are family members, as some family members find it difficult to believe that a trusted family member would cause sexual harm and the victim may at times be hesitant to divulge the abuse happening as they are afraid of the perpetrator facing any negative consequences such as court prosecution (LAC, 2009). This finding highlights the importance of raising awareness around victims divulging what is happening, especially when it is abuse within the family environment and front-line service providers should also be trained on how to handle such sensitive situations in a manner which will be helpful as opposed to being traumatizing to the victim.

Table 7. Marital Status of Participants

Marital status	Number of participants
Married	2
Single	10
Cohabiting with partner	4

The table above shows that 62.5% of participants were single, whereas 25% reported having cohabitated with a partner. The significant proportion of participants who had reported being single might be in line with findings from Prescott (2016) who reported in a study with petrators of sexual violence that "a vast majority never lived with an intimate partner for more than two years, indicating weak capacities to live an intimate, lasting relationship." This inability to develop lasting relationships may be a risk factor as the person may not have the inter-personal skills, such as effective conflict resolution skills to resolve conflict and

this may serve as an important red flag when choosing an intimate partner or when in a relationship with someone who has exhibited such pattern of behaviour.

Table 8. Primary Caregivers of Perpetrators During Childhood

Primary caregiver	Number of participants
Both biological parents	7
Mother	6
Father	0
Aunt and uncle	1
Aunt	1
Grandmother	1
Neighbour	1

It is interesting to note that 41.1% of participants, stated that they were raised by biological parents as children and 37.5% reported being raised by their mothers as children. In accordance with research by Prescott (2016), amongst Namibian sex offenders, found that 85% of all participants reported that their mothers were the principal source of support and attributed 100% of the positive influence they experienced to their mothers. This may suggest that many perpetrators of GBV come from women headed households and may consequently lack modelling of pro-social male models.

3.4 Data collection

Focus group discussions were the primary means through which data was collected (de Vos, et al. 2005). In total, four focus groups were held. However, for the purpose of this pilot study, only data from two focus groups were analysed. The focus groups each lasted approximately 1 hour and 30 minutes and were recorded on a digital audio-voice recorder.

3.5 Data analysis

The data was transcribed (de Vos, et al. 2005) verbatim and the transcripts were further translated into English. The data was then coded, categorised and analysed thematically, which involves the identification, analysis and the reporting of themes or patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4. METHODOLOGY: SURVIVORS OF GBV STUDY

Research with survivors was conducted in collaboration with the UNAM social work department and the office the Namibia's first lady (OFL). Recruitment of participants took place at GBVIU, Shelter, and NGO's known to work with victims and survivors of GBV. There were semi-structured interviews as well as in-depth interviews conducted.

The UNAM Social Work department in collaboration with the Office of the First Lady developed and reviewed a semi structured open ended questionnaire and a close ended pre-code questionnaire incorporated to collect biographical data. 12 In-depth structured key interviews were carried out with victims of GBV.

4.1 Sampling method of survivors

Purposeful sampling of target population was used. Both male and female adult survivors and victims of GBV, who had experienced any form of GBV within the previous five years who were 18 years and older and had used/not used protection orders. Recruitment took place at GBVIU, Shelter (i.e. ESDA/Friendly Haven), and NGOs known to work with the population group. Thus individuals who were available and willing to respond were included in the research, if they met the inclusion criteria. Respondents were interviewed in their homes or spaces they identified as being safe to fully express oneself.

4.2 Demographic profile of sample of survivors of GBV

The participants included 12 survivors from varying ethnic groups, with the largest proportion being Oshiwambo. The latter is regarded as being reflective of the fact that, the particular ethnic group is an ethnic majority within the Namibian context. As shown in the two diagrams below, the profile of survivors found that 92% of victims of GBV who were interviewed were female, whereas only 8% were male. This difference in gender representation has been reported by countless GBV studies in various countries, including Namibia.
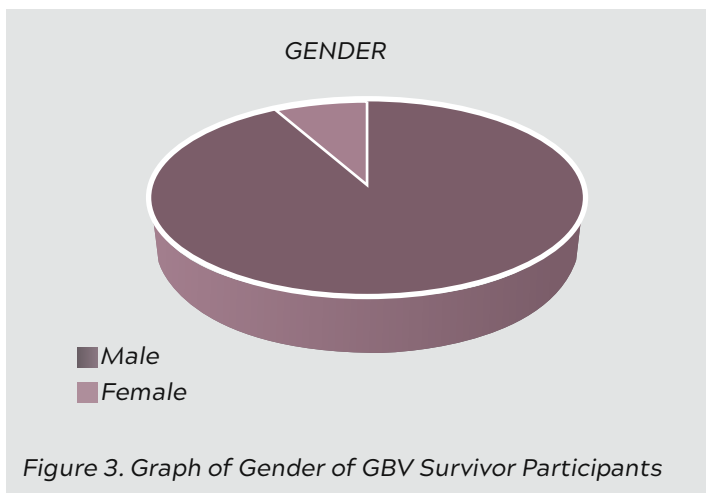

GENDER

■ *Male*
■ *Female*

Figure 3. Graph of Gender of GBV Survivor Participants

4.

The majority of the sample of those who participated in the study were also noted as being between the ages of 23 to 34 years. This age group is within the range reflected in statistics which show that the highest rates of HIV/AIDS prevalence as well as new infections are women between the ages of 15 to 49 and 15 (UNAIDS, 2016). The link between HIV/AIDS and GBV is therefore significant when considering the fact that HIV/AIDS has been reported as one of the health outcomes of GBV related offences, especially rape. The other outcomes also include poor mental health outcomes (e.g., depression, posttraumatic stress disorder and anxiety) which may lead to self-harm (UNAIDS & Victims2Survivors, 2014).

findings which reflect that perpetrators are often people familiar to the victim. Research also shows that this is particularly true for sexual violence (LAC, 2012).

Figure 5. Graph of Kind of Relationship between the Victim and Perpetrator
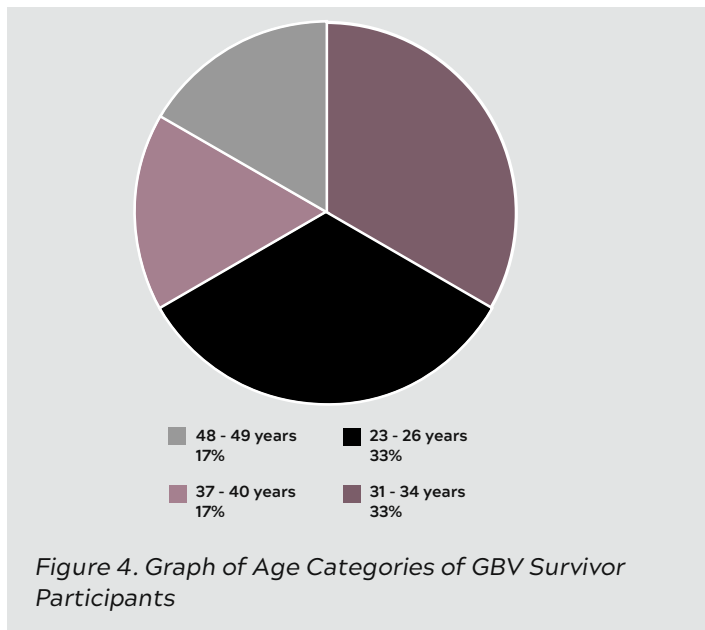

Figure 4. Graph of Age Categories of GBV Survivor Participants

 On average participants had two children and it was clear from what is known about victims of GBV, that they tend to be mothers. In fact one of the more comprehensive research studies conducted in Namibia on GBV reported that children of women who had mothers who experienced physical violence by an intimate partner were likely to display emotional, behavioural and academic challenges (MoHSS, 2004). This is an indication of the far reaching effects that GBV can have not only on the victim, but the children of those victims as well.

When noting the characteristics of participants, it was observed that the majority had completed secondary school. Additionally, most were also employed in various sectors, though most participants were holders of low paying jobs such as security guards, administrative clerks, fuel attendants and pre-school teachers. Those who reported being self-employed were mainly vendors selling fruit and vegetables. However, one respondent held a job in the financial sector.

Looking at the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, it was found that the 50% of the women interviewed reported that the perpetrators were their boyfriends/intimate partners. This is consistent with previous
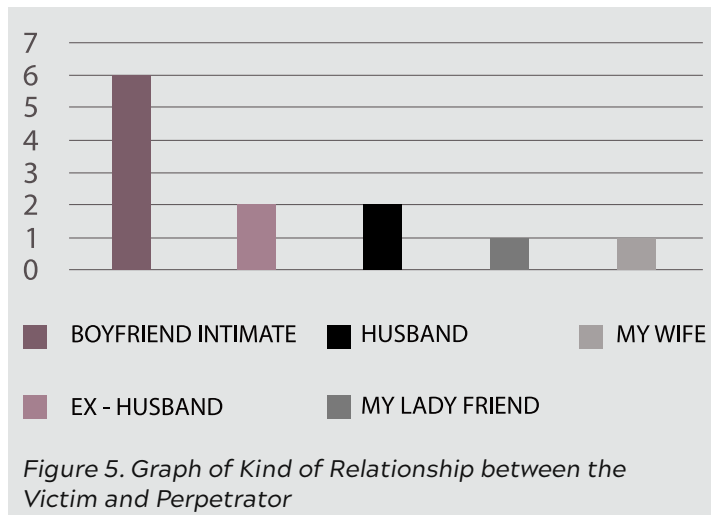
5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS OF PERPETRATORS' VIEWS

FINDINGS AND
DISCUSSIONS
OF PERPETRATORS'
VIEWS

This section represents the findings of this preliminary study on the motives of perpetrators of GBV offences. Five main themes emerged from the analysis, which are: relationship insecurity; help-seeking experiences; the role of parental skills and guidance; the intersection of gendered socialization and alcohol; and perspectives on protection orders. The themes were divided into subthemes and discussed in order to elicit the salient notions that speak to the purpose of the study.

5.1 Theme 1
Relationship insecurity: *Don't leave me!*

5.
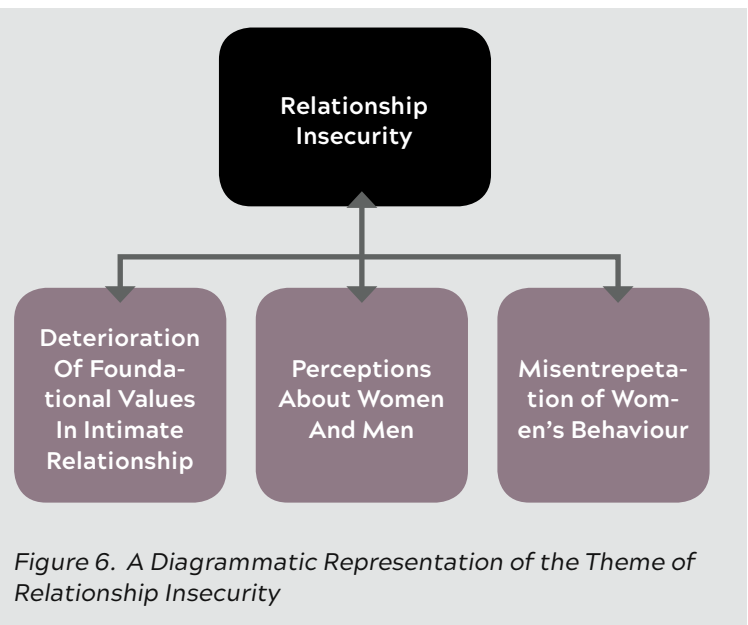
Figure 6. A Diagrammatic Representation of the Theme of Relationship Insecurity

5.1.1 Deterioration of foundational values in intimate relationships

The participants identified several elements as crucial in ensuring that their relationships survived and were maintained. These elements were identified as honesty, trust, faithfulness, respect, mutual decision making and commitment; some of which they reported as outlined below:

"The things that I think are very important at home is, ah, is respect, respect and accepting each other and try to listen to each other"

"Just mentioning there by my brother's point at trusting, when you trust your partner, you must trust him with faith, if you don't trust him, just separate from the person you don't trust."

"...honesty is a very big thing..."

Although trust was identified as a desirable attribute in a relationship, there was also the perception that it can be a source of vulnerability, thus, there was a need to maintain vigilance. This view appears to be responsible for sowing seeds of distrust and suspicion in the relationships as evident in the following extract:

"Ja, I will just support my brother's, ah, words there. I am saying that, ah, with trust, trust is also good, but it's also bad. To fully trust someone, because you know in Otjiherero they are saying 'you know whom you love, but you don't know who love you'. And it's true, because you love someone, you trust her, but she didn't trust you, or he didn't trust you or he didn't love you. That's the thing and you will never know it, because, eh-eh, a human being, to turn to a snake is very easy…"

Commitment was also seen as important in a relationship, but interestingly, in the next extract, one participant shared his observation that sometimes, men who are in an intimate relationship tend to invest disproportionately to the women. When things do not work out or when problems are experienced, it manifests itself in the form of killing the woman while they themselves are 'free agents'.

"We trust each other too much you see, even we are not married, yet we trust, and the most of the ladies that are killed outside, are not married ladies, they are single, so we as men, we must know when to commit ourselves to this woman, if we want to commit life time then we must marry. So the single status that we have, I can kill this one and can go on to the next one. Ya, that's what I mean, the trust, they must start to build the trust."

"…like we say, the passion killing, we love to death."

In his words, some men love so much that they love to death. Literally. He sees marriage as the ultimate commitment a man can make to a woman, and suggests the need for men to use this institution (and arguably other healthier ways) to express their commitment to their partners. This quote gives us some insight into how over-commitment may, in fact, spill over into possessiveness.

The participants were in agreement that it was the lack of or deterioration of these foundational elements that cause the problems in relationships, and, which ultimately contribute to GBV offences.

"I think the honesty is not there, the truth is not there. Like my brother said, what I would just like to add is that the honestly between these two people. They mislead each other. The honesty is not there anymore. Because where there trust there, then those kinds of things would not happen."

Further to these values, some participants felt that although most relationships start well, they begin to deteriorate overtime due to a number of reasons. It was reported that over time, partners tend to disregard each other and do less and less to nurture their relationship. They drift apart and this generates tension and suspicions in the relationship as depicted in the following extract:

"Yeah and the other thing is this. You are man and woman, you are together. In the beginning is there love and everything, everything nice, all the beautiful things. But then you get used to each other, you are every day together, then the love also gets finished, you are just there, because you are used to each other, then it begins now, you see later that the woman or myself we are not the same with her anymore, then you go and think ha-ah, the woman she is not the same with her, then you begin to drink, you, you also feel the pressure from her, after that you drink, then you get that physical abuse, because you think now that the woman has gotten another man, then you begin to drink, and when you begin to drink you only see one thing."

This observation is important in that it suggests the need for partners in a relationship to learn how to maintain the relationship and the values that underpin it. This is because there appears to be a general inability to recognize when a relationship is no longer healthy and what to do in this case. There seems to be a fundamental problem with the working model or idea of what a relationship entails. Internal working models may be viewed as ways in which we think of relationships and those qualities which are seen as defining ideas around relationships with others. Working models also guide expectations, feelings, behaviours and how we think about certain things. Thus, if a person thinks of other people as being generally untrustworthy and uncaring, they will likely have relationships which are not trusting. This basically creates patterns of unhealthy relationships.

The above is supported by a study conducted with sex offenders incarcerated at a correctional facility in the Kavango-East region. It was reported that 45% of participants stated that they believed that other people were just out there to get them and 80% believed that they "deserved better than what they have gotten in life". This is an indication of negative emotionality/hostility which was indicated as being another factor which feeds into unstable relationships (Prescott, 2016). The theory of attachment reiterates the ways in which insecure attachment may spark various forms of violence.

Another interesting observation is that the very same virtues/values which are emphasized as being important in a relationship (i.e., trust, honestly, mutual respect, commitment) may not necessarily be virtues that are lived by individuals who commit GBV offences. This contradiction may be driven by societal roles of men and women and the commonly held belief in society that women are to be the custodians of such virtues. This notion is supported by a study by MGECW (2009), where it was found that despite generational differences between participants, there was a common belief that changing gender roles in society had contributed towards increased violence.

5.1.2 Perceptions about women and men

The thinking style, attitudes and behaviour of participants

was reflected in a way that is stereotypically and rigidly prejudiced against women, rigid and stereotypical. For instance, it was perceived that women only get into or remain in relationships for financial gain and are often quick to look elsewhere or even abandon the relationship when men are no longer in a position to provide for them.

"To come to the issue of money, like my fellow inmate said, I think that sometimes, now-a-days, ah-ah, like they said the woman was the ones at home and a man was supposed to go and look for bread, so if the man doesn't have a work, if you don't have a job or anything to do, he's just there at home and his girlfriend or wife, either, so later on I think the lady will go and look for someone who has money. Understand my point? So if she don't have anything in her pocket she will feel like, no man this man is not doing..."

The perception was also held that women become disrespectful towards men when they are financially independent or have jobs that are lucrative compared to their male partners.

"The woman also has a job, they are getting paid better than men, but now, it's not wrong that the woman gets a better salary or is paid more, but the disrespect comes in with the money you see, the woman gets paid better than the man, that's just there where the disrespect will come in."

"I took a wife, this marriage wife of mine, that I loved very much... So that's how I took care of this woman, anything I provided for her, then one day this woman got a job... But after she began doing this little job, is the respect a little less towards me, she respected me a bit less, because she's getting a bit more money than I have, so we lived like that, we stayed, but this woman of mine, one day she left me with a child of two months, she left me with a child at home, of two months, then she went to Australia for eight months. So when she returned, this woman of mine came pregnant, pregnant, so this thing it made me feel not so good. Because this woman dishonored me."

It could be argued that the participants expressed a fear of rejection or abandonment by women if they failed to provide for them. This fear undoubtedly puts men under pressure to ensure that they are in a position to provide financial resources for their partners/families. It also has the implication that some men would rather not risk potentially losing their partners, so they would prefer their partners to remain unemployed or at least not earn more than them.

Women were also perceived as dishonest, unfaithful, greedy, lazy and wasteful as indicated in the extracts below:

"Like, let me speak a bit about my situation which brought me here. So you see woman are like this, see she's not honest..."

"But what basically happened is, me, like the way that I am seated here, I would not have been here, if the person was honest with me, because I wasn't

in Namibia, I was in South Africa. When I came in that same drunkenness, I heard, her sister told me, hey, look here what happened is that the woman was four months pregnant, then I said "hey, what!", then I pushed the woman and she told me how things were, and then she left."

"I think it is greed and the other thing is alcohol, the drink. The greed here, comes the story of us, our girls what I experienced is that even if she gets R400.00, you give her R400.00, to take that R400.00 and work it out to become R800.00. They are too lazy to do that, yeah, and when they get the money, they spend it on unnecessary things, next time when they need the money go and find in bad ways."

Many of the participants' perceptions about women were shaped by their actual experiences with women. More often than not, these perceptions then become generalised to most women, especially if the situation repeated itself within different relationships.

It was also expressed that women are expected to conduct themselves in certain ways and to avoid certain places at certain times and activities.

"In the night, a child that should be laying and sleeping, that time, then he is walking. Like my brother said, a person should look at things from both sides, now that little girl is walking around alone, then you are gotten [caught] by someone who is walking around here, like my brother said you both don't work, here he's walking, that man is walking looking for food to support his woman or his child. He walks around to steal or do something, now he gets, now he gets this beautiful girl then he rapes, then you make him [her] dead. It was the time where she was supposed to be at home. "

Similarly, when women are in a committed relationship, they are expected not give their telephone contact numbers to other men and they are expected to minimize the number of friends they entertain, especially on social media platforms such Facebook.

"I think where things also begin, is you get a woman. The woman also has friends, now you have maybe seen something on Facebook. The woman has already given her number to people, some of the numbers are men's, but those guys got the cherrie [chick] number before you. Now she's your cherrie you sleep together, everything, everything. The cherrie has also received smses. Now you can't accept that thing. Then you want her to leave everything, you don't want her to have friends anymore... That's there where the problems come and stuff."

"Yeah, it's like that. You found her and she has many friends, you see. Now you came along and you want her to leave everything. She is not allowed to speak to other guys."

Once again, the matter of possessiveness due to a fear or rejection or abandonment becomes evident in these extracts in which the participants express the desire to secure their relationships by removing potential competi-

tion. To this end, it appears that the 'friends' referred to are only male friends and that female friends are probably exempted from this restriction.

It may be argued that there are underlying perceptions of women breaking gender norms and being viewed as failing to fulfil cultural norms of what it means to be a good woman, thus, presenting a threat to what it means to be a good man. According to Kabeer (2014), what is considered to be a transgression may be different according to the situation or context. This difference is said to be a result of the fact that cultural norms that define gender roles are likely to be different across settings. This includes the various situations described by participants above; for instance, some participants shared a sense that women became disrespectful when they became employed or were earning more than the man. Participants also referred to the belief that men are supposed to be the providers in society. This research which shows that in situations where men are used to or expected to be the main breadwinners, developments in women's economic status due to work, education or business efforts, will likely challenge dominant gender norms, threatening men's sense of status and self-worth (Kabeer, 2014).

During the focus group discussions, participants also revealed perceptions they had of men, including themselves. They reported that men were seen as strong and powerful and that they were expected to be able to lead, provide for and protect their partners and families.

"There must not be this story for gender based violence for that now since I am man I am strong, I should overpower the woman, because the presence of the woman is to take care of the kids also with the husband. And the husband is to look after what's going on in the, in the house, so that anything what comes, he has to protect the house."

Sexual conquests were also seen as a normative indicator of manhood and therefore could be condoned or even encouraged. The similar view was that men are liable to lose sexual control if they are deprived of sex over an extended period of time.

"I was also 21 years old and ah, I think, okay at the time, at the age of 21 I was dating a girl like you see, when you become 21 your father and mother will tell you that now you are a big man, you understand, so I was feeling like you, like you said you are full of life that time, you feel ah, 'I'm a man now,' let me go and take a man [woman] and take her at home."

"Maybe, because maybe it was long also for me to enjoy myself like that… That time maybe I get mad. Sometimes people they get confused or something like that…maybe it's 'hormo' [horniness] that one that you mentioned, what is it, ya, that one."

As much as men were seen as physically stronger than women, they were not deemed emotionally strong. It was expressed that men tend to overreact to issues because they are emotionally weaker compared to women and that men take longer to recover from any hurtful experiences. This appeared to justify some of the explosive behaviours that men engage in from time to time.

"You see, we as men, you know, our feelings, woman are stronger, they can handle anything, but we men are weak, so the smallest thing turn into a big thing, once it's big we can't handle it, then we do what comes in front."

"And it's ego. Ah, a man's ego once it's bruised, it doesn't heal quickly. We as men when they're hurt we don't regain easily. That's what causing this every time a woman is doing something good, it hurts us and the way we retaliate, we hit them, beat them, kill them."

5.1.3 Misinterpretation of women's behaviour

There appears to be a tendency to attach sinister motives to the behaviour of women. For instance, the mere action of refusing sex is automatically misinterpreted to mean that the woman is cheating with another man. Similarly, any signs of emotional withdrawal from a woman are seen to be a sign of potential unfaithfulness.

"Maybe he is trying to get sex from her, but she doesn't want to, then he thinks the woman got another man, but it's honestly not like that, but you just think the woman has another man, because you don't do that."

"Yes the thing is….ahh, look, like now the woman now, you two are together and you are now used and maybe you say in a joke, I will smack you or I will hurt you, now that woman [inaudible], that woman is also a bit scared of you, but she won't say that she is scared, she will just be on one side, after that is the woman just to one side, because maybe she is afraid of you, but she doesn't say that she is afraid, she will just keep to one side and you think, no man here, the woman has now gotten another man. Your mind is just there."

There may be a number of reasons why women turn down sex or withdraw emotionally from a relationship. The participants note that, there may be other reasons for their partners' change in behaviour, yet they acknowledged that these (and possibly other) actions generate suspicion of unfaithfulness, thus, creating insecurity in the relationship. The potential loss, whether it is perceived or real, may drive men to take measures to regain or exert control over the relationship. Sometimes, these measures get out of control, resulting in abuse or violence.

5.2 Theme 2
Help-seeking experiences: *Help me, I can't do it alone!*

It was evident that most of the participants felt the need to seek help. However, it was revealed that the process of help-seeking was fraught with several challenges. Some of the challenges involved the participants' own fears and doubts, others wondered about the availability of the help needed in their communities; while yet others were concerned with the perceived quality of the available help. In short, this theme sums up how the participants perceived their need for help and the barriers to help-seeking.
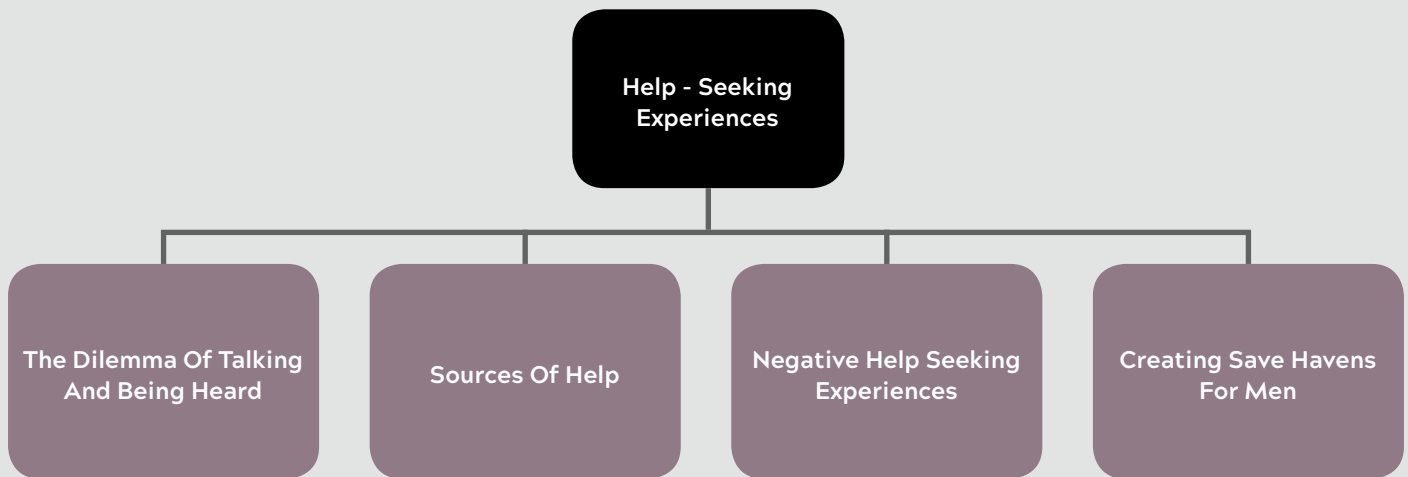

Figure 7. A Diagrammatic Representation of the Theme of Help-Seeking Experiences

5.2.1 The dilemma of talking and being heard

Talking to someone was identified by the participants as valuable for its cathartic and problem-solving ability.

"Maybe a place to talk, because talking is an important thing. Big solution. Talking, conversing. When you talk then you will feel better, you will press a type on pen down."

"That is what men are nowadays doing, they don't talk, if they can talk more, then they can stop."

Talking was also highlighted as essential in the transmission of knowledge and moral values to children. Thus, the importance of parents openly talking to their children was emphasized.

"What I wanted to say is that to learn to talk with your child openly, learn the child, that whenever he is having a problem, he should come to you and talk to the parents, always, that's one thing, because if you don't learn that, he is just going to keep it inside and if it's inside it's never going to be released, it's just breaking you down."

Participants also indicated that as much as they find talking to be important, the process of 'letting things out' is not easy.

"The problem, the mens [men], they shy to talk what is, the problem which he is having, because sometimes, is between the wife, you cannot turn it back to the police officer of the family members, because they know that he is the head of the house. While supposed to just call that lady or to call the family of the lady to just put him or tell them in a straight way. You see and then from there, the man will just put the trauma there in his chest, which means it will take long, the time when it will come out, it will be maybe he will end up coming here in prison, because it has been a long time, been patient, that's why you see sometimes, it's a small mistake, just come here in prison. It has been for a long time.

In this extract, the participant reveals that a man is expected to be able to handle certain matters on his own as the head of the house. Talking to others about his problems suggests that he is unable to fulfil this role and in order to avoid this, he rather keeps his problems to himself. The participant acknowledges that what is bottled up inside will eventually come out and warns that at this stage, the result of keeping something inside for a long period of time could potentially be the committing of a GBV offence. This may contribute to poor mental health outcomes, because the act of talking, as basic as it may seem, it is a crucial element to mental health wellbeing.

"What I would like to add to that is. This person's heart on the inside, is a good, good person. It's now the man, but then he thinks inside of himself, he doesn't want to be left by the woman, if he were to say these things openly. Then he turns around, and then he goes to drink, then he comes, then he comes and makes an uproar, then he comes to speak, then what's going to happen, happens."

In the extract above, another participant makes reference to being concerned about his partner ending the relationship if he were to speak openly about certain things. This presents the dilemma of talking and being heard because there appears to be a risk involved in opening up. It stands to reason, then, that there is a need for a safe and enabling environment in which to talk and be open with one's partner without the fear that such openness will lead to negative consequences. Once again, this participant highlights the potential of a tragic outcome in the form of a GBV offence if a man fails to express himself openly in a timeous manner.

Both these extracts echo the idea of the explosive nature of releasing emotions that have been building up over a period of time. This suggests that there is a suitable time frame in which problems can be resolved in a positive manner. This opportune time is suggested to be as early as possible, the problem has escalated and while other problems have not arisen to create clusters of problems. Allowing problems to simmer without intervening early enough is said to contribute to the manifestation of these built up tensions as GBV offences, often with the help of alcohol and its exacerbating effects. However, another underlying driver of violence identified is the lack of conflict management skills.

While appreciating the value of talking, the need to be heard further expressed itself in the extracts below. Participants expressed that they needed to be treated with empathy and compassion. It was important for them to feel that someone would take their words seriously and not just dismiss them.

"The people also have to be educated, when a man makes a case there, then they laugh."

"For me is like if we want to solve this problem, we have to make places for men to move freely, to express how they feel, they don't have any place, they only have pastors, some pastors, they talk, you talk to them, then they take your story to someone else, then it spread."

The need to be heard was also expressed in the extract below, in which a participant makes an example of being provoked by a fellow participant continuously, asking for help but not receiving it and then retaliating when the provocation becomes intolerable.

"I tell the guys inside here too, so I say for example, like I say this man, he's arguing all the time with me,

he's arguing with me all the time. And I tell to the people, please speak to [fellow participant's name], but they don't care at all, they don't care. If I find it difficult one day, then I decide, man I am tired of this story, then I storm on [fellow participant's name], do you understand? Now the guys who come in, won't say [fellow participant's name] leave the man, they will just come to my side and say [participant's own name], [participant's own name] leave the man, the question then comes. Before I did it I gave them the complaints. Why didn't they come that time and say why are you provoking him, leave the man? Why didn't you say that, but when I get tired, I gave complaints, gave, gave, gave, gave, gave. But they didn't want to come stop the guy and when I had enough, then they are the first to come to my side, then they say, leave, leave the man, don't fight, don't fight, now why is it like that with people?"

It could be argued that the participant finds similarities between this example and what happens in a relationship, in which a series of events occur that puts strain on the relationship. He maintains that when early signs of conflict are ignored even after efforts to seek help, the one party is more likely to strike back at the person who has been doing the provocation. Ironically, he also notes that when the person who was being wronged does strike back and others finally intervene, he ultimately receives the blame for retaliating while the blame should lie with the other party. The participant, thus, appeals to people who are approached to intervene to do so before a problem escalates.

5.2.2 Sources of help

The participants identified that there were places or people they could go to for assistance such as family members, friends, church, and government institutions. Some participants acknowledged that in some cases, they were offered assistance but they did not allow others to help them and that in other cases, they sought help from others but to no avail.

"If they (grandmother and aunties) hear, ne, I'm drinking too much, they usually take me from there, send me that side to go and stay. So she was like, she was guiding me, but for me the urge to do this stuff was strong. So she usually take me, she usually take me for counselling, there was a ah, here near by single quarters that centre there".

"From the church side. What the, this too for preaching, is also is giving the advice how to control alcohol".

"...I was supposed to at least get a friend who is pushing me to go for, for the church so that at least I must hear the word of God, so that I must get what is the good thing there."

"Ja, ah, okay, like he said. I get help from my, ah, from my stepfather, ah, my stepmother. The one

who my father is married to, cause out of my own experience. We used to go to South Africa to visit my father that side so, whenever I am there. She's a Christian at home, so out of experience I never done something wrong when I'm that side. I just if I come back to Namibia again, then I went out of the way again, but ja, it helped me also, she used to talk to me about crime and not doing this. Ja, she really helped me."

"Like in my case, like my brother, my older brother is a traditional chief. Like in my case I tried to sit with my brother, with the community to resolve the problem together. But furthermore, it also didn't help. Then I went with the Catholic sisters, I also gave my case [problem] there with them, but nothing helped. There was also no solution. Then I also went to the traditional counselor, that also didn't help, Yeah."

The dynamics of family involvement are somewhat complicated for some participants. While some participants saw the family as a source of help and wanted their help in relationship problems, some did not want the family to interfere or meddle in their personal affairs and perceived some in-laws as perpetuating and aggravating the situation by colluding with their daughters.

"It's like if the mother was honest with him and if she had told her child not to do it, the thing that you are doing my child is completely wrong, all day you are not at home and that, that, that is what contributed to him ending up where he ended up."

"Your child, the man and the woman, they are arguing with each other, then you can't just 'Wa!', just jump in there like that. Then you should wait and listen, why and what are the reasons that these people argued. So that in-law or that family should also be told a little something, so that they can stay at a bit of a distance."

"I wanted to say, the woman uh-uh and the mother and sister, knew what the woman did, but the mother or the sister would never say to the woman, no this thing that you are doing is not right. Why because they also benefit both sides. Which is also not right."

It is interesting to note that a number of survivors of GBV as well as perpetrators of GBV engaged in some forms of help-seeking from various sources of support including family and friends. However, it would seem that the individuals they went to for assistance did not always have the skills to help effectively.

5.2.3 Negative help-seeking experiences

Some participants reported that they tried to get help but that their appeals were generally ignored or belittled. As a result, they developed a distrust towards the help-seeking process. Both informal and formal sources of help were generally perceived as not tailored to the needs of men, or these sources were seen as incompetent, untrustworthy and/or biased against men. The extract below illustrates this feeling.

"I then decided, I am going to the, then I went to Gender [inaudible], the police he answers me, he doesn't have a car to go to my house. Then I tell my boss, I have this and this kind of problem. My boss says, go to the police so that he can go say, I am coming from the police, police say he has no car. From my side I took the woman to the charge office. I say the woman is here, then he gave the paper, that the woman should go get her stuff. When we get home. My woman she says, you're not leaving, you're not going out. Then the woman she stabs me, you understand and I go to the hospital, hospital says they don't need me. I should go get a paper from the police. Okay, then we went to the office for woman. Women and child. He gives me these papers like this so that I can give them to my woman for her to take her stuff. Then the woman from woman charge [women and child], gives me papers, I come back, but the woman she doesn't get out. Till that day, when these things happened, that brought me to prison. My woman finds me and my child asleep. That time 12 before 12 a few minutes, I she asked where I was, I said no, then I decided [inaudible]. She said I will "f**k you up tonight, you don't see me." Then she went passed, I thought she was going to sleep, then she took a knife, then she came from behind, then I hit the woman. Then came the police, they came."

In this long extract, the participant shares his experience seeking help from a police station and hospital, as well as the Gender Based Violence Unit. According to the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003, this participant was entitled to ask the police to give his partner a formal warning to stop her violent behaviour; however, the police station did not have the resources (in the form of a vehicle) to provide this service. He went as far as taking his partner to the police station himself in order to get the formal warning. In each case, and even after having been stabbed by his partner, the institutions approached for help, failed to provide the necessary assistance. Ironically, according to this participant, when he finally retaliated and hit the women after she tried to stab him again, the police were available to intervene. A similar sentiment was shared in an extract above that appealed to men's need to be heard and taken seriously when they need assistance.

Another participant notes the following:

"Not at all. Not at all, they don't feel free at all. They just don't go there. There in Mariental is also one, that place for woman and child, I have not seen a man yet, when they are called for their children, then they go, how much money should be paid for the child, then they must just help. But the arguing and the problems, they just don't go, they just don't feel at ease."

This raises questions about our institutions' sensitivity towards and capacity to provide assistance to men in cases where they appear to be the survivors of violence in an intimate relationship. It may also illustrate the notion of one participant who observed in the extract below that

although we are striving for equality among the genders, women seem to be taken more seriously than men in GBV related incidents.

> *"Like I understand. Now us men, we are behind and the woman is high. But then it is 50/50, yes. If women are first then if she says something first, then we are not counted. First word gets counted. So we are always in the fault."*

The public discussion around the idea of equality according to Hubbard (2007) is often met with the concern that equality is intended not simply to empower women, but is instead intended to disempower men. This sense of feeling disempowered, coupled with institutional barriers, thus serves to affirm preconceived notions or prevent men from possibly engaging in help-seeking behaviour. This is an example of the complex interaction between community factors (i.e., lack of capacity and/or institutional sensitivity to assist men) and individual factors (i.e., cognitive barriers that exist as a result of perceptions regarding equality). As previously discussed, the aforementioned is argued as being as critical as the individual factors, which must be considered (Gould, 2015).

Once again there appears to be similar experiences for both survivors of GBV and perpetrators, as they relate to barriers to seeking help. These barriers are viewed as a result of limitations of service providers who have limited capacity, including insufficient resources and soft skills such as empathy. In a focus group discussion with court officials including magistrates and prosecutors, participants shared that police officers who often interacted with survivors and perpetrators of GBV lacked resources such as vehicles. Participants expressed an additional concern that, although some officers at the GBVIU are trained to offer specialized services, a high turn-over of staff presents challenges, including contributing towards creating barriers of help-seeking for both GBV survivors and perpetrators.

Further, some participants expressed distrust in the ability of the church to provide adequate assistance.

> *"Yes, the church that is here these days, struggle, everyone struggles, the pastor struggles too. You don't believe anymore what the pastor is saying, just now you hear the pastor say, tomorrow we should all give N$ 50.00 that we can build a church. Then he is gone with all the money".*

> *"…some pastors, they talk, you talk to them, then they take your story to someone else, then it spread."*

The above may indicate a general sense of mistrust in formal and informal sources of assistance based on prior experience. This is in line with findings of research in which focus group discussions were held with community members across various regions. It was reported that church leaders, other sources of assistance were rarely viewed as sources of assistance with GBV; and generally, the findings showed that people felt that local systems of protection from GBV were weakening (MGECW, 2009).

5.2.4 Creating safe havens for men

The participants emphasized that there is a need to create opportunities and spaces for men to talk openly and help themselves. These opportunities should be spread beyond big cities to reach remote areas in the country. This was evident when the participants stated the following:

> *"Where are places for men?"*

> *"…and the people who come from the reserves also, like people on the farms also, the pastors and bigheads or those people, they don't just come there."*

> *"For me, is like if we want to solve this problem, we have to make places for men to move freely, to express how they feel, they don't have any place, they only have pastors…"*

While the value of prison-based rehabilitation programmes was acknowledged, it was expressed that community based or preventive programmes would be more helpful in breaking the cycle of violence that leads to incarceration. Ex-perpetrators were also identified as best placed to talk to men in the community because they have first-hand experience in these situations.

> *"The men here outside should get someone, who will speak to them."*

> *"It just goes like that, it just goes like that, it just goes like that. But I am in prison, but that man heard [refers to himself by name], went for so many years, but if that man also comes, then there is the other, then he comes too, now how will the people, but I think the people should, like we just said now, the people give counselling, call the men one-by-one, those who are interested, so there will be many, then they should speak to the people. What causes it? They know what they will talk about. Yes, those counselors who can have meetings with them, to enlighten them. Because it doesn't help, I am sitting in prison today, the men will come, they will still come. And they still come. Men are locked-up, but it just goes like that. There is no solution, it doesn't stop."*

In addition to creating safe spaces for men to receive help, the matter of ensuring the confidentiality of issues discussed was raised.

> *"And you go and think also, if I say all my problems to this person, then there's again a story."*

Lastly, one participant stressed the importance of the help-seeker to be receptive and actively involved in the process of receiving help.

> *"Must I give my little poor advice there about the counseling. Ja, the counseling, ne, to me I think, ah, you to change, although that you went to the counseling, if you don't want to change, you won't change. If you are, if you take counseling for granted, you won't change, it won't work, but if you want to change seriously, take the counseling as a serious*

thing. Then you will just prevent, that counseling will help you to prevent you to not go do the wrong things, so my advice is that counseling is helping and it's helping when you yourself is not, when you are not taking it for granted. Ja."

This reflection is highly significant in placing the responsibility to change on the individual person and not solely on the helping institutions or persons. This portrays the reciprocal nature of the helping process and the interdependence of the helper and the help-seeker.

5.3 Theme 3
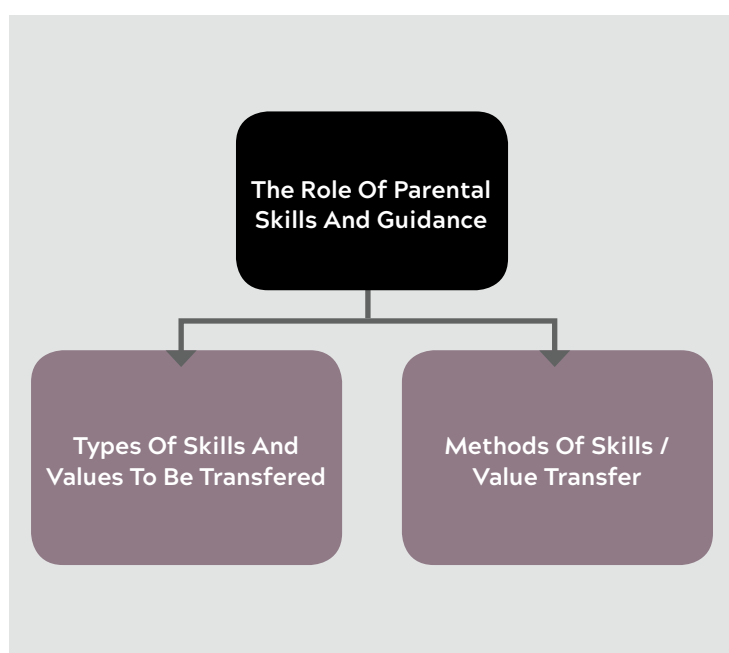### The role of parental skills and guidance: *Teach me while I'm young!*

Figure 8. A Diagrammatic Representation of the Theme of Parental Skills and Guidance

There was a strong perception amongst participants that socialization, especially in the formative years, was critical in shaping and moulding the future behaviour of the individual. In general, the immediate and the extended family were identified as the primary agents of socialization.

"Firstly, you and your kids, kid, you must have a relationship, you must build trust. If your kid can trust you. He will trust anything you tell him, tell her or him to do, so you are the, main one as the parent."

It is assumed that the mention of parents probably does not only refer to biological parents, but also to any caregiver in a child's life. It does imply, however, that this person needs to be an adult person who is responsible for the upbringing of the child.

Other agents of socialization that participants identified included the church, friends and peers. It was reported that the influence of friends and peers could either be positive or negative as shown in the extracts below.

"...I was supposed to at least get a friend who is pushing me to go for, for the church so that at least I must hear the word of God, so that I must get what is the good thing there."

"According to me I was supposed to evaluate between the two friends, not the one who is drinking. But the one who's advise me at least to go for change, so that I must at least know what is good."

A somewhat surprising finding of the study is that there was no mention of the media, teachers and school amongst the agents of socialization. Literature has indicated that the media affects behaviour through priming cognitions and eliciting affect, increasing arousal and prompting imitation in the short run (Anderson et al., 2003) as well as by influencing beliefs, perceptions, behavioural scripts and affective traits, bringing about lasting changes in personality (Huesmann & Kirwil, 2007). On the other hand, it has consistently been suggested that the school has remained the most stable traditional agent of socialization as well as the one that most strongly teaches and reinforces conformity, due to the fact that children spent a lot of time at school when they are most receptive or vulnerable to social influence (Saldana, 2013).

Research done within the Namibian context also supports the idea outlined above. In particular, the issue of teaching young people about sexual behaviour has been shown to be a challenge.

"Family control has become weak and socialization has shifted from the responsibility of the family and society, to the education system. In particular given the prevalence of female-headed households and absentee fathers, it is the mother figure (the biological mother or an adopting aunt or grandmother) who fulfils the role of both mother and father and is expected to provide sex education." (Panduleni Hailonga-van Dijk, 2007, pp.142)

In this theme, two key elements of the socialization process became evident, namely (1) what exactly was to be transmitted through the socialization process (i.e. the content); and (2) the method or process in which knowledge and values were transmitted.

5.3.1 Types of skills and values to be transferred

"Me, I will just speak on the, to encourage the parents, or the people in the village, the elder one, to try at least play the role as a father, he has to teach the son then the daughter, ah, the mother has to teach the daughter the duties for the, to be a wife or to

be a girlfriend, so that in other days to come, when they get married, they know how to solve the things, then we talk of the, in a man, in a man himself, if he could listen to his parents, he know when face the difficulties, he know how to solve them."

This participant makes reference to the need for parents to teach their children problem solving skills. In particular, he places emphasis on the father's role in providing guidance to his son and the mother's role in providing guidance to her daughter. This implies the need for gender specific transfer of knowledge, skills and highlights the importance of boys having a father figure to learn from while girls need a mother figure to do the same.

Problem solving skills are vital because no relationship is completely problem-free. Invariably there will be challenges in life. Thus, children will do well to learn and master problem solving skills so that they have some tools to use when the need arises in the future.

"I want, ah, ah to give a message to us, the men. We must teach our boys to respect, ah, the woman and the mothers. And for the men, please let's stop beating womens cause they are our mothers, cause they give us birth and they are our ma [mother] that we make love to them. Okusha, please let's respect womens on a high level."

The value of respect for women was acknowledged as vital in a young boy's life, because it lays the foundation for how boys will relate to women in the future. In the absence of respect, men have a higher probability of objectifying women. This objectification of women may manifest itself in a variety of harmful ways. First, it implies conceptualizing women as objects that can be manipulated and used according to men's wishes. It also involves reducing the role of women to a limited range of duties such as satisfying the sexual needs of men or performing domestic chores. Demeaning language and other actions such as cat-calling are other manifestations of objectification. The extract below of a participant who joined in the gang rape of fellow learner when he was invited to "feast on a sheep' illustrates how the objectification of women may lead to the perpetration of GBV.

"The moment I enter into the blocks there, just one of my co-accused called me, 'oh, tjoma', you know I'm not insulting but it's what he said, 'some sheep is eaten here so come, come eat here', so I went, I run like a mental person, run and undress myself, at my room and come naked. Naked, it's not a joke that I am saying, naked, and start also grabbing and enjoying this lady while she's screaming there."

In the extract below, a participant observes that children need to learn the skill of openly expressing themselves verbally to others. In this case, the participants sees the parent as the primary figure that a child should learn to communicate with when it comes to problems or hurtful experiences that the child may encounter. or hurtful experiences that the child may encounter. This requires

parents to create an environments that fosters trust and an open dialogues between themselves and their children.

"What I wanted to say is that, to learn to talk with your child openly, learn the child, that whenever he is having a problem, he should come to you and talk to the parents, always, that's one thing. Because if you don't learn that, he is just going to keep it inside and if it's inside it's never going to be released, it's just breaking you down."

The next abstract ties in well with the abovementioned skill of communicating openly. This participant shares his sentiment regarding the importance of creating positive help-seeking experiences for children.

"According to me, the parents they must be open to their kids. For that even when he gets in the problem. He must get the solution by the parents, but if he don't get the solution [from] the parents, when he gets the problem, the second problem, he will never come back to the parents, because he knows that when he goes, he won't get the help."

This participant notes that children initially learn help-seeking behaviour from their interactions with their parents. This suggests that there is a need for parents to respond to their children's appeals for help in a manner that nurtures an openness to asking for help when children (and consequently, adults) are faced with problems that appear to exceed their coping abilities.

"And you must learn the child to forgive and not to forgive and, but some people you know, some people they are forgiving, but not forgetting. But your child must learn him or her to forgive and forget, because without, kamma you forgive, but you are not forgetting then that thing is still in you, it's hurting you. You'll end up taking the action, so it's better to forgive and forget what happened so what's on past must be in past, not to bring the past things in the future, it will ruin your future. Ja."

In the extract above, this participant describes the value of forgiveness as important to learn during childhood. He acknowledges the cathartic benefits of letting go of the past in order to move on, implying that this is a useful value to have in relationships.

Besides the above-mentioned values and skills, the need to learn about broader social issues such as domestic violence, human rights and the law was also noted. The participant in the extract below places this responsibility not solely on the parents but that this should also be a community level intervention.

"We don't know our rights and we don't know anyone else's rights, yes. These things should be in the community, law should be learnt in the community and the gender-based violence should be learnt about and domestic also, domestic violence should be learnt [taught] at home."

It stands to reason that the skills and values that children are taught in individual homes should be reflected in various other sectors in society. Not only would this validate those skills and/or /values but, it would underscore the complex interaction of factors operating at the individual, relationship and social level as suggested in the ecological model. This has important implications for the joint responsibility of parents, communities and society at large in raising socially responsible citizens.

According to the participants, guardians play a crucial role in teaching children to problem solve, engage in frank and open conversations, improve help seeking behaviour, as well as inculcating respect. One could then argue that once these skills are taught by parental figures during childhood and are reflected in interpersonal relations, children would grow up into adults who apply these skills in their everyday lives, including in their relationships.

Of course, the above-mentioned perspectives are based on the assumption that parents have the requisite problem solving skills, and possess the necessary values that promote respect for women and the importance of forgiveness in relationships. Perhaps parents are expected to have been taught these values and skills by their own parents. This gives rise to the predicament of what happens then, if parents themselves do not have these skills to transfer to their children.

5.3.2 Methods of skills/value transfer

The participants in this study acknowledged that certain styles of communicating and interacting with children were helpful while others were not. Open and empathic communication were singled out as potentially helpful. This is evident in the extract below.

"Firstly you, and your kids, kid, you must have a relationship, you must build trust. If your kid can trust you. He will trust anything you tell him, tell her or him to do, so you are the, the main one as the parent. You must start little, educating, you must talk with them, they must not keep, ah, hide anything from you even they have, like me for instance from smallhood [childhood] my father used to talk with us, he didn't beat us, only talk, so I grow up like that, so I also want to, my kids to grow up like that. Once you hit a child, you are forcing him into violence, see, but the way you educate him must not only go on violence, but you can do it verbally, you can talk. So that's the way you can communicate through the talking, you must talk to them so they can talk openly".

One participant felt that the lack of corporal punishment facilitated a permissive environment where parents were not able to appropriately discipline their children. From his perspective, this led to his belief that he need not adhere to parental directives he did not agree with. The extract below implies that since corporal punishment was discouraged by law, parents do not have appropriate tools to discipline their children and thus, have limited control over their children's behaviour.

"For me my parents. They were not people that ah, stop you, these laws that they have about kids. You can't hit them. It was from the 90's it was okay, from 80's to 90's, but when it comes to 2000's, we were failed as children you can do, what you do if your parents beat you, you can go to the police, you were given right, so they didn't have power over me, to stop me, you see, that's where it starts. So I was like, if they talk, 'huh-ah, don't go with that one. Don't go with this one', then me I just went the other door out and go and do my own thing…"

In addition to constructive verbal communication, examples parents set for their children was identified as critical. This was manifest in the extracts below: .

"I think that we must put us, put ourselves in the shoes of our kids. Because, even if you see your mother has been harassed like that, the way we are harassing woman. How could you feel, so just put yourself in the shoes of your kids, when they are seeing that you are harassing their mother. So and the, a little advise for them also don't hurt someone who cooked for you, it will cause you to put your life in danger. That's the thing."

"I think. Sometimes we all, we the big [older] people, us too make mistakes and there are mistakes that we men, big [old] men like myself make, in front of my children or in front of your children, take for instance I have two children, I have a woman [a wife], I am married and across the, just across the street, there you are [using the example of the female facilitator], you are 'mos' without a man, or you are also married like myself, but this time we have 'mos' a relationship also, those sneaky relationships [affair] between us, so the time that I go there to you, like I said, I, I, I have never seen, let me maybe take my mother or my big [older] sisters, with another man, except for those who they had children in [with], but our people these days we do it just like that way, if you come there, you come 'mos', seven o'clock at the other children, these children, the children know that this is the father from that house, but you just go there, now how will your children learn. So we must also have respect for our communities and our children, let them learn something good from us".

"For me to prevent it in the, let me say the future. I think it all starts from, ah, starts from being a child how you are raised, because you even if you are an elder person, if you beat your wife or the wife beat the husband in front of the children every day, I think that's one thing which is going into a person, you see, some men, know like I said, some men don't like to talk out, that can have an effect on you. You see then later on, when they grow up with that in his mind, he can also go and do the same thing again. So I think that it all starts when you are starting to crawl when you grow up at home, it's also the problem."

The participant highlighted the impact of children witnessing harmful behaviour including violence, adulterous relationships and the hypocrisy in the manner parents conduct themselves. This was highlighted in addition to the inability for males to express their feelings openly, address childhood trauma through seeking help and resultantly perpetuating the same cycle of dysfunction they were exposed to as a child.

Modelling good behaviour thus includes living the values that were mentioned as important for children to learn at home. Further to this, it includes exposing children to the experience of a warm, trusting relationship in which these values are manifested.

In as much as parents have a duty of care towards their children, it was also indicated that children also have to play their part. The parents were seen as being responsible for shielding or protecting their children from unhealthy treatment or a harsh environment, and the children were seen as being responsible to take seriously, what they are taught by their parents and elders. This was evident in the following extracts.

"According to me the, the parents they must at least look where the, the environment where to raise their kids. Sometimes you will find that other people, the other parents, the, the kids, their get exposed sometimes there in town, then they end up having wis [with] the friendship with bad guys."

"All I want to say is if you listened to your parents at that time then it would not have happened. So always, your parents' words are always very important. That's all I want to say."

"I don't respect them, you see that's where the thing, started now. I disrespected them, then I went to, I went on doing this stuff that I'm paying for till today… that time I realize it, ah, why didn't I listen to them. Why didn't I respect them. For me it was a lack of respect".

It was recognized that children are more receptive to the influence of parents when they are younger and thus early intervention was identified as of critical importance. This was highlighted in the following transcripts.

"…and we should, we should also speak to our children from a young age, if you see the child is now older to start doing things, there are children who are not taught at home, should now start to learn because it's a new world, we don't live in the old world where older people don't speak about sex stuff with their child, we should please, they say 'mos' if you bend a young tree from its childhood, then it's the best, when he is big then he will not bend again. Ja."

*"So encourage from small, to encourage them to speak out".*

The participants emphasised the importance of parental guidance and highlighted the consequences of absentee fathers. In a specific study on sex perpetrators in Namibia, it was reported that most perpetrators were raised without male parental involvement with a majority raised by - female members of their households, especially mothers (85%), sisters (75%), followed by friends (65%) and brothers (60%) (Prescott, 2016).

One then wonders who is left to teach young boys about issues related to matters such as consent. It is commonly reported that in the absence of this form of parental guidance, young people rely on their peers instead. The lack of male parental involvement may, in this instance, be argued as being a risk factor/driver of GBV. Young men and boys who did not benefit from open and honest conversations on sex, consent and respect for women tend to have difficulty in developing healthy interactions and relationships. This is reinforced byparticularly significant when viewing another finding of a different the research on with perpetrators of sexual violence perpetrators, which most found that participants indicated that they coame from dysfunctional families broken family settings and had negative role models.

5.4 Theme 4

The intersection of gendered socialization and alcohol: *The toxic brewing pot I grew up in*

*Figure 9. A Diagrammatic Representation of the Theme of the Intersection of
Gendered Socialization and Alcohol*
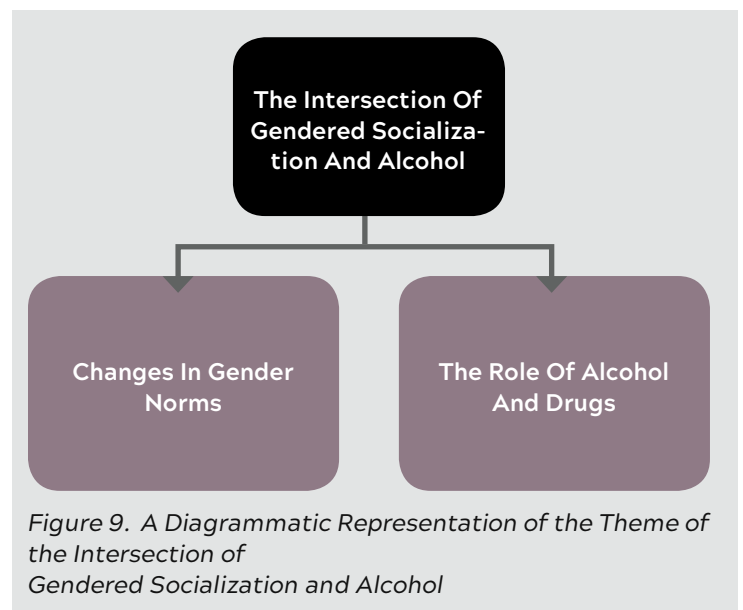
5.4.1 Changes in gender norms

The participants were aware of what they perceived as the role and position of men relative to that women in society. The roles ascribed to men included being head of household, protector and provider of the family, while women were assigned the unpaid responsibility of cleaning, cooking and child care. The extracts below depict this dualistic view of gender roles as well as the participants' mixed feelings towards changes in gender norms:

"According to my point of view in the old days like we used to say people used to work traditionally like, ah, woman stay at home […] or whatever, the men used to go look for bread. Nowadays the point we

miss also is that nowadays we are focussing on law, you understand, nowadays we are working on law so since this thing of, 50/50 come out or even before that, ah-ah, like I said the guys used to, we used to say that no, the woman will have more power than me, I won't allow her..."

"According to me the presence of the woman and the male in the house, eh, is very good, because that two must understand each other, there must not be the issue of 50/50 of saying that no if maybe that morning time the husband will have to cook, then there has to be those kinds of shift, they have to understand each other when t comes to that decision making, there must not be someone who is over-power of someone, they must understand each other when they make the decision making."

The persistent reference to 50/50 suggests that the participants perceived the shifts in gender roles as externally imposed by the law and other societal forces. This may be in reference to the Married Persons Act of 1996 which inter alia abolished marital power and gave equal rights to spouses. This, may have implications on men's acceptance and ownership of changing gender dynamics Furthermore, the dismissive use of terms such as 'this thing' when referencing the 50/50 equality principle may be indicative of men's lack of understanding, or even dislike of the principle. This suggests the importance of assisting citizens to better understand the concept of gender equality through various awareness raising interventions.

In keeping with the idea that participants showed hints of resistance against gender equalitys, it appears that as if the participants did not oppose the idea of levelling the playing field as long as women did not 'surpass' them.

"She is given the chance to also come to his level and the man, the man, he doesn't want to compete, he doesn't want competition."

"The issue today is what we say 50/50, some of the men feel that woman will now be on top of their heads and that they will feel less than, they will be less than."

Another example supporting the views shared by participants, was of a study carried out in Ethiopia which found increased physical violence by partners after women started working. The statement was made that "It appears emotionally costly to men when household roles deviate from those prescribed by gender norms...violence is seen as a way to restore the traditional order" (Hjort and Villanger 2011, cited in Heise 2011). There appears to be some negative mental health consequences experienced when changes that affect gender norms occur, because in some ways, it can become a threat to identity. This is based on the fact that even as children become older, they begin to incorporate gender stereotypes into their own definitions of self (Jacobs, Bleeker, & Constantino, 2003).

5.4.2 The role of alcohol

The participants identified alcohol as having contributed to their GBV offences in several ways. Alcohol was present-

ed as both a "friend and foe". On the one hand, it was presented as a friend, in the sense that it was seen as assisting them with the necessary confidence, power and sense of self-efficacy to cope with stress and the pressures of life.

"...because you see if you are drunk then you can control."

"We just think to say, if you have drunk alcohol then you can get anything right when you are drunk. Maybe if you are maybe sober you can't face the woman, you won't even speak to her, maybe you're not getting along all that well, then you go to the alcohol and then you drink."

On the other hand, it was seen as a foe, in that it sometimes negatively influenced decision-making and contributed to the deterioration of the relationships and other areas of functioning. This is evident in the extracts below:

"You heard that no your girlfriend was with another guy and when, you go and drink alcohol again. It leads you to the alcohol, because you think it's the only solution which can help you out here, out of this problem."

"Then I use alcohol, but not in the right way, I use it excessively."

"It's also the drugs and alcohol. Drugs and alcohol. Then you just think one side, you can't make out your mind. You go and drink and then you think, from here I will do this."

Further, the effects of alcohol were seen as even worse when both parties in the relationship use alcohol. This is in line with research that shows that Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is five times higher in relationships where one or both partners abuse alcohol.

"Yeah if you two, have both drunk, then you will never understand each other."

Another issue that came out strongly concerned the easy access to alcohol by adults and children especially at shebeens. There was grave concern regarding the impact that early exposure to alcohol and the lifestyle that surrounds it have on young people when they become adults.

"Yes, and the most is these days is the drinking, I place the blame on the drinking, that I know, with us as black people you get such small children, you find them also at the shebeen he's standing and drinking. That's how they get, that's how they get older."

"The other thing is the, the location in which you grew up. From a young age you just hear shebeen music. Now you are being raised right there, you know that life, you don't know other life. Every weekend people fight. If you grow up you just know that society.

"In Namibia the drinking, people drink too much. Most of the time it's the drinking and the shebeens

are too many. The young people they have now stuck out their heads and they are the ones who cannot be told anything by older people."

"Also for the children, they shouldn't be able to just buy alcohol."

Whereas, some participants explicitly stated the role that alcohol played as a contributing factor in their offences, other participants did not experience alcohol as contributing to their offence. They acknowledged that individuals should take responsibility for their own behaviour when using alcohol.

"We are not saying that alcohol is bad or anything, it's just the manner that you take it. There are plenty of people who drink, but they don't do such things."

"Ah you know sometimes you can control the alcohol, like us men we don't want to take blame sometimes, you know yourself what you are doing is wrong, sometimes, if you abuse alcohol, your mind can slip away, that time I was even smoking dagga, so I mixed them two, I mixed them together, so ya, first point is alcohol, the other one is, eh, responsibility, because nowadays, our men we lost the value of, how can I say, to be a gentleman, ya, that's the value we lost."

"I cannot say it is because of drinking that I did this."

The extracts below demonstrate the multiple and complex connections between alcohol, masculinity and GBV. It was also evident from these extracts that due to a negative traditional concept of masculinity that dictates men should be strong and in control, men tend to be reluctant to express their feelings or to seek help when confronted by challenges in life. Rather, they resort to methods of coping that are prescribed by traditional masculinity concepts such as seeking male camaraderie or taking alcohol and other substances to cope emotionally and psychologically. As a result of the intoxicating and disinhibiting effects of alcohol, the domino effect is often the perpetration of violence towards women and children.

"Us men, we used to keep it inside, we don't feel like going to someone and express a feeling, something which is inside. We like to keep it in ourselves and mostly when you come at home. You can go and drink alcohol or whatever and when you come at home you take the stress out on the wife and kids at home, you understand, because sometimes we feel like, huh, I'm a man I can deal with this, but sometimes you can't. you just keep it inside until it becomes a lot, a lot in your heart. And later you burst out into, what can I say, you become abusive."

"…because you see if you are drunk then you can control."

Barriers must also be noted such as the manner in which interventions like counseling are viewed. This may include beliefs that going for counselling might imply that there is something abnormal about the person or a vulnerability exist and that person is not 'man enough' to deal with it (Lindinger-Sternart, 2015). All the various elements are viewed as contradicting masculine gender roles of appearing strong, non-emotional and independent. This also contributes to self-stigma acting as a barrier to seeking counseling. In addition, there is a fear of societal opinions should one appear to need help with such problems as substance use.

As is evident in the extracts below, masculinity norms encourage young men to lead chaotic lifestyles characterized by bravado, heavy drinking, and partaking in casual sex. Ordinarily, the use of alcohol starts as a way of bonding and identifying with peers, but sometimes, it gradually escalates to abuse of other substances. Additionally, the extracts highlight how substance abuse may lead to a misguided sense of power, control and sexual entitlement, a combination that amounts to a lethal minefield for violence in general and GBV in particular.

"The contribution to that offence, me as a young man that time I was a young man. Full of life. Party [partying]. So for me I started joining wrong people. Father used to stop me, mother used to stop me. I had friends, not friends, these in the location, but from other locations. People who have money, so they started, I started to moving with them, from there on I started small, we only start small, start small from alcohol, then from alcohol it doesn't fit anymore in the body, now you want big tot, so you go to mandrax, from mandrax you go dagga, you go up the ladder, you see, money is also involved, for me to buy those things I used my power that I have, I'm a young man full of power. I can take it from an old man, go and steal, break in, do whatever I want to do, just to get that money, after I used that money, to use that drugs, then we as men we want to touch or we want to be with a lady you see."

"So I went further, of I used drugs and now I get with the ladies and we party and I get touchy. I want to feel, it's like it's moving you, it's controlling you, so I moved on, started getting from this lady to this one, get a kiss here, a hug there, so it gets, now the last one didn't want, that alcohol and drugs and everything, forced me, ah-ne you're powerful, you see, the alcohol is playing the role and the drugs was playing the main role there, it was deciding for me, I wasn't deciding for myself."

The foregoing discussion implies that a complex web of interactions exist between alcohol, masculinities and GBV. The participant articulated a sense of power due to exertion of violence which enabled him, through robbery, the ability to afford intoxicating substances.

In some respect, alcohol is used as an instrument/tool to get the things that the men seek to have in life such as confidence, control and power. In fact it has also been argued that alcohol is a "pathway" or "trigger" that gives individuals who themselves tend to resort to violence, liquid courage to act on their already existing patterns of thinking and behaviour (Malan, 2017). Social responses to GBV need to respond appropriately to this complex matrix.

5.5 Theme 5

PERSPECTIVES ON PROTECTION ORDERS: *CHALLENGES TO ADHERING*

Although only a minority of participants had first-hand experience with protection orders, the following are the sentiments they expressed in terms of protection orders:.
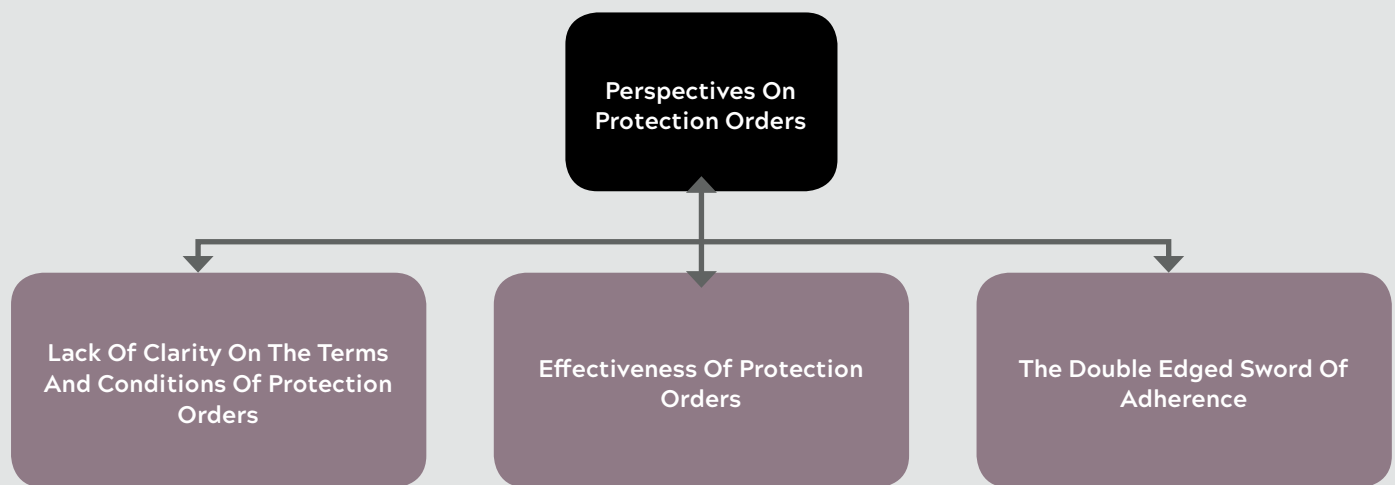

Figure 10. A Diagrammatic Representation of the Theme of Perspectives on Protection Orders

5.5.1 Lack of clarity on the terms and conditions of protection orders

It was evident that protection orders were poorly understood , in terms of the purpose they are intended to serve, the procedures to be followed when they are served and rules governing their validity, renewal or expiration. This view was abundantly clear in the following extracts:

"I want to know, maybe, or maybe, to take it now a little bit, maybe, my brother will give me an advise there. Because I want to know that after this, after this, ah, ah, this what can you say protection days when it's finished. Am I, how, how, if I went back to this lady, he, how do I know that maybe she's now accepting me after these three months or, is she not going back to the, to the court. Am I not going to be in a problem, that now I am harassing her again. Because maybe there must be some rules and procedure that, no after this month, you now free to do whatever you want, you can go and propose her again or what, but if I went there, maybe she's now still angry with these things that I did to her, ah, am I not going to be in another problem or are they going to give me another three month on top or are they going to send me to prison. Is one of the things also."

"But maybe, I, it was a misunderstanding. Let's say you are starting to have problems with your partner,

then that person goes to the court. Then they ask for a protection order, so the protection order is given to say, stay away from one another. So my question was to say, do they tell you how long will this remain in force?"

But after three months, after those three months are you going to live together again?"

"No, but that's why I was explaining. Yes, when I got my case. I was taken to jail, then, then, I did not get parole on the first day, then I got parole two months later with conditions, maybe that one is not a protection order that one, but the conditions was I don't have to meet with her and I don't have to."

The above extracts indicate a lack of knowledge on the terms and conditions of these orders, including basic knowledge such as the difference between protection orders and other legal instruments like parole or bail. It, therefore, raises concerns about how people can comply with something that they do not fully comprehend. While ignorance of the law is not a defence, better public education on the GBV legal frameworks may be required.

5.5.2 Effectiveness of protection orders

Although some participants expressed the view that protection orders could be effective in curbing the escalation of GBV, the predominant view was that they were of limited value due to a number of practical and administrative shortcomings, as illustrated in the following extracts:

"Like the paper which I got, that I was given, shown there, did not help. But if the person at the office, takes the paper up to the person. What will I say, to the girlfriend or the person you want to receive the paper. In front of the police the person should go out according to the paper that he has. To take the paper and just show it will not help. It doesn't help."

".. because the time I commit the crime was 2008 and we came sentence in 2014, so those whole years, we were told not to meet with the accused or her relatives. Ja, so but we and the, not accused, what is it? Ah, the victim and her relative, but we were not talking when we are there at the court, but when we leave even in the taxi, we used to travel together mos, and speak, until the time that we were sentenced. So I am the one, one of the people who are not using those, ah, ah, who was not using, ah, those, obeying ah, those [protection orders], because now is when I, when these people are talking, is when I remember that me, I answered the wrong question."

"There I can add on, it's even, if you stay in the same place, that is what will bring that you, can, can reconcile again, but if the victim is one side on the other town and this one, then yeah, doesn't need for even that protection order."

"The protection order that this man got. Now you sit with the protection order and your child is there at the woman and the child just decides, I am going to my dad. Then he decides without the mother knowing and here he comes. Here comes the mother just here, what are you doing here and there starts an argument."

The participants expressed the sentiments that certain practical issues make it difficult to comply with the protection orders. This was especially problematic in cases where the respondents and the complainants share the same social spaces (e.g. when they live in the same area) or when they have to share common social amenities (e.g. transport services). It also came to the fore that the extent to which protection orders apply to third parties such as children did not seem clear to the key role players. This was highlighted in the extract above in which a conflict arose between the mother (complainant) and the father (respondent) because the child visited the father without the knowledge or permission of the mother. This extract underscores the fact that protection orders may be breached inadvertently due to the actions of third parties. It is therefore vital that third parties are also informed of the terms and conditions of protection orders.

In the same study cited earlier, a magistrate noted in the focus group discussion with court officials, that there were times when women apply for protection orders in most cases that men also apply for a protection order. Another magistrate also reported that there were people who used protection orders as a means of seeking personal payback for a relationship that is either experiencing a period of conflict or one that has ended harshly.

The few participants who indicated that protection orders were effective expressed that the orders have a deterrence effect by keeping conflicting parties away from each other. This was depicted in the following extracts.

"Yes, I had, the court gave me something where I was not to mess with the, the investigation, the investigator and those kinds of things. Yes, and I followed it. It actually helped me. I did not pick up any other problems and so."

"Ja, my side, ja. I was having a protection order. It helped. It helped me to stay away, because that one for me. It's like ah, responsibility that you are given. If you don't obey the law. You are going to go around the lady again, then you will come into trouble, so it's just up to you. If you want to go back to prison or you want to stay outside. So it's just a responsibility for me."

In order to address some of the shortcomings that were identified, the participants, expressed the need to put some add-ons to the protection orders to make them more effective, enforceable active and actionable. Such additional requirements included perhaps providing the individual with counselling.

"Yes, is, is good, but it has to go along with the, the, what did he say, it should come along with a program where I am given by someone, it should also be explained why, what it is."

"I'm supporting also the counselling. Ja for the person to be educated, that no these things you did is not the good thing. You must do it like this, woman they are, woman they have to be handled, like this and this and this, so, ah, ah, because if you put the protection order that person will just cut the communication between them, but after he meet another person. He will just fall in that trap again. So it's better to educate that person, 'no what you did was, this and this and is bad', woman must be treated like this and like this, so that he cannot fall in the same trap. Ja."

"Okay, if there are strict procedures taken according to that woman and child thing at the police, then I would also not be in this kind of problem. So they should take a look at that."

It is evident from the sentiments expressed in the extracts that the respondents' understanding of protection orders was predominantly limited to the provision relating to prohibition of contact between the complainant and the respondent. Other provisions such as the surrender of firearms, alternative accommodation arrangements, temporary custody of children and temporary maintenance that can be made under the protection orders appeared to be poorly understood. Providing education to key role players on the various aspects of protection orders is therefore imperative to minimize confusion or non-compliance due to ignorance.

It stands to reason that there may be other factors that

contribute to non-compliance with protection orders, apart from the respondent's ignorance of the law. These reasons may need to be addressed by the involving other forms of assistance. For example, a respondent who is abusing substances may need to be assisted or mandated to receive treatment for the substance abuse. This may be an opportunity for early intervention.

> *"Let's say you get a protection order, but you are still using substances, you are still drinking, you're still smoking. Do you think you will respect that paper or that community service order?"*

5.5.3 The double-edged sword of adherence

In this subtheme, it became clear that triangulation is needed in the action of protection orders. This means that the complainant, respondent, and other key role players like the authorities must ensure that the terms and conditions of the protection orders are adhered to. For example, it was expressed that some complainants undermine the protection orders by initiating contact with the respondents of the protection orders. These sentiments were demonstrated in the following extracts.

> *"Ja, it's the same as my friend. So they have to follow those things. They have to stand at their words. They must say that 'no, you came to us to look for a help, so the last, words, ah,ah, the, the, last words is, ah, the last decision is for us. We are saying that you must not meet this person and if you meet it, there's ah consequences that ah, will follow you."*

> *"Both of them, because even the victim, I think the victim is the one who went to look for, ja, they are the one who used to go and look for the, for the, the hand, for the protection mos. So after that, they are the one also who meeting this, ah, ah, ah, how can you call this, this perpetrator, ah, secretly, so that protection order didn't, it won't work mos. Because these people, they perpetrate them, but they are meeting secretly, but these people who are giving this order, they are not also following the, whether their orders are working or not. So they must, there must be specific people who are following those things, whether they are working or not."*

> *"Ja, like in my issue. I was having a protection order. But ah, the lady came to me again, but that day she was even drunk. She was drunk she came to me, so I went to the police station and I went to tell the investigator, 'you said I must stay away from this woman, but she's drunk, she came to my place, so will you please go and talk to her'."*

> *"But if they could put that protection order and they follow whether, whether that protection order is working or not. So those people they were living together, so that protection order didn't, ah, work until they hurt each other again. Ja, so, they must follow the protection order, those people that are working with the protection order. So they must follow, they must be specific people who are following, those kinds of things. Is it working or not."*

6. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION OF SUR-VIVORS OF GBV

6.1 Experiences of survivors of GBV

Participants reported that some of the reasons or drivers of violence included, differences in cultural values (families getting involved and different ethnic groups), extra marital affairs, alcohol in the home, misuse of food, violence against children, damage of assets, and verbal abuse.

A participant made a statement related to an apparent affair which contributed to the violence. This participant is male and states that one of the drivers of the violence he experienced was as a result of the partners affair

> *"I got married before I knew her fully because the… what I thought is not really the full convincing fact she was the one I am gonna make my wife and I made her my wife. I became a victim because, she… she still had had a partner that I never knew she had."*

Another participant shared their experience.

> *"Ya, so he was like I never saw him before and I was cooking and making something for us to eat and my sister was present so he came and he was swearing a lot, came in and he slapped me when I ask "Look, how do you look what's going on", and he was started swearing …He just slapped me in front of my sister and my sister jump".*

The above experience speaks to the complicity of society and the fact that this contributes to giving perpetrators the sense that if something happens behind a closed door or within the home, then no one will speak up to stop the violence because it is seen as a private matter (MoHSS, 2004). In a report compiled by Regain Trust (2015), the idea that society accepts violent behaviour, is taken a step further, through the conclusion that service providers who should be offering support are reported as falling into the same societal tendency of inadequate or no support for victims of GBV. It is also reported that a lack of empathy may be a driver of this apathy.

Participants also described their experiences of emotional abuse:

> *"Emotional is like uhhm, he used to make me feel like I'm not worth it, I'm not human enough, he used to make me feel bad about myself, he used to take uh talk bad words to me".*

Other respondents shared their experiences linked to financial abuse:

> *"Uhhm financially uhh he used to steal money from me, and he used to lie to get money from me."*

It was noted that there is often a complex linkage between

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various factors. For instance, several women reported having abusive partners who were abusing substances, they also shared the psychological experience they had, including feelings of guilt and a sense that they owed their partner something. Victims appeared indebted due to financial support they received from the perpetrator, which contributed to staying in a violent relationship.

"I was expecting my second child when we met…he paid for my rent and it was just comfortable for me being in this situation… but one day …he was drunk and I believed he also smoked illegal um, (Is it dagga?) Ya, so …he came and he was swearing a lot,… and he slapped me …in front of my sister and I was crying and you know, not because of the slap but I was so shocked".

A clear cycle of violence was also noted as it became clear that some participants who had experienced violence in their childhood, continued to experience a circle of violence of sorts.

" I don't like violence, I don't like people hitting or beating me, since I've had enough since, when I was child, I don't want this and I don't want people even to shout or to swear around me". So …after a few months again then the same thing …happened again, but when he was sober he was still assisting me always and he'll be the loving boyfriend and so generous, … Even though I was straight with him right from the beginning that you know this child is not yours, he accept the child as his own and uh but the violence didn't stop. … So that moved me … I'm already having two children and with this man's child that's going to come over few years, there's no other choice, my life is over so why not now. I'm going marry this man. So the violence was already happening before the marriage".

It can be seen through the above that even after a victim has experienced violence within a relationship, they may choose to commit to the perpetrator by marrying them. This may seem counter-intuitive, as someone looking from the outside-in, but it is a clear indication of the complexities of GBV and the relationship dynamics between victim and perpetrator, which may include moments of tenderness but is often mixed with a portion of unpredictability, that often yields negative outcomes either psychologically or physically.

The cycle of abuse was found to not be limited or confined to one person, but often affects domestic relations, especially children. This is consistent with previous research findings (MoHSS, 2004).

"I'm not a person who usually beat kids but to me my younger daughter is like the daughter of that guy when I see the daughter; it is like I see the guy".

Another victim described how she almost left her child because of the lack of financial support from the perpetrator.

"he said, how do you like to ask me money , while XXX never ask me money. That times I leave the

baby, really the baby at the ATM, then my heart disturb me and I went back took my kid and go".

There was also a story shared by a victim explaining how she lost her daughter who was molested to death.

"we are not together anymore um since January when I lost my first born. He was also violent with her since she was not his biological child and uh they were even uh, he was like molesting ….Many times my daughter the one that passed away she's the one jumping in between because she was also suffering from epilepsy all these years so she used to stay with me, she was one of the victims of this violence with my granddaughter, so um I was I just needed some time to think about all these things, what we were going through as a family, how we were carrying this burden".

6.2 Barriers to leaving: An account by survivors of GBV

Victims also shared the factors which acted as barriers to them leaving.

Fear, threats and the presence of children were major reasons for the inability to leave.

"I was scared, and uhhm …I was also scared of what people might say, I was also having fear that if I leave him because he also used to threaten me that he will kill me".

"It comes to the fact that you are the father of my children. It won't help me to run away, let us just stay together because you are the father of my children".

"He knew… I'll never take action, I'll stay in this situation whenever and until when um he decide, and it never stops because I used to think uh he's this man, if he goes to jail what is it going to help, what about my children all these things".

Lack of evidence was also reported as a barrier.

"Um I was in a terrible state and when he beat me he used to beat me on my head where there's no marks, so even if I tell people that this man was beating me, there was nothing that proves he was beating me."

Fear of family and societal rejection was another factor indicated.

"I don't have the energy to even talk to my family members even though I know I can go to them, I don't want to tell them once again it's you that cannot solve this issues, that cannot take [a] stand and that you know I just thought, didn't have any chance with this, so I was so down and so emotionally drained"

Though there were barriers to seeking help or leaving, there were also motivating factors to begin the process of

getting out of the violent situation, including the severity of violence and involvement of children which seemed to be a motivating factor in seeking help.

6.3 Survivors of GBV: How to Address the Issue in their voices

With some variation, participants expressed the need for victims to be aware of State support systems that they can turn to for assistance without being judge.
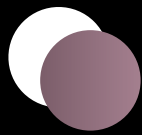
"I feel ...maybe education should be the starter, educate ladies, and distribute a lot of pamphlets, because I believe some people don't even have enough information and who to turn to when they are in the same situation".

"Family can be a good source of support but don't forget you have to cope on your own". Moreover, the need for public forums to be made available so that persons with lived experiences share their stories and show that you can walk away".

"Walk away...walk away is the best, walk away as soon as you can". "Other women needs to be encouraged by women like us who have gone through such things, we have to talk to women who are in abusive relationship, we have to, the police must also lend a helping hand because most of the times we are being abused we go to the police and don't get help".

Other suggestions included, creating more social support platforms, pre-marital counselling /couple counselling. Awareness-raising was also mentioned as being beneficial, as participants suggested that public discussions on handling intimate relationship were important. There was a view that many people do not understand the meaning of and the lifelong commitment required of a union

"I think may be there must be a certain platform ... because I can see now we are having a lot of channels on TV, ...because I think may be most of the relationships, they are marriages that we just marry but if you look at them they are mistakes because we don't a full social, a social whatever social... social support of knowing that to marry is to marry is a life and it's like a life and... you cannot just surrender like...you surrender today you marry tomorrow you surrender."

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMNEDATIONS

Based on the key findings of this study, a series of conclusions and practical recommendations are presented in this section. This study also offered insights into the perspectives of both survivors of GBV and offenders serving prison terms for committing GBV related offences as well as frontline service providers including social workers, police officers, prosecutors, magistrates and defence lawyers.

This section concludes the study by drawing conclusions based on the findings, and making recommendations on the possible way forward.

7.1 Recommendations to consider based on findings

Conclusion: There is a definite link between the high rates of substance abuse and violence, especially sexual violence.

Incarcerated perpetrators alluded to how crimes were committed whilst intoxicated and also highlighted the problematic nature of using substances. However, the use of substances was linked to ideas of masculinity, which is in accordance with a research study by Malan (2017), which included a statement that often men perceive excessive drinking, dominance over women and having multiple concurrent partners as being a sign of real manhood. Among the perpetrators of GBV, there was a perception that drinking is a means of dealing with undesirable or uncomfortable emotions or situations. Gould (2015) found similar findings among perpetrators of violent offences, and it was noted that many of the participants reported childhood stress and trauma. Alcohol use was also found to be a coping mechanism, which fuelled violence in their lives. Self-permission to continue re-enacting this violent behaviour came in the form of a heightened sense of personal injustices as well as the internalization of a sense of inferiority. The aforementioned may be argued as some of the psychological drivers of violence, which is made worse by the complex inter-play between substance use and problematic thinking patterns, especially those related to ideas of masculinity.

Survivors also shared, that there were instances where partners would assault them whilst drunk.
Furthermore, frontline service providers reported cases of rape where both the perpetrator and survivor were intoxicated. The survivors had difficulties in giving coherent statements and convictions of such cases are at times compromised.

Police Officers interviewed narrated higher rates of GBV over weekends, end of month and end of the year where there are generally higher volumes of alcohol consumption. Interestingly, in a report by the LAC in 2012, it was reported that September, November and October, were the months

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where the application for protection orders was most common. It may be proposed that these may be the months when a significant proportion of the population experiences psychological distress due to various demands placed on individuals throughout the year and the limited internal resources to cope and resolve conflict in a non-violent way. The connection between stress and violence is also apparent in the literature (Kirk & Hardy, 2012).

Recommendation: It has been noted that Namibia has only one Government Rehabilitation Facility, which is located in Windhoek. Hence the need for more rehabilitation centres in Namibia, which can also meet the rehabilitation needs of persons under the age of 18 years, to ensure access to rehabilitation services to those in need of such services.

Establishment of rehabilitation centres across various regions is crucial to ensuring, that persons with substance use problems, can get the necessary interventions they need. Additional attention should be placed on the strategic implementation of community-based rehabilitation centres in regions most affected by substance use. This will ensure that individuals receive the skills and tools they need to manage their substance use and manage conflict more effectively.

Conclusion: According to the participants of the perpetrator research, parents play a crucial role in teaching their children problem-solving skills, ways to express themselves openly, how to request for and receive help, respect and forgiveness, and learning to manage conflict non-violently.

It could be argued that once these skills are taught by parental figures during childhood and are reflected in various areas of society, young people would then grow up into adults who apply these skills in their everyday lives, including the appropriate manner to manage conflict in their relationships.

These perspectives are based on the assumption that the parents know how to solve problems, as well as how and why to resolve conflicts without the use of violence, because they were taught these skills by their parents. It is clear, however, that a meaningful prevention intervention as proposed by Gould (2015) is the use of parental intervention programmes as a means of ensuring that young people receive the cognitive and behavioural reinforcement and modelling they need to learn non-violent means of problem-solving and communicating.

Additionally, a factor which has been found as a risk factors for violence is an absent or rejecting fathers (Kabeer, 2014). It is also interesting to note that although social learning from fathers in particular, is considered to be important, participants who were perpetrators made limited references to their fathers during focus group discussions, which may suggest the limited or non-existent role played by fathers in their lives. This is in-line with the statement made by Hailonga-van Dijk (2007), pointing to the prevalence of absentee fathers within Namibian households. Inferences may be drawn on the effects this absence has on the identity formation of young people, particularly young men, which is especially salient when considering the evidence showing that children tend to be more receptive when they are disciplined by a same-sex parent.

Recommendation: The development or adoption of Parenting Programmes as an intervention programme towards the reduction of violence within at-risk communities.

Parental Interventions are thus deemed an important intervention to explore, as significant evidence shows that parenting programmes can reduce aggression, conduct disorders, and anti-social behaviour in children. However, it is also acknowledged that there are certain pragmatic challenges associated with parenting problems as asserted in Gould (2015). These challenges include co-occurring issues which a parent may be dealing with including substance use. It would thus be important to ensure that a comprehensive approach is taken to dealing with such cases including referral to a substance use intervention. Parenting interventions in those instances should be linked to the individual's progress. Ensuring that interventions such as parenting programmes occur within the community is also an important element as it may promote greater responsivity, through the sense of mutual accountability to peers and support of community members/leaders such as pastors and community members who may be trained as trainers to offer such interventions.

Conclusion: The theme of rigid gender-norms was prominent, particularly in research carried out with perpetrators. It indicated that rigid gender-norms that promote male dominance over women as well as encourage a form of masculinity which emphasizes male control of household wealth and decision making as well as controlling behaviour, are significant contributors to GBV.

Several participants, both those in the survivor research as well as perpetrator research stated that there needed to be interventions within the community which address problematic mind-sets that lead to GBV. It was found that such programmes might be useful in addressing the root causes of GBV.

MGECW (2009), reported findings which shed some light on general societal beliefs feeding into the described thoughts and behaviour. The referenced problematic mindsets, supports the fact that these thoughts and beliefs are not simply isolated to incarcerated perpetrators of GBV, but can also be seen in communities throughout Namibia. For example, in a sample of community members, it was found that slapping or a similar action was viewed as being warranted or acceptable in certain situations, and this view increased to one-half of participants who agreed that violent actions such as a slap were warranted if a man found out that his partner was unfaithful.

Recommendation: Evidence-based interventions should be adopted or developed to act as a tool towards prevention of violence within communities, by addressing various factors, especially problematic gender norms and roles as well as conflict management skills.

There is evidence to show that some of the most effective intervention approaches include, small group participatory workshops developed to challenge existing beliefs, build pro-social skills, promote reflection and debate, and encourage collective action. Programmes such as Stepping Stones in South Africa have been studied extensively and have shown to result in changes in various areas such as increasing knowledge and positively impacting attitudes and beliefs. Research has also found that the Stepping Stones programme resulted in significant reductions in men reporting perpetrating intimate partner violence as well as a reduction in problem drinking (Heise, 2011).

Generally, intervention programmes should be able to help in the construction of new concepts of masculinity and femininity which contribute towards pro-social behaviour and healthy inter-personal interaction.

However, it is imperative that such interventions be sustainable and not just once-off, poorly implemented events. Therefore, it is important to ensure that trainers/facilitators of community-based programmes are adequately trained and that some form of continuous capacity building exists to ensure that skills are developed. Additionally, evaluation of the programmes should take place to ensure that the programmes are making a meaningful impact, and adaptations should be made where necessary.

Conclusion: Early intervention is often lacking in communities and for those young people most vulnerable to the trauma experienced when witnessing violence in their environment, it is asserted from the findings of the research, that the issue of their transformation to eventually develop the potential to become perpetrators is a reality.

Some participants of the perpetrators research shared the trajectories that they took from a young age, which included peers who shared the same problematic mind-sets which perpetrators expressed and in some instances this harmful mix of factors was later fuelled by substance use and eventually led to their committing GBV.

Recommendations: A recommendation is made that school-based interventions including counselling are critical. Furthermore, the Namibia Safe School Framework should be operationalized in all regions.

As previously discussed, young people spend most of their time at schools and therefore it may be essential to develop interventions designed for that target population. The interventions should be able to address such issues such as consent as well as the gender norms and roles which may influence violence. There are various evidence-based school-based interventions. The school-based programmes found to have good outcomes, include programmes such as the "Mentors in Violence Prevention" programme, which teaches young people about different types of abuse, gender-stereotypes and society's acceptance of violence against women. Also, role-playing helps participants to confront sexist attitudes and actively prevent violence (be effective bystanders). An evaluation of

the programme found that compared to control groups, participants' knowledge of violence against women significantly increased. Improvements in attitudes towards violence against women and confidence to intervene or speak out against it were also noted.

Conclusion: Lack of help-seeking behaviour was found as being a problem, which was in part attributed to the fact that there was a lack of places to seek help as well as lack of capacity, when seeking help.

There is an acknowledgement that GBV is complex, and it is also a specialised field, which needs specialised skills and expertise. The knowledge, attitude and skills of staff in some cases were unsatisfactory, which contributed to participants feeling uncomfortable seeking help or not getting the help they need after seeking help. An underlying reason for the lack of responsiveness to the needs of those seeking help is a lack of capacity of front-line service providers as well as the particular worldview they hold which may act as a barrier to quality service delivery.

Recommendation: Implementation of capacity building and debriefing interventions are proposed as a way in which to address the problem of non-responsiveness of front-line service providers which in-turn leads those affected by violence to avoid seeking help.

The added recommendation is made that the previously proposed standard induction training be offered to all new recruits joining the protection system to provide them with sufficient skills to handle cases involving gender based violence. The lack of such a capacity building intervention may continue to put clients who enter the criminal justice system in Namibia at risk of further abuse by the very system that is supposed to protect them (Theron, 2015).

All stakeholders should also receive ongoing, specialised training on working with perpetrators of GBV cases. Improved supervision and in-service training should be provided to all staff dealing with violent crimes and cases to prevent burn out and high staff turnover (Mainey, & Lewis, 2009; Theron, 2015). Mental health services, such as de-briefing and counselling should be offered to front-line service providers such as Police Officers who undergo various forms of secondary traumatization as a result of the violent crimes they often respond to.

Recommendation: Reinforcement of coordination of a multi-disciplinary approach to GBV interventions through upgrading existing Gender Based Violence Investigating Units as One Stop Centre Models with all disciplines operating under one roof will also aid in the lack of capacity and ensure that relevantly trained personnel are available to provide services to those in need.

Conclusion: Survivors' financial dependence on violent partners has been identified as one of the main barriers to leaving abusive relationship.

There were survivors of GBV who reported that the financial support they received from perpetrators of the abuse contributed to them staying in violent relationships. This has been reported in literature as being a risk factor as well as a protective factor. It is reported that access to and control over economic resources for woman can be both a risk and protective factor for intimate partner violence (Kabeer, 2014). As stated in the literature review, this phenomenon is different across settings, for instance, there have been reports that women whose husbands lost their jobs were more likely to have violence inflicted on them, compared to their counterparts whose husbands had not lost their jobs. A link found between fewer experiences of violence and good socio-economic status of women.

Perpetrators also reported that they felt uneasy and in some instances disrespected by their partners if their partners were doing well economically. This is a reflection of the previously discussed gender roles and norms where men perceive themselves as having to abide by the rigid norm of being the "bread-winner," and the inability to do so leads to feelings of inadequacy and distress. Additionally, the economic influence of the perpetrator may have wide reaching impact on broader social structures, including family and friends which may place undue pressure on survivor not to speak out.

Recommendation:
Enhancing Micro-finance Programmes, layered with psycho-social support and community awareness which have shown to work.

The assertion has been made that though microfinance programmes may work as isolated entities, the programmes that work best tend to include community awareness sessions and skills-building workshops to change gender norms, improve communication in relationships, psycho-social support and empower women.

A micro-finance programme proven to yield good outcomes is a South African intervention with microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity, referred to as IMAGE. The programme targets women from the poorest households in rural areas and incorporates financial services together with training and sessions intended to build skills in the areas of HIV prevention, cultural beliefs, gender norms, communication and intimate partner violence. The programme is also deemed as inclusive as it encourages wider community participation to engage men and boys. Finally, the programme also seeks to improve women's employability, increase their influence in household decisions as well as their ability to resolve marital conflict, strengthen their social networks and reduce HIV transmission (WHO, 2009).

This programme seems to hold a great deal of promise and may be adapted to the unique needs found within the Namibian context.

Conclusion: One of the major concerns expressed about service delivery in Namibia is the fragmentation and duplication of functions by different service providers.

Recommendation: It is therefore recommended to upgrade the existing GBVIUs into One Stop Centres where various services can be coordinated to provide a holistic social response to GBV.

For example, the centre can have multiple areas of functional specialisation. This can include a capacity-building arm dedicated to the training of police officers and other professionals who work in and around the field of gender and GBV. It may also provide interventions with parents by offering practical parental skills, that address the reduction of children's exposure to violence from a young age.

Conclusion: There were several concerns raised by both survivors and perpetrators of GBV as well as front line service providers on the challenges faced in relation to Protection Orders.

It was reported across participants, particularly perpetrators of GBV, that lack of understanding of protection orders was a challenge, this is also acknowledged by court officials such as the magistrates and prosecutors who were interviewed as part of an extension of the study. One participant noted that when police officers serve the protection orders to the defendant, no explanation is given of the provisions, even though it is a relatively thick document. It was further argued that if a professional does not know the law, it would be difficult for the lay-person to understand. Police officers were reported as often just stating to the person that what he/she is being given is a protection order issued by the court. The person is then told that they can't have any contact with the complainant, they are then told that they must give their firearms or any other weapons to the police. Consequently, the person walks away not having a full comprehension of how the protection order works. The fact that we have a population of certain individuals who are not literate, especially in the English language, makes this a significant issue of concern.

Recommendation: In addition to the implementation of suggested action previously proposed by the LAC (2012) to make protection orders more robust. Additional steps should be taken to make Protection Orders more stringent.

One way in which protection orders can be made more effective is proposed as attaching a mandatory programme/specified number of mandatory counselling sessions for those served with protection orders. This programme could be designed to reach three goals, namely: (1) to facilitate a better understanding of the protection order and its terms and conditions; (2) to facilitate some educational sessions on gender, problem-solving, conflict management, relationship skills etc.; and (3) to potentially refer those served with protection orders for services that could assist in preventing the problem from escalating into a GBV offence. A similar model is used in some western countries where drivers caught driving under the influence of alcohol (DUI) are mandated to undergo a certain number of counselling sessions or drivers' education classes.

Conclusion: There is an alarming gap between the sound, legal framework and the implementation of preventative and protective legislation outlined within this report.

Findings from the focus group discussions with survivors of GBV point to the fact that despite the sound legal framework that exists, survivors' rights are not adequately protected during police investigations, the therapeutic process and court proceedings. The overall national legislative framework regarding protection was found to be exceptionally robust, but the implementation of it was reported as a major weakness in the protection system (Rupple, 2009; Dladla, & Gabriels, 2010; LAC, 2012; Theron, 2015).

Several important pieces of legislation are long overdue for enactment, amendment and implementation, the amendment of the Combating of Domestic Violence Act to include mandatory treatment programmes for perpetrators of Gender- based violence and diversion of first offenders for prevention services; the Cyber Crime Act to optimally protect minors; the Child Care and Protection Act (Regulations outstanding) and the Child Justice Bill. The current Children's Act, Act 33 of 1960 is outdated and silent on many pertinent child protection issues, such as child labour, child trafficking, cyber bullying and inter-country adoption, to name but a few. Professionals interviewed emphasised the need to enact and properly implement the Child Care and Protection Bill to protect Namibian children effectively and optimally. The aforementioned may also aid in ensuring that better provisions exist to protect children from high- risk situations, that may increase children's probability of experiencing trauma, which may contribute to them becoming perpetrators of violent acts, including GBV.

Recommendation: A review of the existing statutory and court-based, protection response should be undertaken. A more family-focused, prevention-oriented approach, which can intervene earlier with offenders, survivors, families in crisis, should be adopted.

The interaction between community support mechanisms and more formal protective services should also be strengthened (Save the Children, 2006; Kisanga; 2012; Theron, 2015).

Recommendation: The enactment of the outstanding pieces of legislation should receive priority attention and should be enacted as a matter of urgency. Additionally, the necessary judicial structures and mechanisms should be put in place.

Raising public awareness around legislation and the provisions are vital. Closer collaboration between the Ministry of Justice and traditional leaders of GBV and child protection is needed to ensure effective awareness and efficient service provision for the benefit of survivors and perpetrators. Resources should also be invested in jurisdictional issues related to the role of community courts and the operation of customary or traditional justice mechanisms to ensure greater cohesiveness. Furthermore, criminal courts should deal with all sexual offences and serious domestic violence cases; traditional courts, on the other hand. should act as

mediators in relationship problems where no violent crime was committed.

Conclusion: Case management continues to be an underlying issue, which leads to both potential victims and perpetrators falling through the cracks of the prevention and intervention services.

It was particularly clear when discussing issues pertaining to help-seeking that there were several structural barriers identified in the provision of services. Social workers are key players in the management of cases.

Recommendation: Streamlined case management process is required with dedicated professionals offering various services at key times. Risk and Needs Assessment should also form part of perpetrator evaluations, as it is crucial for prevention and identifying needs which if addressed may prevent violence.

The recommendation is made that service provision should be facilitated through a case management process, where the needs of both victims and perpetrators are assessed. Furthermore, an intervention plan should be compiled with inputs of the individual concerned, and follow-up consultations should be conducted at regular intervals depending on the nature of the case. Clear Standard Operating Procedures should also be designed for the case management process.

A risk assessment tool should be developed to enable the flagging of potential perpetrators, and referral to evidence-based intervention programmes, which should be mandatory for those who pose the highest risk for potential violence. The risk assessment too should be empirical in nature as it should be able to identify areas of risk such as impulsivity, lack of conflict resolution skills and other factors that can then be addressed in a targeted manner.

Recommendation: Linkages between all stakeholders should be strengthened to ensure survivor safety, effective protection services to survivors, perpetrators and their families are also deemed to be an important consideration.

Conclusion: Insufficient human and financial resources hamper effective quality service delivery to survivors, perpetrators and their families who seek assistance.

There were reports of lack of resources of service providers, contributing to inefficient help offered to participants who reported seeking assistance from various front-line service providers. This may be attributed to the fact that there is no dedicated, centralised government budget for protection services on which the various service providers can draw.

Front-line service providers also face numerous challenges from inadequate basic infrastructure, lack of cell phone credit to contact clients, and lack of transport to carry out their daily duties (Save the Children; 2009). Despite the increase in cases and several recommendations from na-

tional and international conferences, lack of resources remains a major challenge. Low levels of funding also results in a lack of properly qualified professionals (Pinheiro, 2006; MGECW, 2012). Development partners support key ministries as well as civil society organisations, but only to a limited degree and the funding is mostly programme-specific. Service providers expressed their willingness to strengthen the existing protection services into an integrated, comprehensive, child protection system.

Recommendation: Resources should be availed in order to ensure that persons who are affected by GBV can have access to the services they need.

The investment of resources into agencies and institutions providing services not only requires a concerted effort from government, but also corporate entities that seek to address challenges which the nation faces in meaningful ways and contribute towards the development of the country. As outlined previously through the study conducted by KPMG, GBV not only has a human cost, but it comes with negative fiscal consequences.

Recommendation: Key ministries should identify civil society organisations with the required capacity to outsource some of their programme activities in order to ensure the most effective use of funds available.

Conclusion: The lack of a data management system was found as another gap in the protection system. Consistent, systematically collected and electronically stored data is not available to enable the monitoring and evaluation rates of violence and possible impact of interventions.

Service providers narrated how time-consuming it was to record data manually and how proper reporting was hampered due to inadequate resources, such as a lack of computers and internet services. Data captured was not disaggregated and little statistical data or analyses were available nationally. No national, centralised, referral protocol existed at the time of the study. The lack of a data management system was found as another gap in the protection system. Consistent, systematically collected and electronically stored data were not available to enable monitoring and evaluation of interventions (World Vision; 2010; Interagency Group; 2012).

Recommendation: Enhance integrated data sharing mechanisms between stakeholders to ensure that there is better tracking of trends across various disciplines in order to guide interventions.

Key ministries often collect data monthly but do not share or link this data to other stakeholders. It has been noted that each ministry or civil society organisation had its format and some still recorded data manually. It is a lengthy process to request statistics from the key ministries, and data are not readily available and are sometimes not reliable. Research has to be recognized as a component of a holistic system, so adequate access to data is critical to meaningful studies, while maintaining the confidentiality of the survivor at all times (UNICEF, 2008).

Conclusion: Lack of Consolidated Data on Violence, including GBV, acts as a barrier to identifying trends which may inform strategic action towards causes of violence.

There is very limited categorized data regarding crime, especially violent offences per region and other demographic details. This presents a challenge when seeking to understand underlying trends, patterns, or insights, which may not be observable from the kinds of aggregated data currently being captured.

Recommendation: A concerted effort should be made from various institutions to collect appropriate data, which may add to a broader understanding of violence in Namibia.

The suggestion is made that data management systems of relevant stakeholders, including the Ministry of Safety and Security as well as the Ministry of Justice, should incorporate data which would enable better capturing of pertinent information such as the gender and age of the victims of violent offences committed, history of mental health concerns, and history of substance use problems.

Conclusion: From the results of the study, it can be concluded that the provision of an integrated, holistic system is lacking and services are fragmented. Services are rendered by different Ministries and NGOs with diverse reporting lines and mandates.

Generally, very few participants expressed satisfaction with the services rendered and numerous stories of dissatisfaction were recounted. Long waiting periods, delays, postponements and poor feedback on cases were major frustrations for survivors and service providers, which is also consistent with previous research (Muller, 2002; Muller, 2004; Theron, 2015).

In some cases where protection services were available, survivors and their families were not referred or linked to all needed services, such as shelters, legal services and counselling. It would appear that more emphasis is placed on crisis intervention during the intake of the case, while ongoing counselling and post-trial follow-up services are non-existent (Mainey, & Lewis, 2009; Theron, 2015).

Perpetrators stated that they had the sense that there was no place for them to go to seek help, and those who reported to police before committing the offence in a bid to seek assistance were met with disapproval or dismissed. Service providers attributed this to the shortage of social workers, high caseloads and high staff turnover due to burn out and lack of debriefing.

Another barrier identified is the fact that the functions and roles of the different stake holders are not clear to practitioners, as well as the wider public, and clients are sent from pillar to post, which is consistent with previous research. The fact that there is no clarity regarding the roles and responsibilities of role players hampers effective service delivery. The Protection System in Namibia lacks essential standards of practice and accountability mechanisms, such as formal service agreements or memoranda

of understanding across sectors (MGECW, 2012; Theron, 2015).

> **Recommendation:** There should be a multi-disciplinary training of professionals on gender-based violence along with the implementation of previous recommendations where a lead ministry was identified to act as coordinating agency for multi-sectoral and multi-agency cooperation and to ensure that adequate human and financial provision exists in an integrated and coordinated manner.

The designated lead ministry was identified at the 2nd GBV conference as were other Ministries and agencies responsible for specific recommendations. However, the need exists to review the progress made in the implementation of recommendations, and outstanding recommendations are to be prioritised by respective Ministries and Institutions.

7.2 Recommendations for future research studies

There is a notable gap in research on perpetrators of gender- based violence in Namibia. The findings in this preliminary study have triggered many more questions which may not all be answered by the findings of the research, but which will require further research. In future, if similar research is to be done, the following recommendations are proposed:

•   The target population needs to be extended to be nationally representative in order to reveal the differences and/or similarities in experiences of incarcerated perpetrators, survivors, and other regions.

More in-depth individual interviews may be conducted to gather insights regarding the life-span factors which contribute to violent offending. These interviews should include collateral information gathered from various family members to offer more insights into the drivers of violence in the lives of perpetrators.

Further research can focus more specifically on best practices in Africa with an emphasis on how the identified best practices might be adapted to fit the unique needs of Namibia.

•   It is acknowledged that research can often be resource intensive; therefore, it is proposed that specific areas identified as crucial to addressing the knowledge gaps pertaining to violence in Namibia, including GBV, may be addressed through the inclusion of specific research topics as proposed by stakeholders in the area of GBV. Universities and research institutions could create knowledge labs on those research topics or include them in the research agenda of that institution. Students could ,therefore, be encouraged to research those particular topics as part of their required research projects.

7.3 Contribution to the body of scientific knowledge

This preliminary study has provided further support to existing literature identifying the perspectives of survivors and perpetrators of gender- based violence on possible root causes and, the various risk and protective factors that contribute to gender- based violence and violence in general. This study has reinforced the applicability of the need for all frontline service providers and policy makers involved to take an ecologically-informed systems approach to early detection, prevention, assessment, case management and treatment. The study contributes new knowledge on perpetrators of GBV in Namibia and recommendations to policy makers and stakeholders. As indicated within the report, there is very limited research conducted amongst perpetrators of GBV. This research thus represents a step towards a paradigm shift, aimed at addressing violence within communities, by ensuring that perpetrators of violence are included in the conversations and efforts made towards decreasing the occurrence of violent acts in society.

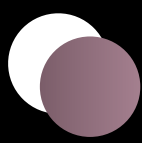## 7.4 Limitations of this study

The Office of the First Lady has had prior familiarity with the researched topic and settings within which the research was conducted (e.g., survivors of GBV and front-line service providers), and hence the settings provided easier development of rapport. The partnerships with Namibian Correctional Service and UNAM Social Work Department contributed to the success of the study. Acceptance and full cooperation by participants and stakeholders within the various settings provided a level of comfort to the researchers. The ability to gain access to the research sites and participants was beneficial. The researchers also had prior knowledge of the topic through professional experience (Padgett, 2008; Theron, 2015).

There were advantages to the study, including the familiarity of the interviewers with the perpetrator research as well as the participants who were rehabilitation officers who work closely with offenders and were able to establish rapport with participants. However, some disadvantages could result in limitations to the study and threaten its trustworthiness. All observations were documented in the field notes, which enabled the identification of interpretations that were possible preconceptions or personal opinions (Padgett, 1998). To minimise participant bias, triangulation and member checks were done as a strategy to reduce the threats to the trustworthiness of the data. We relied on in-depth, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, field notes, audio recordings and the review of existing documents, resulting in more confidence regarding the conclusions drawn in this study (Padgett, 1998).

This study was also limited in its geographical scope because information was obtained from survivors, frontline service providers working for key government Ministries and NGO's, as well incarcerated perpetrators of gender-based violence in Windhoek only. To compensate for this regional limitation, a review of existing literature, including reports and studies conducted in different regions of

the country, nationally and globally, was undertaken.

Key Ministries and NGO's are not bound to implement the recommendations of this study, but during the pilot testing, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion all showed great interest and willingness to improve the current system. Office of the First Lady and the Namibian Correctional Service will share the findings and recommendations of the study and will lobby for the implementation of the recommendations.

8. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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