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THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME AUSTRALIA

EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF A SOUTH ASIAN CLIENT AND FACILITATORS OF MEN'S BEHAVIOUR CHANGE PROGRAMS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Madhuri Mathisen
Master of Counselling

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for Doctor of Philosophy

School of Arts & Sciences
Fremantle Campus

October 2024

Declaration of Authorship

To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published by another person, except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis is my own work and contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution.

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007, updated 2018). The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the University of Notre Dame Australia Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00418), Approval Number 019117F on 9 October 2019.

Signature: 

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Date: 09/10/2024

Abstract

This study explores the experiences of male perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) attending men's behaviour change programs in Western Australia from the perspective of program facilitators and a South Asian client. Informed by social and contextual constructionism with Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), this study examines the experience of 10 mixed culture facilitators who worked with South Asian intimate partner violence perpetrators in men's behaviour change programs and one South Asian client of an intervention. The participants' experiences were contextualised through a semi-structured interview. The facilitators' findings revealed that South Asian clients demonstrated patriarchal beliefs with a victim-blaming tendency and supported socially constructed gender roles and hierarchy. The facilitators also found that the South Asian clients had limited recognition of their intimate partner violence. They also identified a lack of cultural elements in the existing interventions. In comparison, the client participant perceived himself as patriarchy-oriented and ingrained with socially constructed gender roles and hierarchy. Despite challenges with the program, he believed the intervention positively affected him. The client also suggested that his facilitators' influential attributes benefited the change in his behaviour and attitudes towards women. This study suggests that the men's behaviour change programs contribute to shifting the attitudes of South Asian clients. The study's findings also foster an understanding of the characteristics of collectivist and patriarchally oriented South Asian clients of men's behaviour change programs to best meet their needs. This research recommends a two-pronged approach of compulsory individual counselling and group intervention for clients as well as enhanced training and support for the facilitators.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my dearest husband, Christer Mathisen, whose unwavering confidence in me when I doubted myself had been my greatest source of strength. Your steadfast support through every challenge has made this achievement possible. This work is a testament to our shared resilience and love. Thank you for being my pillar on this journey.

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I extend my recognition to the study participants for their voluntary contributions and for sharing their valuable experiences. This study would have been impossible without their support, which they gave so selflessly. I admire them for their courage.

I am grateful to all my friends and extended family for their encouragement, and especially John, who proofread my work. I acknowledge that Elite Editing edited my thesis, and editorial intervention was restricted to Standards D and E of the Australian Standards for Editing Practice.

I gratefully acknowledge the support and inspiration I received from my husband, Christer. I lack words to express my gratitude for his unconditional love and support throughout this journey.

My children were a source of great inspiration during my research. I thank my eldest daughter, Chelsi, for never failing to assist me whenever I needed her. I thank Tom for his empathy and for listening to my challenges. My youngest daughter, Khushi, could not be with me, but I am sure she has the best heartfelt intentions for her estranged mother. My fur baby, Mango, kept me fit by taking me for a walk every day away from my computer.

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List of Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ANROWS	Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety
CALD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
CBT	Cognitive behavioural therapy
DBT	Dialectical behaviour therapy
DV	Domestic violence
HR	High resistance
IPA	Interpretative phenomenological analysis
IPV	Intimate partner violence
MBCP	Men's behaviour change program
NSW	New South Wales
RQ	Research question
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
VRO	Violence restraining order
WA	Western Australia
WHO	World Health Organization

Chapter 1: Introduction

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a prevalent global health concern. The World Health Organization (WHO, 2012) describes physical, sexual, emotional and controlling behaviour perpetrated by a current or past intimate partner as a common form of violence against women in domestic relationships. Feeling unsafe at home and around loved ones is a vivid situation that can have a lifelong and detrimental impact on an individual's mind and body. Contributing to reduce intimate partner violence in any form can be a rewarding and personally gratifying experience (Department of Reproductive Health and Research, 2013; WHO, 2012). My motivation to study this topic arose from three of my own lived experiences, namely, growing up in a predominantly collectivist and patriarchal South Asian society prior to migrating to the predominantly individualist society of Australia, experiencing violence from my previous intimate partner, and working as a facilitator of a men's behaviour change program (MBCP). This chapter provides a reflective background and overview of the study and outlines its purpose, aims and significance. The chapter also touches upon the methodology and concludes by outlining the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Reflective Background and Overview

I was born in India, which is considered a predominantly collectivist and patriarchal society (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Gorringe, 2018; Gupta, 2016; Weightman, 2011). A collectivist society can be described as a culture where the group is valued more than the individual. Such a culture prioritises kinship, fitting in and harmonious interdependence among members of society (Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008; Hofstede, 2011; Oyserman et al., 2002; Schwartz, 1990; Triandis et al., 1988). Hunnicutt (2009) explains the core concept of patriarchy in simple terms as "systems of male domination and female subordination" (p. 553). In a study of gender relations in organisations, Gupta (2016) illuminates dual aspects of Indian culture: patriarchy and hierarchy. The study examines the perceptions of men and women scientists in India concerning their work environment. The findings reveal that regardless of women's position in society, their role as mothers, wives, daughters, daughters-in-law, and sisters dominate their professional role (Choudhury & Kumar, 2022; Grantham et al., 2021; Gupta, 2016). This notion corresponds to my own lived experience. I worked as a scientist in the Indian Council of Agriculture Research. However, society idealised and emphasised my duties as a mother and wife as my primary responsibilities. A large body of literature describes societies in which institutions regularly and consistently privilege men over women in a

gendered, patriarchal hierarchy (Malley-Morrison, 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996; Thandi, 2012). I am fully aware and acknowledge that no society is entirely egalitarian or free from patriarchy. Therefore, to evade any misinterpretation, the term "predominant" is used to emphasise that South Asia is mostly collectivist-oriented and patriarchal compared with other countries. Western societies are also patriarchal and collectivist-oriented; no culture is free from these features. However, in some cultures, such as those in South Asia, collectivism and patriarchal characteristics are widespread.

Before migrating to Australia, I spent more than three decades of my life in a culture that upholds socially constructed gender hierarchies. I observed men in the family dominating and mistreating women on many occasions. Such occurrences were considered a family matter; no-one thought to intervene because the abuse was taken for granted. In other words, such issues were expected to be dealt with by the family rather than through the involvement of any institution, such as the legal system (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008). This is because of the social construction of gender roles, financial dependence and lack of support at societal and domestic levels; the women in my family accepted these dynamics as the norm in relationships. Such thinking was not unique to my family; indeed, it is the norm in Indian society. The boys in the family were preferred over girls because they carried the family name. Therefore, they had precedence over girls with regard to the inheritance of their parent's property. Although the Constitution of India grants equal rights to both sons and daughters to their parent's property, this is not what occurs in practice. I grew up watching male superiority in my family and community, where intimate partner violence was viewed as disciplinary behaviour to improve the wife's undesirable conduct.

My first marriage was no exception to these norms. It was an arranged marriage, lasting 16 years, from 1994 to 2010. Throughout my marriage, I suffered physical and psychological abuse. Even though my family members were aware of the difficulties I experienced, I was forced to continue to live with my then-husband. The reason for continuing was not financial, because I was working and financially independent, but because divorce is frowned upon in Indian society. Such collectivist societies emphasise family connection and commitment above all else (Chaudhuri et al., 2014). As Dommaraju (2016) states, South Asia is a region "where marriage continues to be nearly universal and [takes place] relatively early, and divorce is relatively uncommon" (p. 195). Once a woman marries, her parental home is no longer considered her home. Therefore, in most cases, there is no option to return to the parental house. Chaudhuri et al. (2014) confirm that "in South Asia, divorce is considered a failure of the wife to keep the marriage from breaking, and divorced women are socially ostracized and

are viewed as selfish, loose, unlucky and a burden to their parents" (p. 155). Marriage is regarded as a collective decision of the family and society, and divorce reflects poorly on the family's reputation. Therefore, the overall occurrence of marital dissolution in India is relatively low (Dommaraju, 2016). These attitudes are widespread, normalised and collectively accepted by society.

The Indian mass media also typically portray the woman as playing the primary role in managing the household, childbearing and caring for children and other family members regardless of whether she is working. Similarly, Gupta (2016) reports that family is considered the primary responsibility of women, and while many women are now employed, "the 'public–private' dichotomy (with women associated with the 'private' or domestic sphere) continues to exist in the minds of employers and male colleagues at work" (p. 442).

The custom of dowry is also a significant factor perpetuating patriarchy in Indian society. The dowry system, in which a woman brings money or property to her husband at marriage, significantly contributes to male child preference. Shenk (2007) suggests that "the custom of dowry is often represented as the cause of serious social problems, including the neglect of daughters, sex-selective abortion, female infanticide and the harassment, abuse, and murder of brides" (p. 242). The demand for a dowry is a criminal offence, yet it is widespread (Dalmia & Lawrence, 2005; Gupta, 2003). Consequently, women are considered subservient to men, and men have the right to abuse women when their demands are not fulfilled. As Dommaraju (2016) states:

> *reading of case files reveals the nature of misconduct alleged by husbands in contested cases to include refusal of sexual intercourse, disrespectful behaviour, unconcern toward children, negligence of cooking and household duties, being 'too modern' and 'fun loving' and frequent visits to the natal home. Women's allegations against husbands include alcoholism, physical violence, verbal abuse, failure to maintain the wife and children, gambling, and sexual indifference. Although adultery is often cited, the courts require 'stringent proof', and it is difficult to obtain judgment on this ground.* (p. 218)

Men's entitlement is evident from the notes of court cases and reflects the culture of dominant patriarchy. Chaudhuri et al. (2014) suggest that traditionally, women move to their in-laws after marriage and are expected to conform to culturally construed and acknowledged behavioural norms. If a woman does not conform to these norms, her abuse at the hands of her husband is seen as justified. Chaudhuri et al. (2014) report that "norm violations in such a context range from disobedience, not doing housework, ill-temper and disrespect shown to family members; often in-laws join husbands in disciplining wives" (p. 142).

The literature supports the conclusions I have drawn from my personal experience, namely, that male ill-treatment of wives, sisters and women in Indian society is very much

normalised. My experience of living as a woman in a predominantly patriarchal society caused me to believe that it is common for men to assume that they are the head of the family and wield power to discipline the women of the family. My experience also led me to believe that the women in the family are responsible for maintaining the family's reputation by following the rules set by the men in the family and, if the rules are broken, they are to be punished physically or psychologically. Hence, patriarchy is established as a significant factor contributing to intimate partner violence (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Flood, 2011; Pence & Paymar, 1993).

The Duluth Model outlines how power and control are wielded in intimate relationships (Bohall et al., 2016). According to this model, a man uses violence to gain power and control over his intimate partner. After more than 30 years of continuous lived experience in a predominantly patriarchal society, I am confident that this is the case for most men (barring some exceptions) in this type of society.

1.2 Purpose and Rationale of the Study

My interest in this research is rooted in my identity as a woman from a lower social caste in India (known as the Shudra, Sudra, Dalit or Scheduled Caste), which inspired me to aim for a higher education. The Indian social system is divided into four hierarchal castes—Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras—based on economic and occupational family lines (Dollard, 1988; Shah et al., 2020; Subedi, 2016). Historically, Shudras had little access to education and thus had few opportunities compared with other members of Indian society. However, the Constitution of India, which came into force in 1950, provided equal education rights to all citizens (Ram, 2009; Shani, 2017). Nevertheless, in their book *Education and Caste in India: The Dalit Question*, Shah et al. (2020) highlight that educational organisations continue to discriminate against Dalit or Shudra children and that "nearly 50% of … [Dalit] parents are illiterate and unable to guide their children in their studies" (Shah et al., 2020, p.125). However, despite the social discrimination and financial challenges he faced, my father graduated from secondary school. He made it his life's goal to provide an education for his children, in line with Shah et al.'s (2020) assertion that "all Dalit parents believe that formal education is a gateway for a better future for their children" (p. 125). My mother, on the other hand, never went to school. I am the first generation of women in my family fortunate enough to have had the opportunity to study at a higher educational level.

Nevertheless, my educational journey has not been without its challenges, mainly because of my identity as a Dalit woman. According to Shah et al. (2020), "complex and

cumulative problems influenced by the perceived gender roles in education and society create conditions of less equal opportunities and life chances for the education of Dalit girls compared to Dalit boys" (p. 29). However, every defeat has made me stronger and has encouraged me to inspire women in similar circumstances.

All women, including Dalit and tribal women, face multiple problems because of caste, class and gender. Socially constructed gender roles create a hierarchical system that positions men as superior and authoritative while women as inferior and subordinate. In this concept, men are considered powerful and women powerless (Choi & Ting, 2008; R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Malley-Morrison, 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996; Thandi, 2012). The evidence suggests that a lack of education contributes to domestic violence (DV) against women in collectivist and patriarchal societies (Erten & Keskin, 2018; Simister & Makowiec, 2008).

However, according to the WHO's Department of Reproductive Health and Research (2013), violence from an intimate partner is not only a problem of predominantly collectivist and patriarchal societies, but it is also a global concern. The WHO report indicates that worldwide, about one in three women have experienced physical or sexual violence perpetrated by their intimate partner in their lifetime. Approximately 37% of women who have had a partner have reported violence at some point in their lives (Department of Reproductive Health and Research, 2013). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2020) reports that in Australia, one in six Australian women (approximately 17%) aged 18 years and over have experienced partner violence since the age of 15. The WHO suggests that the highest prevalence of domestic violence is reported in predominantly collectivist societies, such as Africa, Southeast Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean.

According to Haj-Yahia and Sadan (2008), there are two reasons for the high prevalence of intimate partner violence in predominantly collectivist societies compared with predominantly individualist societies. First, individualist Western societies have actively reduced violence against women for three decades by initiating many interventions. Second, predominantly collectivist societies still hold the cultural view that violence against an intimate female partner is a personal and family problem (Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008).

Among the many multifaceted aspects of domestic violence, a culture's structure is identified as one significant factor (Jenkins, 2009; Pence & Paymar, 1993). Many cultures in the world are characterised as masculine-dominant, patriarchal and collectivist (R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Hofstede, 2011; Pence & Paymar, 1993). Multiculturalism is a unique feature of Australian society, with half of the population either born overseas or at least one parent

born abroad, encompassing diverse cultural values, including those rooted in patriarchal and collectivist traditions (Multicultural Australia, 2020).

This high rate of overseas migration from numerous countries means increasing numbers of people representing multiple cultures residing in Australia (ABS, 2021). In 2020, nearly 30% of the Australian population was born overseas (ABS, 2021). Notably, patriarchal and collectivist countries are among the top 10 countries of origin for Australian migrants, with India in second place (ABS, 2021). Even though Australia has high migration from predominantly patriarchal and collectivist countries, it is not a suggestion that patriarchy and collectivism are no longer features of Australian culture. This information does not suggest that intimate partner violence is not a problem in the non-immigrant population of Australia. However, one could assume that high migration from these countries might be a contributing factor in intimate partner violence in Australia. Therefore, given this migration trend, a focus on the needs of these populations is required if intimate partner violence in Australia is to be better understood.

When men from a predominantly collectivist and patriarchal society migrate to a predominantly individualistic and less patriarchal society, their traditional misogynistic behaviour may not change overnight. While the situation is much more extreme and devastating in South Asia, patriarchy continues to exist in Australia and other parts of the world. Therefore, I am not suggesting that Australia is free from patriarchy and is an entirely egalitarian society. It is assumed that men migrating from collectivist and patriarchal societies can maintain a gender hierarchy and patriarchal beliefs within the family unit, away from the outside world. Consequently, some men in such situations may be mandated to a domestic violence intervention program. It is also evident that migrants display poor help-seeking behaviour because of their cultural orientation (Drielsma, 2013; Gulliver et al., 2010; Hohenshil et al., 2013). Mathisen and Ledingham (2018) report that Indian migrants are typically initially reluctant to engage actively in counselling services in Australia and display poor help-seeking behaviour. This cultural orientation hinders South Asian clients from coming forward to seek intervention to improve their intimate relationships and address their abusive behaviour. Therefore, their intimate partner violence often continues unchallenged.

I have had the opportunity to work as a facilitator of a men's behaviour change program for mandated South Asian clients. This provided me with an insight into men's behaviour change programs in relation to clients with diverse cultural needs, while simultaneously enriching me as a professional working with South Asian clients of a behaviour change program. This experience spurred my interest in South Asian clients' experiences of behaviour

change programs and how men's behaviour change program facilitators experience working with these clients.

Therefore, an integrative approach with narrative, conceptual and theoretical methods for the literature review was conducted to identify if there is any gap in knowledge (Green et al., 2006; Leenaars et al., 2021; Rocco & Plakhotnik, 2009). The literature review revealed significant gaps, including that most studies were quantitative and were focused on Caucasian or African American communities. Therefore, a qualitative approach was taken to investigate the lived experiences of a South Asian perpetrator of intimate partner violence and facilitators of men's behaviour change programs. Exploring lived experiences allowed the researcher to ascertain comprehensive insights into the concrete aspects of men's behaviour change programs in relation to South Asian clients. And to elicit the meanings and interpretations that participants attribute to these lived experiences.

1.3 Aims of the Study

The study seeks to gather information on the experiences of a South Asian service user and facilitators of domestic violence programs from their own perspectives to investigate the effectiveness of existing interventions for clients with different cultural orientations. This study can be used to inform strategies that meet the needs of men from predominantly patriarchal cultures who resort to domestic violence and address domestic violence within this population in Australia. The aim is to address the gap in qualitative interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) with social and contextual constructionist knowledge in supporting South Asian clients of men's behaviour change programs to deliver guidelines for improving existing interventions.

The literature review identified a lack of information on many aspects of men's behaviour change programs in relation to South Asian clients, including their accountability towards abusive behaviour, their perceptions and attitudes about women, facilitators' adopted approaches to working with these clients, the prevailing supportive cultural constituents of the intervention and intervention appraisal in relation to these clientele. Considering the significance of this study and the identified gaps, I designed broad and open-ended questions to elicit practical insights into the participants' experiences of men's behaviour change programs in relation to South Asian clients. Therefore, the following four research questions were formulated to investigate the lived experiences of men's behaviour change program facilitators:

- Research Question 1: How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?

- Research Question 2: What are the facilitators' insights into South Asian clients' explanations about their alleged abusive behaviour?
- Research Question 3: How do the facilitators appraise their approaches when working with South Asian clients?
- Research Question 4: What are the facilitators' understandings of the cultural constituents of existing programs to facilitate men's behavioural change among South Asian clients?

The next three research questions were designed to investigate the lived experience of a South Asian perpetrator of intimate partner violence:

- Research Question 5: What insights does the South Asian client have into his cultural orientation?
- Research Question 6: How does the South Asian client value the intervention in which he participated?
- Research Question 7: How does the South Asian client judge facilitators' influencing qualities?

A critical and contextual social constructionist paradigm informed this qualitative study with interpretative phenomenological analysis as the methodology. The study participants were recruited from two categories: Men's behaviour change program facilitators and a South Asian client of a behavioural change program. A face-to-face interview method was employed to collect the data. This method facilitated rapport between the interviewer and the interviewees, allowing the natural flow of the conversation to generate rich data (Irvine et al., 2013).

1.4 Significance of the Study

The concept of men's behaviour change programs emerged in the United States (US) in the late 1970s, soon after spreading to the United Kingdom (UK) and Australia (Vlais et al., 2017). These countries are considered predominantly individualistic societies, and the theoretical frameworks of domestic violence programs were designed for men to reflect on their actions as isolated individuals. Thus, perpetrators of intimate partner violence are considered responsible for their abusive actions with no consideration of the collective social context of the behaviour. According to McCarthy and Lazarus (1990), "domestic violence is not the result of individual failing but reflects the socially entrenched attitudes and practices of a patriarchal society. The solution can never be found in individually based strategies" (p. 31).

Considering McCarthy and Lazaraus wrote this in 1990, it is apparent that patriarchal explanations now have a long history in explaining intimate partner violence and continue to provide valuable insights for current researchers (Bennett, 2016; Gamble, 2001; Gorringe, 2018; Hunnicutt, 2009; Ortner, 2022). The significance of the current study lies in the assertion that collectivist and patriarchally oriented clients participated in men's behaviour change programs based primarily on individualist concepts. Such an approach fails to challenge the collectivist cultural values and norms that support intimate partner violence.

Participants from predominantly collectivist cultures may struggle to accept the notion that they exist as an entirely separate unit because they identify themselves in connection with others as part of a community or family (Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008). Such men have learned to see themselves as a leader or supreme power of the family, which is not aligned with the predominant egalitarian concepts (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Dalmia & Lawrence, 2005; Dommaraju, 2016; Gorringe, 2018; Gupta, 2003, 2016; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008; Hofstede, 2011; Oyserman et al., 2002; Schwartz, 1990; Shenk, 2007; Triandis et al., 1988; Weightman, 2011). Most men from the South Asian region have developed cultural traits that differ significantly from those found in Western societies. South Asian societies are characteristically aligned with a collectivist cultural approach; family and community come before individual needs and aspirations (Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008; Oyserman et al., 2002; Triandis, 2004). Given that this study focuses on men from South Asia, it is tempting to regard this demographic group as homogenous. However, it is crucial to provide some insight into the heterogeneity between and within different South Asian societies.

South Asian societies are diverse and complex, as demonstrated by their numerous religions, structural hierarchies, traditional class or caste systems and gender norms. These complex and multifaceted cultural nuances cannot be dismissed. South Asia is considered the origin of the world's largest religions, which are complex and dynamic systems of organised beliefs and practices primarily associated with worshipping a god or divine being (Schilderman, 2015). People in South Asia follow a wide range of religious faiths, including Islamism, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and Christianity. Their religious beliefs act as guiding principles, shaping their practices, values and cultural identities and influencing most aspects of their lives, including relationships and marriage, dietary habits, work, viewpoints, language and mental health. Religion also shapes cultural and social structures (e.g. calendars, festivals, art and music) and economic, legal and political systems (K. A. Jacobsen, 2021). However, religious differences can play a major role in discrimination and violence between social groups (Engineer, 2002; Jordanova et al., 2015; Scheitle et al., 2021; Sengupta, 2005).

Another criticism of religion is its relationship to patriarchal ideologies. Religion can maintain and strengthen patriarchal power structures through traditional practices and expectations (Cremer, 2021; Maseno-Ouma et al., 2020).

In keeping with their religious norms, most South Asian countries are patriarchal and collectivist (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Gorringe, 2018; Gupta, 2016; Weightman, 2011), which plays a significant role in shaping men's attitudes towards women and perpetuating violence against women (Carrie, 2004; Eisikovits & Bailey, 2016; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Murnen et al., 2002; Schumacher et al., 2001; Stith et al., 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996). The patriarchal system not only gives power and privilege to men over women but also perpetuates the social hierarchies and socioeconomic differences between different groups of men (R. W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2019; Russell, 2021).

South Asian societies are based on complex hierarchical class and caste systems resulting from numerous historical, cultural and economic factors. Class systems are based on factors such as wealth, income, education and occupation, which are not fixed by birth, meaning they are more flexible (Dollard, 1988; Subedi, 2016). In contrast, a caste system is defined as:

> *a small and named group of persons characterized by endogamy, hereditary membership, and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system.* (Subedi, 2016, p. 321)

A caste system in India is a social hierarchy that is passed down through families. Indians are classified into one of four social groups: Brahmins (spiritual leaders and teachers), Kshatriyas (warriors and nobility), Vaishyas (merchants and producers) and Shudras (labourers) (Dollard, 1988; Subedi, 2016). The main purpose of this system is to preserve economic and occupational family lines. An individual's caste can never change because it is assigned at birth in line with the family's specific caste. The caste system is consistently criticised for discriminating against the lower-caste Shudras, who are denied even their basic needs, resulting in vast inequalities (Dollard, 1988; Subedi, 2016). Caste systems support dominance of certain groups via power and authority. Men from the higher castes (Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas) and classes often hold political, religious and economic leadership roles (Dollard, 1988; Subedi, 2016).

The intersectional positions of South Asian men in relation to class, caste, race, religion and the patriarchy resonate with the concept of toxic masculinity (Hill & Bilge, 2016; Whitehead, 2019). The complex intersecting identities and systems of oppression found in South Asia play a significant role in shaping South Asian men's attitudes, behaviours and

interactions with women. Therefore, this study seeks to explore how men's behaviour change programs meet the needs of clients from predominantly collectivist and patriarchal societies. The findings address all seven research questions and are supported by the literature review. Most facilitators reported that their South Asian clients tended to hold patriarchal views in which women were belittled, and these men also failed to recognise their behaviours as abusive. They also believed that building therapeutic relationships and being non-judgemental and approachable were important when working with South Asian clients. They also identified that men's behaviour change programs lack cultural components for supporting South Asian clients. The facilitators' answers to Research Question 1 (How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?) and Research Question 3 (How do the facilitators appraise their approaches when working with South Asian clients?) corresponded to the South Asian client's answers to Research Question 5 (What insights does the South Asian client have into his cultural orientation?) and Research Question 7 (How does the South Asian client judge facilitators' influencing qualities?). The South Asian client stated that he culturally oriented to holding patriarchal beliefs and considered women beneath him; however, he had a favourable assessment of his facilitator's qualities.

1.5 Conclusion and Thesis Overview

It is crucial to understand the cultural nuances of intimate partner violence, particularly since it is evident that Australia is not untouched by the impact of intimate partner violence. Domestic violence interventions are essential in reducing intimate partner violence in Australia. Australia's multiculturalism necessitates domestic violence interventions that consider the needs of a diverse clientele. Therefore, this study is designed to identify the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) clients to inform more effective interventions.

Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter that presents an overview, the purpose, aims and significance of the study. The chapter also briefly introduces the adopted research methodology and outlines the structure of the thesis. Chapter 2 contains the literature review, which identifies significant concepts of the study, including intimate partner violence, patriarchy, collectivist orientation and men's behaviour change programs. The chapter also identifies the gap in current knowledge on facilitators' experiences working with clients from predominantly collectivist and patriarchal societies with diverse needs in an intervention based on individualistic principles. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used to achieve the study's objectives. This chapter presents the step-by-step process followed in conducting this study, including a detailed description of the data collection and analyses. A reflexivity statement is

also included to support the trustworthiness and credibility of the study. Chapter 4 initially presents a brief overview of the research findings analysed from data collected from the facilitators and a client, followed by two significant parts. Section 4.1 presents the research findings from the men's behaviour change program facilitators. Section 4.2 analyses a case study of a South Asian client. The findings are structured according to identified superordinate and subordinate themes. The chapter also presents verbatim quotations from the participants to enhance trustworthiness and give a voice to the participants. Chapter 5 contains the discussion, establishing the connection between Chapters 2 and 4. The chapter also links the results to the literature on men's behaviour change programs, patriarchal and collectivist cultures and intimate partner violence. To be transparent, I also submit a brief reflection on how my values and interests were challenged and what I learned from this study. Chapter 6 summarises and concludes the study. It also explores the implications, limitations and directions for further research. Based on the insights gained from the study, recommendations are provided for men's behaviour change programs to effectively meet the needs of predominantly collectivist and patriarchal domestic violence perpetrators from South Asia.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The study aims to understand the experiences of facilitators working with South Asian male clients in men's behaviour change programs. The intention is to explore how men's behaviour change programs in Australia assist South Asian perpetrators of intimate partner violence. The term "predominant" emphasises that Australia is less patriarchal and primarily fair (in contrast to South Asia) for the equal and equitable rights and opportunities available to men and women but not entirely free from biases. Relevant literature is reviewed to understand the dominant concepts relating to the study and identify any gaps in knowledge.

The three central concepts of this study are (i) intimate partner violence or domestic violence, (ii) perpetrators from collectivist and patriarchal societies and (iii) intervention programs designed to reduce intimate partner violence by educating offenders about their behaviour. Hence, it is necessary to comprehend the meaning of these concepts in this study. Internet searches, database searches of the University of Notre Dame, and other university libraries were explored to identify relevant studies.

I used an integrative approach employing narrative, conceptual and theoretical review methods for the literature review (Green et al., 2006; Leenaars et al., 2021; Rocco & Plakhotnik, 2009). A narrative literature review is a more traditional review that summarises the current knowledge on a topic by engaging in a comprehensive, critical, and objective analysis of available publications while also supporting and establishing a theoretical framework and the context for the research (Green et al., 2006; Leenaars et al., 2021). The conceptual framework assists in defining the concepts and identifying gaps in the literature, whereas the theoretical framework facilitates the development of new knowledge by fusing existing beliefs, knowledge, interconnected ideas, and empirical research (Rocco & Plakhotnik, 2009). This review commenced with a general search of existing literature, which gradually narrowed to a search for the most relevant publications to answer the research questions. I explored the published literature since 1979 by using standard terms, such as "domestic violence", "intimate partner violence", "perpetrator of domestic violence and intimate partner violence", "offenders of domestic violence and intimate partner violence", "batterer", "intervention program of domestic violence and intimate partner violence", "batterer intervention program" and "men's behaviour change program".

This chapter commences by defining intimate partner violence from the perspective of Australian law and social research. Next, as this study focuses on understanding perceptions of South Asian clients, collectivist cultural orientations are discussed. Then, I explore the

association between intimate partner violence and patriarchy as well as patriarchy in the Australian context. With a thorough understanding of these concepts, the establishment of men's behaviour change programs in Australia is then described. This discussion covers significant aspects of the program, including the approaches used, typologies of perpetrators of violence, the engagement of group learning, facilitator attributes, areas of change, responsibility and accountability, legal versus social participation and the cultural competence of the interventions. The cultural orientation of South Asian clients and help-seeking behaviour is also reviewed.

2.1 Intimate Partner Violence

As this study focuses on intimate partner violence, it is crucial to understand the definition of intimate partner violence and use appropriate terminology when referring to abusive behaviour. While federal law does not explicitly define intimate partner violence or domestic violence, the offences that align with intimate partner violence and domestic violence are recognised as criminal offences (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2021). Nonetheless, domestic violence descriptions are included in state statutes but differ from state to state. The various types of conduct that comprise family violence across state and territory jurisdictions are sexual assault, economic abuse, emotional and psychological abuse, kidnapping or deprivation of liberty, damage to property, injury to animals, stalking, exposure of children to violence, threats to commit acts of family violence and breaching of protection orders (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2021).

Domestic violence, family violence and intimate partner violence are commonly used terms in the social research literature (Bernardi & Day, 2015; Mitchell, 2011). The National Council to Reduce Violence Against Women and Their Children (2009) offers a succinct definition of such behaviour:

> *Domestic and family violence is a complex phenomenon. It can take as many different forms as families and family arrangements and includes abuse of the elderly, sibling abuse, carer abuse, violence between same-sex partners, violence by adolescents against parents, or female to male partner violence. However, in the overwhelming majority of cases, domestic and family violence is perpetrated by males against their female partners.* (p. 12)

Intimate partner violence refers to a wide range of behaviours. It can be explained as a violent act committed by one partner against another in an intimate relationship in the form of physical, emotional, verbal, social, economic or psychological abuse (Bernardi & Day, 2015; Mitchell, 2011; National Council to Reduce Violence Against Women and Their Children, 2009; WHO, 2016). The WHO (2016) refers to intimate partner violence as physical aggression, sexual coercion, mental abuse, emotional abuse or controlling behaviours by an

intimate partner or ex-partner. While these definitions accurately identify a range of common abusive behaviours, a significant omission is the concept of coercive control (also referred to as battering, intimate terrorism and coercive controlling violence) (Dichter et al., 2018; Hamberger et al., 2017). Coercive control is a crucial element of intimate partner violence and can be understood as a planned and systematic pattern of behaviour that employs tactics to control, dominate and manipulate the victim. Examples of coercive control strategies include isolation, intimidation, threats, gaslighting, economic manipulation and stalking (Dichter et al., 2018; Hamberger et al., 2017).

2.2 Collectivist Orientation

South Asia is considered a predominantly collectivist culture (Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008). One of the main aspects of this study is South Asian clients of men's behaviour change programs. Therefore, a collectivist cultural orientation is another significant concept that needs clarification. The concept of collectivism can be understood considering its opposite—individualism. Individualism is "a worldview that centralizes the personal—personal goals, personal uniqueness and personal control—and peripheralizes the social" (Oyserman et al., 2002, p. 5). In an individualist society, the individual's independence and self-governance are considered the highest priority. However, an individualist society is also not free from patriarchal characteristics (Bennett, 2016).

The fundamental aspect of collectivism is binding individuals together in coerced mutuality (Oyserman et al., 2002). Collectivist societies prioritise the group over the individual. Schwartz (1990) defines a collectivist society as a communal one in which expectations and obligations are commonly shared. The personal is considered only one component of the group, bound by mutual goals, a mutual fate, and mutual values (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Schwartz, 1990). Another viewpoint to comprehend the collectivist concept through the location of power and control distinguishes individualism and collectivism; power may reside with individuals or a collective group of people (Triandis, 2004). In his study, Triandis (2004) emphasises that collectivists justify their behaviours through external factors, such as norms and roles. In contrast, individualist cultures encourage individuals to choose what is significant for them rather than having choices thrust upon them by the collective group, therefore promoting idiocentrism.

In collectivist societies, an individual's personal goals are subordinate to group goals (Triandis, 2004; Triandis et al., 1986; Triandis et al., 1988). An Israeli author, Haj-Yahia, also associates the collectivist cultural context with the problem of violence against women in his

review article (Haj-Yahia, 2011). The author suggests that a collectivist cultural orientation contributes to violence against women because they are considered inferior citizens in such societies.

Haj-Yahia and Sadan (2008) confirm that some countries, such as the Middle East, Asia, Africa, South America, the Pacific and some Eastern European countries, predominantly practise collectivist culture. However, worldwide, some native groups also practice collectivist culture within individualist societies, for example, the Aboriginal people of Australia (Miller, 2018). As Miller (2018) reports, although Australia has grown to become an individualist society, Indigenous people continue to preserve a collectivist way of being, thinking and behaving. Simultaneously, cultures are merging in many countries because of the migration of collectivist people who retain their culture within their new setting. In their quantitative study of 802 respondents from nine countries, Fatehi et al. (2020) recommend against stereotyping cultures as either individualistic or collectivist. Thus, in many countries, collectivist culture co-exists with individualist culture.

While collectivism and individualism have been historically viewed as distinct and polar opposite concepts, they are now considered to exist on a spectrum (Fatehi et al., 2020; Seidler, 2010). For example, Australian culture contains a mix of both collectivist and individualistic perspectives. Australian Indigenous cultures are considered collectivist because of their social structure, kinship networks and a strong emphasis on community values (Colson, 2014; Dudgeon et al., 2014; Memmott, 2010; Miller, 2018). While contemporary Australians collectively value egalitarianism and fairness, they are also strongly individualistic, supporting individual freedoms and self-reliance to pursue personal goals (Department of Home Affairs, 2021). This dynamic interplay between collectivist and individualist values leads to complex societal relationships.

When people from diverse cultures with varying collectivist and individualist perspectives interact, it brings numerous beneficial and detrimental possibilities for individuals and larger society. While a mix of cultures can lead to conflicts, misunderstandings, discrimination, biases and challenges in establishing harmony and finding common ground, it can also benefit individuals by leading to inclusive relationships, social cohesion, personal growth and self-expression, innovativeness, flexibility and adaptability, empathy and social responsibility (Paletz et al., 2014; Tadmor et al., 2012). Therefore, the convergence of collectivist and individualist perspectives can lead to complex social interactions and communications due to differing cultural behaviours and expectations. Hence, adherence to ethical practices is paramount.

Professionals are expected to engage in ethical bracketing, meaning that they must set aside their personal values, beliefs and views when working with clients with different perspectives (Kocet & Herlihy, 2014). However, ethical bracketing may not always be successful. Men's behaviour change program facilitators may be influenced by their predominant individualistic outlooks when working with clients from South Asia, who tend to have collectivist viewpoints. Therefore, I was curious to explore how these intersections of distinctive viewpoints played out in men's behaviour change programs. Cultural similarities between facilitators and clients may influence the effectiveness of interventions. For example, how might a facilitator from a collectivist background, such as an Indigenous Australian, view clients from collectivist backgrounds, such as South Asia? What might they do and say that is different from facilitators with individualistic backgrounds? How might they understand and position their clients? Would they consider the larger community of South Asians or use strategies to create cultural safety? The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Workers Association (2016) *Cultural Safety Framework* recommends taking a coordinated cross-sectoral approach to the implementation of cultural safety strategies for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders within and across healthcare systems. I assume that facilitators with differing orientations to their clients may position their clients as oppositional to their perspectives. Therefore, given the rise in multiculturalism, the solution to the complexities of social relations lies in harmonious coexistence.

No societies are purely collectivist or individualistic (Fatehi et al., 2020; Seidler, 2010); thus, it is essential to recognise the differences in these cultural perspectives so that societies can foster collective fairness while allowing for individual rights and ambitions. While I acknowledge that no society is purely collectivist or individualist, for the purpose of this thesis, I refer to South Asian culture as predominantly collectivist.

2.3 Patriarchy and Intimate Partner Violence

There are different philosophical lenses through which the issue of men's violence towards women can be understood, including family violence as well as cognitive, feminist and psychological disorder perspectives (K. L. Anderson, 1997; Buttell & Carney, 2006; R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Loseke et al., 2005; Yllo, 1993). The family violence lens holds that sociodemographic conditions are the underlying drivers of men's violence against women. While this perspective recognises the broad interplay between the social, cultural and structural issues underpinning family violence, it does not explain how these sociodemographic factors exclusively cause men to be violent. In contrast, the cognitive perspective suggests that

violence is a learned behaviour (K. L. Anderson, 1997; Flood, 2011; Gillum, 2008; Schmidt et al., 2007). However, given its emphasis on learning and the environment, this paradigm falls short in explaining accountability. I believe that learning is also an individual responsibility; therefore, men are accountable for their abusive behaviour. Others suggest that violence is predominantly the result of psychological disorders (Akoensi et al., 2013; Cameranesi, 2016; Fowler & Westen, 2011; Saunders, 2008; Stewart & Power, 2014). However, this is an overly simplistic way of viewing the complex nature of intimate partner violence and may perpetuate harmful stereotypes of people with mental health disorders.

Some studies indicate that men abuse women because of their insecurity. K. L. Anderson (1997) quantitatively analysed data from the National Survey of Families and Households in Madison, New Jersey, finding that some men experience insecurity due to their lower income, education or occupational status compared with their intimate partners. Such men may resort to violence to re-establish their dominant position in the relationship. This notion is supported by Choi and Ting (2008), who conducted a quantitative study in South Africa of the frequency and severity of intimate partner violence. Based on the authors' imbalance of power and resources theory, men's violence towards their intimate partners can be categorised as one of four typologies: Compensation, submission, transgression or dependence. However, this study was based on couples in ongoing relationships, which may have influenced their accounts. Moreover, excluding women who are experiencing separation or marital breakdown because of violence may have reduced the frequency of violent incidents observed.

Further, a large body of literature has identified that men resort to violence to wield power over women as per feminist viewpoints (Carrie, 2004; Eisikovits & Bailey, 2016; Flood, 2011; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Murnen et al., 2002; Schumacher et al., 2001; Stith et al., 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996). Feminist theory holds that gender role divisions and power imbalances create the foundation for violence against women. Men's violence towards their partners is considered the active use of power to control women because of patriarchy and the cultural legitimacy of male dominance (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Flood, 2011).

The association between intimate partner violence and patriarchy is not a recent uncovering; it has been identified in historical contexts (R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 1979). A book published in the US by R. E. Dobash and Dobash (1979) examines chronological, legal and cultural aspects of wife abuse. The book was based on interviews with police and victims, court statistics, research reviews and newspaper articles. The authors rationalise that the "correct interpretation of violence between husbands and wives conceptualizes such violence

as the extension of the domination and control of husbands over their wives" (p. 15). Therefore, it is suggested that intimate partner violence resides in patriarchal beliefs and practices that support a husband dominating his wife (R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

An Australian sociologist, Flood (2011) reports in his review article that "constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in shaping violence against women: at the individual level, in families and relationships, in communities and societies as a whole" (p. 359). Flood (2011) suggests that "male economic and decision-making dominance in the family is one of the strongest predictors of high levels of violence against women" (p. 359). This reflects the shift from traditional patriarchy to neopatriarchy. Neopatriarchy is a subtle but complex manifestation of masculinity, where men are assigned economic and authoritative power over women (Campbell, 2014). A discussion of masculinity is not complete without mentioning 'toxic masculinity', which refers to the detrimental attitudes and behaviours associated with traditional masculinity. However, the concept of masculinity is both helpful and controversial. While it can initiate a discourse on gender roles, harmful societal expectations of men, violence against women and homophobia, it can also create the assumption that all men are toxic, leading them to feel criticised and attacked. Toxic masculinity also highlights the failings of men but ignores their undeserved privileges. Therefore, Flood suggests avoiding the imperative to narrow the discussion to the language of masculinity in the discussion of violence against women.

However, it is evident from the literature that men in patriarchal societies hold systemic power over women through their values, opportunities, traditions and formal institutions. This power causes imbalances in intimate relationships, where the man is permitted to resort to violence to establish his masculinity and supremacy (Malley-Morrison, 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996; Thandi, 2012). Consequently, according to the feminist perspective, the patriarchy generates toxic masculinity, leading to gendered violence.

However, critics argue that solely focusing on the gendered nature of violence from a traditional feminist perspective ignores the intersectionality of multiple social and contextual issues, including race, class, sexuality, substance abuse, mental health, socioeconomic stressors and history of trauma (DeShong, 2015; Tong & Botts, 2017). Moreover, they criticise the gender-biased view that perpetrators are always men and victims are always women, which ignores situations in which women or both partners enact violence, and the lack of clarification of how "some women are so powerful while others remain so powerless" (DeShong, 2015; Tone & Botts, 2017, p.225).

Despite the criticisms of the feminist perspective in making sense of intimate partner violence, numerous studies and meta-analyses show the wide acceptance of feminist viewpoints in understanding intimate partner violence (Carrie, 2004; Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Eisikovits & Bailey, 2016; Flood, 2011; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Murnen et al., 2002; Schumacher et al., 2001; Stith et al., 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996). Consequently, since 1979, there has been a prolonged literature trend associating intimate partner violence with patriarchal beliefs.

Given the predominantly patriarchal worldview underpinning South Asian males' perspectives of masculinity and the association between collectivist, patriarchal cultures and violence against women (Haj-Yahia, 2011), it is essential to explore how men's behaviour change program facilitators personally experience their South Asian clients' attitudes towards women. Further, it is important to examine how South Asian clients make sense of an intervention based on essentially individualistic and egalitarian concepts. Most literature on this topic consists of meta-analytic, quantitative and review studies. There is limited qualitative information. Therefore, a qualitative examination, particularly in the Australian setting, was identified as a gap.

2.4 Patriarchy in Australia

Australian culture exhibits patriarchal traces, with systemic male dominance and constrained opportunities for women. The persistent under-representation of women in higher administrative, political and managerial positions demonstrates Australia's ongoing patriarchal culture (Currie, 1982; Preston & Whitehouse, 2004). The Australian Government's Workplace Gender Equality Agency (2023) has reported on the lack of female representation in higher roles, with women accounting for only 19.4% of CEOs, 32.5% of key management positions, 33% of board members and 18% of board chairs in 2020–2021 and a current gender pay gap of 22.8%. Australian women acquired the right to vote and stand as candidates in federal elections in 1903 (Hough, 2022), and Australia voted in its first and only female prime minister as recently as 2010.

Australia is currently following a new global trend of male dominance. Campbell (2014) coined the term "neoliberal neopatriarchy", which represents a movement of male dominance in response to the loss of the traditional patriarchy (p. 13). The neoliberal neopatriarchy can be understood as a blend of neoliberalism, an economic concept promoting free markets, deregulation and individualism (Becker et al., 2021; Card & Hepburn, 2022; De Lissovoy, 2013; Sarfati, 2019), and the patriarchy, indicating power and privilege held by men

(Flood, 2011; Malley-Morrison, 2004; Roose et al., 2022; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996; Thandi, 2012). Therefore, the neoliberal neopatriarchy is the complex interplay between economic policies and patriarchal systems that reinforce the gender-based power imbalance, perpetuating systemic male-dominated power structures and an institutionalised gender hierarchy. As an exporter of raw materials to help build a global neoliberal economy, Australia has become a supporter of the new form of masculinity. This emerging neoliberal neopatriarchy is destructive because it values competition over cooperation and is based on the ruthless exploitation of nature and social institutions (R. Connell, 2014).

On 9 October 2012, Australia's first female prime minister, Julia Gillard, gave a powerful speech to the House of Representatives in which she "castigat[ed] her primary political opponent, opposition leader Tony Abbott, for his sexist and misogynist statements and behaviours" (Trimble, 2016, p. 296). Her now-famous speech on misogyny and sexism revealed the rampant patriarchal culture in Australia's highest political institution. In addition, the Australian media's coverage of Gillard's speech exposed the systemic patriarchy and power imbalance in contemporary Australian society, portraying Gillard as aggressive and irrational towards the male opposition leader and "inflicting collateral damage to women, the feminist cause, and the national interest" (Trimble, 2016, p. 313). Hence, patriarchy is a feature of not only South Asian but also Australian society.

Given Australia's patriarchal and mixed collectivist and individualist orientation, I wondered whether existing interventions are culturally safe for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. Gallant et al. (2017) suggest that the "creating of safe spaces allow[s] for culturally informed methods of transferring knowledge" (p. 57). However, the inadequate inclusion of Indigenous cultural elements in family violence programs for Aboriginal men means they are unlikely to be effective or culturally safe. This led me to explore whether existing men's behaviour change programs are culturally safe for South Asia men.

2.5 Men's Behaviour Change Programs

Intimate partner violence is a worldwide problem (Department of Reproductive Health and Research, 2013; Haj-Yahia, 2011). According to Stopping Family Violence, a leading organisation in Western Australia (WA) to assist professionals working with perpetrators of family violence, the voice against intimate partner violence emerged internationally in the late 1970s (Vlais et al., 2017). Western or individualistic countries are taking the lead in preventing violence against women (Haj-Yahia, 2011). One of the approaches to prevent intimate partner violence is through violent behaviour change group interventions, which are the focal point of

this study. In the mid-1980s, these interventions were initiated in Australia (Gleeson, 2018). New South Wales (NSW) took the first step to comprehensively address domestic violence in Australia, naming it a deeply rooted national problem (Murray & Powell, 2011). This state also articulated domestic violence as a gendered issue (Murray & Powell, 2009).

Consequently, a holistic approach was designed to assist women, men and children affected by family violence. In 1998, the Family Violence Intervention Program was initiated in the Australian Capital Territory. This initiative shifted how authorities perceived domestic violence, which came to be understood as a public concern rather than a private issue of marital conflict. This shift triggered changes in policy and procedures in other states and territories in Australia. Murray and Powell (2011) report that, in 1993, a Duluth-inspired program commenced in Perth, Western Australia. The program was known as the Armadale Domestic Violence Intervention Project. The impact of the Family Violence Intervention Program was significant. In the Australian Capital Territory, from 2000 to 2006, the number of women refugees in shelter homes declined because of their involvement in the program (Murray & Powell, 2011). Consequently, men's behaviour change programs were established to work with male perpetrators to decrease their violent behaviour towards their intimate partners.

Violence perpetuated by men against their intimate partners is predominantly viewed through a feminist lens and is thus considered gender-based violence (Flood, 2011; Pence & Paymar, 1993; Roose et al., 2022; Vlais et al., 2017; White Ribbon Australia, 2021). Feminism encompasses a wide range of attitudes, concerns, behaviours and strategies focused on the power imbalances between the sexes. Feminism promotes equal rights and opportunities for women and emphasises female autonomy based on the idea that women are subordinate to men because of social constructions that can be changed (Hannam, 2014). Numerous studies support the feminist paradigm of critiquing male violence against women; therefore, most men's behaviour change programs models are grounded in a feminist outlook (Pence & Paymar, 1993).

The Duluth Model, which underpins men's behaviour change programs in Australia, also views male violence through a feminist lens (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Men's behaviour change programs are grounded on the premise that victims can only be safe when family violence offenders are held accountable and responsible for their abusive behaviours (Pence & Paymar, 1993; Vlais et al., 2017; White Ribbon Australia, 2021). Hence, the standpoint of such domestic violence interventions is that men who abuse women do so to reinforce their power and control.

The literature indicates that domestic violence interventions are derived from cognitive behavioural, profeminist, psychodynamic and psychoeducational approaches (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Saunders, 1996, 2008). It also suggests that it is difficult to assess which practices work best to bring about behavioural changes (Akoensi et al., 2013; Saunders, 2008). Based on a sample of 120 male domestic violence perpetrators, Bowen (2010) conducted a quantitative analysis of mandatory domestic violence intervention programs in the West Midlands Probation Area in the UK, finding that profeminist programs that were "based on the feminist analysis of domestic violence as a result of patriarchal structures and beliefs within society" (p. 203) were more successful.

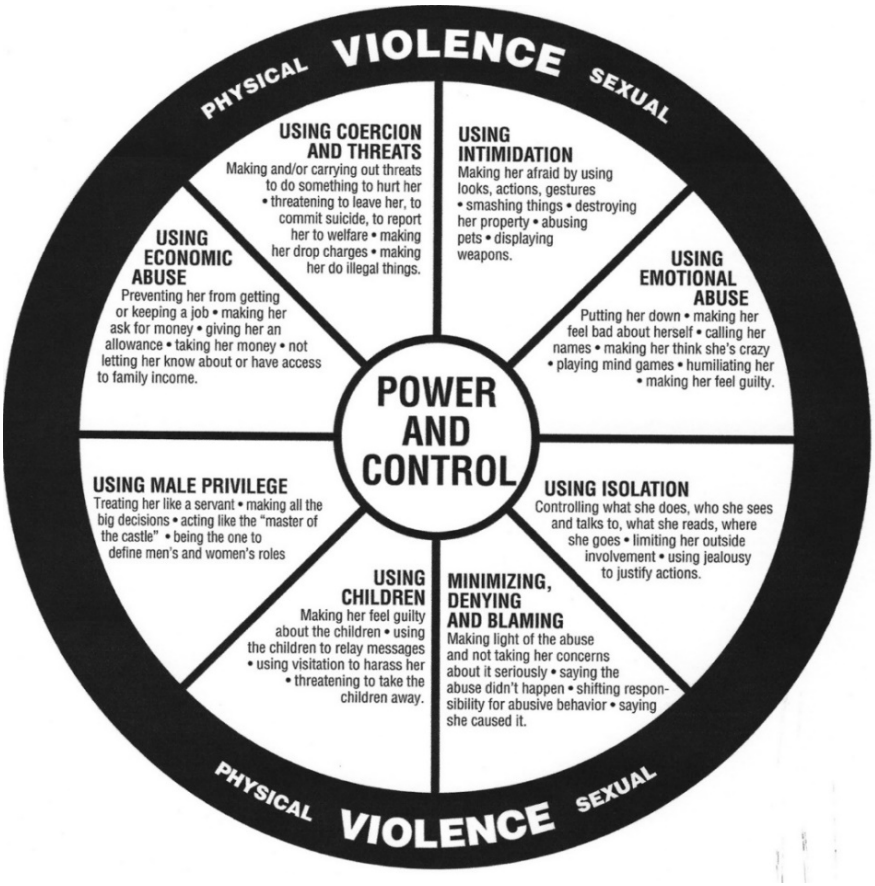
Although men's behaviour change programs in Australia differ widely, they all share the same primary goal of maintaining the victim's safety (Wong et al., 2019). Consequently, while the feminist philosophy is at the centre, men's behaviour change programs utilise many practices to determine their strategies and modalities. Some of these methods are not necessarily based on feminist theory. However, because of having feminist philosophy at the centre of interventions, most men's behaviour change program facilitators are expected to be knowledgeable about feminist ideology. Five viewpoints inform methodologies practised in Australian men's behaviour change programs: The Duluth Model (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2017), the invitational approach (Jenkins, 2009), response-based practice (Wade, 1997), the compassionate approach (Stosny, 1995) and the relatively recent Safe & Together Model (Safe & Together Institute, 2020).

2.5.1 Applied Approaches in Group Interventions

The Duluth Model is rooted in feminist theory. Women and children are vulnerable to violence because of their unequal social, economic and political status (Pence & Paymar, 1993). The governing principle of the model is that responsibility for confronting the perpetrator should be placed on the community and not on the survivor. Figure 1 shows diagrams of the Power and Control Wheel (Pence & Paymar, 1993, p. 3) and Figure 2 presents the Equality Wheel (Pence & Paymar, 1993, p. 8). These wheels are frequently used in interventions in Australia using the Duluth Model (Domestic Abuse Interventions Programs, 2017; Herman et al., 2014).

Figure 1

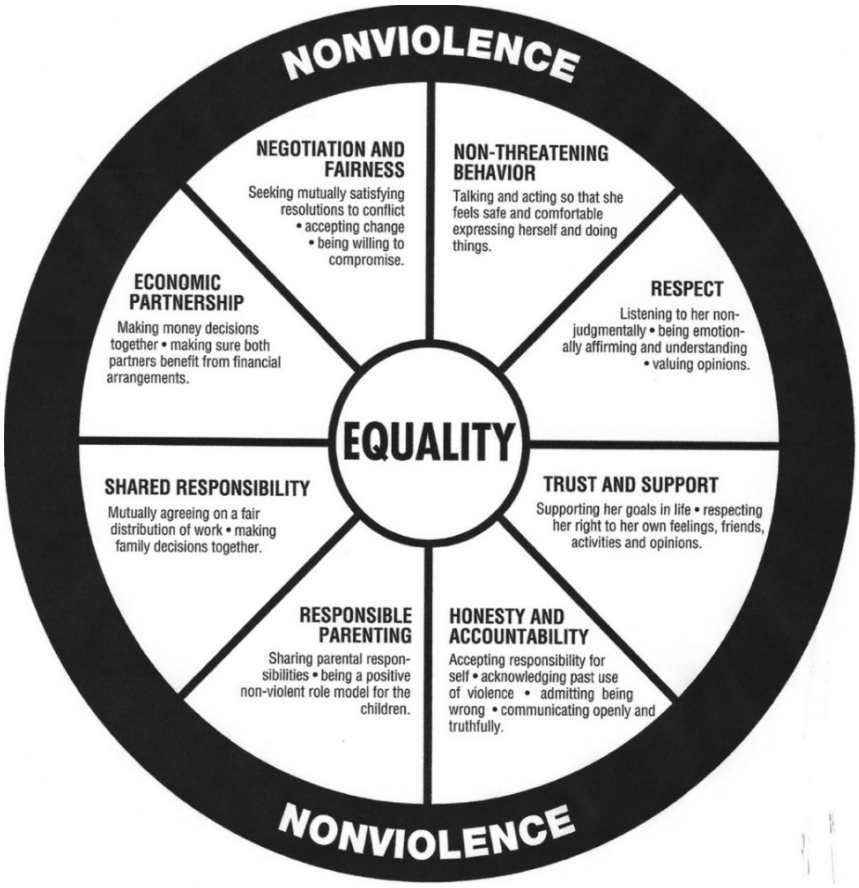
Power and control wheel of Duluth Model



Note. From *Education Groups for Men Who Batter: The Duluth Model* (p. 3), by E. Pence and M. Paymar, 1993, Springer. Copyright 1993 by Springer Publishing Company.

Figure 2

Equality wheels of Duluth Model



Note. From *Education Groups for Men Who Batter: The Duluth Model* (p. 8), by E. Pence and M. Paymar, 1993, Springer. Copyright 1993 by Springer Publishing Company.

Despite the Duluth Model is most widely applied in intimate partner violence interventions, it continues to be criticised for the lack of evidence for its effectiveness in breaking the cycle of violence, the fact that facilitators do not require qualifications and the lack of offender rehabilitation by qualified health professionals (Babcock et al., 2004; Bohall et al., 2016; Herman et al., 2014). The model is often perceived as punitive, as it was originally designed with mandatory participation in mind for individuals referred from the justice system. It views intimate partner violence exclusively from the patriarchal perspective, focusing solely on male-perpetrated violence (and ignoring mutual violence, violence perpetrated by women and violence in same-sex couples). Further, the Duluth Model has a limited scope for diverse populations (Babcock et al., 2004; Bohall et al., 2016; Herman et al., 2014).

In contrast to the Duluth Model, the invitational approach posits that men's violence towards their intimate partners is not an expression of power and control. Jenkins (2009) argues that political and cultural institutions have shaped men's approaches and suggests that

inviting offenders to choose respectful ways of being and relating may be more effective compared with other approaches. However, Jenkins's invitational approach does not adequately consider accountability and consequences for perpetrators of violence. It seems to be more aligned with a reductionist approach, which minimises the experiences of survivors, unlike the Duluth Model.

The Duluth Model is educational and incorporates techniques from cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT), while Jenkins's model is based on the narrative therapeutic approach. The response-based approach (Wade, 1997) views abusive behaviour as a deliberate and conscious choice. This approach suggests that abusive men know how to behave non-abusively, yet they sometimes talk as if they had no choice in violent incidence/s. However, evidence of commitment and responsibility for self-correction is hidden in the excuses made by a perpetrator. Wade's (1997) preferred approach to rectifying unhelpful beliefs and abusive behaviour is through unpacking what these men say to highlight the incongruencies in their behaviour rather than forcefully imposing this belief externally. However, this approach ignores the fact that some men in men's behaviour change programs will refuse to openly share information. Therefore, it is limited in terms of its approach to men who share minimal or no information.

Another intervention model is the compassionate approach (Stosny, 1995), which suggests that a lack of self-compassion leads to the abuse of self and others. Therefore, a man must learn to respect himself and to be compassionate towards him and his family. Stosny also emphasises the significance of emotional regulation. However, the compassionate approach is limited in its ability to address the power dynamics and structural issues contributing to violence. This approach should be applied cautiously because it may neglect the influences of toxic masculinity, neopatriarchy and coercive control.

Another model, the Safe and Together Model, is relatively new in Australia but well established in Canada, the US, the UK and Asia (Safe & Together Institute, 2020). However, it is gradually becoming recognised and accepted in practice in most agencies working with family violence perpetration in Australia. This approach posits that children in abusive situations can be served best when all responsible agencies work together to keep them safe with a non-offending parent (Safe & Together Institute, 2020). The model ensures children's safety by recognising the parent engaged in coercive control and keeping the children safe with the other parent. However, Mackay et al. (2019) claim that child welfare services are less likely to consider domestic violence a concern because they view it as parental or mutual conflict. Moreover, this approach falls short in addressing the complexities of domestic violence

because it fails to consider culture, substance abuse, socioeconomic factors and mental health concerns (Mackay et al., 2019).

Numerous meta-analyses, quantitative studies, and review articles discuss the efficiency of these approaches in men's behaviour change programs (Akoensi et al., 2013; Babcock et al., 2004; Bernardi & Day, 2015; Bowen, 2010; Buttell & Carney, 2006; Cameranesi, 2016). There is consensus that no intervention is better than another. Most studies suggest an intervention should be tailored to the perpetrator's characteristics, the typology of the perpetrator and the comprehensive delivery of the concepts instead of an overall philosophy of intervention (Akoensi et al., 2013; Babcock et al., 2004; Bernardi & Day, 2015; Bowen, 2010; Buttell & Carney, 2006; Cameranesi, 2016; Hamilton et al., 2013; Holtrop et al., 2017; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002; Saunders, 2008; Scott et al., 2011; Scott & Wolfe, 2000; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006). A quantitative study of 218 perpetrators of intimate partner violence of diverse cultural backgrounds in a community-based domestic violence program in the US was conducted by Saunders (1996). The author strongly suggests that intervention programs should be tailored to clients' personality traits to enhance their effectiveness, and a strong trend to support this claim is evident from contemporary research (Camarines, 2016; Saunders, 1996).

However, there is a knowledge gap on how interventions manage intersectionality. Intersectionality is the understanding that a person's identity is not shaped exclusively by one factor (Hill & Bilge, 2016). Many aspects differ and mutually influence each other to shape a person's identity. These varied aspects of identity may expose a person to overlapping experiences of discrimination, abuse and marginalisation. The factors that construct people's identities can include, but are not limited to, gender, class, culture, language, age, religion, race, sexual orientation, and physical and mental limitations (Hill & Bilge, 2016).

It is evident that most practices applied in the group interventions discussed thus far are based on philosophy and principles developed and implemented in Western societies, mostly in the US. These societies are mainly individualistic in their orientation (Haj-Yahia, 2011). However, perpetrators who have migrated from patriarchal and collectivist societies also participate in these intervention programs. Hence, the suitability of these interventions is in question. It is necessary to identify how the approach adopted could challenge a client's collectivist and patriarchal views on gender identity and power in intimate relationships.

2.5.2 Typology of Perpetrators of Violence

Numerous studies have sought to construct a typology of perpetrators of intimate partner violence (Bernardi & Day, 2015; Cameranesi, 2016; Fowler & Westen, 2011; Rode,

2010). It is widely recognised that a single approach for all perpetrators is unsuitable for an effective behaviour change program. Thus, a one-size-fits-all approach cannot succeed consistently (Bernardi & Day, 2015; James et al., 2002).

To ensure the best intervention program possible, it is necessary to understand perpetrators' behaviours and personality factors to target the underlying attitudes that may lead to violence (Akoensi et al., 2013; Saunders, 2008). In a review article from the University of Manitoba, Canada, Cameranesi (2016) identifies the personality traits of three subgroups of perpetrators: (i) Those with dysfunctional personality traits, (ii) those with borderline personality traits and (iii) those with antisocial personality traits. Dysfunctional personality traits can be understood as unhealthy and poorly adjusted adult personalities. Borderline personality traits are defined as impulsive, passive-aggressive, pathological, severely disturbed, lacking empathy, reactive, dysphoric and dependent. Antisocial personality traits are characterised by a pattern of disrespect, violation and disregard for the rights of others and society's laws (Cameranesi, 2016).

Correspondingly, in the US, Fowler and Westen (2011) conducted a survey and applied Shedler–Westen Assessment Procedure-II (SWAP-II) using Q-factor analysis for assessing personality pathology with randomly selected psychologists and psychiatrists. The selected participants were asked to describe 188 adult male patients to categorise them into subtypes. The researchers classified male perpetrators of intimate partner violence into two subtypes: (i) Psychopathic, hostile or controlling and (ii) borderline or dependent (Fowler & Westen, 2011). Similarly, Stewart and Power (2014) conducted a quantitative study with a chi-square test on secondary data of male perpetrators of domestic violence at Carleton University in Canada. The researchers classified perpetrators of intimate partner violence as antisocial or generalised aggressive types.

In Australia, a group of researchers, including a Relationships Australia practitioner and academics of the University of NSW and Macquarie University, conducted a qualitative study based on the principles of grounded theory. The researchers interviewed 24 perpetrators of domestic violence. The authors define perpetrators according to how they construct and experience violence (James et al., 2002). James et al. (2002) categorised perpetrators as tyrants and exploders based on their 'in control' and 'out of control' experiences when resorting to violence.

So, in recent years, numerous typologies of perpetrators of intimate partner violence have been identified in the literature. Evidently, most of these studies were conducted outside

the Australian context and opted for quantitative methodologies conducted by researchers acclaimed from disciplines other than counselling.

However, behaviour typologies may be overly logical and reductionist, thus they neglect to address the power relations that drive many abusive behaviours. A critical examination of intentional behaviours may help to unpack the underlying motives (e.g., coercive control) and associated assumptions (e.g., toxic masculinity, neopatriarchy, patriarchal norms and ideologies) that promote violence. Focusing only on personality and behaviour typologies will not lead to optimal client outcomes because it does not address the broader social, cultural, economic and environmental factors influencing individual behaviour. Typologies are limited in explaining how individual characteristics and behaviours are shaped in the first place. While individual factors cannot be ignored, the emphasis should be on the broad contextual beliefs leading to violence. Understanding contextual constituents is crucial to holistically understanding violence to optimise client outcomes.

A gap in the literature is the lack of a typology of cultural characteristics. In this study, I intend to fill this gap by providing recommendations to improve existing interventions and obtain better outcomes for South Asian clients. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the characteristics of South Asian clients that influence their behaviours and attitudes towards their intimate partners. Given the intersectionality of South Asian clients, this study focused on the wider contextual determinants of violence (Bennett, 2016; Hill & Bilge, 2016).

2.5.3 Engagement of Group Learning

Two main formats for intervention programs are designed to help perpetrators overcome their abusive behaviour: Group work and individual therapy. Group work is the most prevalent and widely used format (Murphy & Meis, 2008; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002). A review performed by Murphy and Meis (2008) in the Department of Psychology, University of Maryland, US, suggests that no empirical research recommends that domestic violence group interventions are better than other treatment formats, and vice versa. The authors support customised services instead of accepting commonly practised standard group models. Similarly, in the field of behavioural health care and social work, Pandya and Gingerich (2002) conducted a micro-ethnographic study using passive participant observations of group therapy sessions for male batterers of domestic violence. The study aimed to illuminate the process of change among group participants. In this qualitative study, the authors suggest that change outcomes are tentative among male domestic violence participants of a group intervention. However, they denied generalising their findings because the conclusion was based only on

one complete group program of 12 sessions. This study suggests interventions provide supplementary services to clients as needed and need to be flexible by incorporating different therapy modules (Pandya & Gingerich, 2002).

Bowen (2010) presents a different position. The author suggests that perpetrators prefer group therapy with long session duration. Well-organised groups are identified as an essential element for the attendance of the participants and successful outcomes of the program. Holtrop et al. (2017) add that the group setting facilitates changes in the abusive behaviour of the perpetrators. The authors classify group diversity as one of the beneficial and unique features of men's behaviour change programs. Similar findings are also reported by Silvergleid and Mankowski (2006) in their qualitative study conducted at the Department of Psychology of Portland State University, US, on 10 intervention group facilitators. The authors highlight three areas that support these changes: (i) Balancing support with confrontation, (ii) sharing and hearing others' stories and (iii) modelling.

However, a different view has emerged that denies the advantage of men's behaviour change programs and strongly supports individual treatment and individualised interventions (Akoensi et al., 2013; Murphy & Meis, 2008; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002; Saunders, 2008).

What works best, an individual or group format, to bring about the desired changes in perpetrators' behaviour is still contentious. Most studies have been conducted by psychologists and social workers in the US. This indicates a demographic gap in knowledge of the Australian context and a lack of enquiry by other disciplines, such as counselling. Simultaneously, limited information is identified in the literature suggesting a suitable format for working with a perpetrator from a predominantly collectivist and patriarchal culture such as South Asia. Another vital question also remains unanswered: Whether a group comprised exclusively of South Asian, or a diverse cultural group composition would be effective in bringing about change in the behaviour of South Asian perpetrators of intimate partner violence.

2.5.4 Facilitator Attributes

Facilitator attributes are vital in developing a positive alliance with the perpetrator and eventually changing behaviour. Bowen (2010) establishes a positive association between a supportive leadership style and psychological change in offenders of intimate partner violence programs in the UK. The majority (85%) of the participants were White British perpetrators from a predominantly individualistic society. The author characterises the facilitator's supportive style as empathetic, direct, and encouraging (Bowen, 2010). The author also indicates that group leader attributes such as the ability to manage the group, a supportive

attitude, innovativeness, trustworthiness and openness are vital to developing feelings of belonging and acceptance. These qualities also build confidence and hope within participants to foster change (Bowen, 2010).

An interpretative phenomenological analysis of the Men Living Free from Violence program at Te Manawa Services for Māori clients in Aotearoa New Zealand found that a non-judgemental environment with male and female facilitators increased clients' active involvement and learning in the program (Denne et al., 2013). The group facilitators' positive team approach based on equality was recognised as vital for behaviour change among the perpetrators. Denne et al. (2013) uncovered that the perpetrator participants in their study reported that the facilitator's high level of professionalism, knowledge, expertise, consideration, favourable responses and focused approach helped them to gain confidence in the facilitator. Co-gendered facilitation also benefited the participants because they found it easy to express their feelings and thoughts to the female facilitator (Denne et al., 2013).

Similarly, Holtrop et al. (2017) studied participants who self-identified as non-Hispanic White, African American and biracial in their qualitative research. This study highlights facilitator qualities such as listening, problem-solving, level of understanding and empathy as essential for promoting engagement, retention and change among program participants.

However, most studies have focused on the preferred/favourable/supportive attributes of facilitators of group interventions with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. A critical shortcoming is the lack of focus on the conscious or unconscious influences of neopatriarchy, White privilege, White fragility, toxic masculinity, racism and systemic discrimination on Caucasian facilitators' engagement with culturally and linguistically diverse clients (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Campbell, 2014; DiAngelo & Dyson, 2018; Flood, 2022).

Bonilla-Silva's (2017) book *Racism Without Racists* discusses racism that is hidden, subtle and difficult to recognise. The author suggests that people often claim to be non-racist while knowingly or unknowingly exhibiting racist behaviours. This concept of "racism without racists" is validated by many prevailing practices. For example, structural and systemic factors such as onerous job applications can promote racial discrimination by favouring people from majority groups or whose first language is English. White supremacy is a socially constructed belief system supported by social and political ideologies that maintain the dominance of White people and their culture over others (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Pulido, 2015).

Another potentially disruptive facilitator characteristic that may affect the participation of culturally and linguistically diverse clients is White fragility, which refers to the defensiveness employed by White people when discussing the realities of racial discrimination

(DiAngelo & Dyson, 2018). Engaging in conversations about racial inequality and injustice can trigger a range of feelings and behaviours in White people, from explicit reactions such as anger to more subtle responses such as feelings of guilt or discomfort.

Researchers and practitioners continue to hold perpetrators accountable for their lack of improvement. The sole accountability on the perpetuator for changing the behaviour overlooks the influence of both systemic oppression and discrimination. Additionally, it also ignores facilitator characteristics and biases affecting the participation of culturally and linguistically diverse clients in group interventions. Moreover, studies have mostly been conducted outside of Australia. The study presented in this thesis addresses these gaps in the literature.

2.5.5 Areas of Change

While the overall effectiveness of men's behaviour change programs is still contentious, the literature indicates some evidence of positive outcomes (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Hamilton et al., 2013; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002; Saunders, 2008; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006). Behaviour change occurs through a reciprocal process between the group and the participant. The group environment is crucial for behaviour change, with group diversity primarily found beneficial (Holtrop et al., 2017). One of the parameters to assess a program's success is the degree to which the abuser takes responsibility and accountability for his abusive behaviour and the harm inflicted on his intimate partner and children (Holtrop et al., 2017).

A qualitative study of a domestic violence intervention for White men in Portland, Oregon, indicated that facilitators are influential in balancing support and confrontation to foster perpetrator change (Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006). The selected program applied numerous compelling approaches to batterer intervention, including the Duluth Model. Behaviour change was measured according to the goals of the program: Taking responsibility, understanding the effects of abuse, gaining anger management skills, changing attitudes about power and control in relationships and healing from violence and abuse. However, the purposeful sampling of men who were most likely to reach the goals may have introduced bias. Moreover, the inclusion of Caucasian participants only means that the findings are not generalisable to culturally and linguistically diverse men.

Studies of family violence interventions in North America have also shown improvements in the relational skills of clients. The Department of Psychology at the University of New York conducted a quantitative study to elicit the effect of therapeutic alliance on group intervention outcomes in 70 husband-to-wife violent couples (Brown &

O'Leary, 2000). The researchers reported decreased spousal psychological and physical aggression and improved marital satisfaction post-treatment because of the therapeutic alliance between husband-to-wife violent couples and their group therapist. Scott and Wolfe (2000) conducted longitudinal qualitative research on a feminist-oriented group intervention in Canada called Changing Ways. The authors identified four variables responsible for changing abusive behaviour: Increased responsibility for past abusive behaviour, empathy for their partners' victimisation, reduced dependency on their partners and improved communication skills (Scott & Wolfe, 2000). Scott et al. (2011) conducted a quantitative study on motivation-enhancing treatments for highly resistant perpetrator participants of Changing Ways in Canada. They found that such treatments improved perpetrators' program attendance and reduced recidivism.

In the Australasian context, studies have also reported favourable outcomes from men's behaviour change programs. A report on a men's program in Aotearoa New Zealand presented evidence of decreased levels of anger and violence in Māori clients following participation in a group program (Denne et al., 2013). An Australian review of 13 articles and 10 group interventions found positive outcomes for program content, implementation and effects on participants and families. Positive changes included better communication and parenting skills, improved interpersonal relationships and behavioural control, modified belief systems and power and control strategies, increased responsibility for behaviour, higher self-awareness and empathy and decreased aggression and abuse (O'Connor et al., 2021). However, the study fell short in indicating how its standardised measures would apply to Indigenous and culturally and linguistically diverse clients. Therefore, the conclusions are limited because they overlook an in-depth understanding of culturally diverse populations of men.

Blatch et al. (2016) conducted a quasi-experimental and pseudo-prospective study to examine recidivism rates in 953 men mandated to participate in a domestic violence program by Corrective Services NSW, finding a decrease in violence reconvictions following the program. However, the authors did not specifically examine the effect of domestic violence programs on culturally and linguistically diverse clients.

Gray et al. (2014) used a qualitative research design to explore clients' motivations for change. The authors conducted in-depth semi-structured telephone interviews with both men who had participated in a domestic violence program and their current or former partners to explore the extent of behavioural change in the men. They found that a primary motivation for men to participate in a group intervention was the desire to reunite with their partners. However, the authors' dual position as both researchers and program facilitators raises ethical issues in maintaining professional boundaries to avoid bias. Consequently, it might have

influenced the study outcomes. The study also lacked a focus on culturally and linguistically diverse clients.

Building on their previous study, Gray et al. (2015) evaluated a Relationships Australia (NSW) domestic violence program called Taking Responsibility from the perspectives of 21 current or previous partners of men's behaviour change program clients. Six of these 21 participants attended a domestic violence survivor group. Some participants were still hopeful that their partners would change their behaviour, while others lacked faith in their partner's ability to change. However, despite the inclusion of an Indigenous woman in the sample, the authors did not specifically identify any cultural perspectives on the behavioural change of men.

While some studies have been conducted in the Australian context, most of these were undertaken by facilitators of specific group interventions, offering limited local knowledge and lacking applicability to culturally and linguistically diverse clients such as South Asians. Most studies have been conducted outside of Australia and mainly relate to social work or psychology. The international literature indicates that men's behaviour change programs result in decreased levels of anger and violence, controlling and intimidating behaviours, psychological and physical aggression and dependency on partners, improvements in marital satisfaction, communication skills, empathy for the suffering of partners and an egalitarian attitude towards partners, and a higher rate of program attendance and reduced recidivism. However, the literature is limited in its examination of visible changes in culturally and linguistically diverse clients following men's behaviour change program engagement. Additionally, Australian studies are essential to analyse the effects of Australian men's behaviour change programs on South Asian clients. Therefore, a further investigation requires how collectivist and patriarchy-oriented participants perceive the usefulness of men's behaviour change programs based on an egalitarian and individualistic concept. Are Australian men's behaviour change programs making any difference in clients' attitudes and behaviour with collectivist and patriarchal orientations from South Asia? It appears that there is no literature on evident changes and improvements yet.

2.5.6 Responsibility and Accountability

The literature widely acknowledges that perpetrators of intimate partner violence should be held responsible for their abusive behaviour and their understanding of masculinity that might be responsible for power imbalances in their intimate relationships (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2017; Jenkins, 2009). Literature often argues that attention should be

paid to their justifications for abusive behaviour (e.g. the intention was not to hurt or harm; instead, it was a reasonable response to a provocative situation). These justifications can hinder a man's ability to take responsibility for abusive actions and distort his understanding of respectful relationships. Intervention programs should be non-judgemental and supportive to enable perpetrators to accept accountability for the harm they have done to their families by engaging them to explore the effect of their abusive behaviour on children and other family members (Denne et al., 2013).

Most of the literature indicates that perpetrators fail to take responsibility for their actions and are inclined to justify via minimisation and denial of their right to anger in response to aggravation (Bowen, 2010; Buttell & Carney, 2006). An evaluation of perpetrator intervention programs, through a statistical analysis of secondary data collected by the Domestic Abuse Centre in South Carolina, identified that the first step towards effecting change should be the participants' realisation and acceptance of their abusive behaviour by revisiting beliefs and supporting insight into their defence mechanisms (Buttell & Carney, 2006). The participants of this study were African American and Caucasian men. This not-for-profit agency has been providing counselling services to court-mandated clients of intimate partner violence for four decades. Likewise, Hamilton et al. (2013) surveyed 54 programs in 19 European countries. This survey suggests that program effectiveness should be measured by a perpetrator's sense of accountability and acceptance of the responsibility for their harmful behaviour and their felt obligation to change their behaviour.

Even though numerous studies advocate accountability and responsibility as one of the factors driving behavioural change (Denne et al., 2013; Hamilton et al., 2013; Holtrop et al., 2017; Saunders, 2008; Scott et al., 2011; Scott & Wolfe, 2000), studies report that men still frequently refuse to take responsibility for their abusive actions (Bowen, 2010; Buttell & Carney, 2006).

The effectiveness of intervention programs is often measured by the degree to which offenders take responsibility and feel accountable for their harmful behaviours (Holtrop et al., 2017; Saunders, 2008; Scott et al., 2011; Scott & Wolfe, 2000). However, this assessment is problematic without a critical examination of the meaning of accountability and responsibility, which is a downfall of many studies on men's behaviour change programs. According to Pallatino et al. (2019),

> *in the context of IPV [intimate partner violence], accountability is often framed as men being held responsible as perpetrators for abusing female victims by being sentenced to complete a BIP [batterers intervention program], taking responsibility for their actions rather than blaming the victims or others, and discontinuing their violent behaviors.* (p 632)

Therefore, the meaning of accountability and responsibility is often restricted to a behavioural rather than a contextual context. Similarly, O'Connor et al. (2021) suggest that observing men's behaviours and challenging their beliefs is an attempt to hold individual men responsible for their coercive tactics of manipulation, power and control.

Neoliberalism and libertarianism both view accountability and responsibility as the sole responsibility of individuals (Card & Hepburn, 2022; De Lissovoy, 2013; Sarfati, 2019). However, these ideologies have subtle differences. Libertarianism is a political philosophy that emphasises individual freedom of thought, expression, religion, rights, choices and ownership with minimal state involvement. In contrast, neoliberalism is an economic concept based on minimal government regulations to ensure fair competition and holds individuals responsible for their own success or failure (Card & Hepburn, 2022; De Lissovoy, 2013; Sarfati, 2019). These ideologies strongly emphasise individual freedoms with limited government interventions in both economic and social domains.

Neoliberalists strongly emphasise individual responsibility, encouraging individuals to cultivate their own self-contentment, self-actualisation and self-growth (Becker et al., 2021). They contend that individuals should not rely on social welfare programs and advocate for limited interference from these programs. Neoliberalism is aimed at denationalisation and finding economic solutions to social concerns, and it places accountability and responsibility on the individual. Despite the assumption that neoliberalism will benefit people in terms of promoting individual freedoms, self-actualisation and wellbeing, it has been found to create a sense of detachment and isolation by promoting competition between people (Becker et al., 2021; Card & Hepburn, 2022). Therefore, a critical understanding of accountability and responsibility as a prevailing cultural ideology rather than a behavioural expectation is important for understanding men's behaviour change.

While holding perpetrators accountable for their behaviour is vital, it is critical to also examine the complex interactions between culture, ideology and the judicial, social and education systems and their influence on men's behaviour (Pallatino et al., 2019). Moreover, holding men solely accountable for their behaviour creates harmful stereotypes, reinforcing the perception that violence is an inherent characteristic of masculinity. However, interventions based solely on egalitarian theories may trigger a lack of accountability and responsibility in clients, specifically those with a patriarchal orientation.

My literature search has revealed a lack of research in Australia on how facilitators can motivate predominantly collectivist and patriarchy-oriented perpetrators, such as South Asian clients, to participate actively in men's behaviour change programs, overcome resistance and

accept responsibility for the consequences of their behaviour. Further, it is important to understand how facilitators evaluate South Asian perpetrators' responsibility and accountability.

2.5.7 Focus on Culturally Competent Interventions

The existing literature has established the effectiveness of perpetrator intervention programs with diverse groups of participants. However, some researchers have highlighted the significance of culturally focused interventions (Saunders, 2008; Williams & Becker, 1994). A review study at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor was conducted to describe group interventions and their effectiveness in the US (Saunders, 2008). Saunders (2008) offers information on methods for enhancing the participants' motivation for treatment and culturally competent practices. The article reports that men with high cultural identification were more likely to complete their intervention if they attended culturally focused groups.

In a national survey in the US, Williams and Becker (1994) identified colour-blind approaches (i.e. treating people similarly regardless of race, colour, or cultural differences is less effective for culturally identified people). The survey reveals that interventions are not as effective for minorities as for participants from mainstream White communities. The practices driven by colour blindness could be unsupportive because of the frequent failure to acknowledge, respect, and even value historical and existing experiences of a specific cultural group that may adversely affect their attitude and behaviour. Further, Williams and Becker (1994) suggest that making a program culturally appropriate requires four characteristics: (i) Networking with the minority community, (ii) locating outside consultants with expertise in working with minority clients, (iii) obtaining information on service delivery and programming for minority clients and (iv) having at least one bilingual counsellor. However, it was acknowledged that the studied programs made little or no effort towards cultural appropriateness for minority cultural groups.

Likewise, multiple studies conducted in the US support a culturally sensitive approach to ensure better outcomes for diverse cultural groups (Gillum, 2008; Gondolf, 2005; Welland & Ribner, 2010). In contrast, other studies of the US oppose this notion (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Buttell & Pike, 2003). For example, Buttell and Carney (2006) reported no significant difference between the change in African American and Caucasian participants following an MCBP. Hence, to increase the effectiveness of such programs, the authors propose matching the treatment style with the perpetrator's subtype rather than basing the treatment style on cultural considerations. However, despite the cultural and ethnic differences between the

Caucasian and African American participants, Buttell and Carney failed to identify that both groups were American-born and spoke English as a first language, which may have been the reason for the lack of differences between groups. Most of the research findings support the use of culturally sensitive approaches in men's behaviour change programs.

I observed that many terms are used interchangeably in cross-cultural counselling and psychotherapy, including cultural competence, culturally focused, cultural expertise, cultural sensitivity, cross-cultural effectiveness, cultural humility, cultural agility, cultural responsiveness, culturally grounded and cultural awareness (Ridley et al., 1994; Whaley, 2008). Therefore, it is important to define these terms for clarity.

Cultural competency refers to a therapist's ability to manage cultural issues when working with cross-cultural clients. Components of cultural competency include cultural awareness or responsiveness, cultural knowledge and cultural skills. Cultural awareness or responsiveness refers to an individual's awareness of their own assumptions, values, biases and prejudices. Cultural knowledge is being informed about sociopolitical systems, conventional features of counselling and psychotherapy and institutional barriers for culturally and linguistically diverse groups. Cultural skills include appropriate verbal and nonverbal communication, accurate predictions of the effectiveness and limitations of the helping style and supporting diverse clients with an active systematic focus (Ridley et al., 2001; Ridley et al., 1994; Sue & Sue, 2016). Therefore, cultural competency refers to the knowledge, awareness and skills needed to work with diverse clients.

Cultural expertise and cross-cultural effectiveness are similar to cultural competency. A shortcoming of cultural competency lies in its assumption that an individual can achieve competency or expertise in managing cross-cultural issues. It is based on the notion that absolute knowledge about a culture exists and can be acquired for one to become an expert on culture, which may lead to stereotyping (C. Barker & Willis, 2012; Guarnaccia & Rodriguez, 1996). Given that culture is complex and multifaceted, no one is capable of perfectly managing cultural concerns. Moreover, cultural competency implies a definite endpoint of expertise or competence rather than an ongoing learning process that requires continuous self-awareness and reflection.

Cultural humility is "the ability to maintain an interpersonal stance that is other-oriented (or open to the other) in relation to aspects of cultural identity that are most important to the client" (Hook et al., 2013, p. 354). This offers an alternative view to the conventional concept of cultural competency. In other words, cultural humility is a way of being with culturally diverse people (Owen et al., 2014; Sue & Sue, 2016). According to Sue and Sue

(2016), cultural competency is approach-oriented (a way of doing), while cultural humility is appearance-oriented (a way of being).

Cultural agility has similarities to cultural humility and cultural competence. It is defined as the prompt response to a novel cultural situation based on one's best knowledge in a given context. Cultural agility embraces three attributes: Adaptation, minimisation and integration. Both cultural agility and cultural humility imply openness, continuous learning, self-reflection, adaptability and respect for others (Caligiuri, 2023; Caligiuri & Tarique, 2016; Hook et al., 2013). However, cultural humility emphasises the identification of power dynamics and challenging one's privilege and cultural dominance, while cultural agility suggests adapting rapidly to work effectively in diverse cultural situations without questioning power imbalances (Caligiuri, 2023; Caligiuri & Tarique, 2016; Hook et al., 2013). Given its emphasis on the ability to rapidly adapt to understand cultural diversity, cultural agility can fail to embrace cultural sensitivity, which is universally included in cross-cultural work.

Cultural sensitivity is based on having an awareness and understanding of other cultures without labelling them as right or wrong or good or bad. Drawing on 63 studies, Foronda (2008) analysed the concept of cultural sensitivity, finding that to accomplish the best outcomes (effective communication, effective intervention and satisfaction), cultural sensitivity must comprise the antecedents of diversity, awareness and encounters and the attributes of knowledge, consideration, understanding, respect and tailoring. This definition implies that cultural sensitivity requires professionals to have sufficient awareness, knowledge and skills, similar to cultural competence. Therefore, the most frequently used terminologies—cultural competence, cultural expertise, cultural sensitivity, cross-cultural effectiveness, cultural humility, cultural agility, cultural responsiveness and cultural awareness—are interconnected. All imply the need for attributes that enable professionals to work effectively with clients from diverse cultures.

Three terms—culturally focused, culturally grounded and cultural safety—are most frequently used in relation to interventions or services. "Culturally grounded" and "culturally focused" are interchangeable and refer to an intervention strategy being designed for a specific cultural group for effective outcomes. Focusing on a specific context is fundamental to culturally focused or grounded interventions and services. Unlike the one-size-fits-all approach, a culturally focused or grounded approach is based on the understanding of a unique culture (Castro et al., 2010; Castro et al., 2004; Okamoto et al., 2014).

Similarly, the concept of cultural safety is applied to interventions and service settings and refers to creating a safe place in which everyone remains open-minded to the unique

cultural identities and attitudes of different people. It acknowledges power dynamics and historical systemic factors. According to Richardson and MacGibbon (2010), cultural safety means that "care delivery [is] defined as 'safe' by the person receiving the care. The term 'cultural safety' resonates with the wider discourse" (p. 54). Hence, the cultural safety of a service or intervention is determined by its users. The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Workers Association (2016) has developed a cultural safety framework comprising multiple aspects, including self-reliance, social and restorative justice, fairness, consulted collaboration, clarity, reciprocity, answerability, sustainability, political bipartisanship and cultural contextuality. Therefore, cultural safety is a balanced concept and appears to be the most suitable term in the context of this study.

Therefore, it is evident that most used terminologies are considered interchangeable regardless of subtle differences. Another observation is that most studies have been conducted in the US, with a different demography than Australia. A lack of consensus surfaced on whether culturally focused groups or groups with diverse cultural representations are more influential for perpetrators from dissimilar backgrounds.

The presented literature also suggests a lack of knowledge regarding existing cultural approaches in Australian men's behaviour change programs. It is necessary to identify existing cultural practices and what works best to support clients from predominantly collectivist and patriarchal societies such as South Asia to actively participate in men's behaviour change programs. Therefore, to identify the cultural components of existing men's behaviour change programs, I adopt the multicultural orientation framework, which focuses on cultural humility, cultural opportunities, cultural comfort, the social microcosm, the acceptance of mistakes and the recognition of systemic privilege and oppression when working with culturally and linguistically diverse people in group interventions (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

2.5.8 Legal Versus Social Participation

The effects of legally versus socially mandated participation in men's behaviour change programs on client outcomes are debated. Legally mandated participation in a specific intervention or therapeutic service is the result of a judicial sentence arising from an individual's proven involvement in an illegal activity. In contrast, individuals who seek therapeutic services or interventions because of social pressures and expectations, including from their family members, are socially mandated, which entails a level of voluntary acceptance of the need to seek help (Feder & Wilson, 2005; Hamel & Nicholls, 2006; Richards

et al., 2022). Many studies suggest that the motivation to attend a program (mandatory or voluntary) significantly affects a client's perceptions of and commitment to the service. Compared with voluntary clients, mandated clients tend to be more resistant to interventions (Carbajosa et al., 2017; Snyder & Anderson, 2009). However, clients who are legally mandated to attend services have significant variations in outcomes, with some being resistant, hostile and reluctant to contribute and others fully embracing the program. However, extended participation increases the treatment responsiveness of mandated clients (Carbajosa et al., 2017).

A recent meta-analysis of court-mandated interventions for individuals convicted of domestic violence in the US found that the benefits or harms of these interventions were unclear (Wilson & Olaghere, 2021). However, they conclude that exclusively profeminist interventions may not be effective and suggest that new programs or approaches may be necessary to solve intimate partner violence. Many other studies support the development of alternative approaches tailored to the specific needs of particular subgroups according to mental health disorders, race, addictions, motivations and antisocial or generally violent traits (Babcock et al., 2004; Bohall et al., 2016; Carbajosa et al., 2017). A similar meta-analysis of 17 studies published between 1986 and 2016 on batterer interventions found that intimate partner violence perpetrators who completed their intervention had a reduced reoffending rate. However, the study did not examine whether the effectiveness of interventions can vary based on perpetrator characteristics or the type of intimate partner violence. Further, it did not specify whether the change occurred as a result of individual factors or the intervention (Cheng et al., 2021). Therefore, the effect of legal versus social mandates on client outcomes remains contentious. However, there is a gap in the literature regarding the main reason for South Asian men's participation in men's behaviour change programs and the effect of this on their commitment to change.

2.6 Help-Seeking Behaviour

Seeking help for challenging life issues such as mental health issues, relationship difficulties, or problematic behaviours is a well-researched topic. Numerous studies on the help-seeking behaviours of individuals show the influence of culture, gender and society on such behaviours (G. Barker, 2007; Campbell & Long, 2014; Chan & Hayashi, 2010; Hohenshil et al., 2013; Laungani, 1997; Nam et al., 2010; Price & McNeill, 1992; Twohey, 2004). Counselling and psychotherapy are widely considered individualistic Western concepts (E. D. Cohen & Zinaich, 2013; Ingle, 2021). According to E. D. Cohen and Zinaich (2013),

> *the main value of philosophical counseling lies in its ability to enhance the personal autonomy of those persons who engage in it as clients (especially since personal autonomy is valued so highly in the Western societies in which philosophical counseling is becoming prevalent).* (p. 75)

Therefore, the theoretical orientation of counselling and psychotherapy may also be a barrier to seeking help by clients with an Eastern collectivist orientation.

A discussion paper written on the help-seeking behaviour of adolescents for WHO by G. Barker (2007) presents several relevant factors in this area: "personal motivation, perception of need, self-agency, internalized gender norms, and perceptions of social supports as positive, among others—influence the help-seeking behaviour of adolescents" (p. 9). A phenomenological qualitative study conducted in Australia on the counselling experiences of Indian clients also suggests that, despite urgent needs, the decision to seek help is often difficult for many (Mathisen & Ledingham, 2018). Three authors from the Department of General Practice, Monash University, Australia, conducted systematic review analyses of 15 studies. Most of these selected studies focused on Latino men who migrated to the US (Antoniades et al., 2014). Antoniades et al. (2014) report stigma as one of the determinants of poor help-seeking behaviour, a finding supported by Mathisen and Ledingham (2018). As Mathisen and Ledingham report, "stigma [is] an obstacle to Indian clients seeking counselling" (p. 37). G. Barker (2007) suggests that masculine role expectations play a role in avoiding seeking help.

From the traditional perspective of masculinity, problems are solved through self-reliance, emotional strength and independence. Men who conform to traditional societal expectations of masculinity may resist seeking help to prove their strength and competence or to comply with the neopatriarchy (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Campbell, 2014). I believe that men who hold patriarchal attitudes may resist seeking help from women, who account for approximately 63% of allied health professionals in 121 countries, including Australia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2013; International Labour Organisation, 2020).

Many other aspects of interventions play a role in the lack of help-seeking behaviours of men. For example, men's groups often focus on receiving and offering help. If men view their situation as unique or uncommon and feel incapable of helping others, they are less likely to seek help, regardless of their cultural orientation (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Andronico, 1996).

In contrast, some studies suggest cultural beliefs are significant factors in low help-seeking behaviour (Campbell & Long, 2014). Many other influences have been identified as barriers to help-seeking behaviour: Gender orientation, religious belief, socioeconomic status,

and acculturation (Benova et al., 2014; Chan & Hayashi, 2010; Mayers et al., 2007; Nguyen, 2011). The literature suggests that counselling is often not considered by Indian migrants because cultural constructions, such as a sense of pride, prestige, and privacy, prevent them from seeking services (Mathisen & Ledingham, 2018; Panganamala & Plummer, 1998).

I recognised that numerous worldwide studies have examined the help-seeking behaviours of marginal cultural communities. However, a knowledge gap has emerged regarding research on the voluntary help-seeking behaviours of South Asian men in men's behaviour change programs in Australia.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter identified that most reviewed studies regarding men's behaviour change programs are quantitative, survey-based, meta-analytical and experimental in design. Few qualitative studies exist on domestic violence interventions, and there is a lack of research in this field based on grounded theory and interpretative phenomenological analysis. There is also limited literature addressing the needs of culturally "non-mainstream" (i.e. non-Western) perpetrators of intimate partner violence. In particular, there is a lack of information on how to work with perpetrators from predominantly collectivist and patriarchal backgrounds according to the typical characteristics of their culture. It is also evident that studies were conducted primarily in the US and were generally from disciplines other than counselling. However, an interpretative phenomenological analysis by Denne et al. (2013) was suitable to use as a guideline for my study, given its similarity in terms of methodology and cultural perspective.

Given that Australia is a multicultural nation, gaining more information about perpetrators from collectivist and patriarchal cultures is significant to minimise violence against women. However, the literature review revealed significant gaps in the knowledge on how men's behaviour change program facilitators personally experience the attitudes of their South Asian clients towards women. Therefore, Research Question 1 (How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?) was designed to fill this gap. Research Question 2 (What are the facilitators' insights into South Asian clients' explanations about their alleged abusive behaviour?) was designed to bridge the gap on how facilitators can help their South Asian clients overcome resistance and accept responsibility. Further, I found a lack of evidence on the facilitator characteristics that support change in South Asian clients, leading to Research Question 3 (How do the facilitators appraise their approaches when working with South Asian clients?). Further reading identified a gap in the knowledge of how existing men's behaviour change programs in Australia assist culturally and

linguistically diverse clients. Given that the collectivist and patriarchal characteristics of South Asians do not align with the individualistic and feminist orientations of existing men's behaviour change programs, it is important to examine the cultural components in existing men's behaviour change programs. Therefore, Research Question 4 (What are the facilitators' understandings of the cultural constituents of existing programs to facilitate men's behavioural change among South Asian clients?) was designed to fill this gap in the knowledge. Many studies reveal South Asian culture as predominantly collectivist and patriarchal (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Gorringe, 2018; Gupta, 2016; Haj-Yahia, 2011; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008; Weightman, 2011). Nevertheless, to avoid making judgements based on the literature review, it was important to understand how South Asian clients of MCBPs view their cultural orientation, which also appeared as a significant gap in the literature, leading to Research Question 5 (What insights does the South Asian client have into his cultural orientation?). Further, there is limited knowledge of clients' perspectives and experiences of men's behaviour change programs, especially from culturally and linguistically diverse clients such as those from South Asia, leading to Research Question 6 (How does the South Asian client value the intervention in which he participated?). Additionally, I wondered whether facilitators of Australian men's behaviour change programs influence the attitudes and behaviours of clients with collectivist and patriarchal orientations such as those from South Asia. Therefore, I constructed Research Question 7 (How does the South Asian client judge facilitators' influencing qualities?). Given that these research questions are primarily investigative, research based on interpretative phenomenological analysis and a social constructionist epistemological approach will help to fill the identified gaps.

Chapter 3 (Research Framework and Methods) will explain the details of my adapted methodology to achieve the overall objective of this research.

Chapter 3: Research Framework and Methods

This chapter presents the framework adopted in the study. The chapter commences by outlining the research questions and justifying an interpretative phenomenological analysis. It then clarifies the researcher's epistemological position and theoretical perspective, followed by further explanation of interpretative phenomenological analysis in relation to the social constructionist paradigm, sampling, data collection and data analysis methods. The chapter also contains a reflexivity statement and chapter summary.

3.1 Overarching Aim of the Study

The overarching aim was to address the gap in qualitative research with interpretative phenomenological analysis with social constructionism with its main principles, symbolic interactionism, and critical and contextual constructionism, to support South Asian men in a men's behaviour change program to deliver guidelines for improving existing interventions in Western Australia. Therefore, the multiple research questions were prepared to investigate the lived experience of the facilitators: 1) How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?, 2) What are the facilitators' insights of South Asian clients' explanations about their alleged abusive behaviour?, 3) How do the facilitators appraise their approaches when working with South Asian clients?, and 4) What are the facilitators' understandings of the cultural constituents of existing programs to facilitate men's behavioural change among South Asian clients?

The three research questions were constructed for the South Asian research participant: 1) What insights does the South Asian client have into his cultural orientation? 2) How does the South Asian client value the intervention in which he participated? and 3) How does the South Asian client judge facilitators' influencing qualities?

It is expected that the knowledge gained by participants' sense-making of men's behaviour change programs in relation to South Asian clients would contribute to improvements in the existing interventions and fill the gap in the knowledge. Considering the overarching aim and research questions, the selected qualitative research approach was considered the best to investigate this study. However, describing the research design's details is crucial for better insight into the suitability of the adopted approaches, paradigm and methodology.

3.2 Employing Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

A qualitative approach is best when a research question is both under-researched and requires an in-depth textual-focused analysis of subjective experiences (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Creswell, 2007; Morrow, 2007). Qualitative research allows the researcher to capture the complexity and richness of human experiences, including feelings, opinions and beliefs.

The significant features of the qualitative approach are subjectivity and meaning-making, in-depth exploration, unique data collection methods, the process of data analysis, inductive reasoning, contextual and critical understanding and reflexivity, which make it the most suited approach to explore this study (C. Anderson, 2010; L. Cohen & Manion, 1994; Creswell, 2007; Dawson, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Minichiello & Kottler, 2010).

I used a social constructionist interpretative phenomenological analysis to explore human subjective experiences of a phenomenon (Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2009), which was facilitators' experiences of South Asian clients in men's behaviour change programs. Interpretative phenomenological analysis corresponds with the qualitative approach because it focuses on studying subjective experiences in detail, supporting this study's objective. Therefore, this approach not only allowed me to perform a close interpretation of participant experience but also enabled me to develop a more critical analysis of those interpreted experiences (Burr, 2015).

Interpretative phenomenological analysis also privileges individuals' lived experiences, opinions and beliefs (Creswell, 2007; Lapan et al., 2011). It is a strategy used to study how individuals make sense of their everyday experiences and communicate them through language (Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). Interpretative phenomenological analysis comprises three elements: Phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography—which were used to strengthen the research design, each being applied as a theoretical base for this study (Oliver, 2012; Smith et al., 2009).

3.2.1 Phenomenology

Edmund Husserl founded phenomenology at the beginning of the twentieth century (Smith, 2008). It was anticipated that scientists would impose their views to support preconceived explanations. Consequently, the phenomenological method emerged to place aside preconceived ideas to describe how conscious experience indeed appears to individuals (Gallagher, 2012; King & Horrocks, 2010; Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). This requires "bracketing" the researcher's assumptions. Bracketing is a process that minimises the effect of one's taken-for-granted orientation and judgements about a topic's essence (Tufford &

Newman, 2012). Bracketing of preoccupied assumptions allows a phenomenon to be experienced as itself (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, the core of phenomenology is objectively studying an experience that is purely perceived and interpreted or as uniquely lived by individuals.

Nevertheless, there are some criticisms of phenomenology. Positivist researchers may argue that the emphasis of phenomenology on an individual's subjective interpretations of their experiences limits the ability to generalise the findings to a broader population. Positivist researchers test their hypotheses by analysing objective and well-defined data with the aim of generalising the findings (Walliman, 2021). However, this shortcoming is not relevant to this study, which takes a qualitative approach and does not aim to generalise the findings. Further, phenomenology requires researchers to analyse multiple interpretations by deeply connecting with participants' lived experiences while bracketing their own beliefs and assumptions. However, phenomenology is criticised for its reductionist approach, which simplifies complex information and may overlook the nuances, intersectionality, and richness of human experience (Ahmed, 2006; Allen-Collinson, 2011; Finlay, 2009). To minimise this criticism, I made a deliberate attempt to continually reflect on and refine the data and integrate other research approaches, including hermeneutics, idiography, symbolic interactionism and social constructionism.

3.2.2 Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is a Greek word that means "interpretation" or "meaning-making" (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Smith, 2008). Initially used to interpret ancient texts such as the Bible, hermeneutics was later expanded to include the interpretation of any text (Crotty, 1998). Heidegger stated that phenomenology is hermeneutic because it is a meaning-making process (Crotty, 1998). Phenomenology pursues the discovery of meaning, even if it is not apparent (Moran, 2000). Lopez and Willis (2004) explain that hermeneutics not only describes a concept but also draws embedded meaning from standard practices, contexts or phenomena. Therefore, an association exists between phenomenology and hermeneutics (Smith et al., 2009). In the present study, the interpretation of participants' information (their understanding of men's behaviour change programs) in relation to their context (working with clients from predominantly patriarchal and collectivist cultures in a predominantly individualistic, egalitarian, Western-based program) is grounded in interpretative phenomenology (Smith et al., 2009).

Hermeneutics acknowledges that the interpreter can never entirely put aside their biases, assumptions, predetermined opinions and experiences (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). This is because our experiences and perceptions are always with us, affecting our interpretations. Therefore, bracketing one's personal views, opinions and assumptions can only be partially achieved (Smith et al., 2009). The hermeneutic approach recognises the researcher's process of meaning-making. Therefore, Smith (2008) suggests taking a double hermeneutics approach, in which the researcher attempts to make sense of participants' perspectives while reflecting on their own interpretations and influences. Therefore, to apply double hermeneutics in this study, I interpreted the accounts of men's behaviour change program facilitators' sense-making of the statements of their South Asian clients while simultaneously considering my own meaning-making process, biases, prior knowledge and assumptions. My adoption of hermeneutics also involved two levels of interpretation: Face value interpretation (the hermeneutics of empathy) and critical interpretation (the hermeneutics of suspicion) (Eatough & Smith, 2017). I engaged in reflexivity to examine and reflect on my preconceived notions and make them explicit in the interpretative phenomenological analysis. Additionally, I engaged in critical reflection and robust discussions with my supervisors to minimise this shortcoming.

3.2.3 Idiography

Another important concept of interpretative phenomenological analysis is idiography, which independently focuses on each perception and experience of a given phenomenon rather than analysing comprehensive data to produce generalisations (Ashworth, 1999; Ashworth & Chung, 2006; Smith et al., 2009). Idiography asserts that every participant offers a unique paradigm. It allows for a detailed analysis of an individual's unique understanding of context. Focus is given to each participant's experiences before generalisations are drawn from all participants (Ashworth & Chung, 2006; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Smith et al., 2009). Thus, each participant's experiences of the men's behaviour change programs were examined critically and separately.

Despite the in-depth analysis involved in idiography, it is not without criticism. Shortcomings include a lack of attention to the broader social, cultural and historical context and the difficulty in establishing associations and overall generalisations. However, examining the broader structural and cultural influences assisted in minimising the lack of attention to context. Similarly, detailed and systematic strategies were applied to thoroughly analyse the data to identify shared experiences.

The detailed critical discussion established that the selected qualitative approach, interpretative phenomenological analysis, is the most suitable methodology because of its three significant elements supporting this study. Qualitative research and epistemology are linked because they both provide a description of knowledge and how it is obtained and understood.

3.3 Epistemological Position

The application of interpretative phenomenological analysis is informed by epistemological and ontological stances. Ontology is a branch of philosophy concerned with what is in the world and the knowledge within it. Epistemology, another philosophy of knowledge, describes what can be known through research, given the limitations of human understanding and experience (Harper, 2011). Therefore, ontology refers to the nature of reality, whereas epistemology addresses the question of knowledge. Epistemology explores how people may perceive, learn, and receive knowledge differently; knowledge on the same topic from the same source can vary between different people. I believe that data collected from the participants of this study can inform me about their reality, yet it may not accurately represent the ontological truth. In this respect, knowledge can be considered critical because it is always open to being questioned and challenged. Critical realism suggests that ontological knowledge is made subjective through meaningful and intentional human actions that shape knowledge (Burr, 2015; Harper, 2011). The form of epistemology that best applies to this study is social constructionism.

Social constructionism makes sense of the social world by viewing knowledge as being created through social processes, with no innate or separate existence in and of itself (Burr, 2015; Galbin, 2014; Gergen, 1985). Social constructionism informs this study because, to construct the knowledge, I interviewed the study participants about their experiences of the men's behaviour change programs. The participants may not have been consciously aware of all aspects that construct their experiences or conscious of all possible experiences in their entirety; therefore, all ontological and critical realistic knowledge of their experience of men's behaviour change programs may not have been expressed. Social constructionism also indicates that I, as the researcher, cannot wholly objectify and remove all my previous experiences, bilingualism, social interactions and knowledge when interpreting the collected data. Even though, to minimise the impact of this limitation, the themes derived from the study were triangulated with the thesis supervisors. Therefore, understanding the position of social constructionism was essential when viewing and conceptualising the data collected in this study.

3.3.1 Social Constructionism

Social constructionism has three central tenets: (i) Reality is socially constructed, (ii) language is a constructive force, and (iii) social processes sustain knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Burr, 2015). Berger and Luckmann (1991) share my worldview that society is constructed, and social behaviour cannot be considered driven by biology. The three main principles of social constructionism are described to understand their suitability for the study.

Social constructionists believe reality is constructed socially and are sceptical about the natural world's existence (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Burr, 2015; Galbin, 2014; May & Mumbay, 2005). They claim there is no definitive truth; instead, everyone has a different experience of truth or reality. Even though ideas can be constructed together, no two people view reality similarly. It is because meaning-making is influenced by unique individual factors: Perception, attitudes, learning, communication and linguistic ability. Social constructionists consider language a significant and defining characteristic in constructing the world's reality. Language is more than just a way of connecting people; actually, people "exist" in the language (Galbin, 2014). Further, social constructionists posit that knowledge is constructed through social processes, interactions, and communication of agreed common meanings between individuals (Burr, 2015; Galbin, 2014; May & Mumbay, 2005). One of the fundamental premises of social constructionism is a critical stance (an invitation to be critical of ideas and interpretations towards taken-for-granted knowledge) that fits well with a hermeneutics of suspicion with its critical focus on language (Burr, 2015).

Therefore, a social constructionist epistemological base is suited to this study for several reasons. First, it allows me to investigate the social construction of gender and sex-role expectations in predominantly patriarchal and collectivist societies. The focus is not on the individual but instead on social integration, through which meaning is created. Social constructionists value the community's opinions and how community influences are inherent in everyone (Burr, 2015). Second, the participants' multiple experiences make social construction relevant to this study. Social constructionists recognise the social nature of human life while at the same time acknowledging that individuals can narrate their own experiences. It allows for diverse understandings of phenomena, which depend on the individuals' meaning-making process (Burr, 2015; Galbin, 2014; May & Mumbay, 2005). Therefore, it supports this study's intention to avoid gross generalisations; instead, it seeks insights into a specific and local application. Social constructionists examine the specific contextual social interactions that generate meaning and how the influence of the broader community plays out in individual

social interactions. This has resulted in two branches of theory: Micro-social and contextual constructionism.

3.3.2 Micro-Social Constructionism: Symbolic Interactionism and Contextual Constructionism

Two theoretical perspectives on social constructionism, micro and contextual constructionism, inform this research project (Burr, 2015). Micro-social constructionism is also known as symbolic interactionism or light social construction (Carter & Fuller, 2016; Oliver, 2012). Symbolic interactionism is a micro-level theory. It implies that people construct their accounts with some intention, determined by practical and moral considerations. Another aspect of social construction that applies to this study is contextual constructionism. The term "context" can be expressed in numerous ways, such as circumstances, settings, backgrounds or situations related to an idea, account or event where it can be fully understood. Here are some descriptions of symbolic interactionism and contextual constructionism in relation to this study.

Symbolic interactionism takes a micro view of society and uses a theoretical approach towards understanding the relationship between individuals and society (Oliver, 2012). People adept in linguistic skills build their discourse to communicate thoughts, attitudes, emotions, perceptions, and intentions to represent themselves (Burr, 2015). Individuals assign meaning to objects, people and ideas to decide how to act and behave. By using symbols, people can interpret or define each other's actions and construct reality. Therefore, micro-social constructionism focuses on the relational minutiae of language, which determines individuals' everyday life experiences (Burr, 2015). It means that the construction of knowledge occurs in day-to-day social interactions or dialogue between people (Burr, 2015; Crotty, 1998).

This characteristic of symbolic interactionism assisted me in focusing on my interactions with the study participants. For example, the facilitator participants' explanation of their South Asian clients in the men's behaviour change program could be, perhaps unintentionally, a skewed perspective of the actual events. Their explanations may be influenced by how they view South Asian culture, neopatriarchy, White supremacy and toxic masculinity, their knowledge of domestic violence, the paradigm they use to interpret intimate partner violence, their cultural orientation and many more aspects. Similarly, the discourse of the South Asian client could be influenced by his views on domestic violence, his justification for his abusive behaviour, the researcher being a South Asian woman, and many more factors. Applying the micro perspective enabled me to gather data on minute details of cooperation,

attitude and communication patterns and closely examine the research participants' dialogue with me on the research topic. For example, I deducted some facilitator participants' changes of tone, facial gestures and hesitancy when they informed me of their knowledge of South Asian culture. Thus, in this study, symbolic interactionism allowed me to make sense of the minutest details of the participants' dialogues in response to the research context.

Another viewpoint of social constructionism is contextual constructionism, which is relevant to this study. Contextual constructionism gives voice to participants' experiences to make sense of their thoughts within their given context (Larkin et al., 2006). Contextual constructionists assert that an interpretation makes complete sense in its context (Burr, 2015; Madill et al., 2000). Contextual constructionism stresses the significance of the context in which the subject is being studied. People adjust their views, emotions, attitudes, and other psychological states on a social stage to meet the context and make them sensible and acceptable (Burr, 2015; Madill et al., 2000). For example, the expression of strong emotions, such as anger and love, can vary from context to context. Expressions can be different in public and private places. Therefore, context influences people as psychological entities. Linguistic expressions are not exclusively dependent on an internal state; instead, they are influenced by the context in which they occur, covering practical, moral and interpersonal communications. Thus, accounts are constructed for a particular purpose in social interactions (Burr, 2015; Madill et al., 2000). A reality of a specific context has no meaning at all in another. For example, in the context of my upbringing in India, a wife is supposed to touch her husband's feet to receive his blessing. However, this gesture has no meaning in Western culture.

Therefore, the interview dialogue between the South Asian participant and me, a female student from a similar background, was closely analysed through micro-social and contextual constructionism. To do that, I focused on the participants' attitudes and patterns that emerged in our minute interactions. Contextual constructionism enlightens me about interpreting the participants' accounts in the context of men's behaviour change programs in WA. I also considered the facilitators' experiences in men's behaviour change programs in the context of working with South Asian clients. Moreover, the study's conclusions are reflected in my context as a researcher (i.e. my cultural background, perceptions, experience as a men's behaviour change program facilitator and sense-making process). Hence, an epistemological approach, social constructionism, is justified as the best for this study in combination with interpretative phenomenological analysis, a qualitative approach, as its methodology. Therefore, the relationship between social constructionism and interpretative phenomenological analysis needs to be established in this study.

3.3.3 Social Constructionism and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Social constructionism and its two theoretical perspectives, symbolic interactionism, and contextual constructionism, inform how people's social and personal interactions construct meaning. Therefore, symbolic interactionism influences interpretative phenomenological analysis. Comparable to interpretative phenomenological analysis, symbolic interactionism also values subjective experience and communication of personal accounts (Carter & Fuller, 2016; Oliver, 2012). Shinebourne (2011) suggests a strong association between phenomenology, hermeneutics and social constructionism, which assign meaning to a phenomenon based on social and personal interactions between individuals. The author highlights the significance of an engagement with subjective experience and personal accounts. Therefore, the researcher's meaning-making of research participants' subjective experiences of men's behaviour change programs in the context of South Asian clients is supported by selected theoretical approaches. We (the researcher and research participants) collectively provided the answer to the research question. Together, micro and contextual constructionism informed the study, complementing the interpretative phenomenological analysis approach.

The social constructionist epistemology also fits well with my paradigm. Social constructionism informs my worldview, believing that reality is not absolute but shaped by interpretations and discourses (Larkin et al., 2006). My interactions with research participants produced rich and descriptive accounts that were interpreted and constructed to represent their reality accurately. Consequently, social constructionism allows me to make sense of how predominantly patriarchal perpetrators of intimate partner violence and men's behaviour change programs are socially constructed and experienced in context with each other through the lens of contextual constructionism. Combining a social constructionism epistemology and an interpretative phenomenological analysis as a qualitative research methodology was valuable in understanding the participants' experiences of their men's behaviour change program. Social constructionism and intimate partner violence allowed me to investigate multiple interactions, i.e. "the interaction between the research participants and me and among facilitators participants and their South Asian clients". It permits me to comprehend how they made sense of their interactions with their clients. Moreover, how people's language is used in interactions plays a significant role in developing men's or women's identities and role expectations. It also informs how the discourses established at home construct the power imbalance between husband and wife, which may eventually lead to domestic violence.

Therefore, it is summarised that interpretative phenomenological analysis was identified as the most suitable approach. The phenomenological aspect of the interpretative

phenomenological analysis examined how participants made sense of their personal and social world. Hermeneutics assisted in interpreting the experiences of the participants of the study, as well as my own, as the researcher. Idiography allows a focus on each case as a significant unit. Combining interpretative phenomenological analysis with social constructionism with its two theoretical grounds: Symbolic interactionism and contextual constructionism, facilitated my generation of meaning. Thus, the fusion of multiple theoretical bases is justified as a sound theoretical foundation to explore the experiences of a South Asian client and facilitators of men's behaviour change programs in Western Australia.

3.4 Research Methods

3.4.1 Sample and Setting

Based in WA, the study collected perspectives from South Asian service users and facilitators from a range of programs. The statewide focus on Western Australia allowed diverse representation, and the results could be beneficial for other parts of Australia, given that people from many cultures reside here.

3.4.2 Participant Recruitment

The recruitment of the participants was conducted through purposive sampling. Neuman (2014) recommends purposive sampling for specific participants who have experience and knowledge of the study's subject to gain deep and rich descriptions. There are diverse views on recommendations for sample size. Smith (2008) states that "an attempt is usually made to understand a relatively small number of participants' own frames of reference or view of the world rather than trying to test a preconceived hypothesis on a large sample" (p. 2). Morse (1994) recommends a sample of six, whereas Kuzel (1992) suggests six to eight participants; however, Smith (2008) highlights that there is no absolute answer on sample size and indicates that a sample size of five is appropriate for a project using an approach with interpretative phenomenological analysis. The study participants were recruited from two distinct categories: (i) Men's behaviour change program facilitators and (ii) South Asian service users of a men's behaviour change program.

3.4.2.1 Recruitment of Men's Behaviour Change Program Facilitators

I explored the internet to recruit facilitator participants and prepared a list of government and non-government agencies operating men's behaviour change programs in WA. These agencies were invited by email (Appendix I contains a copy of the email draft) and by phone to participate in this study. I contacted the facilitators of the responding agencies to

seek their voluntary participation. Additionally, I contacted men's behaviour change program facilitators in my professional network to seek their participation. The facilitators I approached in my professional network were my former colleagues with no existing personal or professional relationship at the time of the interview. A snowball sampling procedure was also applied to select facilitator participants. The inclusion criteria were considered when selecting. There were two main selection criteria: First was that the chosen facilitator must have at least one year of facilitating experience in men's behaviour change programs and, during that time, must have worked with at least one South Asian client in WA. I succeeded in recruiting 10 facilitator participants who had experience with South Asian service users in a men's behaviour change program. Table 1 provides an overview of the facilitator participants' profiles.

A participant information sheet was provided to the facilitators, and they were contacted by phone to offer them the opportunity to discuss any concerns before participating (Appendix II: Participant Information Sheet). Before each interview, written consent was obtained (Appendix III: Consent Form).

Table 1

Profiles of facilitator participants

Participant	Pseudonym	Sex	Age (years)	Birthplace	Experience in MBCP	No. South Asian clients
1	Ryan	Male	30–35	Australia	6 years	1
2	Annabel	Female	30–35	Australia	1.5 years	2
3	Josh	Male	45–50	Australia	1.5 years	3
4	Amelia	Female	30–35	Australia	2 years	Many (unable to provide exact number)
5	Damien	Male	65–70	United States	16 years	Many (unable to provide exact number)
6	Carl	Male	35–40	Norway	1 year, 4 months	Many, but explicitly remembered one
7	Kim	Female	45–50	Australia	7 years	Many, but remembered five at the time of the interview
8	Dean	Male	65–70	England	Since 1990s	Many (unable to provide exact number)
9	Lauren	Female	40–45	Australia	5 years	5–10
10	Isaac	Male	65–70	Australia	1 year, 5 months	1

Note: MBCP: Men's behaviour change program.

3.4.2.2 Recruitment of a South Asian Client of Behaviour Change Program

I requested all facilitator research participants and agencies operating men's behaviour change programs to hand over the participant information sheet and inclusion criteria to their South Asian men's behaviour change program clients to seek service user volunteers for the research. This was because of an ethical stipulation that did not allow me to approach client participants directly; I had to wait for them to contact me to respect their privacy and their own motivation and autonomy to participate in the research without any influence.

Also, the University of Notre Dame Human Research Ethics Committee provided conditional approval to collect the data from South Asian clients. The committee proposed many inclusion criteria for recruiting South Asian clients: The participants must be culturally homogenous because culture can vary considerably between countries furthest apart geographically, so choosing geographically close participants was suggested. Therefore, the recruitment of client participants was restricted to those from India and Pakistan only. In my

opinion, this significantly influenced participant numbers. I could only collect the data from the men coming from these selected countries.

Additionally, it was deemed necessary that South Asian participants must have migrated to Australia in their adulthood because the age at which participants migrated to Australia from South Asia might also affect their experience and perspectives. Someone who emigrated as a child will be different from someone who only migrated recently. The third inclusion criterion was that recruited South Asian participants must be at least nearing completion of the intimate partner violence program, if not completed. I approached most agencies with a men's behaviour change program to request information from clients from India and Pakistan in the South Asian region. However, the agencies declined my request based on their confidentiality and privacy policies. I had no means of finding participants apart from relying upon the men's behaviour change program facilitators to deliver the participant information sheet to their current South Asian clients to volunteer themselves. I also contacted the established Indian society in Perth to distribute the participant information sheet to their members. Unfortunately, I did not receive any responses. It was challenging to recruit the client participants. Hence, after upholding all the selection criteria, only one participant volunteered to be interviewed for the research. Table 2 presents the profile of the South Asian client.

Table 2

Profile of South Asian Client Participant

Pseudonym	Birthplace	Sex	Year of migration to Australia	Years in Australia	Age (years)	No. parents	Participation in MBCP
Prashant	India	Male	2006	14	30–35	2	Family court mandated

Note: MBCP: Men's behaviour change program.

I called the South Asian client participant to address his queries prior to the interview. The ethics committee was concerned about my safety around the client participants during data collection because of their violent behaviour. All the ethical conditions regarding researcher safety were endorsed as discussed in the next section. The agency in question was contacted to provide a room with all the appropriate safety measures for the interview. The South Asian client was requested to provide written consent before the interview.

3.4.2.3 Ethical Considerations

To avoid any harm to the study participants, it was essential to identify all the possible ethical issues in relation to the study. Jorm et al. (2007) state that "a basic principle of ethical research practice is to minimize the risk of harm or discomfort to participants" (p. 917). The study was submitted for a full review to the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Notre Dame, WA, to address all the possible ethical issues inherent in the study. I strictly adhered to the ethical guidelines provided by the university to avoid any potential harm to the participants (Bresler, 1995).

I interviewed most of the research participants in a safe location. I chose to interview them at their respective agencies to follow ethical guidelines. One research participant was interviewed at my workplace because of a lack of room availability at his workplace. Before recording the data, the research participants were provided with a participant information sheet and a consent form to understand their rights. I also offered to meet them before data collection if they needed more clarification about any concerns. The ethical conditions required me to ensure that the men's behaviour change program clients participated voluntarily in the research and were adult migrants from South Asia to Australia. To ease the interview process, the client participants were informed that the interview would focus on their experiences in the men's behaviour change program instead of exploring their abusive behaviours in their relationship with their intimate partners. There was a potential risk of distress to the participants when recalling past negative experiences. Literature suggests that participants may potentially relive painful experiences when they reflect on past struggles and, consequently, stress and trauma may be experienced (Bartone et al., 2008). To minimise the impact of revisiting negative past experiences, a sincere effort was made to ensure that the interview questions minimised distress while maximising the information I wanted to elicit. Simultaneously, participants were reminded that they could stop the interview at any time. To further minimise the risk, participants would be referred to a counsellor should they experience discomfort and were encouraged to seek therapeutic support. Before starting the interview, I assessed whether the participants were in a healthy state of mind to participate in the study by observing their interactions and body language.

Other ethical issues that could arise were the mental health and safety of the researcher when I exposed myself and others to distressing information gathered through the study. To minimise possible issues, open and regular communication was arranged between my supervisors and me. A safety plan was also prepared to ensure that I felt safe when visiting the agencies. This included always having some emergency numbers with me and letting someone

know about my whereabouts before and after data collection. I communicated with the staff at the agency's reception, where the interviews took place. I also provided them with a list of local contacts in case of an emergency. The rooms where I interviewed the participants were equipped with a duress alarm.

Cross-cultural issues were another ethical consideration of the study. I interviewed participants from diverse backgrounds, including predominantly individualist and collectivist backgrounds. To address this possible ethical issue, I familiarised myself with each participant's culture and let them know about my cultural worldviews. This process encouraged the participants to be comfortable sharing their experiences freely and honestly.

3.4.2.4 Insights into the Recruited Research Participants' Intervention

Depending on the type of client intake, I grouped interventions of the recruited research participants into two main categories: (a) A group of interventions accepting self-referred as well as mandated clients and (b) a group of interventions only for clients referred through the Department of Justice on a community-based order or intensive supervision order because of crimes related to domestic violence. The participants' data revealed that both interventions were similar in most aspects of their programs, except for some divergence in their structure. Out of the recruited 10 facilitators research participants, six were from Category (a), the rest were from Category (b), and the South Asian client was participating in a men's behaviour change program belonging to Category (a).

The two types of interventions were similar in that they accepted male clients from diverse cultures. The interventions were rolling open-ended groups, meaning clients could join and finish at any point in the program cycle, with groups ranging from 10 to 12 participants. All group programs consist of 24 sessions. Each session operates for two hours with two facilitators, a male and a female. The perspective of all interventions was underpinned by the notion of gender-based violence, where men are viewed to use violence to have power and control over women.

The interventions began with an intake assessment interview of a minimum of 1 hour's duration, which could be extended on an as need basis, utilising an intake assessment form to assess the client's suitability for the group intervention. The assessment document typically contains questions related to the client's history around the country of origin, marital status, family of origin, drug and alcohol use, domestic violence occurrence and frequency, injury to the victim, self-harm and suicide, psychological and psychiatric health and any violence restraining orders (VROs). Details of the victims of the client's abusive behaviour, including

his ex or current partner and children, are also recorded. The client's accountability and responsibility for his behaviour are assessed, as well as his potential for committing violence to the assessor and others in the group.

After a successful assessment, clients can join the group intervention. The aims of the programs include the development of accountability and responsibility within a perpetrator of intimate partner violence, an increase in the safety of adult victims and children, building empathy and an increase in knowledge and skills around domestic violence concepts. To accomplish these described aims, a combination of theoretical approaches was used.

The main approaches were sociopolitical and profeminist approaches such as the Duluth Model (Pence & Paymar, 1993); coaching in emotional regulation (Stosny, 1995), the invitation to responsibility model (Jenkins, 2009); response-based understanding (Wade, 1997) and David Mandel's Safe & Together Model (Safe & Together Institute, 2020). Additional practices used in men's behaviour change programs were derived from CBT, dialectical behaviour therapy (DBT), and narrative therapy approaches. CBT suggests that distorted or irrational thoughts contribute to anger arousal, which leads to physical and verbal abuse. CBT in men's behaviour change programs allows clients to work with their irrational beliefs and learn to be assertive and relaxed (Edleson & Tolman, 1992). The application of DBT in men's behaviour change programs enables facilitators to identify extreme views held by perpetrators of violence. DBT does not view reality as static; instead, it accepts the dynamic nature of reality. The facilitators can work to create a balanced view when they observe a client stuck in an extremely opinionated position and unable to shift. DBT posits that individual and social-cultural factors are the causes of problematic behaviours such as domestic violence (Linehan, 1993). Narrative therapy approaches encourage men's behaviour change program clients to articulate their stories around an issue. Narrative therapy applications in men's behaviour change programs inform facilitators to work with clients to express the dominant narrative of their abuse. Through the lens of narrative therapy, a perpetrator's dominant storyline of their violence is perceived as an obstacle impeding men's ability to move forward, and, therefore, facilitators work with them to re-construct a healthy narrative of their behaviour (Augusta-Scott et al., 2017).

Differences between programs that included both voluntary and mandated clients (intervention type a) and those that solely accepted clients referred by the Department of Justice (intervention type b) were based on their structure. The facilitators from Category (a) programs informed that their intervention was straightforward: An intake assessment followed by group sessions delivered once or twice a week for 24 sessions. In these interventions, the

group facilitators have the authority to take any members out of the group intervention and offer one-on-one counselling if they assess that the client is struggling to take accountability, unable to work constructively, victim blaming or being aggressive in the group. Upon completing the intervention, a client receives a certificate of participation to submit to the authorities such as the family court.

The facilitators from Category (b) programs informed me that their men's behaviour change programs consist of three initial individual sessions for 1 hour and then 24 group sessions are delivered over 24 weeks. Therefore, this intervention required a total of 51 hours to finish. Some agencies delivered the sessions twice a week to complete in 12 weeks. Depending on the client's assessment, two streams were established: Stream 1 and Stream 2. Stream 1 is designed for a client who identified that their abusive behaviour was significantly linked to their use of alcohol and other drugs. This stream consists of six weeks of specialised alcohol and other drug services to stabilise the behaviour around alcohol and other drugs before they join a family domestic violence intervention. Stream 2 is the high resistance (HR) program, which is six hours of one-on-one or small group sessions for clients with poor motivation, high resistance to change and victim-blaming tendencies. The Category (b) interventions' facilitators send written reports to the Department of Justice. The first report is sent after the intake assessment. It contains information regarding the client's suitability to participate in the intervention. After completing the intervention, the second and final report is sent, including information on the client's newly acquired skills and knowledge, safety and risk factors regarding his abusive behaviour victims, and further treatment options. If any client fails to complete the program, the facilitators also send a report to the Department. This report contains the reasons he discontinued and information on risk factors for the victims.

3.5 Trustworthiness

The term 'trustworthiness' describes the authenticity of the qualitative process and is associated with the notions of credibility, objectivity and dependability. Golafshani (2015) argues that "reliability and validity are conceptualized as trustworthiness, rigour and quality in a qualitative paradigm" (p. 604). Qualitative data collection methods and analysis procedures need to be appropriate to the research questions, and they also need to be systematic, careful, honest, and accurate (Mason, 2002). According to Ary et al. (1979), the veracity of qualitative research is grounded in how validity is maintained. The most common term used by qualitative researchers is 'credibility'. Ary et al. (1979) list five methods to enhance credibility: (i) Evidence based on structural corroboration, (ii) consensus, (iii) interpretive adequacy, (iv)

theoretical adequacy and (v) researcher bias to ascertain whether the researcher's observations, interpretations and conclusions are believable.

3.5.1 Evidence Based on Structural Corroboration

Multiple types of data were collected to achieve maximum structural corroboration. The service users and male and female facilitators were interviewed to provide triangulation. Triangulation was also obtained by consulting my supervisor regarding coding and themes to add more perspectives to the data. Validity was ensured by another aspect of triangulation, namely, collecting the data at different times and from participants sourced from various agencies (Pierce, 2008).

3.5.2 Consensus

My co-supervisors and I also supported triangulation by holding in-depth discussions about every aspect of the enquiry to reach a consensus on the path forward at significant decision points.

3.5.3 Interpretive Adequacy

Interpretive adequacy was achieved by member checking. Birt et al. (2016) explain that member checking is also known as "respondent validation or participant validation" (p. 1802). It is a technique for exploring the credibility of results. In the member checking process, "data or results are returned to participants to check for accuracy and resonance with their experiences" (Birt et al., 2016, p. 1802). Participants were asked to review and critique the researchers' findings to enhance interpretive adequacy to verify their responses. All the research participants from both groups, facilitators and service users, reported their satisfaction with interpreting their accounts, except for one participant, who did not respond to the member checking.

3.5.4 Theoretical Adequacy

The theoretical adequacy of this study is achieved by justifying an appropriate epistemology, the application of a suitable research methodology and accurate research methods. Bracketing was also used to limit research bias, and any biases were discussed with the study supervisors to ensure reflexivity.

3.6 Data Collection Method

An interpretative phenomenological analysis researcher attempts to analyse the participants' sense-making of the specific phenomenon being researched. A flexible data

collection instrument is required to provide scope for the participants to articulate their views in detail. The most common method of collecting this kind of data is semi-structured interviews comprising open-ended questions (Dawson, 2006; Kumar, 1996; Minichiello & Kottler, 2010; Smith, 2008). A semi-structured interview schedule provides flexibility with direction for the interview process (Smith, 2008), whereas other tools, such as structured questionnaires or surveys, lack these qualities.

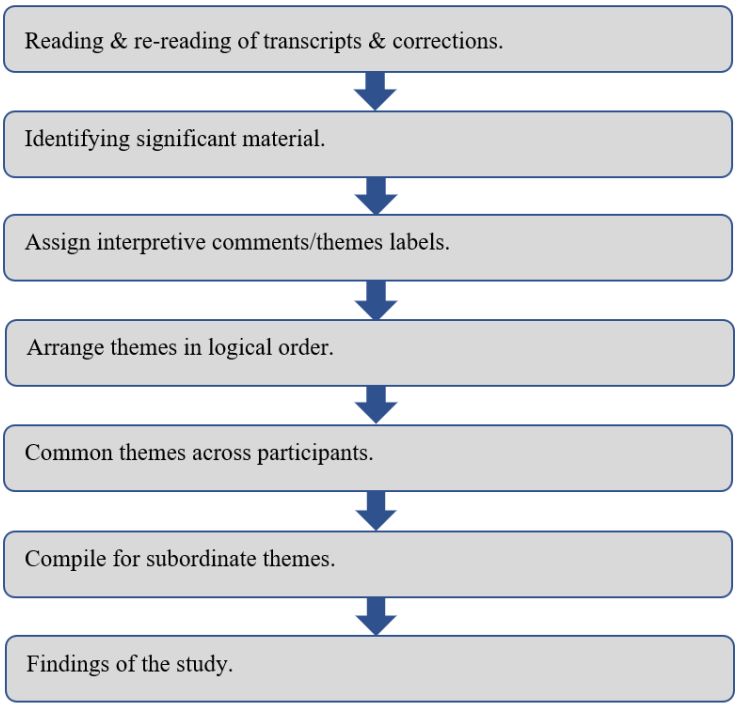
Separate interview tools were prepared for service users and facilitator participants (see Appendix IV: Semi-Structured Interview Tools). All research participants were interviewed face-to-face for 50 to 60 minutes to gain a detailed picture of their experiences of men's behaviour change programs. The interviews were audio-recorded, and their given pseudonym was used instead of their name while recording the data. Additionally, the participants were instructed not to mention the agency's name and the intervention's title to protect their identity. I interviewed all the research respondents at a location chosen by the participants. Most participants were interviewed at their respective agencies, except a few who were invited to my former workplace.

3.7 Data Analysis

Given my experience as a facilitator of a men's behaviour change program and as a domestic violence survivor, bracketing becomes essential. Tufford and Newman (2012) suggest keeping judgements about the nature and essence of the topic aside. Although one's experience can never be fully bracketed, this awareness allowed me to focus on the participants' interpretations of their world and experience. In this regard, interpretative phenomenological analysis is an appropriate strategy to analyse data for a research enquiry where participants have shared experiences (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Smith, 2008). Figure 3 presents a flow diagram showing the data analysis process.

Figure 3

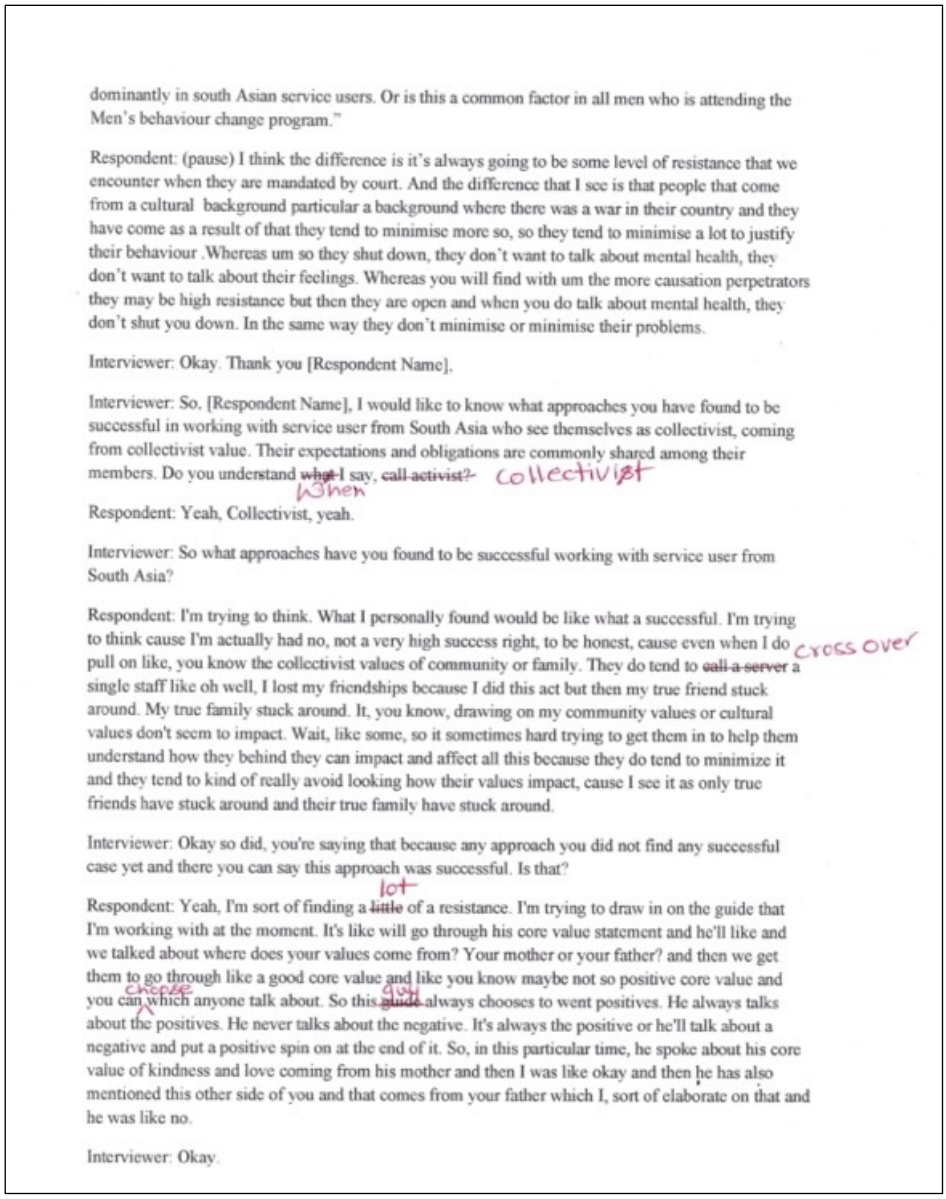
Representation of data analysis process



The audio-recorded interviews were uploaded to a website, TranscriptionPuppy, to prepare each participant's interview transcript. From the start, the data were recorded with no identification details of the participants to treat the collected data ethically; therefore, transcripts did not require de-identification. The transcribed texts were examined by listening to audio to correct any mistakes made by the website, as depicted in Figure 4.

Figure 4

Representation of transcript corrections



dominantly in south Asian service users. Or is this a common factor in all men who is attending the Men's behaviour change program."

Respondent: (pause) I think the difference is it's always going to be some level of resistance that we encounter when they are mandated by court. And the difference that I see is that people that come from a cultural background particular a background where there was a war in their country and they have come as a result of that they tend to minimise more so, so they tend to minimise a lot to justify their behaviour .Whereas um so they shut down, they don't want to talk about mental health, they don't want to talk about their feelings. Whereas you will find with um the more causation perpetrators they may be high resistance but then they are open and when you do talk about mental health, they don't shut you down. In the same way they don't minimise or minimise their problems.

Interviewer: Okay. Thank you [Respondent Name].

Interviewer: So, [Respondent Name], I would like to know what approaches you have found to be successful in working with service user from South Asia who see themselves as collectivist, coming from collectivist value. Their expectations and obligations are commonly shared among their members. Do you understand ~~what~~ I say, ~~call activist?~~ collectivist When

Respondent: Yeah, Collectivist, yeah.

Interviewer: So what approaches have you found to be successful working with service user from South Asia?

Respondent: I'm trying to think. What I personally found would be like what a successful. I'm trying to think cause I'm actually had no, not a very high success right, to be honest, cause even when I do cross over pull on like, you know the collectivist values of community or family. They do tend to ~~call a server~~ a single staff like oh well, I lost my friendships because I did this act but then my true friend stuck around. My true family stuck around. It, you know, drawing on my community values or cultural values don't seem to impact. Wait, like some, so it sometimes hard trying to get them in to help them understand how they behind they can impact and affect all this because they do tend to minimize it and they tend to kind of really avoid looking how their values impact, cause I see it as only true friends have stuck around and their true family have stuck around.

Interviewer: Okay so did, you're saying that because any approach you did not find any successful case yet and there you can say this approach was successful. Is that?

Respondent: Yeah, I'm sort of finding a ~~little~~ lot of a resistance. I'm trying to draw in on the guide that I'm working with at the moment. It's like will go through his core value statement and he'll like and we talked about where does your values come from? Your mother or your father? and then we get them to go through like a good core value and like you know maybe not so positive core value and you can choose which anyone talk about. So this ~~guide~~ guy always chooses to went positives. He always talks about the positives. He never talks about the negative. It's always the positive or he'll talk about a negative and put a positive spin on at the end of it. So, in this particular time, he spoke about his core value of kindness and love coming from his mother and then I was like okay and then he has also mentioned this other side of you and that comes from your father which I, sort of elaborate on that and he was like no.

Interviewer: Okay.

Following Willig's (2013) interpretative phenomenological analysis, the data analysis was completed in five stages.

3.7.1 Stage 1: Initial Encounter with the Text

Each transcript was re-read several times, allowing me to immerse myself in the text. I familiarised myself with the participants' experiences to be as close as possible to their understanding of the subject (Smith et al., 2009). The process of re-reading the texts allowed me to identify significant material in the responses, statements, sentences or quotations. The significance of the text was established by any combination of repeated use of particular words, material that drew my attention or by the participant pointing out an important issue. The left-

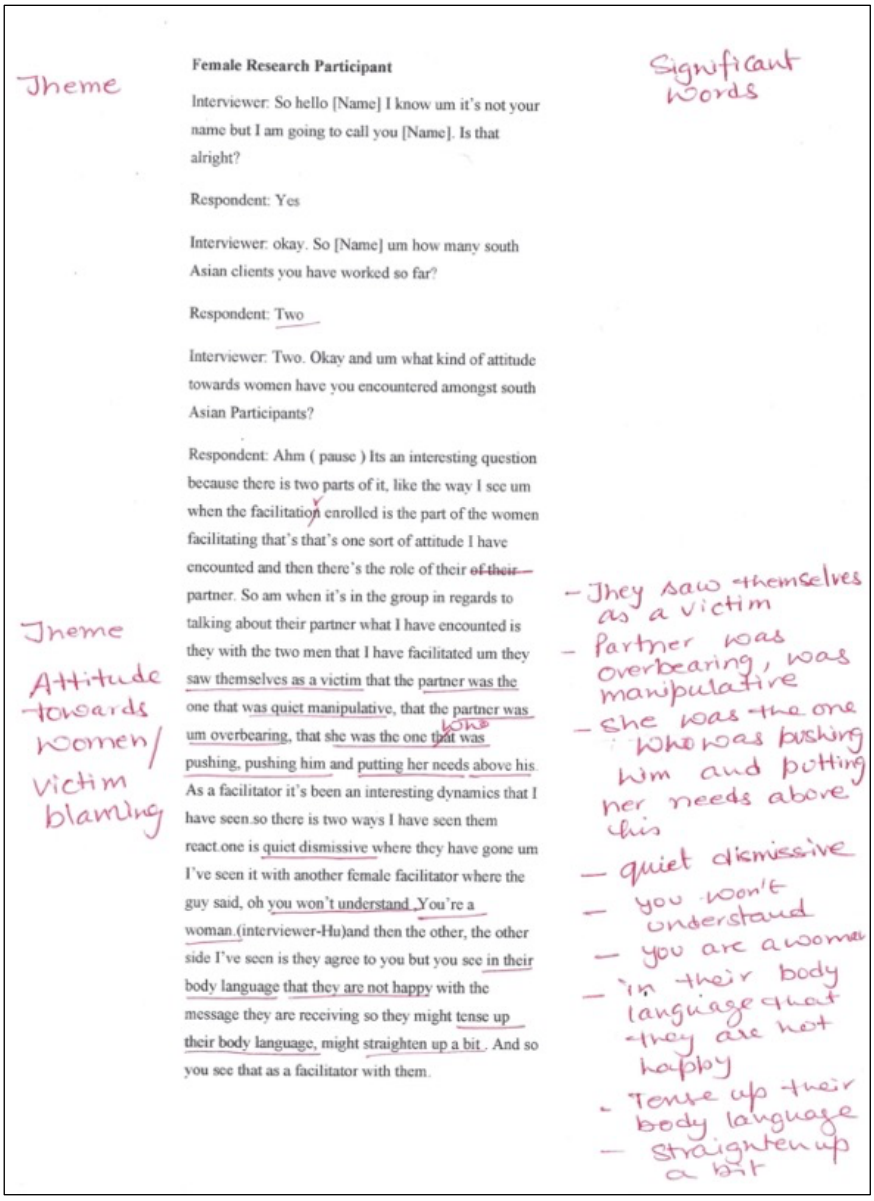
hand margin of the paper was used to write down any important points for each participant (Smith, 2008). Smith et al. (2009) suggest that application of interpretative phenomenological analysis assists the researcher to explore in detail the insights gained from the participants' views in relation to the research question.

3.7.2 Stage 2: Identifying Themes

In this stage, important information was labelled. This required more systematic reading. A label describing each section was assigned to each significant text, as shown in Figure 5. These labels were recorded on the right-hand side of the paper. This process was carried out, transforming the whole transcript of each participant into meaningful themes. All the emergent themes were noted in the right-hand margin (Willig, 2013). Figure 5 shows the identification of significant information and emergent themes.

Figure 5

Identifying significant information and emergent themes



This process continued until all initial comments were grouped into themes. One example from a facilitator participant is presented in Table 3, showing how themes were developed.

Table 3

Data analysis process of emergent themes

Identified significant material	Interpretative comments	Emerging themes
Two	Talking about how many South Asian participants she worked with	Experience working with South Asian clients
They saw themselves as a victim. That the partner was the one that was quite manipulative, that the partner was um overbearing, that she was the one that was pushing, pushing him and putting her needs above his	Talking about how South Asian participants of men's behaviour change program perceive themselves as a sufferer of their female partner	Perceived position as victim
So, there is two ways I have seen them react. One is quiet dismissive female facilitator where the guy said, oh you won't understand, You're a woman. But you see in their body language that they are not happy with the message they are receiving so they might tense up their body language, might straighten up a bit	Describing that South Asian clients of men's behaviour change programs display undermining attitude towards women in general. They are dismissive towards female facilitators, and it shows up in their body language	Attitude and Behaviour towards women
Through court because they have been charged with a domestic violence offence [against intimate partner]. So as part of their parole conditions, their bail conditions or their prison conditions. They are mandated to do a 12-week, 24-session program	Explaining that clients are mandated in this men's behaviour change program	Mode of participation

3.7.3 Stage 3: Clustering Themes

In this stage, all the emergent themes were noted down in sequence as they appeared in the transcript, as presented in Table 4. However, the themes that surfaced repeatedly were noted down only once. It helps to have a focused cluster of themes. The next step was to arrange these emergent themes logically to create a structure in the analysis. I observed and interpreted how each theme related to the other. I then grouped these themes into small thematic clusters based on their similar thematic content (Willig, 2013). Therefore, the previous extensive list of clusters of emergent themes (Table 4) was divided into a total of 11 small thematic groups. Each small cluster group was further examined for refinement to determine if any themes from the small cluster groups could be blended further to prepare a more focused list. Consequently, some themes (Group 1) were abandoned because they did not directly answer the research questions (i.e., they only described the clients' profiles). Some themes in Groups 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were merged because of their content similarity, whereas all the themes in Group 11 were not merged as they were unique. There were no changes to emergent themes in Groups 4 and 10 (See Table 5).

Table 4

List of emergent themes

Complete list of emergent themes	
Participant profiles	Ignorant of her duties
Working with number of South Asian clients	Brief disclosures
Perceived position as victim	High resistance stream
Attitude and behaviour towards women	Lack of admission
Mode of participation	Human tendency to justify blame
Program structure	Disowning
Rule followers	No engagement
Victim empathy	Culture as a shield
Predominantly patriarchal and collectivist beliefs	Shame manifested as defence
Client engagement	Deflecting and minimising
Victim support	Socially acceptable language
Suitability for the men's behaviour change program	Reduced level of violence
Accountability and responsibility	Listening better
Suitable program format	Completed intervention
Approaches used	Perspective taking
Facilitator attributes	Improved engagement
Changes in behaviour and attitude	Improved knowledge
Group composition	Improved self-awareness
Existing cultural elements of intervention	Psychoeducational or coaching approach
Training and support	Informative approach
Withdrawn and disengaged	Relational approach
Moral contrasts between cultures	Therapeutic alliance
Incompatibility with group program	Cultural understanding
Academic and well educated	Self-reflection and awareness
Clients' inflexible beliefs	Avoiding confrontation
Unfathomable concepts	Self-confidence for female facilitators
Female facilitators experienced misogyny	Alleviating cultural determinism
Understanding client attitudes through reflection	Offering diverse values, opinions and attitudes
Women perform domestic duties	Politeness as a mask
Men are the breadwinners	Similar purposes with different outlooks
Men are the decision-makers	Exposure to other cultures
Men are entitled to sex	Constructive feedback among group participants
Men have a strong sense of privilege	Predominantly based on a Western lens
Cultural expectations of a gendered hierarchy	Limited consideration
Manipulative	Lack of cultural training
Crazy	Lack of national standards
Master‐servant dynamic	One-size-fits-all approach
The rule breaker	Merits of cultural components
Torturing	Preference for single cultural group composition

Table 5

Grouping of emergent themes

Group	Emerging themes	Depiction of the examination
1	a. Participant's profile b. Working with number of South Asian clients c. Mode of participation d. Program structure e. Victim support	All these emerging themes are discussed in the participants' profiles at the start of superordinate themes in the finding chapter
2	a. Withdrawn and disengaged b. Client engagement c. Predominantly patriarchal and collectivist beliefs d. Moral contrasts between cultures e. Incompatibility with group program f. Clients' inflexible beliefs g. Unfathomable concepts	Emerging theme 'b' was merged into 'a', whereas emerging theme 'c' merged into 'f'
3	a. Female facilitators experienced misogyny b. Understanding client attitudes through reflection c. Victim empathy d. Attitude and behaviour towards women	Emerging theme 'c' was merged into 'b', whereas emerging theme 'd' merged into 'a'
4	a. Women perform domestic duties b. Men are the breadwinners c. Men are the decision-makers d. Men are entitled to sex e. Men have a strong sense of privilege f. Cultural expectations of a gendered hierarchy	No changes
5	a. Manipulative b. Crazy c. The rule breaker d. Torturing e. Perceived position as victim f. Ignorant of her duties g. Master‑servant dynamic	Emerging theme 'e' merged into theme 'd'
6	a. Brief disclosures b. Accountability and responsibility c. High resistance stream d. Lack of admission e. Human tendency to justify blame f. Disowning g. No engagement h. Culture as a shield i. Shame manifested as defence j. Deflecting and minimising	Emerging theme 'b' merged into theme 'd'
7	a. Socially acceptable language b. Reduced level of violence c. Changes in behaviour and attitude	Emerging theme 'c' merged into themes 'b' (behaviour-related themes) and 'f' (attitude-related themes)

Group	Emerging themes	Depiction of the examination
	d. Listening better e. Completed intervention f. Perspective taking g. Improved engagement h. Improved knowledge i. Improved self-awareness	
8	a. Approaches used b. Psychoeducational or coaching approach c. Avoiding confrontation d. Informative approach e. Relational approach f. Therapeutic alliance g. Facilitator attributes h. Cultural understanding i. Self-reflection and awareness j. Self-confidence for female facilitators	Emerging themes 'a', 'c', 'f', 'g', 'h', 'i' and 'j' merged into three themes: 'b', 'd' and 'e'
9	a. Alleviating cultural determinism b. Offering diverse values, opinions and attitudes c. Similar purposes with different outlooks d. Suitability for the men's behaviour change program e. Suitable program format f. Group composition g. Exposure to other cultures h. Existing cultural elements of intervention i. Training and support j. Constructive feedback among group participants	Emerging themes 'd', 'e', 'f' and 'h' merged into four themes: 'a', 'b', 'c' and 'g'
10	a. Predominantly based on a Western lens b. Limited consideration c. Lack of cultural training d. Lack of national standards e. One-size-fits-all approach f. Merits of cultural components	No changes
11	a. Politeness as a mask b. Rule followers c. Academic and well educated d. Preference for single cultural group composition	Emerged as unique themes

The next step was to look across the emergent theme cluster groups to find further similarities. I then grouped them as refined final subthemes (see Table 6). I then assign a phrase as a superordinate theme to capture the essence of the newly refined emergent themes (Willig, 2013).

Table 6

Assigned phrases to refined cluster themes

Refined themes clusters/subthemes	Superordinate theme
Withdrawn and disengaged Moral contrasts between cultures Incompatibility with group program Clients' inflexible beliefs Unfathomable concepts	Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement
Female facilitators experienced misogyny Understanding client attitudes through reflection	South Asian men's views of women are frustrating
Women perform domestic duties Men are the breadwinners Men regarded as decision-maker Men are entitled to sex Men have a strong sense of privilege Cultural expectations of a gendered hierarchy	Examining the gendered division of labour
Manipulative Crazy The rule breaker Torturing Ignorant of her duties Master–servant dynamic	Clients need to stop blaming the victim
Brief disclosures High resistance stream Lack of admission Human tendency to justify blame Disowning No engagement Culture as a shield Shame manifested as defence Deflecting and minimising	Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility
Socially acceptable language Reduced level of violence Changes in behaviour and attitude Listening better Completed intervention Perspective taking Improved engagement Improved knowledge Improved self-awareness	Change is always challenging but not always obvious
Psychoeducational or coaching approach Informative Relational	Being firm but flexible
Therapeutic alliance Cultural understanding	A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer

Refined themes clusters/subthemes	Superordinate theme
Self-reflection and awareness Avoiding confrontation Self-confidence for female facilitators	
Alleviating cultural determinism Offering diverse values, opinions and attitudes Similar purposes with different outlooks Exposure to other cultures. Constructive feedback among group participants	Group diversity is beneficial
Predominantly based on a Western lens Limited consideration Lack of cultural training Lack of national standards One-size-fits-all approach Merits of cultural components	Lack of embedded cultural components
Politeness as a mask Rule followers Academic and well educated Preference for single cultural group composition	Unique themes

3.7.4 Stage 4: Producing the Summary Table

Superordinate themes were transferred into a master or summary table (see Table 7).

Table 7

Final themes from facilitator data

Theme no.	Superordinate themes of facilitators
F01	Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement
F02	South Asian men's views of women are frustrating
F03	Examining the gendered division of labour
F04	Clients need to stop blaming the victim
F05	Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility
F06	Change is always challenging but not always obvious
F07	Being firm but flexible
F08	A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer
F09	Group diversity is beneficial
F10	Lack of embedded cultural components

3.7.5 Stage 5: Meaning-Making Process

Finally, the data were ready for integration to identify their connections (Willig, 2013). The summary shown in Table 7 allowed me to thematically identify the facilitators' positioning of their South Asian male clients. The data were analysed using two contrasting approaches:

The hermeneutics of empathy and the hermeneutics of suspicion (Eatough & Smith, 2017). The hermeneutics of empathy approach involves researchers putting themselves into participants' shoes to make sense of their perceptions. In contrast, the hermeneutics of suspicion approach involves the researcher taking a questioning or suspicious position to examine the underlying motives, power dynamics and philosophical and systemic influences (Eatough & Smith, 2017). Therefore, I made sense of participants' perceptions according to their stated values and conscious or unconscious assumptions about culture, Whiteness, racism, gender, power and privilege.

A similar process was carried out to analyse the South Asian client's data. The final themes are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

Final themes from client data

Theme no.	Superordinate themes of a South Asian service user
C01	In the past, he could not handle the problem
C02	He was born and grew up in a different culture
C03	It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program
C04	Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do
C05	The program helped him to understand his behaviour

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the social constructionism paradigm that informs this study as well as interpretative phenomenological analysis, the qualitative approach used to explore the experiences of a South Asian perpetrator of intimate partner violence and men's behaviour change program facilitators in Western Australia. Ethical guidelines were maintained to protect the research participants and the researcher. The data were analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis to answer the research question posed in this study.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Findings

This chapter analyses this study's findings derived from data from phenomenological analyses of interviews conducted with 10 men's behaviour change program facilitators and one South Asian client from a men's behaviour change program. As discussed in the previous chapter, as hermeneutics informs interpretative phenomenological analysis, a researcher following this approach must interpret each participant. To ensure diversity and contrast in the participant's individual voices in this study, four female and six male facilitators and one South Asian client were sourced. Pietkiewicz and Smith (2014) state that "the main concern in IPA [interpretative phenomenological analysis] is to give full appreciation to each participant's account" (p. 8). They suggest that an idiographic approach to examining each facilitator's experience is an important component of interpretative phenomenological analysis. Therefore, presenting each superordinate theme (a theme common in the data of several participants) in the context of each facilitator participant is crucial. Every superordinate theme is presented with nuanced detail to make clear distinctions between the facilitator participants who spoke of it.

The purposeful selection of male and female facilitators allowed me to identify any similarities and differences between their experiences from a gendered perspective. The voice of female facilitators is particularly relevant given the predominantly patriarchal orientation and use of gender-based violence by their South Asian clients. Discussing the experiences of a South Asian client of a men's behaviour change program is also essential to enlighten the study. That said, I would have preferred more voices of South Asian clients to provide an in-depth understanding of their experiences. However, idiography, a significant element of the selected methodology (interpretative phenomenological analysis), appreciates the value every participant has to offer in a unique exploration of a subject (Ashworth, 1999; Ashworth & Chung, 2006; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Smith et al., 2009).

This chapter comprises the following sections. Section 4.1 presents the findings on the facilitator participants, including participant profiles and experiences (Section 4.1.1), a reflective statement of my experience as a researcher (Section 4.1.2), a detailed comparison of emergent themes (Section 4.1.3) and a summary of facilitator findings (Section 4.1.4). Section 4.2 presents the findings pertaining to the South Asian client participant, including his profile (Section 4.2.1), emergent themes (Section 4.2.2) and a synthesis of findings (Section 4.2.3). Section 4.3 provides an overall summary of the themes. Section 4.4 provides a

reflexivity statement, and Section 4.5 concludes the chapter. The connection between these findings and the overarching research questions is then discussed in Chapter 5.

4.1 Facilitator Participants

4.1.1 Profiles and Experiences

A core ethic in human research is that participants are given anonymity. I met this ethical standard by using pseudonyms to conceal participants' identities. Male facilitators were given the pseudonyms Ryan, Dean, Damien, Josh, Carl and Isaac, while female facilitators were given the pseudonyms Amelia, Annabel, Lauren and Kim. Interviews were recorded using their given pseudonyms.

This section presents the participants' profiles (age, country of birth and years of experience as a men's behaviour change program facilitator) to provide an insight into their cultural backgrounds and significant experiences. Information is also provided about the men's behaviour change program in which the facilitators worked, including program structure, assessment process, client obligations, voluntary versus mandated client participation and available support systems for clients' partners or ex-partners.

4.1.1.1 Ryan

Ryan is a Caucasian Australian and was 29 years of age at the time of the interview. He had facilitated men's behaviour change programs for at least 6 years in both metropolitan and remote areas of Western Australia. He recalled working with only one client of South Asian origin. Ryan commented on the low number of South Asian clients in the men's behaviour change program in which he worked, attributing this to the lack of opportunities for this demographic to access such programs.

The men's behaviour change program in which Ryan worked was a 12-week program involving two sessions per week (24 sessions in total) for court-mandated family violence perpetrators. During the program, clients were evaluated for their suitability for a group intervention. They were not permitted to miss more than two of the 24 sessions. While the program provided no direct support for the survivors of violence, a separate service was available.

4.1.1.2 Annabel

Annabel is an Australian-born Caucasian and was in her late thirties at the time of the interview. She had worked as a men's behaviour change program facilitator for approximately 1.5 years at two agencies. Client participation in the program was a mandatory parole condition

for family violence offenders in detention. Annabel had worked with two South Asian clients who had been mandated to participate in the program as a condition of their early release from a detention centre.

The program comprised two phases: (i) An initial assessment of 60–90 minutes to check the client's offences against domestic violence law and evaluate whether the client met the program's inclusion criteria and (ii) a group intervention for suitable clients. Eligibility criteria included empathy for the victim, acceptance of the statement of material facts (the circumstances of the offence and the police charges) and acceptance of responsibility for the abusive behaviour. The initial one-on-one session focused on preparing clients for participation in the program. Annabel explained that one of the programs she worked in operated a high resistance stream for clients who took no responsibility for their abusive behaviour and disagreed with the statement of material facts. The high resistance stream consisted of six individual sessions to work on the offender's resistance.

4.1.1.3 Josh

Josh was born in Australia and was in his late forties. He had 1.5 years of experience facilitating a men's behaviour change program at a non-profit organisation in Perth and had worked with at least three South Asian men. Josh believed that the low number of South Asian clients was possibly attributable to their cultural conditioning, which he assumed did not resonate with counselling or behavioural interventions. These underlying assumptions indicate a degree of cultural bias and stereotyping, which may have arisen from his White Australian male perspective. The program in which Josh worked was designed to operate for 24 weeks and was accessible to anyone. The South Asian clients with whom Josh had worked had all been ordered by the family court to participate. The interview with Josh lasted nearly 50 minutes.

4.1.1.4 Amelia

Amelia was 30 years of age and had two years of experience facilitating men's behaviour change programs at two different agencies. She was born in Australia to parents who had migrated from India. At the time of the interview, she was facilitating a program for domestic violence offenders funded by correctional services. The participants in this program were either mandated by the family court or were on parole with a condition to participate in a domestic violence intervention. Amelia stated that 20% to 30% of the clients in her men's behaviour change program were South Asian. Amelia believed that the participation rate of this ethnic group should be higher because family violence was more prevalent in South Asian

families compared with other demographic groups. However, not every South Asian man who attended the judicial system participated in a men's behaviour change program. In Amelia's view, most men from South Asia would benefit from such an intervention.

The men's behaviour change program that Amelia facilitated comprised an initial one-on-one interview to assess the client's suitability for the group program, including the client's empathy for their victim, their accountability and responsibility for their abusive behaviour, their offence history and any issues that may increase their likelihood of reoffending. If assessed as suitable, the client would participate in the group intervention. Otherwise, they would be moved to the high resistance stream, after which they would progress to the group intervention. Amelia stated that most South Asian clients were allocated to the high resistance stream. The program had support services available for the survivors of family violence but only while the offender attended the program. Once the offender had completed or withdrawn from the intervention, the support for survivors also ceased.

4.1.1.5 Damien

Damien was a Caucasian immigrant from the US in his mid-seventies and had worked as a men's behaviour change program facilitator for 16 years. He had worked with numerous South Asian men in men's behaviour change programs but could not provide a precise number. Damien's interview took 50 minutes to complete. The programs in which Damien had worked all had a similar structure. Clients started with a one-on-one session to assess safety concerns, client type, the severity of abuse, the degree to which the client took responsibility for his abusive behaviour and his readiness to actively participate in the group intervention. Program participants were asked to provide the contact details of their past or current partners, who would then be offered feedback and support to ensure their safety while the client was attending the program. However, not all victims took up those services.

4.1.1.6 Kim

Kim was a Caucasian female in her mid-forties and was born in Australia. She was a service manager and facilitator of a men's behaviour change program and had 7 years of work experience. She had worked with many South Asian clients who had been mandated to attend the program but specifically recalled five clients during the interview. The service in which Kim worked required clients to undergo an intake assessment to evaluate their suitability for the group intervention, which was a 24-week rolling format that permitted clients to join at any point. After 6 weeks in the group program, the client would attend a one-on-one session with a facilitator to assess their progress and identify additional needs for continuous improvement.

Clients were asked to provide the contact details of their former or current intimate partners or any woman with whom they shared children. These women were offered individual or group counselling if required.

4.1.1.7 Carl

Carl was a male Caucasian facilitator in his late thirties. He had emigrated from Norway and had lived in Australia for 14 years. For 16 months, he had facilitated a men's behaviour change program for court-mandated clients who were currently on bail for domestic violence offences. He had worked in men's behaviour change programs at two different agencies. He had worked with many South Asian men but only explicitly remembered one man of Indian origin.

The program in which Carl worked had two components: One-on-one sessions and group sessions (24 sessions, twice a week for 2 hours). Before a client was allowed to participate in group work, they had to engage in pre-commencement sessions. One-on-one counselling was available for clients in the group intervention if they engaged in passive-aggressive behaviours or failed to participate in activities. A separate collaborating service was available to support domestic violence survivors.

4.1.1.8 Lauren

Lauren was a 40-year-old female Caucasian facilitator who was born and raised in Australia. She had worked regularly as a men's behaviour change program facilitator from 2006 to 2011, after which she had worked intermittently. She had been a clinical supervisor of various programs, including an individual counselling service. At the time of the interview, she was writing a risk management document for a men's behaviour change program, training and supervising behavioural change facilitators and occasionally filled in for facilitators on leave. Lauren recalled working with five to 10 clients from a South Asian background. She believed that South Asian clients had minimal involvement in men's behaviour change programs because their collectivist culture and family pressures discouraged them from reporting violence to authorities.

Lauren's men's behaviour change program was structured as a 24-week program with one-on-one sessions and a group component. Client suitability was assessed before they were allowed to join the group. South Asian clients participated because of a court mandate, a partner's ultimatum, a violence restraining order, the threat of losing their job or having no other choice.

An element of victim support was embedded in the intervention. While facilitators worked with their male clients, teaching them the necessary skills to be safe around their families, the partners and children of participants received support.

4.1.1.9 Dean

Dean was a Caucasian man who had migrated to Australia from England and considered himself one of the founders of men's behaviour change programs in WA. Dean was in his late sixties and had extensive experience working with domestic violence perpetrators since the 1980s. Dean had trained many men's behaviour change program facilitators for the 26-week Duluth Model program. He had worked with many South Asian men but believed that the low participation by South Asian men in domestic violence interventions was attributable to a lack of reporting, preventing them from coming to the attention of authorities.

The men's behaviour change program where Dean worked was structured as two phases: An initial assessment and a group intervention. Dean's approach was to meet both members of the couple during the one-on-one intake assessment before allowing the man to participate in the group. This involved the completion of a lengthy intake assessment form. South Asian clients were mandated to participate by the police or a family court order. Dean advised that his organisation also supported the survivors of intimate partner violence and operated a women's support group.

4.1.1.10 Isaac

Isaac was an Australian-born Caucasian facilitator in his late sixties. At the time of the interview, he had worked in men's behaviour change programs for 15 months at two different agencies in Perth. In one program, he had worked with men from predominantly collectivist cultures. However, he had previously worked with only one South Asian client.

The men's behaviour change program in which Isaac worked was a 12-week program comprising two 2-hour sessions per week. Each of the 12 modules could be divided into three or four sections, and various topics on domestic violence were covered in each session. Clients underwent an intake assessment to assess their suitability for the group intervention. The intervention was for court-mandated participants only, and a separate agency directly supported victims.

4.1.2 Reflective Statement

Nine of the 10 facilitator participants were from individualistic Western cultures, while one (Amelia) was a first-generation Australian born to Indian parents. Seven of the 10 were

born in Australia, while three had migrated to Australia from England, Norway and the US, respectively. The participants' cultural profiles led me to reflect on the influence that their cultural orientation may have had on their experiences and perceptions of working with people from a collectivist culture. It is possible that the participants were unaware of how their cultural background, White privilege or limited exposure to South Asian clients may have influenced their perceptions of their clients of men's behaviour change programs. Therefore, I cannot ignore the possibility that there may have been a degree of White supremacy, whether conscious or unconscious, in the perceptions of facilitators. Therefore, I examined the data for any subtle ideas, thoughts or White fragility of facilitators that may have originated in their conscious or unconscious biases of race and ethnicity. I also examined the data to identify whether facilitators used a multicultural orientation framework when working with culturally and linguistically diverse people in group interventions. This framework is attracting attention because it is based on the pillars of cultural humility, cultural opportunities, cultural comfort, the social microcosm (how systems of privilege and oppression manifest in the group), the acceptance of mistakes and the recognition of systemic privilege and oppression (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020). This approach invites workers to deliberately seek opportunities to discuss culture with an open and humble attitude that honours cultural identity and recognises the influence of systemic privilege and the oppression of clients. It also encourages therapists to openly admit fault when attempting to do the right thing for multicultural clients and acknowledge the influences of White fragility and White supremacy.

4.1.3 Themes Across Facilitator Participants

This section presents the phenomenological experiences of the four female and six male men's behaviour change program facilitators. Ten superordinate themes emerged from participants' experiences with South Asian men's behaviour change program clients. These themes reveal the subtle differences in understanding between participants. Key verbatim quotations from the interview transcripts are presented.

Table 9 shows the superordinate themes that emerged from the facilitator participant data in order of the most commonly to the least commonly identified.

Table 9

Superordinate themes identified among facilitator participants

Theme		No. facilitators
F06	Change is always challenging but not always obvious	10
F07	Being firm but flexible	10
F08	A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer	10
F10	Lack of embedded cultural component	10
F05	Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility	9
F03	Examining the gendered division of labour	8
F02	South Asian men's views of women are frustrating	8
F01	Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement	8
F09	Group diversity is beneficial	7
F06	Clients need to stop blaming the victim	6

4.1.3.1 F01: Although Their Rigid Views Harmed Their Families, Clients Resisted Engagement

Most facilitators perceived that their South Asian clients held rigid attitudes and resisted engagement in the group. However, I identified subtle variations in these perceptions, which are grouped into five subordinate themes: Withdrawn and disengaged, comparison of diverse clients, incompatible practices, inflexible beliefs and unfathomable concepts.

4.1.3.1.1 Withdrawn and Disengaged

Ryan, Annabel, Lauren and Carl found that their South Asian clients were reluctant to participate actively in group activities, relatively reserved and not open to sharing. For example, Ryan described his client as "very, very quiet or withdrawn in the group". This theme is also demonstrated in the following quotes:

> *They do keep everything quite guarded into the chest. It's hard to engage … I find [that they] always say the 'right' things. … They tend to minimise a lot to justify their behaviour … They don't want to talk about mental health, they don't want to talk about their feelings.* (Annabel)
>
> *What I saw was that South Asian men would be very quiet, very quiet, and it would be very hard to elicit much from them. They don't care; they don't want to do any activities; they might be just blatantly rude.* (Lauren)
>
> *He was disengaging and would not participate in most of the activities in the group … We had individual sessions with him as well … he was deemed resistant … he opened up a bit more in one-on-one [sessions] than … in a group setting …* (Carl)
>
> *I think he also felt a bit kind of judged by the other people there … so he was very withdrawn in the group.* (Carl)

Ryan described his client as "quiet" and "withdrawn" but appeared to overlook the fact that this may have been the result of his client being the only South Asian or non-White person in

the program. This made me wonder how culturally sensitive Ryan was in terms of client engagement. It is possible that his White privilege or lack of exposure to South Asian clients had caused him to ignore the cultural factors influencing his client's participation and response to others. Alternatively, it is possible that the client did not feel culturally safe. It is confronting for a member of a minority group to open up when they are typically unnoticed or ignored by people of the dominant culture. While the client may have appeared to be reserved or disinterested in the intervention, this may have been an act of resistance to Eurocentric cultural assumptions and biases.

Lauren's description of her South Asian client as "blatantly rude" appears to be a characterisation of the client without an understanding of his culture or the intricacies of human experience and identity. Her judgement also perpetuates cultural misinterpretations and the White supremacist power dynamic.

Carl's perception of his client being "judged by the other people there" suggests that his client may not have felt culturally safe, thus feared judgement by others. Fear of judgement is related to acceptance—it implies feelings of insecurity, defensiveness, shame and guilt, especially when feeling unfairly accused. I wonder whether Carl considered this a usual experience for someone who is culturally and contextually isolated.

4.1.3.1.2 Moral Contrasts Between Cultures

Annabel and Kim both observed that South Asian men were less inclined to share compared with Caucasian men, stating that South Asian clients held more rigid and closed views, while Caucasian clients were more open to sharing their problems and less inclined to minimise their abusive behaviours. For example, Kim stated that "some of their views do appear to be more rigid", while Annabel stated the following:

> *Whereas you will find with … the more Caucasian perpetrators, they may be high resistance, but then they are open, and when you do talk about mental health, they don't shut you down. In the same way, they don't minimise their problems.*

It is crucial to acknowledge individual differences because people can hold a wide range of beliefs and opinions, regardless of their cultural background. Cultural, political, economic and social factors always play a role in influencing people's expressions. Therefore, I believe that the intersectionality of South Asian clients because of their race, gender, class, subjugation, diverse outlook, experiences may influence their expression of opinions and perspectives (Bennett, 2016; Hill & Bilge, 2016).

Both Annabel and Kim appeared to perceive their Caucasian clients as morally better than their South Asian clients, a perception informed by their experiences, upbringing, societal

norms and beliefs. Cultural safety is crucial for clients to feel safe in expressing their opinions, particularly when discussing behaviours of which one is not proud. Both facilitators overlooked other possible reasons for the poor participation of their South Asian clients, such as cultural factors and the fact that these clients were members of a minority group. It is possible that in South Asian culture, discussing topics such as intimate partner violence with outsiders may be prohibited. I believe that the South Asian clients felt uncomfortable because they were in the minority and were perhaps exposed to cultural bias from the intervention practices or the facilitators.

4.1.3.1.3 Incompatibility with Group Practices

Kim and Lauren identified that incompatible practices may have been a reason for the minimal contributions of South Asian clients in group activities. They observed that their South Asian clients were disengaged and perceived the group as being biased towards White culture, thus felt that they did not belong. For example, Kim stated,

> *When they first come, they have a normal persona … that I don't belong here. You know, this is not for me, they're all White … and I have no place here. How dare I have to be in this place and this, this family court that is making me do this or child protection?*
>
> *And you know, I don't belong here … And that [is] kind of an elitist view … These are not my kind of … people that I would … spend my time with. So definitely positioning that I am nothing like these people around here.*

Kim perceived her South Asian clients as arrogant and privileged because they blamed the system, but she did not describe similar behaviours from her Caucasian clients. In my experience, most court-mandated clients reject and blame the system, regardless of their cultural background. Kim's interpretation lacks cultural sensitivity, a highly regarded quality when working with clients from diverse backgrounds. Similarly, Lauren believed that her South Asian clients did not

> *fit with the model that the facilitator was expecting. That will be the main barriers and challenges … Men's behaviour change is a Western concept … it's very Westernised in its approach …*
>
> *So, often what I find is that men who come from something that's not this individualistic Western mainstream culture, though they will present their view [that] 'I don't fit in here … that means these rules don't apply to me.' And so, they will hold onto that as a bit of a badge as in, like, 'This doesn't apply. This is different; you don't understand my culture' …*
>
> *They think, 'This isn't for me, I don't belong here, I'm not part of this culture. It's okay in my culture because everybody's doing it … I'm … being a good boy; that's what my dad did, and his dad before, and this is how it is. And so that's okay.'*

It appears that Lauren was conflicted about the engagement of her South Asian clients. While she acknowledged that the intervention was Westernised and was not tailored to meet the needs

of a minority cultural group, she questioned and struggled with the passive participation of her South Asian clients.

However, there may be some truth in Kim's and Lauren's interpretations of their clients' experiences of not belonging. Domestic violence interventions are based on individualistic Western concepts and often lack cultural safety because they do not include appropriate practices for minority groups. I wonder whether the facilitators adopted elements of the multicultural orientation framework such as cultural humility, cultural opportunities, cultural comfort, the social microcosm, accepting mistakes or addressing systemic privilege and oppression for their culturally and linguistically diverse clients to feel safe in accepting group practices (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

4.1.3.1.4 Clients' Inflexible Beliefs

Damien and Dean both believed that another reason for the low engagement of South Asian clients may be their inflexible beliefs about their relationships. These clients tended to blame their partners, thus refused to engage with the program, which is based on the feminist paradigm. According to Damien and Dean, these firm belief systems took a long time to change. For example, Damien commented, "there is definitely an issue with moving the belief, the ones with more solid belief systems, and that certainly requires time." Similarly, Dean commented that

> *South Asian men that I've worked with … their attitude was very … rigid. It was hard to get through to them … We reached out to South Asian men … well, they were there; getting them to talk was the next difficult part …*
>
> *South Asian, like Indian, socialisation about men's roles and women's roles is quite rigidly held … I remember being struck by how rigidly he wanted to hang on to his traditional ways of his role in his family … It was difficult because of the rigidly held attitudes toward their roles.*

In environments that lack cultural safety, clients may not feel that they can freely share their views. For change to occur, it is critical for an individual to feel safe and supported, but this process can take time. Moreover, it is entirely possible that the facilitators' conscious or unconscious biases may have prevented their clients from embracing change. I wonder whether these facilitators were open and flexible with respect to their values and assumptions. Describing their clients as rigid is possibly a tactic to conceal defensive posturing that may be in fact a projection of the facilitator's own rigidity to being culturally responsive and responsible. A lack of cultural safety may hinder client retention and engagement. Failure to participate in the group may reflect not only the client's disregard for the intervention but also

a culturally unsafe group environment. Therefore, I assume that the facilitators did not adopt a multicultural orientation framework (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

4.1.3.1.5 Unfathomable Concepts

Carl and Isaac recognised that their South Asian clients often struggled to understand the concept of domestic violence, including that it involved types of violence other than physical abuse, leading to their poor participation and engagement in the group. Isaac commented that "the most significant thing is that they can accept that physical violence is not acceptable … but they struggle to understand the psychological, the financial and the emotional abuse. They find that quite hard to understand." Similarly, Carl stated,

> *they also found it very difficult to understand that certain behaviour was abusive behaviour. For example, like, treating her like a servant was not seen as abusive behaviour …*
>
> *We could see how his behaviour must have been within the relationship … because he was a good chef, and he would make very nice food for himself, and he would just let his wife watch him eating.*

This inability to understand different types of domestic violence may be the result of cultural norms, socialisation patterns and limited education. It also demonstrates deeply ingrained patriarchal values and gender inequalities. Given the prevalence of physical violence in many South Asian countries, other forms of violence are often overlooked (Solotaroff & Pande, 2014). Subtle elements of toxic masculinity may also be a factor in the interactions between South Asian clients and male facilitators. Toxic masculinity may be displayed by clients, male facilitators or both, hindering the effects of the intervention. It harms both men and women, thus should be confronted to promote healthy relationships.

4.1.3.2 F02: South Asian Men's Views of Women Are Frustrating

Most facilitators identified that their South Asian clients had negative views of women. However, the male facilitators had to engage in reflection to become aware of this, while the female facilitators experienced it directly. Consequently, two subthemes emerged based on the differences in the sense-making process of male and female facilitators.

4.1.3.2.1 Female Facilitators Experienced Misogyny

All female facilitators observed that their South Asian clients tended to be dismissive and disrespectful of them and to minimise their ability. If a female facilitator asked a question, South Asian participants would often not answer them directly, referring to the male facilitator instead. Collectively, the female facilitators found it difficult to challenge their South Asian clients. They believed that these clients considered women inferior to men because of their

patriarchal attitudes, leading them to reject the female group facilitators. For example, Lauren believed that they "often put that down to the fact that … there's this loudmouth Western woman [*laughs*] talking in a group—I mean, you should like the loudmouth Western women, and I know that that's challenging for them, just inherently." Other excerpts that demonstrate these attitudes include the following:

> *As a facilitator, it's been an interesting dynamic … One is quite dismissive … I've seen it with … a female facilitator … 'Oh, you won't understand. You're a woman.' And, but you can see in their body language that they are not happy with the message they are receiving.* (Annabel)
>
> *As a female, when you challenge them, they might react in a certain way … very much that women are inferior to men; that's like an underlying belief system that they come into our program with …*
>
> *Automatically, working as a female facilitator at the front of the door, they are very dismissive. So, [a] female facilitator might ask a question, but they'll look to the male facilitator and answer. So, anything I say is disregarded.* (Amelia)
>
> *[I] will ask a question, [and] they'll actually sometimes turn in their seats and face the male facilitator and [respond to] him … purely based on my gender, you know. They would respond better to my male facilitator and actually answer him rather than me.* (Kim)

The different experiences of the male and female facilitators show an interesting dynamic. While the female facilitators all directly experienced the dismissive, disrespectful and undermining attitudes of South Asian men, the male facilitators only identified these attitudes through examination and reflection. It is feasible that intended or unintended collusion by male facilitators resulted in their ignorance of these negative behaviours towards their female colleagues. Alternatively, South Asian clients may accept the authority of male but not female facilitators because of their patriarchal attitudes. It appears that the male facilitators were busy exploring the disrespectful behaviours of South Asian clients towards their intimate partners. However, they were ignorant of the same behaviours being directed towards their female colleagues, thus failing to meet the goal toward which they were aiming to achieve. It is unclear whether this is a result of male privilege, collusion with clients or power relations between facilitators. I also wonder how this may influence South Asian clients' learning about gender equality.

4.1.3.2.2 Understanding Client Attitudes Through Reflection

Most male facilitators recognised on reflection that their South Asian clients' attitudes towards women were problematic and that women were perceived as inferior to men. All assumed it was because of their upbringing in South Asia's patriarchal society. For example, Carl stated that "[women] were inferior to men … as a sort of a utility … quite a male-dominated society". Similarly, Josh and Dean made the following comments:

> *I suppose … even for Australian men, the whole notion that women are equal to men and are worthy of having the same power can be just different to what they've grown up with … the basic assumption that they've grown up with.* (Josh)
>
> *And what I always found interesting was how casually men would express their biases toward women and their own … sense of entitlement … It was just, well [laughs], I don't want to be judgemental; you just accept people as they are.* (Dean)

Isaac was particularly disparaging in his reflection:

> *I felt it was a very discounting sort of an attitude and minimising the position of women in a culture and is particularly in respect to DV [domestic violence] … Very much male privileged … It's not okay … It's the subjugation of women, the objectification of women.*

While most male facilitators perceived that South Asian men felt entitled and were biased against women, Dean brushed the matter off because he did not wish to be judgemental of his clients and "just accept people as they are". However, I found this behaviour staggering because it demonstrated a sort of collusion with his male clients, whether intentional or unintentional. According to Klein (2012), collusion may involve "condoning or encouraging the perpetrator's abuse, protecting him from being held accountable, dismissing the seriousness of abuse, or "staying out of it" (p. 100). Collusion by a third party, especially a professional, may reinforce the perpetrator's negative behaviours and attitudes.

4.1.3.3 F03: Examining the Gendered Division of Labour

Most facilitators observed that their South Asian clients were in favour of traditional gender roles, generating the theme F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour). This theme is divided into six subthemes: Women perform domestic duties, men are the breadwinners, men are the decision-makers, men are entitled to sex, men have a strong sense of privilege and cultural expectations of a gendered hierarchy.

4.1.3.3.1 Women Perform Domestic Duties

The facilitators observed that their South Asian clients typically held a strong bias towards socially constructed gender roles in which women were assigned home duties. According to Amelia, many South Asian men believe they have a right to be violent if their intimate partner fails to obey the rules or fulfil her responsibilities as a subservient wife. She commented that they have

> *very strong beliefs around gender roles. So, partners stay at home. If their partner goes outside of what they perceive as the set gender role, it's almost like … their actions are justified … Their attitude towards their intimate partner was very authoritative. The intimate partner must obey his order; otherwise, she deserved punishment. She should do what she been told to do.*

The male facilitators also noted these attitudes, with Ryan stating, "Often there seemed to be some alignment with traditional gendered views … the wife stays at home and looks after the house and does cooking and cleaning, looks after the kids, and the man is expected to work." Damien commented that South Asian clients had "a more conservative view of roles, I think, generally. When I think about some of the expectations … in most families, still with young children, the women are more likely to be the ones staying at home". Similarly, Carl observed that his South Asian client "would not take care of the children as it was [the] wife's responsibility, and during time off from work, he spent all his time drinking alcohol to excess." Kim observed that her clients were:

> *very sort of old school in regard to traditional roles. And so, how women should act, you know, how mothers should act, how they want them to act … quite rigid views in regard to that ….Often, just more their gender roles and their traditional beliefs and things like that.*

Therefore, the facilitators identified that South Asian clients were mostly oriented towards socially constructed gender roles in which women stay at home and men go out to work. However, it is possible that South Asian women also find it challenging to break their adherence to these deeply embedded gender roles, norms and expectations. They continue to comply with these expectations to avoid social ostracism and shame and maintain social acceptance and approval, thus prioritising their family over their aspirations (Dasgupta, 2007; Tonsing & Tonsing, 2019).

4.1.3.3.2 Men are the Breadwinners

Some facilitators constructed their South Asian clients as financial providers for the family and understood it as another aspect of South Asian clients' traditional gender roles acceptance. According to Josh and Damien, South Asian patriarchal culture views men as the mandatory breadwinners of the family. For example, Josh stated,

> *There are these roles and expectations … So certainly, women are homemakers, child carers; and men are providers and labourers.*

While Damien commented that his client "has a role as provider and so on, but actually also controls perhaps the finances". The perception that men should be the sole breadwinners is underpinned by cultural, economic and social factors that are rooted in traditional and socially constructed gender roles. Consequently, South Asian women have fewer opportunities for education, occupation and system support.

4.1.3.3.3 Men are the Decision-makers

A facilitator positioned his South Asian clients as decision-makers, aligning them with socially constructed gender roles. Damien perceived that South Asian men are expected to

make important decisions. According to the facilitator, South Asian men and their families comply with the social norms, expectations and family hierarchy. Damien was aware that these hierarchical gender roles were ingrained and difficult to challenge, and he commented that these gender roles become

> *more entrenched where there is the expectation that the man ultimately … makes the decisions … The situation is not only that may he have beliefs, but … the whole family has beliefs. So … believe in what your role is and your position and what are your expectations. So quite often, his beliefs are actually supported by the family …*
>
> *Basically, you get a whole cultural group that believes that there's nowhere safe; there's no way to support you in that. And so, the person who's feeling controlled is more vulnerable in that respect. But also the person who is doing the controlling is more supported. So, being more controlling.*

Given my own cultural experience of India, I resonate with Damien's comments. The literature review conducted for this thesis demonstrates that South Asian culture is predominantly patriarchal and collectivist, thus systemically supporting men to engage in controlling behaviour Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Gorringe, 2018; Gupta, 2016; Weightman, 2011). Consequently, women become more vulnerable. This interplay between dominance and vulnerability gives men the power to make decisions. Women's lack of power around decision-making means they are unable to determine their own lives. On deeper reflection, I discovered that most of my crucial life decisions had been made by male family members, leading me down a different path from that to which I had aspired. Remarkably, I also understood that these decisions had been made for me as if they had been my own. It is astonishing to realise how blindfolded I was because of my culture. Therefore, Damien's understanding that men's beliefs are supported by their families because of the blindfolding of women in South Asian culture appears to be valid.

4.1.3.3.4 Men are Entitled to Sex

Another viewpoint, in line with the acceptance of socially constructed gender roles, a facilitator found his South Asian client was entitled to engage in sexual activities with his wife regardless of her wishes. Carl discussed his South Asian client's belief that he had the right to his wife's body and the authority to demand sex, regardless of her wishes. According to Carl, this client believed he had power over his intimate partner because he came from

> *quite a male-dominated society where status plays a big role. And we can see this with that man we had; he was very into [the] status and wanted to sort of show off … [He] would be quite demanding of sex.*

Carl's account, including the phrase "sort of show off", implies that he was overlooking the influence of social and cultural factors such as caste and class, gender identity and hierarchy

based on socioeconomic status and occupation. It is essential to consider how a South Asian man's experiences of intersectionality influence his behaviour (Bennett, 2016; Hill & Bilge, 2016). Carl's client's perception of status may have been informed by his desire to be accepted and recognised in a group dominated by White men. I wonder whether this client struggled with feelings of acceptance in the group because of his position as a minority member.

4.1.3.3.5 Men Have a Strong Sense of Privilege

Dean observed that his South Asian clients had a strong sense of privilege. His South Asian clients were open about their entitlement in their intimate relationships and did not accept that their partners were equal. Dean identified a long list of physically and emotionally abusive behaviours of South Asian men, indicating that these men treat their partners as inferior:

> *What struck me often with South Asian men was how casual and how taken for granted they assumed their sense of entitlement was in their relationships with their partners … So, the kind of dissidence for them between what was a normal attitude toward their partner and themselves … It was kind of shocking … because there were long list of joking, slapping, hitting, punching, etcetera.*

The phrases "what struck me often" and "it was kind of shocking" indicated Dean's surprise at his clients' sense of entitlement in their relationships. I believe that these clients may not have been even remotely aware of their patriarchal entitlement and privilege. My upbringing taught me that privilege and entitlement are taken for granted by South Asian men because of systemic support from South Asian society.

4.1.3.3.6 Cultural Expectations of a Gendered Hierarchy

Isaac perceived his South Asian client as utterly believing in the culturally constructed gendered hierarchy in which women are always subjugated to male dominance. Thus, it was challenging for his client to take responsibility for his abusive actions:

> *We talk a lot about male privilege and his male privilege in Western culture … It's just like complete acceptance that that's the way it is. And to see it in any other way is very foreign to them …*
>
> *And I think that's where they struggle with the acceptance of responsibility … The cultural expectation of a hierarchy … [a woman's] place in society … that place is always under the dominance of men … It seems to be a shield, an invisible shield put up, and then they will use culture.*

Isaac explained that his South Asian client would use his culture to justify his rigid beliefs and struggled to grasp the concept of different forms of abusive behaviour. Abuse is an intricate and multifaceted issue that involves complex interactions between culture, belief systems and

the influence of systemic oppression. However, abusive behaviour is never justified, regardless of cultural beliefs (Adelman et al., 2012; Merry, 2009).

4.1.3.4 F04: Clients Need to Stop Blaming the Victim

Six of the 10 facilitators commented that South Asian clients held their intimate partners responsible for their violence. However, their comments varied according to the different terms and phrases used, such as "manipulative woman", "crazy", "rule breaker", "torturing", "ignorant of her duties", and the "master–servant dynamic". I view these perceptions of manipulation, craziness and torturing as defence mechanisms, which may be a form of displacement or projection. South Asian clients may be consciously or unconsciously aware of their manipulative behaviours. However, rather than acknowledging this, they prefer to blame their intimate partners to avoid harming their self-esteem.

4.1.3.4.1 Manipulative

Annabel and Josh recalled that their South Asian clients often positioned themselves as the victims, blaming their intimate partners for their suffering and depicting them as manipulative, aggressive and disrespectful of their needs. For example, Annabel commented that

> *they saw themselves as a victim, that the partner was the one who was quite manipulative, that the partner was … overbearing, that she was the one who was pushing, pushing him and putting her needs above his.*

Similarly, Josh recounted that his South Asian clients

> *stated that the problem lies in their ex-partner's behaviour … The way they see it, there is no point in looking at their own behaviour because they are not the problem.*

Josh and Annabel appeared to overlook the fact that victim blaming can occur irrespective of the context or culture. Nevertheless, it is never justifiable or acceptable. I believe that victim blaming is a typical strategy used by perpetrators to avoid accountability.

4.1.3.4.2 Crazy

Josh observed that his South Asian clients were often disparaging of their intimate partners, characterising them as "crazy" in an attempt to blame them and demonstrating a lack of empathy. As he stated that

> *'Often, they refer to their partners as crazy … they seem to think that … their partners were particularly difficult and … had mental health issues.*

Josh recounted an occasion in which he had challenged a client's views and encouraged him to review his partner's perspectives:

> *[South Asian client would] talk about how crazy his ex-partner was … but we would also be constantly trying to direct him to think about … her perspective, and I think he didn't appreciate that, so he ended up stop coming.*

Consequently, the client stopped attending the group. Josh's perceived reason for his client's withdrawal from the program may have been overly simplistic. Client attrition is a complex phenomenon influenced by both individual and structural factors, including the lack of inclusivity, power imbalances arising from White supremacy, inadequate support systems, limited cultural practices, a lack of transparency and other intersecting elements. Failing to apply a multicultural orientation framework may increase client attrition (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

4.1.3.4.3 The Rule Breaker

Amelia observed that her South Asian clients would describe their partners as "rule breakers" in yet another way to blame the victim. Her South Asian clients tended to blame their partners for their abusive behaviours and believed that their partners should be in the program instead. The partner of one South Asian client would flee to a refuge 18–19 times a month, but the client would minimise the situation by stating that his partner would only do this to gain attention. The facilitator established that the client refused to admit that something was wrong with his own behaviour, indicating the severity of the problem. Amelia mimicked her client's statement, laughing with disgust:

> *So, that is the biggest thing, that their actions are once off, and it's only because their partner had done A, B, C, D. So, they're actually not at fault for their actions; it's justified, and the problem lies with the partner. So, we shouldn't be working with him; we should be working with her because he doesn't have a problem if she does what she's told.*
>
> *He was in complete denial, [stating] 'She wasn't scared of me at any point; my kid was fine. My kid knows he's got a good Daddy. He [client's son] wasn't scared of me … he knows that Daddy has to do what he has to do.*
>
> *He openly admitted she'd gone to a refuge 18, 19 times at that point, and we were in February of the year. So just that year she went 18, 19 times in a month and a half period. [She was] that desperate, but to him, it's 'Oh, she's just using it to get attention. She's not scared of me' [laughs].*

Amelia appeared to identify this tendency as an exclusive trait of her South Asian clients. However, perpetrators of any cultural background may justify their behaviour by blaming their intimate partners. Further, a multicultural orientation framework may not have been in place to encourage clients to view their behaviours differently. Cultural humility, cultural opportunities and cultural comfort are fundamental for clients to be able to reflect deeply and identify their abusive behaviours (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

4.1.3.4.4 Torturing

Similar to other facilitators, Damien identified a trend of victim blaming in his South Asian clients, who believed they were being "tortured" by their wives. He recalled his South Asian clients using expressions such as "she's torturing me" to allude to a deliberate intention to create conflict. By deconstructing these narratives, Damien discovered that his clients found it intolerable if their spouses did not abide by culturally constructed rules, which was perceived as undermining the man's authority. This rejection of the man's authority led South Asian clients to blame their partners as the cause of their abusive behaviours:

> *She's torturing me. And when you actually examine it, it's obviously just that she's not playing to the rules of the game rather than that she's literally torturing him … belief is so ingrained to some extent that they see it as being absolutely unacceptable …*
>
> *Trauma is the greatest driver of abusive behaviour. But it gets supported by belief systems that actually then excuse or even encourage that behaviour … there is [an] excuse for blaming the other person.*

In this comment, Damien asserts that trauma is a leading driver of abusive behaviour. However, I question this justification of the client's behaviour. Damien failed to explain exactly how trauma leads only men to be violent or specify his conception of trauma, limiting a further explanation of the correlation he was attempting to establish between trauma and violent men. Similarly, I have reservations about Damien's use of the phrase "belief system" in relation to violent behaviour. The relationship between belief systems and violence is multifaceted. A belief system may encourage people to engage in violent or harmful behaviours and can contribute to its justification. However, it may also prevent violent behaviours. For example, a belief in nonviolence can mitigate violent behaviours, even in the face of discrimination and oppression. Mahatma Gandhi, for example, is well known for his advocacy of nonviolence, even in the face of extreme discrimination and oppression from the British colonisers (Atack, 2012).

4.1.3.4.5 Ignorant of Her Duties

Kim identified a different victim-blaming approach, in which her South Asian clients would question the dedication of their intimate partners towards their socially constructed duties. Kim found that her South Asian clients were often derogatory towards their partners and devalued them as mothers and wives, especially when they were undergoing separation and divorce. They would often use their children as weapons:

> *She didn't know her role … [what the] mother should do … that's the responsibility of wives as well … And in regard to children … they would often criticise the mothering, the partners' attempts at mothering, and very much play the children up against the mother as well.*

> *Especially in separated cases and going through family court, [they would] be quite derogatory in their responses … So, there is quite a lack of accountability, and it was her fault.*

While I do not doubt Kim's observations of her South Asian clients' victim-blaming attitudes, I question whether she perceived this behaviour as typical of only South Asian men. My experience as a men's behaviour change program facilitator taught me that most clients, irrespective of their cultural background, use their children as weapons against their partners and blame their partners for poor parenting (Beeble et al., 2007).

4.1.3.4.6 Master–Servant Dynamic

The "master–servant dynamic" was identified as another means by which South Asian clients would blame their victims. Carl observed that his South Asian client viewed his partner as a servant and blamed her for his violent behaviour if she did not perform well. Carl assumed that his client's mentality was a result of his South Asian culture:

> *Blaming the partner was more, sort of seems for him to be more culturally accepted that he was the boss basically in the relationship … He was minimising his abuse as well … He basically treated her like a servant. She was there to accommodate whatever he needed.*

As a South Asian working woman who cannot ignore her duties towards her family, I resonate with the South Asian client positioning his wife as a servant. Although I worked as a scientist in India, I was primarily responsible for the household and child-rearing duties. On deeper reflection, I realise how ingrained this belief must have been for me to casually accept these duties and still face criticisms that I was not as dutiful as stay-at-home wives (Choudhury & Kumar, 2022; Grantham et al., 2021; Gupta, 2016).

4.1.3.5 F05: Individual Accountability is the Perpetrator's Responsibility

Most facilitators identified that their South Asian clients took little responsibility for their abusive behaviours. This was based on various aspects of client participation, including brief disclosures, allocation to a high resistance stream, lack of suitability for a program, the inherent tendency to blame, a lack of engagement in the group, the use of culture as a shield, shame manifested as defence and unapologetic disowning, deflecting and minimising. However, the facilitators appeared to perceive these defensive reactions from a Western individualistic and clinical perspective. They tended to draw on psychology or counselling concepts (e.g. trauma, deflection, denial and minimising) to understand behaviours rather than reflexively examining their worldviews and cultural biases to demonstrate cultural knowledge and understanding of the client.

4.1.3.5.1 Brief Disclosures

Ryan believed that his South Asian client's lack of accountability for his abusive behaviour was rooted in denial. The client was uncomfortable being challenged about his behaviour and would withhold details to avoid critically reflecting on his behaviour. As Ryan stated,

> *The resistance I observed around his accountability … sort of came out in the sense of … denial or reluctance to share … [He was] reluctant to put the spotlight on him, so it's very much not feeling uncomfortable, feeling uncomfortable going there. And not sort of putting himself under scrutiny … So, avoidance, denial. But I can recall this South Asian man because of his resistance to the accountability responsibility side; he provided a very brief account, very, not very … hmm … not much detail.*

I question whether it is helpful to place the responsibility and accountability for violent behaviours solely on perpetrators. I wonder whether Ryan considered broader structural influences such as cultural impunity, the lack of consequences for abuse, power imbalances, systemic inequalities and the poor coordination between systems to hold perpetrators accountable.

4.1.3.5.2 High Resistance

Annabel observed that court-mandated clients would invariably show resistance to being accountable. Two of her South Asian clients had been referred to the high resistance stream of the program prior to being admitted to the group intervention because they had failed to demonstrate empathy for their victims, take responsibility for their abusive behaviour or accept the police statement of material facts. This confirmed her perception of South Asian clients as lacking in empathy, accountability and responsibility. As she commented

> *'The two clients that we had come through have had to go through the higher resistance stream … There's always going to be some level of resistance … when [a] court mandates them.'*

The dynamic between resistance and accountability is complex and has the potential to create tension between the powerful and the powerless. Resistance is often the result of punitive approaches and a lack of accountability (Wade, 1997). I wonder whether Annabel made any attempt to view resistance as an opportunity to explore the influences of systemic discrimination, oppression and racism in alignment with the multicultural orientation framework (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

4.1.3.5.3 Lack of Admission

Josh believed that South Asian clients did not believe their abusive behaviour was wrong and were reluctant to be accountable for it. They tended to minimise their abusive

behaviours towards their intimate partners. Josh found their denial and resistance to change challenging:

> *There's no, no accountability or consideration that they might be doing something that might be a problem … Yeah, there is a great deal of resistance … there is denial. It's really hard.*

In making sense of his clients' resistance, Josh appeared to focus on individual factors, referring to psychoanalytic concepts such as denial and minimising rather than broader cultural and systemic influences. What if the social microcosm, a manifestation of systems of privilege and oppression within the group, intersects with clients' accountability and responsibility, leading them to being resistant?

4.1.3.5.4 Human Tendency to Justify Blame

Damien also observed that his South Asian clients were resistant to being accountable and taking responsibility for their abusive behaviour, stating that they would attempt to justify their abuse. Damien explained that in this situation, it takes an enormous effort to persuade clients to stop making excuses and accept responsibility for their behaviours:

> *Look, resistance occurs, you know … It just makes it that much more resistant … Anyone is behaving in a way what could be regarded as abusive. We tend to … latch on to support our behaviour, or then, of course, it's going to make it that much more difficult to pull them away from that position …*
>
> *It's human nature to … mostly respond from trauma and then perhaps be confused by the way that we behave to some degree … I suppose where there are cultural supports for it, that makes it a little more difficult. And so, resistance … where they can argue what you simply do not understand because you … do not have these belief systems.*

Damien describes resistance as being part of human nature. However, while defensiveness and reluctance to admit to one's faults and wrongdoings are inherently human, empathy and compassion are also human traits that can encourage offenders to take responsibility for their actions (Wade, 1997).

Additionally, Damien believes that trauma often underlies resistance to being accountable for abusive behaviour. The use of the term "trauma" is popular among counsellors to make sense of destructive behaviours. However, I believe that the resistance to being accountable for violence against women is more nuanced. For example, Damien may have failed to consider influence of toxic masculinity or the wider societal and cultural context, which is essential to make sense of a phenomenon. In a culture where violence is viewed as normal and masculinity is understood in a traditional stereotyped way (comprising strength, aggression, violence, dominance and heterosexuality), male offenders are less likely to be held accountable (Malley-Morrison, 2004; Thandi, 2012). Consequently, the cultural factors that reward toxic masculinity should be examined.

Damien found it challenging to motivate clients who viewed him as incompetent because of his cultural background and attempted to challenge them without an understanding of their cultural norms. As mentioned above, toxic masculinity cannot continue to be rewarded by cultural impunity and used as a shield to avoid being accountable for violence. While culture significantly influences an individual's attitudes and behaviours around violence, it can never justify acts of violence.

4.1.3.5.5 Disowning

Kim observed that South Asian clients often justified, minimised or denied their abusive behaviour by stating that it was in response to their partner's disobedience. Kim stated these clients tended to lack accountability despite the evidence provided by police reports and court records:

> *Often, it will be a denial of actually what's happened, even though they may be police reports or family court concerns and either denial or complete minimisation or blame … 'Well, I only responded because she did this, she did that.' So there's quite a lack of accountability, and it was her fault.*

I agree with Kim's interpretation of this denial of accountability by blaming the victim. However, I do not view this as typical of South Asian clients. In my role as a facilitator, I experienced similar behaviours from most men's behaviour change program clients, irrespective of their cultural background, particularly those who had been mandated by a court to attend the program.

4.1.3.5.6 No Engagement

Carl believed that the minimal group participation of South Asian clients was a form of resistance to taking responsibility for their abusive behaviours. He gave the example of a client's failure to participate in a mapping activity, interpreting the client's resistance as a denial of any wrongdoing:

> *Yeah, very much so, resistance to accountability and responsibility … He was minimising his behaviour very much … But when we had him in the group, he would often not participate in the activities we had with him …*
>
> *So, when we did an activity where we … map out the incident, he was very resistant, he didn't really want to engage. Other times, he would just sit there and not really engage with anything.*

While I do not deny Carl's experiences, I wonder whether he considered other reasons for his client's lack of participation in activities, including individual and systemic factors, or applying the multicultural orientation framework to identify the influence of oppression and discrimination as a systemic factor (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020). The

multicultural orientation framework may be helpful in identifying the actual reasons affecting his client's lack of involvement.

4.1.3.5.7 Culture as a Shield

Lauren perceived that those South Asian men used their culture as a shield against taking responsibility for their abusive behaviours. She explained that she would apply the individualistic paradigm to encourage clients to reflect on themselves rather than justify their behaviours through a cultural lens:

> *Of course, yes, absolutely, there is resistance … You try to get through that resistance by looking at … a bit of an individualistic Western notion. Just try and put all of that culture to the side and focus in on yourself.*

I strongly question Lauren's approach to encouraging client accountability. It appears that she ignored the collectivist orientation of her South Asian clients when applying concepts embedded in individualistic practices, which may not be effective with clients who do not align with these beliefs. Clients may perceive this as disregarding their belief systems, suggesting a power imbalance and leading to a lack of trust and accountability. Only by being culturally sensitive and applying practices that align with clients' beliefs, such as cooperative group activities that foster a sense of belongingness and social connection, can favourable outcomes be generated (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

4.1.3.5.8 Shame Manifested as a Defence

Dean believed that South Asian men were ashamed of their abusive behaviour but would take a long time to accept responsibility for it, often responding with blame and denial. Dean believed that

> *'They felt ashamed, but that comes out, and it's how it manifested itself. But in terms of accountability [it] took a while … Yes, I think there'd be very few that would automatically just accept complete responsibility.'*

Dean's observation that it "took a while" indicates that South Asian clients are able to take responsibility when offered a conducive environment and time with a supportive facilitator. These factors indicate both systemic and individual factors. Therefore, resistance to accountability cannot be placed solely on the individual.

4.1.3.5.9 Deflecting and Minimising

According to Isaac, South Asian clients often demonstrate a lack of accountability by blaming their partner or minimising their abuse:

> *There is quite a lot of resistance in accepting responsibility. And that is demonstrated usually by deflecting and minimising … From my experience, that was the minimising and the*

deflection … and the challenge that indicated to me that they were minimising and not taking responsibility.

I wonder whether the men's behaviour change program in which Isaac worked utilised the multicultural orientation framework to provide clients with a sense of cultural safety to openly share their experiences. Rather than focusing on the cultural and social context, Carl used clinical and psychological concepts such as minimising, deflection and resistance to interpret his client's lack of engagement.

4.1.3.6 F06: Change is Always Challenging but Not Always Obvious

The theme "Change is always challenging but not always obvious" emerged from most facilitators' accounts. This theme refers to perpetrators needing to take responsibility for their abusive behaviours before they can change. There were subtle differences in the facilitators' explanations for these changes, including the use of socially acceptable language, reduced level of violence, better listening, improved engagement, completing the intervention, perspective taking, improved knowledge and improved self-awareness. The following subthemes illustrate these interpretations of client change during the intervention.

4.1.3.6.1 Socially Acceptable Language

Ryan and Isaac reported that their South Asian clients learned to employ socially acceptable language to imply that they had changed, without necessarily changing their actual attitudes or behaviours. This, and the limited time they spent with clients, made it difficult to determine tangible changes in their clients' attitudes and behaviours:

Because we see them for a few hours a week, it's hard to talk, really … it's hard to gauge what's going on … And he … declined invitations to participate or to challenge himself. I didn't feel as though there were significant changes in his attitude …. (Ryan)

What he had learned … is almost like the right thing to say, like, what is it that's going to fly in this situation as he knows what to say. So, I see through him, his language … I think he saw taking on the language of responsibility. And knowing that sort of knowing right from wrong, but I can't say there was any other shift. (Ryan)

It's very difficult to assess if there has been change … very difficult. The responses differ through other modes of communication, the body language, the eye contact and over a period of time … They may verbalise the right thing and tell me what I want to hear, but if the lights go on, I really don't know. They will nod their heads and appear to be accepting. But it's … difficult to see whether there's been change. (Isaac)

I have a different interpretation of the "right thing to say" and "what I want to hear". Rather than using an intentional strategy of deception, South Asian clients may be using language to "fit in" rather than "stand out". The adoption of politically correct language by members of a minority group may be a coping strategy to feel more comfortable, especially when exposed to the cultural biases of intervention practices or facilitators.

4.1.3.6.2 Reduced Level of Violence

Annabel suggested that the level of abuse committed by one of her South Asian clients may have been reduced through his participation in the group intervention. However, she was not confident that he would become an entirely new man: "Even though his values won't change, [I don't think he will] perpetrate in that particular way that he did, which was almost killing the woman, his ex-partner." With respect to another South Asian client, Annabel believed that he would never change his values or respect for women but would learn how the system works and employ different tactics to deny his abusive behaviours and dodge accountability:

> *I absolutely don't think that the group made much of a difference at all. In one of his very last interviews, he still was blaming his ex-wife for everything … There was a lot of anger, and it was, 'I am the victim. She actually abused me. She put the children before me.' There was a lot of that. So, I don't think he'll ever change to be honest …*
>
> *I don't think he'll change his values in terms of the respect he'll have for women. I honestly don't, but I do think it'll make him more aware of the way the system works and that there are different ways to walk away.*

Annabel's lack of confidence in the ability of her South Asian client to change is astonishing. It is critical for facilitators to believe in the ability of their clients to grow and change. I believe that Annabel was overlooking the influence of environmental factors in promoting change. The lack of motivation to change in a client may be attributable to numerous factors, including the cultural limitations of the intervention, the facilitator's ability to meet the client's cultural needs and the conscious or unconscious biases in facilitators and the program (Pallatino et al., 2019).

4.1.3.6.3 Listening Better

Josh and Lauren both recognised that being part of a group gave South Asian clients the opportunity to listen to other men talk about their experiences and views, helping to shift their outlook. As Lauren commented, "they start to actually listen." Nevertheless, Josh stated that he did not see much success with his South Asian clients:

> *That one's a bit hard for me to answer because I don't have that much experience of success with working with South Asian men in this area … Perhaps them being in the group … is probably helpful, listening to other men talking about their own progress and about the shifts that they have made.*

I agree with Josh's belief that it is helpful for South Asian clients to hear about the success of other participants in the program. It is because other people's success stories from the same group's experiences might help to create hope for them.

4.1.3.6.4 Completed Intervention

South Asian clients would often complete the program, which Amelia considered a success. However, she was uncertain about whether this led to tangible changes. She added that a client's progress could be established by them being prepared to look the facilitator in the eye when answering a question:

> *The majority of them, and by the time they complete, actually a lot of them will complete the group, which is a success story in itself … but the issue is whether their engagement is superficial … I am getting an emotive reaction, and I am actually getting them looking me directly in the eye, answering me directly. That is an improvement.*

Amelia also observed that on entering the program, her South Asian clients typically had a prejudiced view of women, but by the end of the program, they would categorise women as either worthy or unworthy, implying a form of moral exclusion in which they still consider their partners unworthy and beyond the scope of justice (Deutsch, 1990; Opotow, 1994). According to Amelia, they developed a different attitude towards female facilitators but retained their discriminatory attitude towards their female partner:

> *There is an improvement in their attitudes. But what they have done is they have separated women in their heads. So, in the beginning, it will be all women feel like this, all women feel like that. But by the end of it, it will be the worthy woman I will treat like this from now on … and I understand I am responsible for my behaviour. If I get in an argument with my female colleague, I am going to do this and that, because they say they are more equal, but for them, their female partner will always be underneath them …*
>
> *So, unfortunately, I do not think there is a huge success rate in that we are changing lives and changing attitudes. There is, I would say half of them make a slight improvement … But there is still a lot more work that needs to be done … Unfortunately, our program is only a 24-session program, which is 12 weeks, which in the grand scheme of things is not huge. Unfortunately, I do not think we are going to be changing huge lives.*

While Amelia considered the completion of the men's behaviour change program a positive outcome, she was conflicted about whether her South Asian clients had actually changed. While she mentioned some positive changes (e.g. completing the group, answering her directly, and looking her in the eye and improving their attitudes), she did not think there was a "huge success rate". Perhaps Amelia did not carefully consider her answer. Additionally, I believe that she ignored the complexities of the behaviour change process, where there appeared to be changes in some respects but not in others. Notably, Amelia uses the limited time and number of sessions to justify the lack of success rather than reflecting on the cultural effectiveness of the program.

4.1.3.6.5 Perspective Taking

Damien believed that his South Asian clients had shifted their perspectives to some extent. He noticed more changes in his South Asian clients when he worked with them from an emotional perspective, finding that clients could develop empathy towards others. However, he had less success with clients who held strong views or rigid beliefs and who needed more time to change:

> *I have to be honest … probably the most successful ones had been those who have probably not been quite so rigid in their thoughts in the first place … Most of the time, [it] requires quite a bit of time to make any profound change …*
>
> *If I have them enough to get to beyond the hurt to start to be able to actually recognise what is going on from an emotional perspective, they start to see beyond themselves and if they care for the other person.*

Damien's approach with his South Asian clients is underpinned by Stosny's (1995) compassionate approach. Stosny argues that a lack of self-compassion leads to the abuse of self and others. Therefore, one needs to learn to self-respect and identify underlying beliefs that generate emotional turmoil. The compassionate approach emphasises the importance of emotional regulation for self-compassion, leading to compassion for others. However, this approach neglects the systemic power dynamics that contribute to violent behaviour.

4.1.3.6.6 Improved Engagement

Kim and Lauren witnessed varying levels of improved engagement among their South Asian clients. While some clients made highly visible changes, others shifted only slightly or none at all. Kim recalled that while improvements may appear minor to the facilitator, they could be huge from the perspective of intimate partners, stating that some clients

> *shifted a little bit or some sort of stayed where they are. So that has been a real broad spectrum of how they've reacted to that … But for the women they were really big... big changes. So, a couple … from when they first started out as quite rigid, you could really see how they were more relaxed, a lot more open to the conversations.*

Kim found that when men first start the program, they are often unable to speak openly; however, over time they begin to relax and open up. As she explained

> *I can definitely see that shift, normally around six to eight weeks … So I find if I get to about eight weeks, I start to see a shift. [It] sometimes can be really hard work to get them to that … And that shift might be really slow … and that to keep with it because, you know, that change can be slow.*

Lauren observed that changes in other participants can have a flow-on effect to South Asian participants, although this could take a long time:

You end up hearing some shifts in other participants, and then it will resonate with them, and then you'll actually get some participation, but that can take a long time … You'll see a change in posture …

And you usually see a softening … They start to actually listen … The ultimate test is really the big term, engagement, usually, it's about engagement … you see [a] change in engagement

when … they start to actively participate in the process … when they start to engage and start to ask questions, or they start to contribute to conversations … And then there'll usually be one or two kinds of conversations … where they actually get really interested, and … something will resonate with them.

Lauren emphasised that the clients' behaviours outside of the intervention, such as compliance with violence restraining orders, were also considered when evaluating behavioural improvement: "Finding out how things are going outside and whether they're actually improving their behaviour or trying to improve their behaviour, if there's a violence restraining order, whether they're actually adhering to the violence restraining order and that kind of thing."

Both Kim and Lauren identified subtle changes in their clients. These were expressed variously as "get some participation", "change in posture", "see a softening", "change in engagement", "contribute to conversations", "actually get really interested", "something will resonate with them", "see that shift", "more relaxed" and "a lot more open to the conversations". However, both acknowledged that it took a long time for South Asian clients to engage in group activities. These observations imply that larger systemic changes are required to create a conducive environment for culturally and linguistically diverse clients.

4.1.3.6.7 Improved Knowledge

Carl recounted that while his South Asian client failed to make any significant changes overall, which was a result of his failing to accept any wrongdoing, he did appear to gain a better understanding of Western notions of gender equality:

There wasn't that great success with that. He was very resistant … It wasn't great changes. The changes we saw were mainly a bit of further on understanding after Australian or Western culture of away from the patriarchy …

A bit more understanding that men and women are equal but not including that in their own lives. He understood the concept, but he was not ready to change.

Contrary to Carl's interpretation, I believe that understanding the concept of gender equality represents a significant shift. Knowledge and education are fundamental to behaviour change. In his book *Power/Knowledge*, Foucault (1980) explores the dichotomy between power and knowledge and the influence of various social institutions and practices. He argues that power is not only exercised by those in positions of authority but is also dispersed throughout society,

influencing social norms and individual behaviours. Therefore, Foucault challenges the traditional concepts of power, truth and knowledge by offering an alternative view of the social construction of knowledge. By gaining insights into how his culture has shaped his views of women, Carl's client could begin to change his attitudes. Unfortunately, Carl did not explain the reason for his client being unable to integrate his newly gained knowledge into his life.

4.1.3.6.8 Improved Self-awareness

A research participant reported that South Asian clients' behavioural changes were noted when they took on advocacy work because of their self-reflection and raised self-awareness. However, Dean said it was challenging to identify noticeable successful changes among clients. He asserted that success in a behaviour change program is directly related to the participant's spouses' favourable attitude and understanding towards them.

> *Advocacy work that men sometimes took on themselves as a result of their own awareness and self-awareness after reflecting on the behaviour, so there's a whole range of things that were about success. (Dean)*
>
> *...when I think about success, that's always tricky, you know…Success in this area, behaviour change observed by the partner, attitudinal change, that's connected to behavioural change. (Dean)*

I agree with the facilitator's understanding that a female partner would observe the changes in her male spouse, and that could indicate actual change. Assessing actual change in violent men is a difficult task in the absence of the involvement of collaborative practices involving a mix of models (e.g., cognitive behavioural therapy, motivational interviewing, person-centred etc.), elements of culture, gender ideology, judicial and social systems, women support services, multiagency services, policymakers, media, and academics (Cannon et al., 2016; Murphy et al., 1998; Pallatino et al., 2019; Scott et al., 2011). A cautious consideration is required to examine the influences of intersectionality of various social determinants (Hill & Bilge, 2016). A coordinated comprehensive approach is found to be helpful for intimate partner violence offenders in comprehending the concept of violence, resulting in reducing violence towards their children and partners; additionally, this approach also empowered the survivors of intimate partner violence (Kelly & Westmarland, 2015).

4.1.3.7 F07: Being Firm but Flexible

The theme "Being firm but flexible" shows the facilitators' approaches to working with their South Asian clients. All facilitators suggested the need to be flexible in their approaches, which can be categorised into three subthemes: The psychoeducational or coaching approach, the informative approach and the relational approach.

4.1.3.7.1 Psychoeducational or Coaching Approach

Ryan, Amelia, Josh, Lauren, Dean and Isaac used a range of educational and coaching strategies for their South Asian clients. Ryan explained that a combination of approaches was used in the men's behaviour change program in which he worked: "It's a mishmash of things … with the MBCP [men's behaviour change programs], but it's some CBT. So, you're looking at cognitive behaviour … looking at that link between thoughts, feelings, and behaviour is a recurring thing. Especially when mapping particular incidents." Ryan stated that art therapy was also used, although this did not always appear to be successful: "So, exploration of self and beliefs through art and creating images, which was generally met with resistance." Ryan also used a strength-based approach based on discussing core values, genograms and family of origin: "We talked about values and core values, the core of hurts. So, some genograms and family of origin. And I think overall, it's sort of the … strength-based approach." Incident mapping and invitations to responsibility were further approaches used in Ryan's men's behaviour change program, although this did not seem effective with his South Asian client:

> *He was the only one who did not do the task to the same standard. So I sort of tried to draw on what the other men had done … and then I challenged him to try again, based on what he's learned [from] others and what he noticed. Unfortunately, in this example, I can remember he declined that invitation. He actually didn't want to try.*

Amelia described the use of various approaches, including CBT and emotional regulation:

> *To get them looking at the connection between their beliefs, their emotions, their actions, that we want to understand their views a bit more in a way that we can ask questions, but they do not feel like we are attacking them or being too intrusive …*
>
> *Emotional regulation is getting them to understand that they are in control, and they are responsible for their own behaviour. No-one else is responsible …*
>
> *You can't hide behind this belief of we don't understand your culture enough, because we know at the basis, no culture will state it's okay to use violence against someone. So it's really pulling them on their bullshit [laughs]. But doing it in a way that they don't feel judged.*

Amelia's program also used positive role modelling by both male and female facilitators. Further, having female facilitators lead sessions helped South Asian men to recognise a woman's abilities and accept her authority:

> *The guys are seeing that a female facilitator is challenging them. She's authoritative, she understands, she can lead, and the male facilitator is comfortable letting a female lead, and he's comfortable letting her challenge … And his role is to back her up if we do get some resistance. So the role playing that we play between the facilitators is so important.*

While the men's behaviour change program in which Amelia worked was grounded in a feminist approach, the facilitators avoided feminist terminology to reduce the risk of their South Asian clients withdrawing:

> *We do not call it feminist theory, but we use it a lot. Understandably, we find that if we try and use terms and activities, they shut down. They think, 'You are trying to teach me. You do not understand my culture.' We just get them to give us a scenario and let us look at it as a group.* (Amelia)

While Amelia used a psychoeducational approach, she appeared to be flexible to ensure that her male clients did not feel attacked by a woman.

Josh implied that the most effective group process was when more experienced group members shared their newly gained insights with newcomers:

> *We would rely on the group process … The guys that have been in the group for a longer period of time tend to work with these guys and say, well, you know, I used to think like that, but now I've come a bit further. Imagine how [would] you go.*

Josh also used psychoeducational approaches to educate and inform clients: "Well, there's the psychoeducation … in the program that I've been involved in." He advised that the training of abusive men focused on re-education to change their behaviour: "There's a syllabus; each month, there's a different focus. One month, it might be on self-responsibility; the other month, it might be on relationships; another month, it might be on self-awareness and knowledge of their own values." He also acknowledged that the Duluth Model was effective in working with intimate partner violence offenders: "The Duluth Model, for sure, there's a lot of education around the power and control wheel. Awareness of the different types of abuse and things like that."

Lauren also used the group process to highlight the similarities between South Asian men and the other participants, motivating them to engage:

> *I use the group process. So, in the group process, what they're gonna see and hear is usually Western and non-Western men talk about the challenges. And over that process, what happens is that they end up realising they have something in common.*

Lauren also encouraged them to make better choices for a happy life by asking them to define their family values and be aware of "the fact that things can be different. And really, what's more important to them? Is it having a safe, happy home life where everybody feels loved and supported? Is that gonna be more valuable to them?"

Dean used a mix of methods in his work with South Asian clients, including narrative therapy and CBT, to change harmful belief systems and attitudes. He also employed trauma therapy to address any trauma or abuse they may have experienced themselves: "It's a variety of different therapeutic models that I used … Narrative [therapy] was important, CBT in terms of just belief systems and attitudes, and then that trauma that men experienced if they were abused." He also discussed the client's intentions as a spouse and a father:

> *Well, often, strategies that I would use would be what they wanted in the relationship. And what they wanted as a father. So, I would focus on relationship goals and their role as a*

> *father … .I would kind of focus on how their behaviour was impacting on family, on the relationship and was that working for him.*

Isaac also used a reflective approach, inviting clients to reflect on their experiences to improve their behaviour. He created diverse scenarios for those who were not taking responsibility to work through: "I will do that by challenging and making and putting scenarios that will give comparisons … probably use a reflective approach, changing, putting scenarios out there for them." On one occasion, Isaac asked his client to imagine how he would feel, think and act if his daughter were a victim of violence:

> *Particularly in respect to asking them to reflect … if their own daughter was in that same situation. How they would feel, what their thoughts might be. How would they feel about it? And what their behaviour would be like if the daughter was in that situation.*

Isaac used other approaches, including CBT, narrative work and role plays: "We might use CBT and … the narrative approaches, so we're fairly mixed. I'll probably grab something out of the toolbox on the minute, and it may be spontaneous and to feed that particular challenge at the time."

The facilitators revealed the use of many psychoeducational approaches in their men's behaviour change programs. Psychoeducational approaches, including CBT, incident mapping, invitations to responsibility, art therapy, core values, strength-based practices and genograms, are especially beneficial for clients with a poor understanding of family violence because they improve clients' coping skills and create self-awareness (Auty et al., 2015, 2017). Given their patriarchal culture, South Asian men may be unaware that some behaviours are abusive (Gupta, 2016; Malley-Morrison, 2004), including emotional abuse, economic abuse, sexual abuse, male privilege, coercion and threats, intimidation, using children, isolation, minimising and denial (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Therefore, psychoeducational approaches may help increase their awareness of intimate partner violence.

4.1.3.7.2 Informative Approaches

Three facilitators, Annabel, Damien and Kim, used informative approaches with their South Asian clients. Annabel and Damien reported that they found it challenging to work with South Asian clients, even if they discussed their community or cultural values and beliefs. Annabel observed that her South Asian clients often made light of their abusive behaviours and avoided exploring how their values supported this behaviour:

> *When I do pull on, like, you know, the collectivist values of community or family, they do tend to say … stuff like, 'Oh well, I lost my friendships because I did this act, but my true friends stuck around. My true family stuck around.' …*

> *You know, drawing on … community values or cultural values don't seem to have an impact … Sometimes, it's hard trying to get them in to help them [to] understand … because they do tend to minimise it, and they tend to kind of really avoid looking [at] how their values impact … So, you see, trying … to get them to draw on their experiences, but I find that they do close [up].*

Similarly, Damien found that working with belief systems was challenging: "If you just hammer the actual belief systems, you tend to just hit a brick wall because they can hide behind it, and they say you don't believe it."

Kim noted that when she talked to clients about the effect of their abusive behaviour on their intimate partner, it failed to resonate with them. However, if she presented evidence of the effect of abuse on children's neurological development, this would make a difference:

> *I talk about the effects of their partner very early on; that really won't have any kind of inroads into that. But when I talk about the effect on the children and actually show them about what happens with a child's brain …*
>
> *So, I've found actually showing them evidence as in, okay, this is a video about a child's brain, when there's yelling and screaming … they can see the logic behind that. And then that's sort of been a real gentle way to start really unpacking and challenging things …*
>
> *But I definitely feel sort of talking about the role was bothering, not a good way to start engaging with all the other themes that are impairing control and patriarchy and all that kind of stuff as well. So, I find if I talk about their kids, that helps.*

Kim would also bring up the client's own childhood experiences to generate empathy for their children. She would also discuss the challenging topics of patriarchy and power and control:

> *[I] got him to talk a little bit more about how much pressure he felt growing up. And from his father, I think that he didn't want his children to feel that pressure as well. So that was a, it was a really, it was a small shift. But I think for his children it will be a really big shift.*

Annabel, Damien and Kim found that the use of informative approaches, particularly explaining the effect of domestic violence on children, and avoiding discussions of cultural and collectivist patriarchal values was beneficial for their South Asian clients. Kim also found it useful to discuss the childhood experiences of South Asian clients.

4.1.3.7.3 Relational Approaches

Damien and Carl both used relational approaches, which are based on empathic and respectful interactions. Damien believed that it was essential to create a safe and trusting environment before challenging group members on their beliefs and behaviours:

> *Whatever you're doing, you need to get them to feel safe with you, and then you can actually address … their belief systems and challenge them. But you know, it often takes time for them to be safe and trust because then you can have more open discussions.*

Damien explained that he addressed his South Asian clients' own emotional pain to motivate them to be more compassionate towards themselves and others. He believed that helping them to develop empathy would assist in changing their entrenched cultural views. He further stated

that attacking a client's belief system would be counterproductive; rather, it is more beneficial to train them to become more empathic and caring people:

> *It is emotional hurt. And so it's really important to get to that with every person, irrespective of what their belief systems are. Because if you could actually get them to care, I find that the actual belief systems will fold more easily …*
>
> *If you can go underneath and really get to their compassion for themselves and the other person … then you can generally work away at their belief systems, and they can be more flexible generally when that happens.*

Damien uses a compassionate approach, which is based on the assumption that if one has respect for oneself and regulates one's emotions that all behavioural issues, including those in relationships, can be fixed. However, this neglects a broader understanding of violence by narrowly focusing on an internal mechanism (emotional regulation) and dismissing important external influences. Further, this approach can be counterproductive because it uses emotional suffering to excuse violent behaviour.

Similarly, Carl adopts strategies such as being friendly and using respectful communication to ease clients into the group, showing interest in clients' culture to build a strong therapeutic relationship and motivational interviewing to stimulate behaviour change. He begins with topics his client is interested in to facilitate communication. This helps develop a therapeutic relationship and creates an opportunity to later challenge harmful behaviours:

> *So, what we did was a motivational interview with him. I mean, we had to address his awkward years … I found relationship building was helpful … and that I was not there to … punish him or anything like that, but just help him. I did find that useful … I talk to them about what they may be interested in … That sort of gives me an entry to expand what we could … challenge [in his other] behaviour …*
>
> *Get him to explain his culture and sort of validate … and that he's welcome here and welcome in the group … If there was anything different from their culture to the Australian culture … sort of reinforcing that we really want to hear, hear where he's coming from and his approach to things.*

Relational approaches are important to create a safe and trusting environment to increase client participation. However, facilitators provided limited information about their use of the multicultural orientation framework when working with culturally and linguistically diverse clients in group interventions. The multicultural orientation framework is effective in creating therapeutic relationships by providing cultural safety for culturally and linguistically diverse clients. This framework, which includes cultural humility, cultural opportunities, cultural comfort, the social microcosm, the acceptance of mistakes and the recognition of systemic privilege and oppression, helps facilitators to offer culturally and linguistically diverse clients the opportunity to address systemic privilege and oppression. It also creates a supportive group

environment by inviting other group members to join the cause for safety (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

4.1.3.8 F08: A Facilitator is Not a Mere Content Deliverer

This theme suggests that facilitators are there to not only present content but also work with the intersecting identities of South Asian participants. Therefore, they need a range of attributes to work effectively with South Asian clients. The variations of this theme are categorised into five subordinate themes: Therapeutic alliance, cultural understanding, self-reflection and awareness, avoiding confrontation and self-confidence for female facilitators.

4.1.3.8.1 Therapeutic Alliance

Most facilitators recognised the value of establishing a therapeutic alliance based on genuineness, approachability and empathy to help their South Asian clients commit to the program and remain motivated to change. The facilitators identified several positive attributes: Trust and safety, positive role modelling, open and transparent group processes, acknowledging feelings, staying true and respectful, believing in change, politeness, respect and compassion. For example, Amelia commented that "there needs to be trust there. So, I think for working with South Asian clients, that relationship needs to be solid … they need to feel that there's a role model." Similarly, Ryan believed that rapport building was

> *essential to that guy coming back to the group and wanting to make a change, knowing that they've got a healthy working relationship and a therapeutic alliance with the facilitator … We need safety and rapport and trust and understanding. I think it would be quite helpful.*

Lauren believed that being judgemental and biased was harmful to clients, and that facilitators.

> *really need to be open about it and address it right from the onset if you're going to get an open, transparent process happening … judgement and bias straight away are always going to be the most harmful thing for any facilitator.*

Isaac believed in

> *building rapport with the gentleman … welcoming them to [the] group, and when we do [a] check-in, acknowledge their feelings and try and build a rapport that way … a non-judgemental attitude.*

According to Dean,

> *you need to be able to have respect, rapport and a therapeutic relationship. I'll use therapeutic in a broad sense; you know it's just helping … [a] helper relationship that's built on trust … while at the same time holding his behaviour. So, separating his behaviour from who he is and holding his behaviour accountable.*

Josh commented that

> *just accepting that anyone can change … if you stay true and respectful to any man that comes in … I think you need a good balance of being polite and being respectful but also being able to challenge within that politeness and respectfulness.*

Damien talked about the effect of compassion:

> *Compassion [is necessary] in that situation. So that we can actually hold them … and go underneath and explore gently … why they're so fearful that they have to have such strong views … It can be particularly difficult when you've got someone with very strong views in that regard.*

These facilitators identified that genuineness, approachability and empathy are critical for establishing a strong therapeutic relationship. The therapeutic alliance is essential not only for South Asian clients but also for every client to commit to the program and remain motivated to change. However, a crucial factor that was not discussed by facilitators when working with people from different cultures is White supremacy, which may inadvertently reinforce existing power structures and systemic discrimination. Downplaying the effect of White supremacy in a group intervention is a missed opportunity to address its effect on clients from diverse cultures (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; DiAngelo & Dyson, 2018; Pulido, 2015).

4.1.3.8.2 Cultural Understanding

The facilitators explored the appropriateness of behavioural change in the broader cultural context. Most understood that having cultural knowledge is crucial when working with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. Ryan specified that not accepting cultural differences is counterproductive when working with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. He suggested that acceptance and understanding are critical components for supporting change in South Asian clients, proposing that cultural agility is a useful element to cultivate:

> *I think being able to work with these men would require at least some willingness to explore with them, perhaps what change would mean for them culturally as well as how does this fit in with them in a broader cultural context …*
>
> *I think some cultural agility is always good … If the facilitator possesses some sensitivity or knowledge or understanding of where this person has come from, that can really help bring down some barriers.*

Indeed, cultural agility is essential for organisations or individuals to be open to diverse cultural perspectives. However, cultural agility also involves the exploration and questioning of underlying power dynamics, injustices and discrimination. Therefore, facilitators need to be aware of and challenge their own cultural prejudices and assumptions to encourage inclusiveness. However, Ryan took a narrower view of cultural agility and failed to challenge the harmful cultural practices that exist in many societies that impede equality for all, including women (Caligiuri, 2023; Caligiuri & Tarique, 2016; Hook et al., 2013).

Similarly, Amelia believed that men's behaviour change program facilitators should possess some knowledge of the client's cultural background to address the issues arising from social constructs, especially when South Asian clients use their culture to excuse their abusive behaviour:

> *It's about being culturally aware and understanding the culture enough and being interested enough to learn about the cultures that you can actually break down that barrier.*

Lauren believed that a perceptive facilitator who understood cross-cultural aspects to optimise outcomes would be an asset to a men's behaviour change program. In her opinion, a confident facilitator would be able to understand and manage members of multiple cultures in a group. She believed that awareness of both collectivist and individualistic cultural influences would enable facilitators to better understand what is going on within the group and be confident to engage and align with the group's activities:

> *If you had a very savvy facilitator that understood the cross-cultural context, you could maximise … There are many different collectivist and individualistic cultures, and you've got to … understand what's going on. You can still engage.*

However, I acknowledge that addressing violence through the lens of collectivist and individualistic cultures can be complex. While cultural knowledge is essential to manage underlying beliefs regarding violence, it is crucial to be aware that people do not always adhere to cultural expectations. Collectivist cultures also include many nonviolent people, so culture cannot be viewed as the only determinant of violence. Lauren was possibly overlooking the individual and relational factors contributing to violent behaviour. Therefore, addressing violence requires sensitivity to avoid generalising or stereotyping. Isaac, Annabel, Kim and Carl showed similar understandings of the lack of cultural knowledge among facilitators. For example, Isacc explained that "the characteristics of the facilitator … that hinder [progress] is when the facilitator has a different culture to the participant". Similarly, Annabel commented that

> *one characteristic that could hinder them is to challenge them on … Australian values. It's not the same that your values or your way of coping mechanisms aren't correct … So, it's about validating where they've been … If you just challenge them on just Australian values, they will shut down …*
>
> *Drawing without [an] understanding of their background … to be able to work better with someone from a South-East [Asian] background is to understand … why they develop these types of mechanisms … Well, I think that one of the first measures … they understand the dynamics of the client they're working with.*

Kim expressed the importance of "understanding where they come [from], their stories as well. So, as a facilitator, I want to understand everyone's story, in particular, understand some of the barriers."

> *being curious about their cultural background … which somewhat I feel is lacking here in Australia … People have these prejudgements … I mean, my cultural background is different than the Australian cultural background. So, I feel that working with the Australian population is challenging for me …*
>
> *In a group setting, it would be … expected that they would not understand everything we talk about, from where we're coming from … the approach, not taking their cultural background into perspective, having an expectation that they have [it]. That would be a hindrance.*

Comments such as "the facilitator has a different culture to the participant", "challenge them on just Australian values", "drawing without [an] understanding of their background", "prejudgement", and "not taking their cultural background into perspective" touch on the barriers for South Asian clients. The facilitators identified that the lack of knowledge and consideration of a client's cultural background was a common barrier to client progress. Additionally, neopatriarchal attitudes of male facilitators may significantly hinder South Asian clients' understanding of gender equality (R. Connell, 2014). However, I was astonished that no male facilitator mentioned neopatriarchy in their discussion, leading me to wonder whether this was an attempt to avoid the issue or a subtle way of keeping control over the discourse on gender equality.

Damien commented that attacking a South Asian client's cultural belief system would be detrimental. He believed that facilitators should show empathy and understanding of the client's pain and be compassionate and non-judgemental:

> *The more we understand why those beliefs are in place, the more we understand the subtleties of those cultural beliefs, and the more we understand the impact that they have. Then, obviously, we will be able to interact in a way that's going to be non-judgemental … not to assume … The more that we can be inside someone else's shoes, the better we are going to be it … but that can be definitely supported by our understanding of why people have the belief systems that they do.*

Damien's approach to working with perpetrators of intimate partner violence appears to be influenced by Stosny's (1995) work on compassion and emotional regulation. While I agree that compassion and emotional regulation are essential for the development of a trusting therapeutic alliance, they should not overtake the entire behaviour change intervention. Facilitators should establish clear boundaries, take an assertive stance and implement consequences for inappropriate beliefs and attitudes. Unwarranted compassion may lead to ignoring toxic masculinity, which is crucial to address when offenders are from patriarchal cultures such as South Asia. I also question the negative effects of heavy emotional investments when managing highly demanding workloads, potentially leading to burnout and compassion fatigue and affecting the therapeutic relationship (Ledingham et al., 2019).

4.1.3.8.3 Self-reflection and Awareness

Many facilitators identified the importance of examining one's own thoughts, emotions, beliefs, values, biases and intentions to become aware of the perspectives, assumptions and triggers that may influence their interactions with South Asian clients and hinder the establishment of trust and rapport. For example, Lauren stated that "judgement and bias straight away are always going to be the most harmful thing for any facilitator … You need a facilitator to be aware of their own bias and their own judgement, any stereotypes."

The facilitators also observed that some clients attempted to collude with one facilitator to take control of the group. Therefore, facilitators must be aware of their own professional abilities. For example, Kim stated that facilitators must "treat people respectfully … and be very conscious that [they] don't collude with them. I think you'd have to be extremely cautious of colluding with the men … you'd have to be very, very conscious of that." Other facilitators made similar comments:

> *I guess speaking from my opinion and working with men from other diverse cultures … I think if the facilitator possesses any unexamined bias toward or against culture … could be detrimental to the work and to the change in their attitude and behaviour.* (Ryan)
>
> *These guys are here because it's all about power and control for them, and they will try and turn you against each other. They're all trying to get in there and collude with you. So, you need to be very self-aware as a facilitator.* (Amelia)
>
> *I think it's always irrespective of what culture you come from. Whether you're [a] male or female facilitator, I think there's always a danger of collusion … something that you need to be aware of … colluding … I don't think it's not possible to remove that from the equation.* (Lauren)
>
> *I think it's particularly dangerous or more of a barrier when you've got a Western facilitator and someone from South Asia because there's a cross-cultural dynamic, and so then all kinds of prejudice and bias on both sides can come into it … The worst possible thing would be for a facilitator to have a really ethnocentric perspective … They're not open to other ways of working … I think that would be very detrimental because it would mean that they're not really able to engage with the clients' experience.* (Lauren)

Ryan, Amelia, Kim and Lauren all discussed how harmful facilitator practices or views could be detrimental for South Asian clients. However, they neglected the crucial factors of White supremacy (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Pulido, 2015) and White fragility (DiAngelo & Dyson, 2018), which may inadvertently reinforce existing power structures and systemic discrimination. The inability to perceive or the reluctance to discuss White supremacy when the opportunity arises does a disservice to clients from diverse cultures. Additionally, Amelia, Kim and Lauren were suspicious that their South Asian clients might be engaging in collusion. Their perception of collusion as being a common trait in intimate partner violence perpetrators contradicts their emphasis on being non-judgemental. My experience as a facilitator has taught

me the importance of identifying colluding behaviour. However, I encourage facilitators to view this as a characteristic of some rather than all clients. Further, it is important to note that at least two parties are needed for collusion to occur. Neopatriarchal attitudes of male facilitators may lead them to collude with male clients to perpetuate the systemic male-dominated power structures and institutionalised gender hierarchy (R. Connell, 2014). Therefore, it is difficult to identify who is colluding with whom: Is it the facilitator colluding with clients, or vice versa? Moreover, the accountability to avoid collusion lies with professionals, and clients should not be scrutinised.

4.1.3.8.4 Avoiding Confrontation

Some facilitators emphasised the importance of a supportive and non-threatening environment by avoiding confrontation. However, they also suggested that confrontation must be avoided at the expense of challenging but constructive conversation. For example, Amelia commented that it is "okay to take charge, and [it] isn't going to be dismissed, but [to] do so in a respectful way". According to Josh, it is important to "maintain some level of politeness as well. Because I get the feeling that if it was … too confronting, then all of a sudden, there would be a big rupture, and there would be no relationship at all." Damien believed that "it's very easy to get hooked into that and just be oppositional and … almost critical of him, and therefore … [it becomes like] two bulls … smashing their heads against each other." Dean commented that

> *it wasn't about painting memos, bad people; that's not what we should be doing anyway. In my opinion, men's behaviour change groups can be quite oppressive … working with madmen or perpetrators of DV [domestic violence], it's easy to get into a punitive approach … [but this] comes across as oppressive in my opinion. And doing so is destructive in a couple of ways. One is you're just role modelling what you're asking them to look at critically. And secondly, you're building their resistance … So, it [is] hindering things.*

Josh's approach to addressing violence with politeness is problematic because it may dilute the seriousness of the issue. I do not suggest being disrespectful and uncivilised when addressing violence. However, assertiveness and confidence are required to avoid a power imbalance. I believe that downplaying violence is ineffective and suggest taking a bold stance against harmful behaviours, attitudes and belief systems.

Similarly, Damien's methods appear to be aligned with an essentialist and reductionist approach, a broad philosophical stance that simplifies complex phenomena and assumes that people, concepts and things have natural or essential common characteristics that cannot be changed. The reductionist approach suggests breaking down complex issues into simpler units

to grasp them more easily. Such an approach does not provide a holistic view of an offender's behaviour.

I also question the facilitators' failure to address elements of White supremacy, which may lead to the conscious or unconscious perpetuation of racism and oppression, even though the ultimate objective of the intervention is to promote positive behaviour.

4.1.3.8.5 Self-confidence for Female Facilitators

Kim and Amelia both identified that self-confidence for female facilitators is crucial for overcoming gender stereotypes, especially given the intersectionality of South Asian clients' identities and patriarchal orientation (Bennett, 2016; Hill & Bilge, 2016). Kim explained that in a group setting, she talked on behalf of women, affirming that their views mattered and that South Asian men needed to accept this. She would not tolerate contempt for women during group discussions. Kim described successful facilitators as being those who were comfortable managing a group with differing views. Therefore, facilitators could disapprove of clients' harmful beliefs. She stated that a female facilitator should trust her opinions and believe that they matter. She also cautioned against colluding with clients or allowing participants to join forces to undermine the program or facilitators:

> *So you'd want facilitators that are very, very comfortable holding that space and holding the views as well … You know, as a woman or as you know, that we're talking personally as a woman and my opinion matters. And also, I'll call out disrespectful behaviour in the group.*

Similarly, Amelia identified that female facilitators' lack of confidence when asking difficult questions, apprehension when clients acted aggressively and damaging collusions with clients were unhelpful. She believed that the male clients had been mandated to attend a men's behaviour change program because of their compulsion for power and control, which could lead them to create conflict between the facilitators to destabilise their authority:

> *The hindering would be facilitators who don't feel comfortable asking difficult questions, don't feel comfortable challenging them and show fear when the clients do act up … You need to be secure; you need to be able to challenge them. If they're acting up, you need to be able to control the situation.*

I agree with Kim's and Amelia's opinions that self-confidence in female facilitators is crucial, given the intersectionality of South Asian clients' identities and patriarchal orientation (Bennett, 2016; Hill & Bilge, 2016). However, I am astonished that only the female facilitators recognised this element. Perhaps these gender differences arose from neopatriarchal power dynamics (Campbell, 2014) or represented toxic masculinity from male facilitators (Flood, 2022; Whitehead, 2019).

4.1.3.9 F09: Group Diversity is Beneficial

Another theme that emerged from the comments of seven of the facilitators was that South Asian men's behaviour change program clients have the potential to learn from other culturally and linguistically diverse clients. This theme was divided into the following subthemes: Alleviating cultural determinism; offering diverse values, opinions and attitudes; similar purposes with different outlooks; exposure to other cultures; and constructive feedback among group participants. These subthemes are examined in the following sections.

4.1.3.9.1 Alleviating Cultural Determinism

Ryan perceived that a diverse group composition with members from different cultural backgrounds was beneficial for alleviating cultural determinism. He described how South Asian clients had the opportunity to learn from people with different perspectives if they were in a diverse group. This had the added benefit of suppressing culturally oriented negative beliefs towards women:

> *Being able to introduce, inviting them into other groups so that it's a diverse group of men. It is probably the most suitable format … I mean, men being able to learn from others and be exposed to different worldviews and cultures … It … overrides other concerns arising with the cultural challenges … It would assist with their perhaps problematic attitudes towards women that might have some cultural determinism.*

I question Ryan's views on the prospect of South Asian clients learning from White clients. Exposing clients to other worldviews and cultures may be viewed as paternalistic, where the White male facilitator knows what is culturally best for the client. All clients in the group are there for the same reason. Thus, it is unclear how Ryan perceives this association as beneficial. Does Ryan believe that clients from individualist Western backgrounds who also abuse their spouses have a more positive view of women compared with those from collectivist South Asian backgrounds? Ryan's comments of being "able to learn from others" and "problematic attitudes towards women that might have some cultural determinism" indicate his conscious or unconscious White supremacist mentality. White supremacy is a socially constructed belief system supported by social and political ideologies that maintain that White people's culture, knowledge and practices are superior. Consequently, it ignores and prejudges non-White people's cultural practices and knowledge (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Pulido, 2015).

4.1.3.9.2 Offering Diverse Values, Opinions and Attitudes

Most of the female participants believed in exposing their clients to diverse values, opinions and attitudes and that a diverse group composition was beneficial for South Asian clients. Annabel, Amelia and Kim all felt that a group based on a single culture may prompt

collusion among clients. Annabel thought that while a men's behaviour change program comprising participants from different cultural backgrounds could create an uncomfortable environment, it would allow the facilitator to challenge participants and invite them to explore their harmful behaviours in light of the diverse views in the group:

> *A mixed group would be good … reflecting different values and different attitudes … I don't think one specific group would work because … there'd be a lot of collusions … challenges … because they used to like a collectivist attitude in validating who they are and validating what they've done … where you all have a very similar goal and a very similar point of view.*

Similarly, Amelia believed that South Asian clients should be exposed to diverse cultural backgrounds and beliefs. According to Amelia, the best scenario was when clients from different cultural backgrounds challenged each other about their harmful beliefs:

> *I find [a] diverse group. I find collectivists … hold the same belief. A lot of the time, it's justifying, and they support each other, and that's just not beneficial … very much colluding … and having contact with a variety of people from different cultural backgrounds, it's really important that everyone's opinion matters. And at the same time, the perfect scenario in a group is if someone wants to say something and … actual group members challenge them, and that's what we want.*

Kim supported the notion of a diverse group composition because she believed South Asian clients needed to assimilate into Australian culture. She reasoned that regardless of their background, they were in Australia and needed to be mindful of Australia's cultural expectations in their interactions with women:

> *For them, experiencing other men's opinions that are … Australian or from other [cultures], I think that's really important … [and] more effective … I think the more open they are to other people's ideas and other men's ideas, that would be helpful … because if they're from that background, but they've also assimilated into Australia's culture, I think they need to learn this, you know, this is how women are viewed over here. And they have to be more mindful of that in all their interactions.*

Kim omits the specifics of the diverse opinions that would help South Asian clients, given that all men were in the program because of their abusive behaviours towards their spouses. In my opinion, regardless of culture, all perpetrators of intimate partner violence view themselves as more powerful than women, thus allow themselves to dominate women. I wonder whether Kim believes that all men from Western cultures have a more positive view of women, even if they abuse women. I believe she has overlooked the cultural nuances and promoted oversimplified and generalised notions.

Similarly, I object to Kim's comment on the need for clients to assimilate into Australian culture. This is because respect for women is a universal goal, and the abuse of women is not acceptable in any culture. Being from South Asia, I know that in some parts of the region, women are worshipped as goddesses. The underlying assumption of assimilation is

that some cultures are superior to others. Yoon et al. (2010) define assimilation as "the process by which individuals from one minority group "blend" into a dominant group by losing their own identities" (p. 110). Therefore, individuals from minority cultural groups must obey the dominant social norms to be accepted by the dominant members of society. In the context of Australia, the dominant culture is based on the Western individualistic paradigm. Therefore, does Kim consider Western individualistic culture better than South Asian culture?

4.1.3.9.3 Similar Purposes with Different Outlooks

Damien understood that although all clients were attending the program for the same reason, they held distinct views because of their diverse backgrounds. He explained that it is beneficial when men from different cultures challenge each other on harmful beliefs and cultural norms, which is only possible in a diverse group:

> *[They] are there for similar purposes, but … have perhaps different views. That is often more powerful … challenging each other from their different experiences … something that can only be done in a group. Then it is actually very helpful … I've never done one which is exclusive with the South Asian men …*
>
> *I suspect that the mixed group is better … because I think it would be very difficult to have a group who are all like-minded. That would make it really hard work for the facilitator.*

I believe Damien was ignoring the fact that he may have facilitated a program in which all clients shared his own cultural background, but he seems unconcerned by this. Therefore, I question his assumption of the challenges a facilitator may face in a group comprising clients from similar backgrounds. I assume his reluctance to facilitate a group of only culturally and linguistically diverse clients may arise from the systemic discrimination of minorities to prevent them from accessing better opportunities.

4.1.3.9.4 Exposure to Other Cultures

Carl identified the opportunity for South Asian clients to encounter viewpoints from Australian clients in blended group interventions. He acknowledged the benefits of a diverse group composition, which he perceived as "normal": "A normal group setting … could be helpful … they see other participants from [the] Australian background and get more insights into their lives."

Carl's identification of a diverse group composition as "normal" is concerning. Does this imply that a group of clients from similar cultural backgrounds would be abnormal? If so, in what way? His comment suggests strong stereotypes and the marginalisation of non-dominant cultural group members. Perhaps Carl's views are influenced by White supremacy and the systemic discrimination of minorities. Carl's notion of a "normal" group leads me to

assume that as a White male with limited knowledge of South Asian culture, he knows what is culturally appropriate for his South Asian male clients.

4.1.3.9.5 Constructive Feedback Among Group Participants

Isaac suggested that a diverse group composition was best for South Asian clients because of the potential to receive and contribute constructive feedback. Isaac believed that having a range of clients with diverse perspectives would enable South Asian clients to be exposed to other ideas, such as the condemnation of intimate partner violence, including emotional and financial abuse.

> *I haven't done a focus group with just South Asian men … but I just get a sense that mixed would be better … It would be helpful because there's an opportunity to look at other cultures where domestic violence is not acceptable, but emotional and financial abuse is not so prevalent …*
>
> *I believe in mixed groups; it's an opportunity for the men within the group to challenge one another … That's part of the value of group therapy work … is because they learn from one another … I think to have all South Asian men together is not a diverse of opinion within the room … I think mixed would give a mixed opinion and food for thought.*

Here, Isaac ignores the fact that domestic violence is unacceptable in every society and culture. While some cultures have harmful beliefs and practices with respect to women, these are never an excuse for domestic violence.

4.1.3.10 F10: Lack of Embedded Cultural Components

All facilitators acknowledged that men's behaviour change programs lacked embedded cultural components. This theme is categorised into the following subthemes: Predominantly based on a Western lens, limited consideration, lack of cultural training, lack of national standards, a one-size-fits-all approach and the merits of cultural components in interventions.

4.1.3.10.1 Predominantly Based on a Western Lens

Ryan and Dean identified that men's behaviour change programs were aligned with dominant Western ideologies and practices and lacked a cultural lens. Dean stated that understanding the cultural background of a client was important if the facilitator was to avoid imposing individualistic views on clients from collectivist cultures:

> *You know, understanding collectivist societies is really important. You know, we all come from … especially someone like me who comes out of the UK … we have an individualistic sort of attitude. You're looking at them in their life and their histories through that lens … I just think that's only going to benefit you and your work with them … I don't think they are culturally appropriate or just relevant.*

Similarly, Ryan explained that the concept of men's behaviour change programs was derived predominantly from research conducted in Western countries and was based on the Western

paradigm. He acknowledged the lack of research on domestic violence in Asian countries, which may explain the lack of cultural sensitivity embedded in men's behaviour change programs:

> *I don't think … they're culturally sensitive; I don't think they went in with necessarily a strong cultural lens. I think it went in with this sort of a dominant worldview of what would be needed … I think a lot of the research that sits with these programs … come[s] from predominantly Western researchers or scholars or counsellors.*
>
> *A lot of American, Canadian, Australian … views. I was thinking of not much research from Asian countries or South Asian countries in relation to men's behaviour change. I would say that … they're not as culturally sensitive as they could be. I don't think they've applied that lens and been informed by those cultural contexts.*

Ryan omitted an explicit definition of cultural sensitivity and appeared to use the terms "cultural lens" and "cultural sensitivity" interchangeably; however, I believe that these terms differ. A program that is not embedded in a cultural paradigm can still be culturally sensitive. Cultural sensitivity is the ability to identify, understand and respect people's unique cultural values, opinions and beliefs. It is about understanding people from diverse backgrounds. However, the absence of a cultural lens suggests that cultural beliefs, practices and values are not considered in the program format. Further, Ryan did not state whether he had ever applied a multicultural orientation framework to ensure the cultural safety of culturally and linguistically diverse people in the program (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

4.1.3.10.2 Limited Consideration

Annabel and Josh believed that programs had been designed with limited consideration of the needs of clients from diverse backgrounds and were mostly based on mainstream Australian culture. According to Annabel, the program in which she worked was not entirely culturally appropriate, and cultural elements were needed. While the phrase "culturally and linguistically diverse" was mentioned in the programs, there was no information or structure to work with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. Both Annabel and Josh stated that while interventions were intended to be inclusive of all races and ethnicities, this actually led to the exclusion of some. In their experience, the programs had no embedded cultural components, thus were not culturally inclusive:

> *I think more work needs to be done around it. I think, in general, there is this, yes, we call them 'culturally linguistic diverse clients', but there isn't very detailed, structured information about it … I don't think there is enough knowledge about it. It's very blank at the moment … no. I think they try to be inclusive, but I think in trying to include everyone, they're also excluding them.* (Annabel)
>
> *About cultural awareness … I remember one of the modules was about cultural expectations, and … one of the exercises was to look at a whole series of images. They were all Aussie*

based, it was all about Aussie manhood, and that is very culturally specific to White Australian culture … (Josh)

I … really think … that the facilitators do their best to be welcoming and friendly to everybody … it's certainly not legal to discriminate against people on the grounds of ethnicity … but I suppose there's a difference between non-discrimination and inclusion; inclusion is more proactive … To be honest, I can't think of anything that the program does to speak out and actively try and include an ethnically diverse group. (Josh)

Here, Josh makes a valid point about the difference between non-discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity and inclusivity. Non-discrimination is the absence of prejudice and bias, while inclusivity is the presence of culturally safe settings and systems accessible to all.

4.1.3.10.3 Lack of Cultural Training

A lack of training to improve the cultural awareness of men's behaviour change program facilitators was mentioned. Amelia, Damien, Kim, Carl, Lauren and Isaac supported the concept of a culturally aware group program, noting that it would be beneficial if facilitators were culturally aware. They believed that facilitators should be trained in cultural awareness so they could break down barriers, understand cultures and traditions and feed this knowledge into interventions to change attitudes and beliefs around gender-based violence. This would ultimately help women and children. The facilitators revealed that because there was no formal training to equip them to understand and manage cultural differences, it was left to them to seek out cultural awareness. For example, Lauren stated, "I think that there's huge room for improvement in cross-cultural facilitation in men's behaviour change. It's something that at the moment is generally left to the skill of the facilitator." Other views were similar:

It would be beneficial to have someone … from a multicultural service to come in and do some really specific training around the cultural groups … We really had no training. So, a lot of the awareness and training … was the facilitators going and seeking that training, understanding, doing research and asking people in the area to get insight into it … I think facilitators are absolutely needed. (Amelia)

We all know that facilitators vary enormously across the system. But are we given much training in it? Probably not … How we work with men … is … sort of based around challenging belief systems … but not in a really culturally sensitive way. (Damien)

So, education of facilitators [about] different views and things … just so I can feel better informed working with people … better understanding of the challenges that they do have as well … I think anything we can do to equip… facilitators to engage better…will only help women and children in the long run. (Kim)

It's also a lot to do with our facilitators and how culturally sensitive they are … Not any formal training rather than reading myself … No, I wasn't really trained to understand different cultures … it's a lot to do with the facilitators. So, I think a greater … education or learning about other cultures would be beneficial. (Carl)

No, there's no specific training from the organisation that I work with to address the cultural issues with South Asian men … I haven't been trained from the organisation's point of view in specific cultural sensitivity for South Asian men or South Asian cultures. That is something

> *that may vary depending on the facilitator … I think the programs are culturally sensitive because the individual facilitators are very culturally sensitive. However, that's what the facilitator brings. That's what they bring as a personal approach.* (Isaac)

I agree that cultural awareness training would help facilitators to work more effectively with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. The lack of training and resources in programs to understand and manage cultural differences is surprising, and I wonder whether this is attributable to financial barriers or the influence of systemic cultural discrimination and biases. The quotes, "not any formal training rather than reading myself", "generally left to the skill of the facilitator" and "no specific training from the organisation … to address the cultural issues with South Asian men" indicate the influence of White Western neoliberalism (Becker et al., 2021; Card & Hepburn, 2022). Neoliberalists advocate for limited government interventions and funding for social welfare programs. Therefore, is the system designed to wilfully ignore the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse people? If so, is this because of discrimination, racism or a system of White supremacy and Western neoliberal policies? I believe that culturally and linguistically diverse people need even better services and attention because of the ongoing conscious or unconscious discrimination.

4.1.3.10.4 Lack of National Standards

Lauren explained that national standards for domestic violence interventions do not stipulate the need for specific cultural elements to meet the needs of multicultural clients other than Indigenous people. Given that Australia is a multicultural country, Lauren recognised the need for such standards. She believed that anyone who works with people from diverse backgrounds must be culturally sensitive. Therefore, cultural knowledge is fundamental to service effectiveness, and the inclusion of multicultural paradigms in intervention programs is urgently needed:

> *I think there's huge room for improvement because the facilitators may or may not even be culturally competent … We don't have, and we should have, a program that embeds that lens … There's no requirement at all in our national standards to do that.*

> *If there is a focus on cross-cultural agility, then it will usually be around First Nations … Recognising that we are a multicultural nation, and we will have, and continue to have, many diverse groups represented, I think we could absolutely be doing more … I think anytime you work with people, you need to be culturally sensitive. If you're going to put yourself out there as a service provider, working with people, then yes, I think cultural competency should be just fundamental.*

Lauren used the terms cultural sensitivity and cultural competency, which although related, have different meanings. Cultural sensitivity refers to the necessary awareness and knowledge to approach people with respect and an open mind (Foronda, 2008), while cultural competency means developing knowledge, skills and attitudes to effectively communicate with diverse

individuals (Ridley et al., 2001; Ridley et al., 1994; Sue & Sue, 2016). Lauren overlooked the controversial implications of cultural competency, being perfection or expertise, which is only possible when an individual focuses on specific cultural norms and practices to become an expert in that area. This can lead to stereotyping because it neglects cultural nuances.

4.1.3.10.5 One-Size-Fits-All Approach

Dean and Isaac were aware that the lack of cultural components in men's behaviour change programs led to a one-size-fits-all (White Australian) approach. For example, Isaac stated, "but the program is … whoever comes in, regardless of their culture, will just do this program." Dean added that domestic violence programs are a Western concept, thus are bound to take a Western individualist lens and overlook other cultures:

> *I think this, the frameworks that we've got for working with men don't always allow for … are [not] culturally appropriate because they are one size fits all, and most of them have been developed in the West, so they're going to have that lens … When you say culturally appropriate … are we even identifying this group of men and women or families? … Groups by their very nature are one size fits all.*

I wonder how the one-size-fits-all approach affects the retention of diverse clients. When culturally and linguistically diverse clients withdraw from programs, they are often positioned as disinterested or resistant to change. However, this may be attributable to systemic factors rather than individual accountability and responsibility, meaning program suitability should be examined.

4.1.3.10.6 Merits of Cultural Components

Lauren and Amelia both mentioned that facilitators trained in cross-cultural aspects could use their skills in the group, and interventions with embedded cultural components would improve outcomes:

> *You have a facilitator trained in cross-cultural competency who then comes to men's behaviour change program, and you're hoping that they'll use what they've learned in that … There's an opportunity there to really maximise the time that you have in the room with them. If someone hasn't got that lens, the opportunity will just fly above them.*
>
> *Family domestic violence hits every social group, every culture, everywhere. I think it pays off to have a culturally aware program … So I think it pays for the facilitators to be culturally aware and have excellent training on how to break down barriers, understand traditions … and how that feeds into attitudes and beliefs around family domestic violence.*

Facilitators' perceptions of cultural competency varied. Some focused on facilitator's competency, others focused on cultural components in the program, and a few emphasised the need for both. The most used frequently used term was "cultural sensitivity" (Ryan, Damien, Carl, Lauren and Isaac), which referred to both facilitators and programs. The expressions

"cultural awareness" and "better informed" from Josh and Kim, respectively, referred to individual attributes to manage cultural concerns. In contrast, terms and phrases such as "cross-cultural facilitation", "cross-cultural agility" and "cross-cultural competency" (Lauren), "culturally appropriate" (Dean), "inclusive" (Annabel), "culturally aware program" (Amelia) and 'inclusion" (Josh) referred to elements within interventions to manage cultural concerns.

The facilitators considered cultural components at both the intervention and the facilitator levels to sensitively address the cultural concerns of South Asian clients. Additionally, the cultural influences on how masculinity is constructed, perceived and practised should be considered when designing a men's behaviour change program for South Asian clients (R. W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). An intervention rooted in cultural components (Saunders, 2008; Williams & Becker, 1994) can potentially redefine harmful elements of traditional toxic masculinity (Flood, 2011; Malley-Morrison, 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996; Thandi, 2012; Whitehead, 2019).

4.1.3.11 Unique Themes

The analysis of interview transcripts revealed four unique themes from Josh, Amelia, Kim and Lauren, respectively, as presented below.

4.1.3.11.1 Politeness as a Mask

South Asian clients' behavioural attributes were identified as polite and friendly by a male facilitator. Josh described his South Asian clients as polite, friendly and sociable:

> *I mean, usually when I have dealings with people from South Asia, probably particularly men … they're very polite and very nice … They'll greet with a smile, and they'll be very friendly, and that could be rather disarming sometimes*
>
> *What I will find myself thinking, or be surprised maybe, after … meeting a very charming and mild and humble men and then maybe afterwards find out his history, his behaviour history—with this expand[s] the risk [to his] partner. So, the thing is not to get sucked in by the politeness.*

Josh was concerned that politeness and charm could potentially be a facade that leads facilitators doubt their history of domestic violence and divert them from challenging the client to critically examine his behaviours.

4.1.3.11.2 Rule Followers

Amelia perceived her South Asian clients to be conformists, stating that "all of our South Asian gentlemen will come to every session. So, they are very much rule followers". She recalled most of her South Asian clients attending every session of the program until completion.

4.1.3.11.3 Academic and Well Educated

Kim found that most of her South Asian clients were 'quite academic and well educated'. In reference to one particular client, she explained,

> *He was very well educated … He was separated and now going through family court, but he still had some custody of his children … and the whole visits would be completely academic based. And I … asked him … What was his daughter's favourite colour? Her best friend's name? … He couldn't understand how … that related to his parenting or fathering … being interested in his children.*

Being academic and well-educated is a result of the prevailing caste systems in South Asia, which compel certain individuals to strive for financial and occupational status in society (Dollard, 1988; Subedi, 2016).

4.1.3.11.4 Preference for Single Cultural Group Composition

Lauren believed that group interventions dominated by Caucasians were detrimental to South Asian clients because of the feelings of isolation and discomfort it could create. She believed that South Asian clients would benefit from being in a group comprising only South Asians because they would feel more comfortable, and program content could be tailored to meet the specific needs of these clients:

> *So, I don't think it's helpful if they are an absolute minority and surrounded by White middle-class men over a Western paradigm. I think that would be a very alienating experience …*
>
> *Because you don't want to be the minority, because then it's not safe … obviously, the more shared understanding in the group, the better … So, putting them in a program that was designed for them and for people from similar cultures would create safety … It would create safety and mean that the content could be tailored towards a shared frame of reference.*

According to Lauren, culturally and linguistically diverse clients find it challenging to be in a group dominated by White men from a Western paradigm, creating obstacles to therapeutic safety for all participants. She proposed that a group comprising only South Asian clients would be the most supportive for their growth and provide them with maximum safety from prejudice and Western stereotypes:

> *If it becomes like a majority White man from a Western paradigm and only one or two different frames of reference. I think it's a very hard place to be … I wouldn't willingly put somebody into that because I think it just means that there's many more barriers to overcome before you have some kind of therapeutic safety.*

Nevertheless, Lauren acknowledged that it would not be feasible to create a men's behaviour change program exclusively for South Asian men. As an alternative, she recommended a truly multicultural group with various perspectives in which every member had an understanding of openness and sharing:

> *So, if you can't have that, then my preference would be for a truly multicultural group so that everyone is aware of the fact that there's a multitude of different worldviews in the room, and the default is kind of open-mindedness and sharing.*

The idea of an exclusive group intervention for culturally and linguistically diverse clients is appealing. However, I wonder how facilitators would manage collusion among clients.

4.1.4 Summary of Facilitator Findings

The idiographic examination of the facilitators' responses identified some universal and unique themes from each facilitator's phenomenological experiences. This examination addressed the research sub-questions. The findings for each male and female facilitator were presented parallel to each other to provide comparative views. Five themes emerged from the data: F02 (South Asian men's views of women are frustrating), F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour), F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim), F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility), F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious). All five themes show similarities in some respects and differences in others.

The theme F02 (South Asian men's views of women are frustrating) reflects the facilitators' experiences of the typical male South Asian outlook towards women. Facilitators spoke of their perceptions that South Asian clients considered women inferior to men and actively practised gender inequality. The participants' accounts established that these clients prefer male facilitators. Moreover, their behaviour towards female facilitators was disrespectful and demeaning, indicating that some of these behaviours were empirically established while others appeared to be socially constructed. An exceptional reflection emerged from male and female facilitator participants' observations of South Asian clients. Only female participants commented on directly experiencing disrespect and unequal treatment from South Asian clients. Astonishingly, no male facilitators suggested they witnessed any disrespectful treatment of their female colleagues from South Asian clients.

Three themes illustrate the facilitators' experiences of their South Asian clients' attitudes towards their intimate partners: F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour), F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim), F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility). These themes are directly connected and reveal the mindset of South Asian clients in relation to their intimate partners as perceived by the facilitators.

The theme F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim) refers to the blame that South Asian clients place on their intimate partners for their own violence. The participants disclosed that their South Asian clients alleged that their intimate partners provoked the abuse and that they had no choice but to use power to control them. According to the participants, the South

Asian clients held their intimate partners responsible for everything that went wrong in their relationships. Upon delving deeper, it was revealed that the clients felt their intimate partners had not conformed to socially constructed gender norms. This was connected to the subsequent theme F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour).

The theme F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour) emerged from eight participants' accounts. This theme revealed that South Asian clients were inclined to accept socially constructed, traditional gender roles. According to participants, gender hierarchy was very much normalised for South Asian clients, and it was inconceivable for them to function socially outside of a gendered hierarchical structure. The South Asian clients could find nothing wrong with gendered hierarchy, and they were comfortable practising traditional gender stereotypical roles that kept men in authority and women subservient. The participants recognised that when these men's power was threatened, they blamed their intimate partners, accused them and did not accept accountability for their abusive actions. This led to the next theme F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility).

The following two themes, F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility) and F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious), are associated in that they uncover the facilitators' views on their South Asian clients' stance towards change. The first theme reveals that the South Asian clients refused to be held accountable for their actions, instead blaming their intimate partners. The participants believed that their South Asian clients did not acknowledge their abusive behaviour towards their intimate partners and were unable to grasp how their behaviour harmed their families. Consequently, the participants saw their South Asian clients as not taking responsibility for changing their unhelpful behaviour. The facilitators perceived the behaviour of their South Asian clients in relation to the following notion: When there is no accountability, there will be no responsibility. This finding is connected to the next theme, F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious).

All 10 facilitators' accounts contained the theme F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious). This theme referred to the apparent changes that facilitators perceived among their South Asian clients. A divergence emerges between participants in terms of any noticeable changes in their clients, with some participants believing that there were minor changes while others found no improvement at all. The facilitators who identified minor changes in their clients over the course of the intervention noted improvements in their active participation in the group sessions, more relaxed body language and the learning of more socially acceptable language. However, most participants agreed that it was difficult to assess

these improvements accurately because it was impossible to evaluate the clients' behaviour outside the group sessions. Most participants also identified time as a significant factor in bringing about change. They recognised that South Asian clients held rigid views on patriarchy, gendered hierarchy and traditional gendered roles; therefore, the facilitators required more time to work with them to support substantial change.

The themes F07 (Being firm but flexible) and F08 (A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer) emerged in the accounts of all 10 participants. These two themes complement one another in describing helpful facilitator characteristics for working with South Asian clients. The theme F07 (Being firm but flexible) focused on the facilitators' use of diverse approaches in their work with South Asian clients. The facilitators reported using narrative therapy, CBT, the Duluth Model, thought-provoking discussions, motivational interviewing, invitations to responsibility, emotional regulation coaching, art therapy and many more techniques. Most of the facilitators agreed on the need to be flexible in their approaches and the importance, initially, of establishing a robust therapeutic relationship. The facilitators disclosed that a therapeutic alliance was the main element required to support South Asian clients to shift their attitudes and improve their participation in the group sessions. The facilitators also discussed how a therapeutic alliance could only be built upon trust, safety, respect and validation of the clients' experiences. This complements the following theme F08 (A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer), which focuses on positive facilitator attributes for working with South Asian clients. The participants recommended that an effective facilitator maintain trust, safety, respect, cultural knowledge, constructive interpersonal communication and an ability to assert authority if they are female facilitators.

The themes F01 (Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement) and F09 (Group diversity is beneficial) are directly related and emerged among eight and seven facilitators, respectively. The theme F01 (Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement) refers to the facilitators witnessing South Asian clients being passive in group sessions, not sharing information and being inaccessible, holding firm views on gendered hierarchy and patriarchy, refusing to assume accountability and responsibility, and blaming and demeaning women. The facilitators generally believed that a homogenous group composed of like-minded people would be difficult for the facilitators to manage. Only one facilitator stated the opposite, believing that a group specifically for South Asian men would be easier to manage. Thus, most of the participants suggested that a group with different cultures, opinions and beliefs would be more suitable for South Asian clients. The second theme, F09 (Group diversity is beneficial), is directly related to the first theme F01

(Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement). The facilitators believed a diverse group composition would offer opportunities for South Asian clients to learn from various perspectives. Most of the facilitators were of the view that participants in such a group experienced a richer environment in which group members challenged each other constructively because of their different outlooks.

The theme F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components) in the intervention was mentioned by nine participants. This theme focuses on the intervention's cultural component and is a unique theme. The theme suggests that cultural components were not embedded in the existing interventions. The facilitators informed that they were not trained to work with clients with diverse cultural needs and identified this as a significant issue. This concern warrants consideration of facilitator education regarding the culture of those countries with high immigration rates to Australia, which would support a better understanding of their clients' cultural perspectives.

Amelia's and Lauren's experiences highlighted the merits of having a cultural component embedded in an intervention. Lauren proposed a unique approach, contrary to the opinion of most of the other facilitators, suggesting 'a preferred exclusive cultural group composition'. According to Lauren, men's behaviour change programs could either incorporate cultural components into the intervention to make it more effective for clients with diverse cultural needs or establish a separate group for clients with diverse cultural needs. Although, White Western neoliberal policies (Becker et al., 2021; Card & Hepburn, 2022) might hinder an exclusive group of South Asian clients. Josh's, Amelia's and Kim's exclusive themes suggested South Asian clients frequently present with the attributes of politeness, conformism and a scholarly appearance.

4.2 Findings from a South Asian Client

This section presents a South Asian client's phenomenological experience of a men's behaviour change program. Only one South Asian client volunteered to participate in this research. Therefore, his experiences are presented as an idiographic case study that complements the facilitators' experiences.

The client participant was informed about his rights and consented to participate in the study. A pseudonym, Prashant, was given to conceal his identity to maintain research ethics standards. The interview was also recorded using a pseudonym. The section begins with a description of the participant's profile. Verbatim quotations represent the actual statements of

the participant, and each central theme is summarised at the end of each section. Table 8 presents the themes identified from the data of the client participant.

4.2.1 Participant Profile

The phrase 'she's right to be there, where decisions were being made' indicates the overall experiences of the South Asian client participant. It reveals the participant's improved understanding of women's equal rights to participate in decision-making. Prashant was a 32-year-old man from India who migrated to Australia 14 years ago. He was an active member of a men's behaviour change program and had already completed many months of a group intervention with clients from diverse cultural backgrounds. He is a father of two children and was battling in the Family Court of Western Australia to gain access and custody of his children. Before considering his request, the family court mandated Prashant to attend the men's behaviour change program. Table 8 presents five dominant themes appeared from Prashant's narrative. Each of the dominant themes is supported by a series of subthemes described in this chapter.

4.2.2 Themes from South Asian Participant

4.2.2.1 C01: In the Past, He Could Not Handle the Problem

Prashant revealed that before entering the program, his life was complicated. He would become angry, argue with his wife and withdraw from the problem rather than try and solve it:

> *In the past where … I cannot handle the problems … I see any problem with me and my ex having an argument … I always try to run away. And I cannot deal with it … I just leave the house … I do not want to deal with anything, and then I will get angry.*

Prashant shared that he did not have any tolerance and reacted without thinking. He indicated that because of his hasty reactions, he used to make bad situations even worse:

> *I had no patience. I would react to things too quick before I even think. If things are worse, I will make it more worse, rather than just going, okay, it happened. What can we do now?*

Prashant recognised that his lack of perseverance exacerbated an existing problem, and the situation became worse: "I didn't have the patience. We already had a problem. I didn't have patience. I made it more worse and it has gone the wrong way. You know what I mean? We made it more worse."

4.2.2.1.1 Minimising the Role of Women

Prashant mentioned that, in his view, women did not decide on anything. He thought that he was responsible for everything good that had happened in his household. He said he

also believed that he was the one who made money, built his house, and provided everything else in the family:

> *I had this mentality that women don't make a decision. I am the man, and I am at work. I do anything. I build my empire and … this is me. I did everything.*

He stated that he did not value and appreciate his wife's contributions to the family. Prashant revealed that he minimised her role in the family and considered himself the family's chief:

> *In my head, I am thinking, I am the one who makes [a] decision. I am the one [who does] everything, because I build everything, and I am the man of this house. She [has] done nothing.*

Prashant disclosed that if his partner did not obey his command, he would have to resolve the issue. His wife would be faced with an ultimatum: Either she had to follow his directions, or she could leave: "And then having that mentality like it is going my way or no way. You know what I mean?"

4.2.2.1.2 Acceptance of Socially Constructed Gender Roles

Prashant disclosed his upbringing in a family following traditional gender role divisions. He used to believe that women should stay at home to cook and clean. He thought a woman's place was within the four walls of the house, and she should be a homemaker. In contrast, men were the breadwinners. He described how he grew up learning this from his family.

> *I had this thing like, OK, women are here to just cook and clean. That is what their jobs are. A man work[s]. Because this is how I grew up, this is what I have seen in my family. My dad works and rests off. I go to school. My mom works in the house. That is what I have seen, and this is how I grew up. That is the kind of mentality I had.*

He believed that a woman's role was to be a housewife and raise children, whereas a man earns money to meet their financial needs:

> *Women … are housewives. They have babies. They stay at home to look after kids, do their things, and [the] male works. I had that mentality.*

Before participating in the program, Prashant was unable to regulate his emotions and lacked patience. He believed women did not have the right to participate in decision-making, and he minimised their significance. Prashant grew up observing his parents, his role models, exercising socially constructed gender roles. Consequently, he also accepted the same roles. He considered himself the leader in his family and his wife as being underneath him. He believed that he was making money and engaged in a meaningful role. In contrast, his spouse was busy taking care of the children, which he considered important because he thought earning money was more challenging.

4.2.2.2 C02: He was Born and Grew Up in a Different Culture

Having been in Australia for 14 years, Prashant recognised that his native culture was entirely different from Australia's culture:

> *As I say, look at the way we born and grew up with a different culture and different system. You know what I mean?'*

He acknowledged that the difference between both cultures was enormous: "It is a big difference, the culture difference. I say it like it is a big difference. The culture difference." He realised that he was living in an entirely different world from his previous one: "And then we came to a different world. It is the Western world and things run over here differently you know." Prashant again expressed his opinion about the massive difference between the cultures of Australia and India: "There is a big difference. Yeah, that is for sure."

4.2.2.2.1 Inheritance of Patriarchal Attitudes

Prashant discussed the teaching that was passed on to him from his parents: Patriarchal beliefs that a woman should obey her husband and men should decide on everything in the family.

> *The way we grew up, our parents told us … that the males make the decisions for everything … Women should listen [to] what men said. And follow the man's instructions … for everything … financial, kids, everything—the man decides everything for the family.*

However, Prashant disagreed that a man should have the sole right to decide on family matters and acknowledged that women should also have the right to share their opinions and make decisions. He recognised that his upbringing was not supportive of women's right to decide, and he learned in his childhood that women should not be allowed into the decision-making process. Now he had an improved belief that is: "He can make a decision, but the woman has [the] right to an opinion on that one or she can make [a] decision as well. And … we did not grow up that way. We just go like, 'No, you do not need to give any opinion on that one because … I am the man and I decide everything' kind of thinking."

4.2.2.2.2 Arrival In a Predominantly Egalitarian Society

Prashant believed that Australia was an equal society for both men and women. In Australia, men and women had the same rights to decide and select their life commitments without pressure from society: "We [are] coming to a different culture … where men and Ry equal rights."

4.2.2.2.3 Appreciated Some Learning from His Native Culture

Prashant acknowledged one valuable feature of his Indian culture: Indian men do not use abusive language in front of women, especially women outside the family, even though they might be harsh in front of their wives at home. He found that Australian men use abusive language in front of women, even in public.

> *I think people who came from India or different cultures do not really use abusive language in front of the female, not like other females. I don't know what they do in their homes, but when they are in the group, they are pretty behave. Where in the Western culture is talking to a female is like using a bit of 'f' word is common and normal for them.*

Even though his Indian culture taught him a male-dominant attitude, Prashant accepted that he learned to respect other people and still practised that respect.

> *I understand the point of coming from [a] background that male perspective, but at the same time, my culture teaches me I have to give respect to everyone. We make our male decisions, but every family teaches to give respect to other people. We still have that in us.*

Prashant grew up in a predominantly patriarchal society where men have power over women in all areas of life. He identified enormous differences between his newly adopted culture and the culture in which he grew up. Prashant described observing patriarchal practices within his family as he grew up. Therefore, his attitude was constructed according to the belief that women were subservient to men and did not have the right to make important decisions. However, he spoke of now finding himself in a less patriarchal society where women had equal rights to men, and women's roles were considered significant, irrespective of whether they were homemakers or employed in the workforce. Prashant thought that at least some features of his Indian culture were better than Australian culture; respecting everyone and not using abusive language in front of any woman except one's wife. I found his understanding contradictory; if his culture taught him to respect everyone, why could he not respect his wife and how could he perpetrate violence upon her?

4.2.2.3 C03: It Was Not Easy for Him to Get into a Behaviour Change Program

Prashant revealed that he waited a long time to enter the intervention: "And it is sad, it took a long time to get in." He appreciated the program but was disappointed that it was not a simple process to join the program: "It is a good thing, and it is not easy to get in." Prashant advised that he waited approximately several months before he could join the program: "This took me about more than three to four months to get into this program. It is not easy." He said that he used to call the agency every morning to ensure he was prioritised for entry to the intervention:

> *To get into this program, every day first thing in the morning, I have to call … [agency name] to get into this program … I have been literally calling every single day.*

He believed that many men seeking help were waiting to enter the men's behaviour change program, but it was extremely difficult to join the program:

> *Difficult … it is too hard to get in. There is a lot of people waiting out there to get into this program. There is a lot of people out there that need help and support.*

Prashant spoke of another client who had recently joined the intervention and said it took him one year to enter. I would like to stress that the interview took place after the COVID-19 restrictions were lifted in Western Australia. The pandemic may have contributed to such long waiting times. As he explained: "It is hard to get in. I was pretty lucky to get in, to be honest with you, in three to four months' time. But there is a lot of people in the last session we had. I don't know what that fella's name. It is a new fella … He said it [had] taken him one year to get into this program."

4.2.2.3.1 Family Court-mandated Clients

Prashant revealed that he was mandated to attend the intervention by a family court order: "I had the court orders to do this anyway. But there is a process to get into this program and it is a long process."

4.2.2.3.2 Structure of the Program

Prashant described the structure of the intervention. He attended one-on-one counselling sessions and underwent an intake assessment before entering the group:

> *As I said, I have done individual counselling before I get into this program. And then we have done the assessment.*

Prashant indicated that the intake assessment was entirely different from the group sessions. He said the assessment was the necessary first step in the program's process and it focused on his family background and the issues he had faced during his childhood:

> *Assessment is a totally different thing. Assessment … is asking me [about] my family background and things [that] happened in my childhood. That is step one.*

Prashant added that the intake interview sought to learn about him, his background, what affected him, his life challenges and what he could do to recover from his setbacks: "That assessment was a totally different thing … They wanted to know about me, what I have been through, what is my background and what affected me and what I need to do."

Therefore, Prashant understood that the purpose of the intake assessment interview was to ensure the intervention's suitability after exploring the history of his childhood and life experiences: "So that assessment is all about me and them trying to find out what program is

suitable for me." Prashant believed that group interventions were beneficial for South Asian clients: "But what I am trying to do is in the course … like having all people together is more helpful."

4.2.2.3.3 Not Enough Interventions Available

Prashant asserted that not many agencies ran domestic violence interventions, yet many people were seeking help. He suggested that there should be more programs like the men's behaviour change program in which he was participating:

> *There are not too many people running this program. Nobody's perfect. Everyone needs help. We need programs like this to help men.*

Prashant reiterated his belief that few agencies ran family violence group interventions: "It is just not everyone runs this program." He advised that more people and organisations should conduct such programs to promote change in men who experienced family problems because of their behaviour. According to him, individuals should not wait too long for support in amending their violent behaviour:

> *What needs to happen is maybe they need to open more institutes or maybe need to hire more people, so people don't have to wait for that long to change their behaviour or notice their behaviour.*

Prashant shared his experiences regarding the family court. According to him, the family court assesses parents' behaviour and, where deemed appropriate, mandates domestic violence interventions before concluding the case. The family court puts a legal case on hold until the offender has finished the intervention. This can result in a very stressful and lengthy process with a long waitlist just to enter the program. Prashant pointed to the dearth of such services to support men in need:

> *When you go to the family court, and they assess everything, there are people who say, 'okay, I got issues, and this guy needs to do this program to fix that issue.' And it is hard because not too many people are running this program.*

Prashant considered that more staff and organisations should be available to offer greater access to men's behaviour change programs, so that men were not left waiting too long for support.

4.2.2.3.4 Supporting a Group with Diverse Cultural Representation

Prashant considered a diverse cultural group composition beneficial for South Asian clients. He believed that being exposed to other men with different backgrounds, unique narratives and distinct beliefs provided excellent learning opportunities:

> *And having all different backgrounds, so we hear all different stories and how this thing work, what's good in this culture is this, how this works. And how we can change … we can learn more and act [in] different ways.*

He concluded that the different worldviews reflected in the group's cultural diversity assisted him in identifying solutions to problems. If there were only one-on-one sessions or a group with clients from a similar culture, such opportunities would be limited:

> *So, it has all come together and has come to us in some kind of conclusion or some kind of answer we can get. And if [you are] talking to just one person, it is just all about that one culture.*

Prashant outlined the structure of the program. He stated that the intervention was divided into two phases: Intake assessment, followed by group sessions. I understood Prashant's frustration in waiting a long time to enter the men's behaviour change program. The family court ordered him to join the program, like many other men. This resulted in long waiting lists and a relative shortage of services. According to him, few agencies were offering the men's behaviour change programs to support men in need. Prashant believed in an integrative format with one-on-one intake sessions, followed by group sessions reflecting diverse cultural representation. He preferred this to a focused group with clients from a similar culture.

4.2.2.4 C04: Facilitators Were Doing What They Were Supposed to Do

Prashant said that there were two facilitators—a male and a female—assisting the group intervention: "Two of them … a male and female." Prashant appreciated both facilitators' efforts to support the participants. He could not pinpoint even one aspect that they needed to improve and was satisfied that the facilitators were working to the best of their ability in assisting the group:

> *They are doing what they are supposed to be doing. They are doing great. I just can't judge them. I can't say anything like they should put anything extra on it to help us. They are already giving us their 100%, and it worked.*

Prashant indicated that the facilitators were introducing practical concepts and making the utmost effort to support the group: "They are not telling me anything bad … they have been 100% like in any way."

4.2.2.4.1 Supportive Attributes of the Facilitator

Prashant found that the facilitators were supportive, friendly, and easy to communicate with: "They are pretty friendly … you can communicate." Prashant stated that he never noticed any discomfort in the groups. He explained that both facilitators were good at explaining concepts and they were excellent at their job:

Yeah, they are pretty good. Like the way they explain things, the way they do things is just awesome. I did not find anything … uncomfortable or anything.

Prashant expressed appreciation for the way the facilitators managed clients and he admired the facilitators' style of educating: "And the way they treat, the way they educate you is just awesome." Prashant described both facilitators as "good people", always ready to help if he needed them: "These people are good inside out and they had to help and they are willing to do anything … if you need any help." He indicated that the facilitators were there to support the members of the group. Every week they would check how the members of the group were doing. Prashant found that the facilitators were friendly and supportive: "They are there for you; they are pretty friendly. They even ask you how you are doing, how was your week."

Prashant shared that the facilitators' weekly check involved asking the clients about their emotions and other aspects of their life. He said that the facilitators confirmed each client's feelings in the group and offered them the opportunity to talk about anything:

And they do ask you every week, 'How was your week? How [are] you feeling? How are you guys doing?' They asked individually people about their emotions. 'Are you doing okay? Are you doing good? Anything you guys want to talk about?'

Prashant appreciated the facilitators' approachable attitude. He revealed that he was not inclined to "say the right thing" to please them; he had the freedom to be who he was in the moment. Prashant enjoyed the opportunity to be in an environment where he could talk to people about his feelings without changing them or hiding them:

So, it is nice to have that thing where you can talk to people; you can approach them and express your feelings the way you feel. If you are good, you are good. If you are down, you are down.

Prashant felt that the facilitators were available for him to discuss his feelings, seek advice to deal with any challenges and help him heal from trauma. He added that they motivated him to work on problems instead of avoiding them:

If you are down, they will help you. Like, how I can deal with it? For me, if I have any issues, I just start like, 'Hey, this is what happened. What can I do? How can I get out of this?' They are pretty friendly to just explain, 'You are OK. This is the way it is. This is the process of this trauma, and you have to deal with it and then focus.' You do what you need to do.

4.2.2.4.2 Unbiased Towards Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Clients

Prashant noted that the facilitators held an impartial attitude towards all clients regardless of their cultural background or skin colour. According to him the facilitators treated everyone equally:

I did not feel anything like culture-wise or attitude-wise have something different to a different community because I'm not Australian or I'm not White. It's nothing like that. They treat everyone exactly the same no matter what culture you are from.

Prashant's observation about the facilitators' non-judgemental attitude extended to those who had difficulty speaking and writing English. He found the facilitators provided him with every opportunity to contribute and helped him to engage in discussions regardless of his language barrier:

> *There are some people who hardly speak English and there are some people [who] cannot even write, but they are still there. They are helping them, giving them that comfort to speak whatever they can.*

Prashant revealed that nobody in the group, including the facilitators, made fun of any clients' lack of language proficiency. Everyone listened to everybody else respectfully and comfortably: "It is not like people are there making fun of them or anything. People are listening to them like he has different background even though he is hardly speaking, but nobody is making them feel uncomfortable."

4.2.2.4.3 Importance of a Female Facilitator

In response to a question about the significance of the female facilitator in the group, Prashant assured that the female facilitator's role was vital: "Oh, absolutely." Prashant pointed to the female facilitator's courage in standing up against clients' abusive language. He observed that she would call them out when they used offensive comments even though she was the only female in the group: "Having that female in that group, she will tell you like, "Don't say that word. It is not something nice to say." Prashant described how the female facilitator refused to accept the choice of abusive words in the group and motivated clients to select better language. He recalled her suggesting that it was not funny or an exhibition of toughness to use rude words. Prashant indicated that the female facilitator had a strong opinion on behaving correctly in all circumstances:

> *Having that female, she reacted to those things like, 'It is not anything nice to say. Why would you say that?' So, it makes us understand that using those words is not funny. It is not having some kind of big attitude. It is a rude word, so we shouldn't be using that. It is not funny.*

Prashant was appreciative of the female facilitator and found that she accommodated the clients' needs. He recognised that she had a helping attitude without compromising her beliefs: "She is an awesome person inside out. She is really helpful."

Prashant perceived that if one of the group members commented on something that the female facilitator felt uncomfortable about, she would tell the group without hiding her discomfort. He understood her as an open and honest person who knew her role as a men's behaviour change program facilitator:

> *The way she communicates, if she is uncomfortable, she will tell you she is uncomfortable.*

Prashant said he appreciated this openness and confidence from the female facilitator of the intervention: "If she didn't like anything in you, she will tell you…hey, you better watch your mouth. I can't say I didn't like that. It is awesome having that attitude. She [has] that right to say…hey, hang on a minute. You can't say that, or you can't have that attitude here."

4.2.2.4.4 Favourable Qualities of a Male Facilitator

Prashant also described the male facilitator as helpful, approachable and easy to communicate with. He said he could express his anxiety in front of the facilitator, who would suggest how to deal with the situation.

> *He is pretty helpful, and you can communicate with him. You can approach him anytime you want. You can just pull him over and just go, 'Hey, mate. I am feeling this way.' He will suggest and he will guide you what you can do.*

Prashant explained that when attending the men's behaviour change program, he was going through a tough time, particularly regarding his family situation. He said he found it very comforting to approach another man who was there to listen to him and support him.

> *It is a very hard journey with the family, of course. You go through a different emotional trauma and all sort of things. And then coming to this program and having to chat with the assessor or … [facilitator's name] like, you can talk to me. You can approach me.*

Prashant explained how a male and a female facilitator effectively facilitated the intervention. Prashant found their accessibility, friendly nature, openness, honesty, confidence and non-judgemental and uncompromising attitudes essential qualities of the facilitators. These qualities allowed him to feel comfortable enough to approach the facilitators to seek support with his challenges. He believed that a female facilitator's role is crucial for group participants to learn women's perspectives on issues. Prashant indicated that the facilitators were culturally sensitive and unbiased towards culturally and linguistically diverse community members. In a group where members of different cultural communities participate, it is essential to be impartial.

4.2.2.5 C05: The Program Helped Him to Understand his Behaviour

Prashant stated that the men's behaviour change program had taught him to slow down, assess situations and then decide on an action before responding:

> *But this program has made me understand to just wait, assess things and then make decisions.*

Prashant said that he learned to manage situations better through the men's behaviour change program. He described his realisation that he sometimes did not have control over a situation. If something has to happen, it will happen. Instead of getting upset about the situation,

Prashant learned to face life's challenges. "Now I can deal with things. I know what is coming and how I have to deal with it. Like if something is happening … 'I cannot change it'. 'What I can do is', 'I can deal with it' rather than getting upset about it."

4.2.2.5.1 Learning Emotional Regulation

After completing the men's behaviour change program, Prashant stated that he understood why and how to stay calm instead of losing his temper over problems: "This is a problem … I will stay calm … Why should I get upset about it? Things like that. You know what I mean?" Prashant admitted that he still experienced anger after being in the group. However, he believed that the intervention taught him to think of two different scenarios when encountering challenges: Quit or tackle the situation to manage it better:

> *But saying all that after this program … I can think now. I still get angry or get upset about things, but I don't go extreme, or I don't just go, 'OK, I am going to run away from these things, or I am not going to deal with it.'*

Prashant described his newly acquired approach to managing challenging situations as "stop, think and act". He found this more effective than his previous strategy of brushing things under the carpet and getting frustrated: "I am just going to go, OK, wait a minute. I am going to stop and then think about what I can do if I can do what I can do. I will work on those things and use them. I will not get frustrated. I will not get angry. I will not run away. I will just deal with it. That is what I have learned from this program."

4.2.2.5.2 Empathy Towards Intimate Partner

Prashant stated that he learned to accept that everyone has the right to an opinion: "Everyone [has a] right to give [an] opinion on anything." Additionally, he said he now believes that both he and his wife have the right to make decisions and one's sex does not have a bearing on one's decision-making capability: "We both have [the] right to make the decisions." Prashant stated that he learned to accept that his wife's rights were equal to his and that being a man did not grant him more privileges in life:

> *Now, my mentality is like I've got the same right. As far as I got the right, she got exactly the same right.*

He also revealed that the intervention made him realise that she did not make money but taking care of children was a full-time job:

> *But like coming to this program and then like when I have gone through this process, what I have learned is OK, she does not work, but she was doing a full-time job looking after the kids.*

Prashant also learned to accept that caring for children was difficult—a fact he did not realise when he was growing up in India with his family:

> *It is not easy. So, it is [a] hard job to look after the kids … we did not understand that growing up back home.*

Prashant came to recognise that he lived in a joint family system in India with numerous family members helping each other. However, in Australia, he and his wife were alone. So, without any help, they were managing things as best they could. He indicated that their coping strategies do not always work: "We have like joint families. We have maybe 10 to 15 family members, and there is a lot of help … Over here, you deal with your own problems by yourself and there is some time it did work. Sometimes it does not."

4.2.2.5.3 Women are Capable and Deserve Respect

The intervention allowed Prashant to understand that women could do the same tasks as men. Prashant explained that he was a mine worker in the north of Perth, where women were also working. There, he was no different from the women, whom he found equally capable and deserving: "If I can work up north or in the mines, women can do the same thing and they are doing things." Prashant alluded to the female facilitator, acknowledging that she was worthy of respect just as male group members were:

> *Having a female in the group, like male, and everyone deserves respect … We have to give her the same respect she deserves. It doesn't make any difference.*

Prashant talked about how both the male and female facilitators of the group were human beings who deserved respect. According to him, if a man could not use abusive words in front of his daughter, he should not be using those words in front of another woman, even if she is not related to him. Prashant explained that a woman will always be related to somebody in a mother or daughter role: "They are both human beings. It doesn't mean … we can talk rude words or things like that. She is somebody's mum. She's somebody's daughter … If I can't say those words in front of my daughter, why would I say those words in front of her because she is not related to me?"

4.2.2.5.4 Taking Responsibility for Behaviour

After undertaking the men's behaviour change program, Prashant believed he was more responsible and had greater patience to make better decisions: "More responsibilities, patience, making the right decision." With disappointment in his voice, Prashant reflected that if he had been more lenient and knew how to analyse the situation before his separation, he could have

kept his family together. He took responsibility for his relationship breakdown, admitting it was because of his lack of self-management and perseverance skills:

> *In the past, if I had that patience and if I know that is the problem, I could have just analysed it and worked on it and my family could be together.*

Prashant considered that his journey through the intervention had made him a better person: "The journey I have been through has just made me a good person, like overall. I can think more."

4.2.2.5.5 Learning from Other Cultural Perspectives

Prashant stated that being away from his family in India, coping without their support and living in a new culture taught him to adapt and accept new ideas and behaviours: "And then coming back here and meeting different people, living in different cultures and not having the family parent support over here. So, you just kind of learn. You just kind of adopt things."

Prashant talked about other participants in the group. He said they could share their opinions, but he did not need to become upset with their views. He could either accept or reject their beliefs; he had a choice:

> *Look, other participants, if they wanted to say anything about it, if they have any opinion on anything. It is not that I have to take their opinion. They can give me your opinion … He gave his opinion, and I can take that opinion. I do not need to get upset about it.*

Prashant believed that a group with clients from diverse cultural backgrounds was appropriate for South Asian clients. He recognised that the diversity offered multiple viewpoints, which provided a great learning opportunity: "I would say working with everyone is good from different backgrounds. So, they understand from different backgrounds and different cultures, and we can all understand the different background, how this thing works."

Prashant believed that exposure to fellow group members from different cultures taught him various viewpoints, and he thought that this was a positive learning experience. He suggested that if all the members come from only one cultural group, there would be no diversity of opinions. He would only be exposed to the same thinking and belief systems he grew up with, and there would be nothing new to learn:

> *It is good to learn from different backgrounds as well. And doing an individual thing, then it is just all about him. It is just like if you talk about Indian and this is going to be all Indian things.*

Prashant reiterated that a group with clients with dissimilar backgrounds would give voice to distinct and separate opinions. Therefore, a South Asian participant could learn new perspectives on an issue: "And if we have a different background and he will have a different

opinion, Indian person has a different opinion, Aussie will have a different opinion … a guy is going to have a different opinion."

4.2.2.5.6 Favourable Mindset Towards Intervention

Prashant spoke of learning to control his emotions and think about the consequences of actions instead of acting on impulse: "Coming to this program has helped me to have the patience and think about things before I make any decisions." He expressed his optimism about the intervention and stated that every aspect had helped his progress: "Like, everything is helpful or useful."

Prashant recognised the significance of the men's behaviour change program and hoped that every person who had experienced a relationship break-up or was dealing with the family court could join such interventions and seek help:

> *This program is awesome. People need help. I wish people who are going through these family courts and need help with the relations and all that; this is perfect.*

He extended this hope to people with relationship issues who were still together:

> *I wish people [would] have understanding before they break up their family. They should come before all those things happen, to come to this program and learn how to deal with the problem before they go all to these family courts and all that.*

Prashant wished he had known about the men's behaviour change program earlier, stating that if he had, he might have kept his family intact. However, he realised it was now too late for him. He acknowledged that joining the intervention was the best thing that had happened to him: "I wish I learned that earlier and then could have saved my family, but it has been too late. It is awesome. This is one of the best things that ever happened to me."

4.2.3 South Asian Client's Findings Summary

This chapter presents a detailed idiographic examination of the experiences of a men's behaviour change program client. This participant's case study revealed five superordinate themes: C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem), C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture), C03 (It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program), C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do) and C05 (The program helped him to understand his behaviour).

Three of these themes are interconnected: C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem), C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture) and (C05 The program helped him to understand his behaviour). The first of these themes describes how, previously, Prashant did not have adequate skills to manage stressful situations effectively. He indicated that he had not been taught how to identify his unhelpful behaviour and consider how he could improve it.

According to Prashant, he inherited this skills deficit from his family, following his role models in a gendered hierarchal system where a man could do no wrong. This knowledge connects the second theme, C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture).

The second theme suggests that Prashant experienced a significant culture shock between his native country and his new homeland. He considered Australia an egalitarian society, where the system endows men and women with equal rights—unlike his native country. Prashant's narrative indicates that he grew up in a patriarchal culture. His parents conformed to the expectations of gendered hierarchy and practised patriarchal norms in their home. Therefore, he brought this oppressive and misogynistic behaviour into his relationship in Australia. This eventually led him to the family court, which mandated him to participate in a men's behaviour change program. This links to the third theme, C03 (It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program).

The third theme describes how Prashant found the intervention extremely valuable in helping him learn to grow out of his unhelpful behaviours. He revealed that not only did the intervention assist him in learning to regulate his emotions, but it also taught him to value women. He indicated that after completing the program, he respected his wife's role in raising their children and understood the challenges his spouse may have faced in taking care of the family. He admitted realising that her job was not as easy as he had thought before participating in the course. Prashant stated that after the program, he empathised with his wife and valued her contribution to raising the children without any support. He understood that, even though she did not bring any money to the family, her involvement was vital. According to him, he now accepted women as capable and deserving of equal respect. He realised that men and women both had equal rights to make decisions and women were not inferior to men. He took responsibility for the behaviours that led to the family's break-up. He also revealed that the program offered him a vast opportunity to learn from diverse perspectives.

The remaining two themes, C03 (It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program) and C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do), are unique themes. Both relate to different aspects of Prashant's experience. The former theme reflects the client's challenges in entering the program. The latter theme reveals facilitator attributes that support the clients of behaviour change groups.

Prashant discussed the supportive attributes of both the male and female facilitators of the intervention. He believed that the female facilitator's role was important in the group. On the one hand, she was very supportive, yet on the other, she established firm boundaries around appropriate use of language and was confident in constructively challenging clients' unhelpful

views. He reported finding both facilitators approachable and that he could talk to them about his concerns freely and openly. He indicated that both facilitators had non-judgemental attitudes and were very respectful towards their clients. Prashant also experienced no discrimination against his language and culture. Additionally, he believed that both facilitators supported clients from the culturally and linguistically diverse community. Therefore, he did not feel that the cultural element was of any concern in his experience of the men's behaviour change program.

Prashant's difficulties in entering the intervention are reflected in the unique theme C03 (It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program). He stated that he had to call the agency every morning for months to be assessed to participate in the program. He found out from other group members that they had had similar experiences and for some, it had taken a whole year to enrol in the program. He believed that there were not enough services available to cater for the demand. According to Prashant, the men's behaviour change program provided valuable support for men struggling to manage abusive behaviour in their relationships. Therefore, having enough services to meet the needs of such men was essential. Prashant enthusiastically affirmed that taking part in the intervention was the best decision of his life. Overall, he believed he had had a positive experience.

4.3 Synthesis of the Themes

Ten themes were identified from the facilitators' data analysis, and five themes were identified within the South Asian client's data. Initially, this chapter described how most of the identified themes commonly manifested in the interviews of the facilitator participants. However, subtle but salient differences between facilitators' discussions related to the same theme cannot be ignored.

The understanding of South Asian's rigid views varies across the facilitator participants. Theme F01(Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement) suggests that most facilitator participants recognised that their South Asian clients displayed rigid views. However, there are noticeable differences between different facilitators' descriptions of their South Asian client's rigid opinions. Therefore, a comparative explanation is presented across all facilitator participants on South Asian clients' rigid views. Some facilitators perceived this rigidity when their South Asian clients showed little or no interest in engaging in group activities. In comparison, others talked about rigidity regarding their South Asian clients' tendency to firmly hold on to their traditional belief systems. However, few facilitators described their South Asian clients' rigidness on both grounds: Lack of contribution

in the sessions and unchangeable views. For example, the words of Ryan ("withdrawn in the group"), Annabel ("hard to engage") and Lauren ("completely closed") indicated their clients' rigidness about group engagement. Damien's ("solid belief systems") and Isaac's ("they will use culture") accounts point to their clients' inflexible belief systems. In comparison, quotes from Kim ("more rigid than Caucasian men" and "I don't belong here"), Dean ("rigid" and "getting them to talk was the next difficult part") and Carl ("disengaging", "withdrawn in the group" and "treating her like a servant was not seen as abusive behaviour") conveyed that their South Asian clients held their opinions and attitudes rigidly and simultaneously were not engaging in group activities.

A comparison of how the facilitator participants understood South Asian clients' demeaning attitudes towards women is discussed. Eight facilitator participants communicated their understanding of South Asian clients' views on women in theme F02 (South Asian men's views of women are frustrating). Most facilitators commonly agreed that South Asian clients possessed demeaning attitudes towards women. However, all four female facilitator participants reported having firsthand experience of their South Asian clients' undermining attitude towards them during active group sessions. This was echoed in Amelia's accounts: "As a female facilitator at the front of the door, they are very dismissive…. our female facilitator might ask a question, but they'll look to the male facilitator and answer. So automatically, anything I say is disregarded" indicated Amelia's South Asian clients, who preferred to respond and engage with a male facilitator over her as a female facilitator. Most male facilitator participants also identified their South Asian clients' degrading attitudes towards women, as depicted by Carl: "[Women are considered] sort of a utility". However, this indicates male facilitator participants understood it by examining their South Asian clients' accounts about women.

The contrasting outlook across the facilitator participants on South Asian clients' acceptance of socially constructed gender roles is identified. Theme F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour) proposes that most facilitator participants perceived South Asian clients as totally accepting of socially constructed gender roles. However, there was a perceptible difference in their accounts based on social and financial aspects of gendered social constructions. For example, Josh's understanding of "roles and expectations … so certainly, women are homemakers, child carers; and men are providers and labourers" indicated that his South Asian clients view themselves as financial providers and bread earners. Similarly, Amelia, Dean, Ryan, Carl and Kim described their knowledge about their South Asian clients' perception of the division of responsibilities based on gender, i.e. distinctive roles for men and

women. Men were expected to be monetary providers, and women were supposed to maintain the house and children. Isaac's view that "the cultural expectation of a hierarchy … [a woman's] place in society … that place is always under the dominance of men" presents another aspect with a slightly different angle on South Asians' cultural expectations of hierarchy. Men were authoritative, and their spouses were under them, expected to obey their rules and be submissive and compliant.

In comparison, Damien's account, "man ultimately … makes the decisions…. also controls perhaps the finances", accessed a slight divergence in that he understood that his South Asian clients assumed decision-making power resided with men. Dean understood that his clients held an extreme sense of entitlement and conservative socially constructed roles in their relationships, as suggested by his statement: "How casual and how taken for granted, they assumed their sense of entitlement was in their relationships with their partners." Carl understood that South Asian men held authority over their partner to demand sex, as indicated by his statement: "He [South Asian client] would be quite demanding of sex."

Different expressions given by the facilitator participants about perceived South Asian clients' victim-blaming attitudes are recognised. Most facilitator participants found that their South Asian clients accused their ex-spouse of some transgression or deficiency to deny their own wrongdoing in theme F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim). The facilitators were unanimously astute about their South Asian clients' blaming attitude toward their partners. However, there was uniqueness in the expression of their understanding of their clients' blaming attitude. Annabel used words like "manipulative and overbearing" to describe her understanding of the accusing behaviour of South Asian clients. Words and phrases like "crazy", "she does what she's told", "torturing", "she didn't know her role", and "servant–boss" were respectively used by Josh, Amelia, Damien, Kim and Carl.

A wide-ranging understanding across facilitator participants of their South Asian clients' lack of accountability and responsibility is acknowledged. Theme F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility) revealed that most facilitator participants understood that their South Asian clients did not accept that they were abusive towards their partners and were not taking responsibility for changing their behaviour and attitude. However, there are noticeable differences in how the facilitators came to this shared understanding. Ryan's accounts: "Denial or reluctance to share" and "he [South Asian client] provided a very brief account", and Carl's expression: "Not really engage with anything", proposed that their South Asian clients communicated only briefly and were unwilling to engage in the activities. Annabel found that her South Asian clients were most often placed in a higher resistance

stream designed for clients who refused to be accountable for their abusive actions. Josh's statement, "no accountability or consideration that they might be doing something that might be a problem", indicated that his South Asian clients did not even briefly admit a slim possibility of a problem in their behaviour. Damien considered that if someone's behaviour is claimed as abusive, they tend to resist and justify their conduct, a phenomenon typical of his South Asian clients as insinuated by his account of "what could be regarded as abusive. We tend to … latch on to support our behaviour." Isaac and Kim identified their South Asian clients' lack of accountability when they observed denial, deflecting, complete minimisation and blame regardless of clear and sufficient evidence of their abusive behaviour. Lauren's description: "Try and put all of that culture to the side and focus in on yourself [South Asian client]." She understood that her South Asian clients' use of their culture as a shield to defend against accountability and responsibility was the main ground for Lauren's understanding of their lack of accountability. Dean experienced, "They [South Asian clients] felt ashamed, but that comes out, and it's how it manifested", that his South Asian clients' expression of shameful gestures manifested as a defence against accountability for abusive behaviour.

Across the facilitator participants, a contrast in the understanding of South Asian clients' apparent changes in behaviour and attitude is revealed. The facilitators' interpretations of their South Asian clients' improvements in attitudes and behaviour are presented in theme F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious). This theme emerged in all ten facilitator participants. Most facilitator participants found no significant transformations but noticed some minor perceptible degree of improvement. All facilitator participants agreed that only those South Asian clients who were ready to relax their resistance and unhelpful beliefs made some progress. For example, Ryan's accounts, "what he had learned … is almost like the right thing to say, like, what is it that going to fly in this situation as he knows what to say" and "but I can't say there was any other shift". Ryan's observation is supported by Isaac in that they both noticed some of his South Asian clients learned to speak in a more socially acceptable manner while not substantially reforming their actual beliefs. Annabel assumed, "even though his values won't change, [I don't think he will] perpetrate in that particular way that he did, which was almost killing the woman", that her South Asian clients probably wouldn't perpetrate at such an extreme level as they did in the past. Josh found, "listening to other men talking … the shifts that they [South Asian clients] have made" that the practice of listening was improved in his South Asian clients. Amelia thought, "a lot of them will complete the group, which is a success story in itself" and that completing the intervention was a success because they could withdraw before finishing the entire program. Damien perceived

subtle signs of improvement in his South Asian clients' ability to see beyond themselves and care for others. Carl identified, "The changes…were mainly a bit of further on understanding after Australian or Western culture of away from the patriarchy", improvements in his South Asian clients' knowledge of WA culture, a culture far less patriarchal than that of their original home countries. In comparison, Lauran's account: "They start to engage and start to ask questions, or they start to contribute to conversations", and Kim's observations: "They were more relaxed, a lot more open to the conversations", indicates that they both found improved engagement in the group process, which led to other changes such as positive body language, listening, reflection and communication. However, Dean thought that South Asian clients learned to be self-aware and were able to reflect on their behaviour.

Three primary categories—informative, psychoeducational, coaching and relational—are obtained by synthesising F07 (Being firm but flexible) across the facilitator participants. This Theme is centred on the facilitators' approaches to working with South Asian clients. All ten facilitator participants commonly agreed that integrated methods were used to work with South Asian clients in men's behaviour change programs. The approaches described by the facilitators can be grouped into three different categories: (i) Informative (providing information about the types of domestic violence and the impact of domestic violence on children), (ii) psychoeducational/coaching (i.e. CBT, narrative therapy, Duluth Model, emotional regulation coaching, a general strength-based approach) and (iii) relational (i.e. therapeutic alliance creating a safe group environment). Kim's account: "The effect [of domestic violence] on the children and actually show them about what happens with a child's brain", and Annabel's explanation: "The collectivist values of community or family", suggested that they both focused on Classification 1. Ryan's experience, "It's a mishmash of things … with the men's behaviour change program", was supported by Josh's explanation, "there's the psychoeducation", and other facilitators, including Lauren, Amelia, Dean, and Isaac's descriptions indicated a focus on Classification 2. Whereas Damien's awareness, "Whatever you're doing, you need to get them to feel safe", and Carl's suggestion, "I found relationship building was helpful", indicated that they both were aiming at Classification 3.

Theme F08 (A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer) synthesis across the participants offered four distinctive qualities required by the facilitators to work with this clientele. This theme focuses on the attributes a facilitator requires to be effective in servicing South Asian clients. All facilitator participants commonly agreed that a facilitator's role is not limited to delivering the content of the intervention, and a good facilitator requires specific attributes to work with South Asian clients effectively. Four dominant qualities emerged from

the facilitator's data: The ability to establish a therapeutic relationship, cultural understanding, avoiding confronting ways to challenge, and self-reflection or awareness. Some facilitators considered all four aspects significant, but a few focused on only one or two. Ryan described: "Any unexamined bias toward or against culture … could be detrimental" and "rapport building with these guys is really essential", Lauren's insightfully argued: "You need a facilitator to be aware of their own bias and their own judgement, any stereotypes", and Carl stated the importance of "being curious about their cultural background." These comments suggest that is important to process unexamined biases against South Asian culture to understand cross-cultural dynamics and establish therapeutic relations.

Similarly, Annabel and Kim who also suggested having a thorough knowledge of South Asian culture. Dean's explanations: "It's easy to get into a punitive approach … [but this] comes across as oppressive" and "doing so is destructive… you're just role modelling what you're asking them to look at critically…secondly, you're building their resistance", reinforced by Damien and Josh who advised avoiding harsh, confronting, and punitive practices to challenge the South Asian clients' belief system and suggested establishing a therapeutic relationship by being compassionate and non-judgemental. Amelia and Isaac understood that a therapeutic alliance, cultural knowledge and self-awareness were significant additional attributes. However, Amelia conveyed, "facilitators who don't feel comfortable asking difficult questions, don't feel comfortable challenging them and show fear when the clients do act up", another unique element that facilitators should be free from fear of challenging their clients. Lauren's explanation, "there's always a danger of collusion … something that you need to be aware of", is supported by Kim, who also warned against colluding with clients or allowing group members to join forces to demoralise the program or the facilitators.

A comparison of how the facilitator participants conveyed their understanding of the suitability of diverse cultural groups is clarified. The cultural composition of men's behaviour change programs is covered in theme F09 (Group diversity is beneficial). Most facilitators suggested that a diverse cultural group composition would be more suitable for South Asian clients. None of the facilitators had experience with a group comprised exclusively of South Asian clients. However, there was a shared understanding that managing a group composed exclusively of South Asian clients would be challenging. The facilitators disclosed the difficulties they anticipated with such a group and the benefits of a diverse cultural group. Annabel's envisioning that "there'd be a lot of collusions" implies that she was concerned with the client's likely collusion against facilitators in an exclusive group and advocated for a mixed cultural group.

Similarly, Ryan believed that a diverse group composition has merit because South Asian clients' discriminative attitudes towards women are culturally determined, and exposure to different views can alleviate this attitude. As he specified, "It [diverse group] is probably the most suitable format … I mean, men being able to learn from each other and be exposed to different worldviews and cultures", and "It [exposure to diverse cultural beliefs] would assist with their perhaps problematic attitudes towards women that might have some cultural determinism". Similar arguments were presented by Annabel, Amelia and Kim. Damien suggested that his clients' similar motives with different perspectives were helpful in diverse group interventions. Further, Carl believed that diversified cultural groups also support an improvement in South Asian clients' knowledge of Australian culture. Isaac offered his insight that diverse cultural groups provide an opportunity for group members to learn from and challenge one another, one of the great strengths of group therapy. However, Lauren's statement, "putting them [South Asian clients] in a program that was designed for them and for people from similar cultures would create safety", indicated that she preferred an exclusive cultural group composition for South Asian clients.

A comparative synthesis across all facilitator participants' understanding of the inclusion of cultural constitute in men's behaviour change programs is presented. The facilitator participants communicated their understanding of the inclusion of cultural aspects in the intervention in theme F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components). All facilitators shared opinions on the insufficiency of cultural elements in existing men's behaviour change programs. Universally, the facilitator participants suggested that it would be helpful if men's behaviour change programs could include more activities that unpack cultural perspectives on intimate partner violence. Inopportunely, the interventions rely on the facilitators' own ability to manage cultural sensitivity. However, the ground upon which the facilitators based their insights on the cultural inefficacy of men's behaviour change programs was unique from one another. Ryan's understanding: "A lot of the research that sits with these programs … come[s] from predominantly Western researchers or scholars or counsellors", "I was thinking of not much research from Asian countries", and "I don't think they've applied that lens and been informed by those cultural contexts", were supported by Dean.

Dean also believed that cultural lenses did not shape the interventions because of a lack of available research from non-Western countries; therefore, interventions have a Western outlook. Dean, along with Isaac, suggested that the interventions were one size fits all. Annabel's understanding, "Trying to include everyone, they're also excluding them", suggested that the interventions unintentionally excluded minority groups to be inclusive for

all. This is because the attention was divided among all members instead of working intensively to unpack the unhelpful cultural practices of a specific group. Josh interpreted: “I suppose there’s a difference between non-discrimination and inclusion; inclusion is more proactive”. He described his understanding that men’s behaviour change programs don’t discriminate against any culture, but there is a massive difference between being non-discriminatory (a passive stance) and inclusive (a proactive approach). Josh believed that inclusion is a visionary concept, and interventions were not proactively inclusive. However, Amelia, Kim, Carl, and Damien focused on the lack of cultural training of facilitators and suggested such training would assist staff in working with South Asian clients. Lauren’s understanding: “There’s huge room for improvement because the facilitators may or may not even be culturally competent”, “we are a multicultural nation, and we will have and continue to have many diverse groups represented”, and “there’s no requirement at all in our national standards to do that”, suggested that Australia as a multicultural nation; therefore, interventions will continue to have client representation from many diverse groups. Hence, it is essential for men’s behaviour change programs need to do more to incorporate cultural aspects in their programs. She also claimed a lack of national standards was one of the significant reasons for poor inclusion of cultural elements.

The data of the client participant, Prashant, revealed five themes. The client participant theme C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) indicates the coping mechanisms he utilised prior to his participation in the men’s behaviour change program, characterised by holding a superior attitude towards women (Subtheme 1) and following a socially constructed gender role division (Subtheme 2). These coping mechanisms uncovered the client’s challenges in managing his anger and regulating his emotions. The subtheme “minimising the role of women” revealed his undermining attitude toward his wife and his presumption of authority in the family. The subtheme “acceptance of socially constructed gender roles” suggests that he obeyed the socially constructed gender roles in his family that he learned from his parents in India. Together, these mechanisms justified his use of anger and negated any need for effort to regulate his emotions and behaviour in the home.

The superordinate theme C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture) describes Prashant’s insights on being raised immersed in the culture of his native country and his understanding of the culture of his current place of domicile. This theme contains three subthemes: “Inheritance of patriarchal attitudes”, “arrival in a predominantly egalitarian society”, and “appreciated some learning from his native culture”. The client participant’s theme C02 presents his understanding of the differences he observed between Australian and

Indian cultures. The subtheme “arrival in a predominantly egalitarian society” surfaced in his perception of Australian society. He felt that women in Australia have more equal rights compared with those in his native country, India. The subtheme “inheritance of patriarchal attitudes” surfaced in the client’s realisation of the foundation of his patriarchal beliefs. Patriarchy was actively retained and practised in his parental home, and he learned those beliefs growing up in his family. However, he respected some of the learning from his native country in the subtheme “appreciated some learning from his native culture”. Prashant indicated that men in India were not expected to use abusive language in front of women outside of the family. However, they might behave differently in their home with the women in the family. He found this to be different in Australia, where men frequently use abusive language in front of women to whom they are not related.

C03 (It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program), another prominent theme of the South Asian client, consists of four subthemes centred on his challenges in joining the intervention. The four subthemes: “family court-mandated clients”, “structure of the program”, “not enough interventions available”, and “supporting a group with diverse cultural representation”, provided some insight into the intervention in which he was participating. The subtheme “family court-mandated clients” informed his mode of participation in the men’s behaviour change program. It was revealed that he was mandated by the Family Court of Western Australia to participate in the intervention. He shared his knowledge about the intervention structure in the “structure of the program” subtheme. He undertook an intake assessment that explored his family background and history to assess his suitability for the group prior to his participation. The subtheme “not enough interventions available” surfaced the client’s perception of a shortage of domestic violence interventions to support men. Prashant also offered his vision of an increased number of men’s behaviour change programs. Finally, the last subtheme of C03, “supporting a group with diverse cultural representation,” presents his preference for groups with diverse cultural representation over-focused groups with clients from a similar culture.

Theme C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do) describes Prashant’s understanding of effective facilitator attributes and consists of four subthemes: Supportive attributes of the facilitator, unbiased towards culturally and linguistically diverse clients, the importance of a female facilitator, and favourable qualities of a male facilitator. Prashant suggested that the group facilitators were friendly, approachable, and empathetic in the subtheme “supportive attributes of the facilitator”. The subtheme “unbiased towards culturally and linguistically diverse clients” describes the group facilitators’ unprejudiced and

supportive attitude towards all clients regardless of cultural and language barriers. Prashant spoke about the significance of the female facilitator in a group intervention in the subtheme, "importance of a female facilitator". He believed that the female facilitator played a crucial role in educating clients to speak and behave appropriately. The client participant also shared his insight into the preferred characteristics of the male facilitator, including helpfulness, approachability, active listening, openness, honesty, confidence and holding a non-judgemental approach in the subtheme "favourable qualities of a male facilitator".

Prashant's experience of participating in the intervention was covered in the superordinate theme C05 (The program helped him to understand his behaviour). C05 comprises six subthemes: Learning emotional regulation, empathy towards intimate partner, women are capable and deserve respect, taking responsibility for behaviour, learning from other cultural perspectives and having a favourable mindset towards the intervention. Prashant revealed his attitudinal transformation in this central theme. The four subthemes "learning emotional regulation", "empathy towards intimate partner", "women are capable and deserve respect", and "taking responsibility for behaviour" disclosed that the client participant learned to regulate his emotions and developed some empathy towards his intimate partner and women in general; he took accountability and responsibility for his behaviour in a way that he was unable to do before he participated in the intervention. The appreciation of his learning from other group clients from diverse cultural backgrounds is discussed in the subtheme "learning from other cultural perspectives". The final subtheme, "favourable mindset towards intervention", presents the meaningful experience of his participation in the intervention.

4.4 Reflexivity Statement

As a result of my former experiences in a patriarchal society, I assumed that only men from such societies were misogynists. Men from these backgrounds see themselves as the supreme power and leader, both within the family and in society. However, my views were transformed after exposure to people in individualist societies such as Australia. When I arrived in Australia in 2005, I experienced a diverse culture that was so dissimilar to the one I knew. I now understand that choosing violence could be the choice of any man to exert control regardless of their cultural background. I do not intend to suggest that men only from South Asia are perpetrating violence towards their intimate partners. One cannot ignore the nuances behind choosing violence. However, such a choice may stem from patriarchal beliefs and a sense of entitlement among perpetrators from patriarchal societies; for people from other cultures, a display of power may be the motive for violence.

I also want to reveal my view on patriarchal and collectivist culture. I believe no society is entirely patriarchal or egalitarian and collectivist or individualistic. The degrees of these characteristics can deviate from country to country. Based on their high acceptance of patriarchal or egalitarian and collectivist or individualistic features, I assumed that some cultures could be more patriarchal and collectivist or less patriarchal and more individualistic. I used the term 'predominant' to inform that I do not suggest any culture is entirely patriarchal or egalitarian and collectivist or individualistic.

I would also like to acknowledge that I struggle with the term 'perpetrator'. I understand that we all can be both a perpetrator and a victim at any given time. My values and paradigm do not sit well with labelling people with this negative term as it is socially constructed. In my opinion, this term has social and cultural meanings attached to it. A perpetrator may be seen as a perpetrator in one context but not another. However, for the purpose of this study, I could not find a better term.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined the findings for facilitators and a South Asian client. The identified themes presented in Sections 4.1 and 4.2 will be discussed in the next chapter in relation to the relevant literature addressing the overarching research aim to address the gap in qualitative interpretative phenomenological analysis research with social and contextual constructionist knowledge in supporting South Asian clients of men's behaviour change programs to deliver guidelines for improving existing interventions. These themes will be discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to the existing literature in the field.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this chapter, I discuss the themes identified in the study in relation to the relevant literature. The discussion illustrates the outcomes regarding the seven research questions. To identify and discuss the participants' responses to the research questions, each superordinate theme was discussed in relation to each other and with the existing literature. The existing literature confirms a lack of literature on working with South Asian male perpetrators of intimate partner violence, which is one of the primary phenomena of interest in this study. There are two main reasons for the limited research on working with South Asian male intimate partner violence perpetrators. First, there is a lack of interventions to reduce violence against women in collectivist patriarchal societies compared with individualistic Western societies, where interventions have existed for three decades (Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008). Second, the programs, policies and research in Western societies are consciously or unconsciously influenced by systemic White supremacy and ignore the needs of minorities and immigrants (Hatton, 2021; McCubbin et al., 2023). After discussing the facilitators' superordinate themes, the chapter also examines how the South Asian client understood his experience in a men's behaviour change program. Key phrases extracted from the participants' dialogue are included here.

The data analysis revealed some common and unique findings in the participants' experiences with respect to the research questions. This chapter discusses these experiences from the perspectives of both participants: the facilitators and a South Asian client. It also reflects how the research was shaped by my own values and interests. Finally, an overview of the themes that emerged from the facilitators and a South Asian client is presented.

5.1.1 Reflective Commentary

I became aware of my unconscious biases when I was encouraged to view the data more critically. By deeply reflecting on my earlier attempts to analyse the data, I realised that the intersectionality of my identity had profoundly, but unconsciously, blocked me from analysing the data critically. First, my identity as a Shudra, one of the lowest castes in Indian society, prevented me from criticising the system because of the fear of being treated unfairly by the system. Additionally, my identity as a woman from South Asia, a predominantly patriarchal society, had hindered me from undertaking a critical interpretation. My upbringing had taught me to simply accept the opinions of others at face value. I recall my family stopping me from thinking critically, a trait that was not acceptable for women in the society in which I

grew up. However, they were simply trying to protect me. Most Indian families, especially those from the lower-caste Shudra, do not teach their daughters to think critically to protect them from being raped, murdered or attacked with acid as a result of criticising men or the system (Banerjee & Ghosh, 2019; Himabindu et al., 2014; Rao, 2015). My upbringing in a country of systemic oppression and discrimination of women and people from lower castes had taught me not to reflect critically. My newly formed identity in Australia as a woman of colour and a member of a minority group who had migrated to a neopatriarchal society also played a role in my lack of critical interpretation. My Australian identity intersected with my identity as a woman and a lower-caste Shudra, preventing me from viewing the data critically to avoid unjust consequences. Therefore, I was astonished to be advised to view the data critically with a consideration of systemic oppression, discrimination, White supremacy and racism. I feel grateful to all those who encouraged me and provided me with a fair platform. This was the first time that I had felt free and felt me.

5.2 Facilitator Themes

The facilitator participants revealed ten superordinate themes from the data. I observed some commonalities across the themes that were identified. Themes F07 (Being firm but flexible), F08 (A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer), F09 (Group diversity is beneficial), and F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components) indicate the facilitators' experiences of engagement in the programs with South Asian clients, whereas themes F01 (Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement), F02 (South Asian men's views of women are frustrating), F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour), F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim), F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility), and F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious) link with the subtle meanings that the facilitators attempted to convey to their South Asian clients. The facilitator–client relationship is established based on the feelings, thoughts and knowledge the facilitators hold towards their South Asian clients, ranging from empathy, frustration and understanding towards their clients.

It is evident that themes F01 (Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement), F02 (South Asian men's views of women are frustrating), and F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility) express annoyance and irritation about their clients' attitude and resistance, whereas themes F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim) and F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious) articulate empathy and appeal their clients. At the same time, theme F03 (Examining the gendered division of

labour) reveals the facilitators' understanding of their South Asian clients' traditional gender role stance.

In addition, four themes emerged from the facilitator participants that did not show any connection with other themes. These four unexpected and exciting themes were "The merits of having a cultural component embedded in a program" (Amelia), "A preferred exclusive cultural group composition" (Lauren), "Politeness as a mask" (Josh), "Rule followers" (Amelia) and "Academic and well educated" (Kim). These unique themes are discussed in detail further in this chapter.

The facilitators' determined that the South Asian clients had undermining attitudes towards women, corresponding to Research Question 1 (How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?). In response to Research Question 2 (What are the facilitators' insights into South Asian clients' explanations about their alleged abusive behaviour?), the facilitators positioned the South Asian clients as those who resisted taking responsibility and accountability for their accused abusive behaviour. Further, the facilitators used standard approaches comprising psychoeducational/coaching, and informative and relational strategies with culturally and linguistically diverse South Asian clients, responding to Research Question 3 (How do the facilitators appraise their approaches when working with South Asian clients?). Simultaneously, a key critical finding to Research Question 4 (What are the facilitators' understandings of the cultural constituents of existing programs to facilitate men's behavioural change among South Asian clients?) was that the programs lacked cultural components to meet the cultural need of South Asian clients. The programs were working on a one-size-fits-all approach with the clients regardless of their cultural orientation while ignoring the influences of culture and the larger system.

To understand the facilitators' interpretation of their experiences with South Asian clients, each subordinate theme is presented and examined in detail.

5.2.1 F01: Although Their Rigid Views Harmed Their Families, Clients Resisted Engagement

Theme F01, reflecting the uncooperative beliefs of South Asian clients, was mentioned by all facilitator participants. All participants shared similar experiences with their South Asian clients' challenging attitudes in the program. However, the synthesis of the theme indicated differences in similarities. Most South Asian clients were constructed as withdrawn, quiet and unreceptive. Ryan described experiencing South Asian clients as "quiet or withdrawn in the group". It appears that Ryan may have overlooked the intersectionality of culture and

patriarchal influences, affecting how he interpreted his clients' participation (Hill & Bilge, 2016). The facilitators had similar perceptions of the rigid views of their South Asian clients and the reasons for their lack of engagement, supporting my suspicion that they were ignorant of the difficulties in openly sharing when practices are based on the dominant culture and people from minority groups are largely unnoticed. I believe that a lack of cultural safety could make South Asian clients withdrawn and disengaged.

Similarly, Lauren described her clients as "very quiet" and "blatantly rude" and that it was "very hard to elicit much from them". Her description of South Asian clients as "blatantly rude" indicates a lack of consideration for the complexities of human identities and their intersectionality, which perpetuates false cultural impressions (Hill & Bilge, 2016). This leads me to assume that there is an asymmetrical power dynamic arising from notions of White supremacy. Dean experienced a "lack of active participation" from his South Asian clients. These accounts suggest similar facilitator experiences of uncooperative behaviour from South Asian clients. It is difficult to identify how much of the uncooperative behaviour and how much it resulted from feeling marginalised. If someone feels pushed into a corner, they respond by being defensive. However, Lauren explained her insights into this lack of cooperation. She believed that "men's behaviour change is a Western concept" and that her South Asian clients may think, "I [as a South Asian client] don't fit with the model" and "I [as a South Asian client] don't fit in here". Lauren's thoughts on the cause of the resistance underscore the notion that the men's behaviour change program is a White Western concept. Therefore, it may be difficult for men from a non-Western and non-White culture to relate to this concept.

It is understood that South Asian clients find it challenging to fit into White Western concepts. Mathisen and Ledingham (2018) study a lack of initial commitment by Indian clients to counselling services because of their cultural orientation because most helping programs and counselling are rooted in White Western concepts. Hatton (2021) compared the experiences of White and non-White facilitators of group programs in prisons in northern California, concluding that Whiteness and White dominance are upheld not only by statewide policies and organisations but also in White facilitators' thoughts, feelings and actions. Similarly, McCubbin et al. (2023) reported that Whiteness is rooted in helping professions such as counselling and psychology. Consequently, training programs are also influenced by and embedded in White supremacy. Numerous studies support the lack of help-seeking behaviours by different cultural groups (G. Barker, 2007; Benova et al., 2014; Chan & Hayashi, 2010; Hohenshil et al., 2013; Mayers et al., 2007; Nguyen, 2011).

While I agree with Lauren's interpretation of men's behaviour change programs being a Western concept, I believe that applying a multicultural orientation framework would be effective in helping to uncover the intersectionality of South Asian clients' identities (Hill & Bilge, 2016). Adopting the key elements of the multicultural orientation framework—cultural humility, cultural opportunities, cultural comfort, the social microcosm, the acceptance of mistakes and the identification of systemic privilege and oppression (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020)—may help facilitators to create a sense of cultural safety and encourage the participation of South Asian clients. Discussing the influences of systemic privilege and oppression would enable clients to openly share without fear of rejection, oppression and devaluation.

Other facilitators revealed a different motive for their South Asian clients' lack of effort in the program: Their perceptions of themselves as victims instead of offenders. This was evident in Annabel's observations: "They saw themselves as a victim." Annabel went on to paraphrase her client: "I [South Asian client] am the victim. She [intimate partner] actually abused me." Damien supported this observation, stating that because South Asian clients viewed themselves as victims, they were not prepared to participate in group activities. A report published by Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS) shows that a sense of victimhood among South Asian clients can affect their engagement and participation in group programs (Mackay et al., 2019). However, victimhood is not unique to South Asian clients; rather, men of all cultures and races may perceive themselves as victims (Bowen, 2010; Buttell & Carney, 2006).

Similar to other facilitators, Annabel and Kim observed the minimal contributions of their South Asian clients compared with their Caucasian clients. The phrases "more rigid than Caucasian men" (Kim) and "Caucasian perpetrators … are open" (Annabel) demonstrate their comparisons of the two cultures. It appears that their morals may have influenced their interpretations, where they viewed Caucasian perpetrators as better than South Asian perpetrators. These facilitators may have overlooked the misalignment between the cultural orientation of South Asian clients (collectivist and patriarchal) (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Gorringe, 2018; Gupta, 2016; Haj-Yahia, 2011; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008; Weightman, 2011) and that of the program (individualistic and feminist) (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Pence & Paymar, 1993; Saunders, 1996, 2008), which may have significantly influenced clients' lack of engagement. The literature also indicates that the emphasis of Asian culture on prestige, pride and privacy may result in reduced engagement in support services (Mathisen & Ledingham, 2018; Panganamala & Plummer, 1998). However, the research has found that positive

attributes of facilitators can increase the participation of culturally and linguistically diverse clients (Denne et al., 2013; Holtrop et al., 2017).

Therefore, I wonder whether the facilitators in this study made any attempt to examine the actual cause of their clients' poor engagement by bracketing their biases, such as White supremacy, racism and systemic discrimination. Moreover, poor engagement may result from the intersectionality of South Asian clients (Hill & Bilge, 2016). It is the facilitator's responsibility to motivate program attendees to actively participate for effective outcomes. In their book, *An Introduction to Group Work Practice*, Toseland and Rivas (2022) place the responsibility for engaging disinterested and reluctant members on group facilitators. Therefore, the onus to participate is not solely on clients. It is possible that some facilitators hold culturally and linguistically diverse clients responsible for their lack of engagement to hide their own incompetency. These questions demonstrate that the lack of engagement of culturally and linguistically diverse clients is a complex issue that cannot be reduced to blaming them.

Therefore, it is evident that finding F01 (Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement) is confirmed in the existing literature. This study's findings establish that South Asian clients commonly display a rigid and unsupportive attitude towards engagement in men's behaviour change programs. However, one cannot claim that this is a typical attitude or response to South Asian clients only. This finding corresponds with Research Question 2 (What are the facilitators' insights into South Asian clients' explanations about their alleged abusive behaviour?) and addresses the gap in existing research regarding the characteristics of South Asian clients. The facilitators' perception that their South Asian clients lacked engagement in the interventions indicates a general view of a lack of responsibility and accountability for abusive behaviour amongst this clientele.

5.2.2 F02: South Asian Men's Views of Women are Frustrating

Most facilitators' experiences reflected theme F02, recognising that their South Asian clients viewed women as inferior to men. It was apparent that South Asian clients displayed attitudes that demeaned women and believed that women deserved less respect. The synthesis of the theme suggests that female facilitators experienced it firsthand during active sessions, unlike male facilitators, who had to examine their clients' accounts to identify the negative attitudes of their clients towards women.

The male facilitators' ignorance of the passive-aggressive behaviours of South Asian clients towards female facilitators was surprising and led me to question their commitment to

the purpose of the work. This may arise from the intersectionality between factors such as the neopatriarchy, power dynamics between facilitators (Bennett, 2016; Campbell, 2014; Hill & Bilge, 2016), male privilege (Flood, 2011; Malley-Morrison, 2004; Roose et al., 2022; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996; Thandi, 2012) and collusion with clients (ANROWS, 2020). In a report on client–worker relationships in men's behaviour change programs, ANROWS (2020) suggests that "there is a risk of collusion when facilitators have a strong emotional investment in participants" (p. 1) and that collusion between facilitators and participants "undermines the primary purpose of men's behaviour change work" (p. 5). This can lead male facilitators to ignore clients' negative behaviours, hindering client outcomes and undermining the authority of female facilitators, who may not be taken seriously by male group members. Therefore, an unequal power dynamic between male and female facilitators can harm the very cause towards which they are working—eliminating men's power and control over women.

According to Annabel, her South Asian clients were "quite dismissive" of her gender. She reported hearing comments such as, "You won't understand; you're a woman." Similarly, Josh also believed that South Asian clients denigrated women's worth. Annabel's narrative defines her South Asian clients' disrespect towards women and their perspective that women are lower than men. She quoted clients, stating, "women are inferior to men", and "you're just a woman; like you, women are so dramatic." Annabel found that "anything I [female facilitator] say is disregarded" and "they [South Asian clients] are very dismissive." Annabel said that such clients displayed a disrespectful attitude towards her because of her gender. Likewise, Carl found that South Asian clients believed that women "were inferior to men" and "a sort of a utility". Kim reports, "I [female facilitator] will ask a question, they'll actually sometimes turn in their seats and face the male facilitator." This comment unveils the dismissive attitude of male South Asian clients towards female facilitators. Dean, Isaac and Lauren reported similar experiences.

The facilitators' experiences correspond with the viewpoint of the South Asian client, Prashant: "I had this mentality [that] women don't make a decision", "I am the one who makes [a] decision", and "I build everything, and I am the man of this house." Prashant's explanation of his behaviour indicates his acknowledgement and enjoyment of men's superiority over women, which aligns with the facilitator participants' understanding and experiences of South Asian clients.

Feminists argue that socially constructed gender roles and power imbalances are the main reasons for violence against women (K. L. Anderson, 1997; Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Flood, 2011). The literature suggests that some societies empower men over women through

shared values, opportunities, traditions and formal institutions. This empowerment creates an imbalance in intimate relationships. Therefore, a man uses violence to establish masculinity and supremacy (Malley-Morrison, 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996; Thandi, 2012). Several meta-analyses also confirm that women encounter violence from their intimate partners because of the constructions of masculinity, male dominance, and patriarchal beliefs (Carrie, 2004; Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Eisikovits & Bailey, 2016; Flood, 2011; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Murnen et al., 2002; Roose et al., 2022; Schumacher et al., 2001; Stith et al., 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996).

Hence, in response to Research Question 1 (How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?), the facilitator participants of this study recognised that male South Asian clients considered women inferior to them because of socially assigned power dynamics that led to their demeaning attitude towards women. This finding is also supported by the prevailing literature on this topic.

5.2.3 F03: Examining the Gendered Division of Labour

One of the significant findings arising from the facilitator interviews was that South Asian clients tended to believe in socially constructed hierarchical gendered divisions of labour. A substantial number of facilitators confirmed theme F03, which established that South Asian clients practice hierarchical gendered divisions of labour. However, this theme's synthesis identified the different understandings across the facilitator participants based on social, sexual and financial aspects of gendered social constructions. Socially constructed gender roles can be understood as a hierarchical system that positions men as heads, masters, authoritative and strong individuals, while women are treated as subordinate, dependent and subservient. In this concept, masculinity is perceived as powerful and femininity as powerless (Choi & Ting, 2008; R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Malley-Morrison, 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996; Thandi, 2012). An example of theme F03 amongst South Asian clients was reflected in Ryan's phrase: "The wife stays at home and looks after the house and does cooking and cleaning. Looks after the kids, and the man is expected to work."

The facilitator participants confirmed South Asian clients' endorsement of socially constructed gender roles. As stated by Josh, "there are these roles and expectations", "women are homemakers, child carers", while "men are providers." Similarly, Amelia stated that her South Asian clients held "very strong beliefs around gender roles." Damien described his South Asian clients as possessing a "more conservative view of roles", explaining that "with young children, the women are more likely to be the one staying at home", "the expectation

that the man ultimately … makes the decisions because he has a role as [a] provider". These statements indicate that the facilitators perceived their South Asian clients to be encouraging and practising socially constructed gender roles in that a woman is expected to be at home to look after the family, and a man is a financial provider. Carl, Kim, Isaac, and Dean presented similar understandings of their South Asian clients' acceptance of gender roles and their expectations of their partners around those roles. Dean's perception of his South Asian client was aligned with Josh and Amelia's understanding of their South Asian clients. He found his South Asian client longed to firmly embrace traditional gender roles firmly, stating "how rigidly he [South Asian client] wanted to hang on to his traditional … role in his family".

This finding is supported by research showing that the patriarchal system in South Asia privileges men over women (Dollard, 1988; Subedi, 2016; Whitehead, 2019). Gender hierarchy is a key reason for domestic violence in countries around the world (Carrie, 2004; Choi & Ting, 2008; Eisikovits & Bailey, 2016; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Murnen et al., 2002; Schumacher et al., 2001; Stith et al., 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996). Choi and Ting's (2008) study of domestic violence in South Africa is based on the imbalance of resources and power theory. They report that men are placed higher on the gender hierarchy and may resort to violence to maintain their dominance over women. Similarly, Quadara (2015) reports that deep-seated gender inequity and patriarchal beliefs are the leading causes of domestic violence in Australia. These sociopolitical elements support men's sense of entitlement and confidence in their right to exercise power over women.

In South Asia's hierarchal system, men are responsible for supporting the family financially, while women are responsible for domestic duties, child rearing and assisting other family members (Choudhury & Kumar, 2022; Grantham et al., 2021; Gupta, 2016). Grantham et al. (2021) report that most women in India perform domestic work because of family pressures but would engage in paid work were they given the choice. Women who work mainly do so only if driven by financial distress or are permitted by their husbands. The report also indicates that the division of labour between men and women is influenced by their culture, the kind of work available and household characteristics such as age, education, wealth and the husband's education.

The facilitators' experiences were supported by the South Asian client participant, Prashant. This client revealed that he had observed similar practices of socially constructed and accepted gender roles as those identified by the facilitators in their South Asian clients. According to Prashant's account, "women are here to just cook and clean. That is what their jobs are", "My dad works", "My mom works in the house", "They stay at home to look after

kids", and the "male works". Prashant's account indicates that he also practised the traditional male gender role in his relationship. Prashant believed that he had no choice because of what he had learned from his family: "Because this is how I grew up, this is what I have seen in my family." This implies that traditional gender roles have been normalised and are widely accepted in his society. Similarly, Annabel affirmed about her South Asian clients: "If their partner goes outside of what they perceive as the set gender role, it's almost like … their actions are justified." This suggests that if a wife does not adhere to socially defined roles, the man's use of violence is justified. The WHO Department of Reproductive Health and Research (2013) report indicates that women worldwide face the consequences if they do not conform to social gender expectations.

The feminist paradigm also identifies domestic violence as gender-based violence. A substantial body of literature argues that gender role divisions and gendered power imbalances are the basis for intimate partner violence (Carrie, 2004; Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Eisikovits & Bailey, 2016; Flood, 2011; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Murnen et al., 2002; Schumacher et al., 2001; Stith et al., 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996).

It is acknowledged that the theme "Examining the gendered division of labour" is predominantly confirmed by the facilitator research participants and supported by the South Asian client participant in this study. This finding serves to provide another response to Research Question 1 (How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?). The facilitator participants described their South Asian clients as believing in socially constructed and accepted gender roles, a perception backed by the current literature.

5.2.4 F04: Clients Need to Stop Blaming the Victim

Six facilitators shared the observation that their South Asian clients tended to exonerate themselves by blaming their victims for their violent and abusive behaviour, a matter addressed in theme F04. Most facilitators' accounts described their clients as blaming their intimate partners. Even though most participants identified South Asian clients' blaming attitudes, their expressions were unique in understanding their clients' blaming attitudes, as emerged by this theme synthesis.

Annabel recounted "that the [client's] partner was the one that was quite manipulative … [and] overbearing", and "she was the one that was pushing, pushing him and putting her needs above his." Josh made similar observations about the blaming attitude of his South Asian clients when he stated that there is "no point in looking at their own behaviour because they are

not the problem." Likewise, Amelia stated that "[clients] are actually not at fault for their actions" and "the problem lies with the [client's] partner." These accounts suggest that South Asian clients blamed their partners rather than accepting their wrongdoing. Damien, Carl and Kim also observed their South Asian clients blaming their intimate partners. These views are represented in the following quotations from Damien, Carl and Kim, respectively: "She's torturing me", "blaming the [client's] partner", and "it was her fault". These statements indicate that the perpetrators of violence avoided taking responsibility for their abusive behaviour towards their intimate partners.

However, victim blaming was not common, regardless of cultural context. Nevertheless, blaming the victim can never be justified. Given that facilitators did not explain how they worked with culturally and linguistically diverse clients who defended their abusive behaviours, I wonder about the approach they took to manage victim-blaming behaviours. Or did facilitators defend their clients' wrongdoing? Should this be viewed as an attempt by facilitators to conceal their own incompetency in creating cultural safety aligned with the multicultural orientation framework? I believe that the multicultural orientation framework is fundamental to enable culturally and linguistically diverse clients to reflect deeply to stop defending their abusive behaviours.

This finding is supported by many studies on perpetrators' rationalisation for assaulting their intimate partners (Denne et al., 2013; Department of Reproductive Health and Research, 2013; Dutton, 1986; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008; Murphy & Baxter, 1997; Pence & Paymar, 1993). Women have been accused of transgressions by their male partners when they do not conform to social gender expectations and refuse to accept men's authority in day-to-day decisions affecting their lives, including talking to other men, refusing sexual intercourse, going out, and visiting their families (Department of Reproductive Health and Research, 2013). This finding is consistent with Denne et al.'s (2013) research on men's behaviour change programs. The authors state that "the men would apply what they were learning to the identification of "deficiency" in the women, ultimately blaming them for their own victimization" (p. xvi). Murphy and Baxter (1997) report a similar predisposition among batterers. The authors note that batterers deny and justify their abuse by arguing that their partner provoked or deserved the abuse. The offenders may also blame other factors, such as alcohol consumption or adverse life situations, as being responsible for their abuse.

In summary, the facilitators recognised that South Asian clients sought to justify their abusive behaviour by blaming their intimate partners. This observation corresponds with the existing literature in the field and provides more information in answer to Research Question 1

(How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?).

5.2.5 F05: Individual Accountability is the Perpetrator's Responsibility

Most of the facilitators' accounts revealed that South Asian clients refused to be held accountable for their abusive actions. There were noticeable differences in how they reached this conclusion. This theme synthesis indicated that they drew this conclusion based on South Asian clients' lack of engagement, direct denial, a brief description of the information, inability to view their abusive behaviour, use of their culture as a shield, and defence manifestation to hide the shame.

There is consensus among researchers of domestic violence programs that perpetrators should be held accountable for their abuse (Denne et al., 2013; Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2017; Hamilton et al., 2013; Holtrop et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2009). Studies on domestic violence programs recommend monitoring various factors to assess a program's effectiveness in bringing about desirable outcomes in male clients: Healthy interactions, fairness, equality and more. Two factors are identified as being important in measuring program effectiveness: (i) Perpetrator's sense of accountability and (ii) perpetrator's acceptance of the responsibility to change (Denne et al., 2013; Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2017; Hamilton et al., 2013; Holtrop et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2009).

In the current study, the facilitators discerned a lack of accountability in their South Asian clients for their abusive behaviour towards an intimate partner. The facilitators recognised that their clients refused to discuss responsibility and accountability for their behaviour. When talking about a client, Ryan stressed "the resistance I observed around his accountability", "avoidance denial", and "his resistance to the accountability responsibility." Similarly, Josh mentioned "no accountability or consideration", "a great deal of resistance", and "there is denial", while Damien specified that "resistance occurs". These accounts were consistent with Carl, Kim, Dean, Lauren and Isaac's statements.

Numerous studies report on the resistance of domestic violence perpetrators who justify their abusive behaviour (Bowen, 2010; Buttell & Carney, 2006; Department of Reproductive Health and Research, 2013; Dutton, 1986; Murphy & Baxter, 1997; Pence & Paymar, 1993). Damien presented an interesting viewpoint: "I suppose where there are cultural supports for it, that makes it a little more difficult. And so, [you have] resistance." The facilitators observed that South Asian men avoided being accountable and were reluctant to accept responsibility to change because their culture affirmed their position.

The domestic violence perpetrators' lack of accountability is also substantiated by the clinical experience and research findings of Haj-Yahia and Sadan (2008). The researchers report that some collectivist societies minimise the magnitude of men's violence against women; consequently, the husband's responsibility to change his violent behaviour is also minimised in these societies. Buttell and Carney (2006) identify minimisation, denial and blame as roadblocks to responsibility among men who participated in batterer programs in the US. The authors observed that most offenders share three forms of resistance (i.e. minimisation, denial and blame), and these defences foster aggressive behaviour. Buttell and Carney (2006) suggest that perpetrators of violence will not change until they accept responsibility and accountability for their behaviour.

While I believe that perpetrators should be held responsible for their actions, the accountability for minimising intimate partner violence or domestic violence should be placed with the wider system. Placing sole responsibility on perpetrators is unhelpful if we aspire to minimise violence against women. In their book *Doing Psychology Critically: Making a Difference in Diverse Settings*, Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002) highlight that psychologists primarily focus on individual attitudes and behaviours but disregard the social and political context. This prejudiced perspective influences most psychological, clinical and counselling work. However, there is a shift from focusing solely on individuals to focusing on their social environments. Many emerging approaches, including feminist therapy, empowerment approaches, critical casework and narrative therapy, delve into structural causes and encourage practitioners to explore the effects of systemic oppression, stigma and powerlessness on attitudes and behaviours such as sexual abuse, homophobia and domestic violence to foster personal empowerment and social change (Ingle, 2021; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). Additionally, the intersectionality of South Asian clients' identities could also explain their resistance to accountability and responsibility (Hill & Bilge, 2016). I wonder whether the facilitators considered structural influences such as cultural impunity, the lack of enforcement strategies or consequences, power imbalances, systemic inequalities and the lack of coordination and communication between systems on the continuation of abuse.

The South Asian client participant, Prashant, supported the facilitators' experience. His opinion reflected the finding that South Asian clients failed to take ownership of the responsibility to change. However, Prashant described his change in attitude: "More responsibilities, patience, making the right decision." This comment suggests that he had learned how to modify his behaviour after participating in the program. Prashant considered himself a changed person. His experience indicates that he overcame the roadblocks mentioned

by Buttell and Carney (2006) and succeeded in transforming his life. However, his self-assessment as a changed person might be biased due to personal positioning to evaluate himself without any opponent (i.e. police, previous spouse, children or community) or influenced by the presence of a South Asian woman, the researcher.

Thus, the facilitators saw increased accountability for abusive actions and acceptance of responsibility for change as two key goals of the men's behaviour change programs. However, they found that South Asian clients largely failed to achieve these two milestones, contradicting them. The research literature also supports these goals as indicators of a successful intervention. The perceived absence of accountability and responsibility among South Asian clients by facilitators directly relates to Research Question 2 (What are the facilitators' insights into South Asian clients' explanations about their alleged abusive behaviour?).

5.2.6 F06: Change Is Always Challenging but Not Always Obvious

Universally, all facilitators mentioned the theme "change is always challenging but not always obvious." Theme F06 illustrates the apparent changes the facilitators identified in their South Asian clients. Most facilitator participants found no significant transformations. However, this theme synthesis highlighted diverse understandings of the facilitators on perceptible improvement identified in their South Asian clients. All male facilitators identified changes: Adopting a socially acceptable language, better listening, perspective taking, improved knowledge and self-awareness, whereas female facilitators identified changes as improved engagement, completing the intervention and reduced physical violence. This theme is directly related to theme F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility), which established that perpetrators of intimate partner violence must accept responsibility for change by becoming accountable for their behaviour and letting go of rigid attitudes. The theme F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious) also highlights the idea that one needs to let go of negative behaviours and attitudes if one is to change. Both themes, F05 and F06, are related to change. They direct the perpetrator toward taking responsibility and being accountable for bringing about sustainable change by letting go of harmful and abusive actions.

There is consensus among researchers that perpetrators must accept the responsibility to change and hold themselves accountable for their abusive behaviour (Denne et al., 2013; Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2017; Hamilton et al., 2013; Holtrop et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2009). Therefore, responsibility and accountability are considered significant

determinants for improving the behaviour of men's behaviour change program clients. Most facilitators directly acknowledged the difficulty of assessing changes in men participating in a program. This finding is supported by Pandya and Gingerich (2002), who report that it was challenging to measure noticeable changes in the clients of domestic violence treatment programs because of high attrition rates.

In this study, two separate sets of views emerged among the facilitators in terms of changes in their clients. Four out of 10 participants identified some subtle changes in the attitude of South Asian clients. However, six were uncertain as to whether any noticeable improvement had occurred. Similar uncertainty is evident in the literature on domestic violence programs (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Hamilton et al., 2013; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002; Saunders, 2008; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006).

Lauren observed the time taken even for a subtle change in South Asian clients. She made the following observations: "It takes a long time", "the ultimate test is really the big term engagement", "start to actively participate", "ask questions", "contribute to conversations", "change in posture", and "start to actually be listening". Likewise, Kim reported: "Definitely see that shift' and "I start to see a shift." Amelia agreed with Kim and Lauren, stating that "there is an improvement in their attitudes." Furthermore, Annabel's account "perpetrate in that particular way that he did." Their accounts indicate that, while it took a long time, their South Asian clients did display some improvement. Amelia observed one of her clients referring to double standards regarding the treatment of women. As she revealed:

> *So, at the beginning [of the intervention], it will be all women feel like this, all women feel like that. But by the end of it, [it] will be the worthy women, I [South Asian client] will treat like this for now on … but for them [South Asian clients], their female partner will always be underneath them.*

Amelia perceived that her clients' attitudes changed toward their female colleagues at work, but their attitudes toward their intimate partners remained unchanged.

Interestingly, the four facilitators who noticed these changes were all women, even though one was conflicted. While Annabel observed a reduction in violence, she indicated a lack of trust in the change process. I wonder whether she perceived change as a complete transformation only. I view change as simply a shift in attitude, leading an individual to think twice before perpetuating violence. The female facilitators' interpretation of improvement was mostly based on a reduction in violence, while the male facilitators spoke about general changes such as adopting socially acceptable language and improved listening, perspective taking, knowledge and self-awareness. These distinctions between male and female research participants led me to question the commitment of male facilitators to reducing men's violence

against women. Further, I suspect that male facilitators viewed the issue of violence against women differently from their female colleagues. Could this be because of their privilege in society (e.g. Flood, 2011; Malley-Morrison, 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996; Thandi, 2012), or are they wilfully blind to the issue?

Some facilitators experienced subtle changes in their South Asian clients. Their experiences were supported by the South Asian client, Prashant, who stated the following: "This program has made me understand to just wait, assess things"; "make decisions … now I can deal with things"; "after this program … I can think now"; "I will just deal with it. That is what I have learned from this program"; "we both have [the] right to make the decisions"; "she has got exactly the same right"; "everyone deserves respect"; and "give her the same respect she deserves". Prashant's comments indicate significant changes in his attitude, emotional regulation, stress management capacity, level of respect for women and belief in equality for women. These findings correspond with the literature in the field. Silvergleid and Mankowski (2006) indicate that group members in a domestic violence perpetrator program were passionate about the changes they had achieved. The authors report that the program's group work catalysed these attitudinal changes. Holtrop et al. (2017) also suggest that a group setting facilitates change in the abusive behaviour of perpetrators.

The changes in the clients of men's behaviour change programs identified by four female facilitators in this study echo the findings of many other studies (Brown & O'Leary, 2000; Buttell & Carney, 2006; Scott et al., 2011; Scott & Wolfe, 2000; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006). Denne et al. (2013) report decreased levels of anger and violence because of participation in a men's behaviour change program, while R. P. Dobash et al. (1999) mention a reduction in controlling and intimidating behaviour of perpetrators after attending such a program.

However, Ryan, Josh, Damien, Carl, Dean and Isaac did not identify any changes in the attitudes of their South Asian clients. Ryan commented that "I didn't feel as though there were significant changes in his attitude", whereas Annabel stated that "I absolutely don't think that the group made much of a difference at all." Josh reported: "I don't have that much experience of success", while Carl averred that "there wasn't that great success." Similar comments on the lack of change in South Asian clients also appeared in the accounts of Dean and Isaac.

Similar findings were published in a study conducted by Saunders (1996) on 218 perpetrators of intimate partner violence. The participants were randomly assigned to a treatment group at a community-based domestic violence program in the US. The author reports that the combination of the perpetrators' personality types and the treatment plans

influenced the program outcomes. The findings suggest that tailored treatment programs for intimate partner violence offenders can be effective in bringing about change. However, Stewart and Power (2014) disagree, claiming that it is questionable whether domestic violence programs bring about any change in group members and reduce intimate partner violence. The authors identified a lack of concrete evidence of change in assessing programs. A meta-analytic review by Babcock et al. (2004) evaluated the efficacy of treatment programs for male perpetrators of domestic violence. The findings reveal that domestic violence programs do not significantly prevent domestic violence perpetrators from reoffending.

In summary, most facilitators in this study identified different levels of change in their South Asian clients. Some facilitators found minimal changes, whereas others found more significant changes. This outcome is supported by the client participant, Prashant, as well as the relevant literature. The conclusion of F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious) suggests a relationship with a lack of accountability and is therefore relevant to Research Question 2 (What are the facilitators' insights into South Asian clients' explanations about their alleged abusive behaviour?). A lack of accountability will not support change in an individual's behaviour. Therefore, some South Asian clients who vaguely accepted responsibility for change indicated some improvement while others did not. This finding also addressed the gap in knowledge identified in the literature review, that is, egalitarian and individualistic Western models primarily inform men's behaviour change programs. Still, the research participants indicate observing some improvements in this clientele who hold patriarchal and collectivist views.

5.2.7 F07: Being Firm but Flexible

This theme was mentioned by all the facilitators, who agreed that they used multiple approaches to work with South Asian clients in men's behaviour change programs. The South Asian client participant, Prashant, also shared information on the methods used in the men's behaviour change program in theme C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do). Both themes, F07 (Being firm but flexible) and C04, are connected in that they reveal the approaches used by facilitators when working in men's behaviour change programs. This thematic synthesis emphasised that the approach adopted by the facilitator participants could be divided into three different categories: Informative, psychoeducational/coaching and relational.

According to Ryan, "it's a mishmash of things … some CBT", "mapping particular incidents", "art and creating images", "core values, core hurts", "genograms and family origins" and the "strength-based approach". Similarly, Josh mentioned "the Duluth Model …

there's a lot of education around power and control." Amelia elaborated that "emotional regulation is getting them to understand that they are in control, and they are responsible for their own behaviour", and "positive role modelling" is essential between male and female facilitators. It is to show that a male facilitator is comfortable with letting a female facilitator lead. However, Damien believed the key to success lay in the client's feeling of safety: "You need to get them to feel safe with you." In contrast, Carl considered it essential to explore the client's culture and use a motivational interview method: "Get him to explain his culture and sort of validate" and "motivational interview with him."

Isaac, Kim, Dean and Annabel also revealed their approaches. They used questioning techniques to ask thought-provoking questions that challenged the rigid views of South Asian clients. In addition, group work was suggested by Josh, who valued the group process. Lauren and Ryan supported Josh's group work approach.

The literature reveals that domestic violence programs can be based on various models, such as cognitive behavioural, profeminist, psychodynamic, psychoeducational, Duluth, invitational, compassionate and many other theoretical bases (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Jenkins, 2009; Pence & Paymar, 1993; Saunders, 1996, 2008; Stosny, 1995). The facilitators in this study indicated that they also use numerous approaches and techniques. Some mentioned the Duluth Model, the invitational model, response-based therapy and the compassionate approach as widely used theoretical approaches in men's behaviour change programs. These approaches are discussed in the existing literature (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Jenkins, 2009; Pence & Paymar, 1993; Safe & Together Institute, 2020; Saunders, 1996, 2008; Stosny, 1995). The facilitators revealed that they did not adjust their approaches to meet the specific needs of South Asian clients.

The facilitators reported that their approaches were the same for all group members regardless of their culture. However, the literature suggests that programs should be tailored to the personality traits of the offenders and should also be provided in a culturally appropriate manner to ensure positive outcomes for minority groups (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Saunders, 2008; Williams & Becker, 1994). The facilitators' approaches were inconsistent with those supported by the research (Castro et al., 2010; Castro et al., 2004; Gillum, 2008; Gondolf, 2005; Okamoto et al., 2014; Welland & Ribner, 2010). That is, the approaches used in men's behaviour change programs are applied uniformly to clients, while studies suggest taking tailored approaches or adopting a multicultural orientation framework when working with culturally and linguistically diverse clients (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020). The elements of the multicultural orientation framework, including cultural humility, cultural

opportunities, cultural comfort, the social microcosm (how systems of privilege and oppression manifest in the group), accepting mistakes and recognising systemic privilege and oppression, can create cultural safety for culturally and linguistically diverse clients. However, the facilitators did not demonstrate whether they were even remotely aware of this framework.

Tailored approaches are especially important when a client's cultural orientation is not aligned with the program's conceptual framework. When working with South Asian clients, it is critical to explore the influence of complex social factors (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; R. W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Dollard, 1988; Gorringe, 2018; Gupta, 2016; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008; Messerschmidt, 2019; Oyserman et al., 2002; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002; Russell, 2021; Schilderman, 2015; Subedi, 2016; Triandis, 2004; Weightman, 2011). I wonder whether the failure to apply a tailored approach arises from systemic discrimination or traces of the historical belief that people from minority groups should be oppressed so that the dominant group can maintain power and control.

Therefore, in the context of this study, applied practices are not tailored to meet the specific needs of South Asian clients. Theme F07 (Being firm but flexible) describes the facilitators' methods of working with South Asian clients, therefore relating to Research Question 3 (How do the facilitators appraise their approaches when working with South Asian clients?). Theme F07 (Being firm but flexible) also addresses the gap in current literature regarding the most suitable approaches for working with South Asian clients. Hence, the facilitators concluded that no specific approaches are required to work effectively with South Asian clients. The participants suggest that the current models, in conjunction with a strong therapeutic alliance, are sufficient to achieve the desired outcome.

5.2.8 F08: A Facilitator is Not a Mere Content Deliverer

All the facilitators' accounts revealed that they were not only delivering the content of the programs but also performing many other obligations (e.g. establishing a therapeutic alliance, trust, etc.). This theme (F08) illuminates facilitators' characteristics that support behavioural change in clients. This theme synthesis revealed the differences in the facilitator participants' understanding of their responsibilities. Synthesis identified four dominant qualities: The ability to establish a therapeutic relationship, cultural know-how, avoiding confronting ways to challenge, and self-reflection and awareness. There was a consensus among Carl, Kim, Lauren, Ryan, Amelia, and Damien that acquiring cultural understanding is a valuable attribute for a facilitator working with South Asian clients. As Carl stated, "being curious about their cultural background" is essential. Kim, Lauren, Ryan and Amelia supported

this notion. Kim noted that the intention to understand the client's background and narrative is also significant: "Understanding where they come [from], their stories as well." According to Lauren, being a "savvy facilitator who understands the cross-cultural context" is regarded as beneficial. Amelia supported Lauren's understanding: "It pays for the facilitators to be culturally aware." Therefore, most facilitators agreed that possessing the cultural competency to work with South Asian clients was a valuable facilitator attribute. This finding is supported by Williams and Becker (1994), who suggest that cultural competency fosters an environment that helps minority groups to succeed in treatment.

The literature argues that a facilitator's attributes are a central element in developing a positive alliance and influencing behaviour change in perpetrators (Bowen, 2010; Denne et al., 2013; Holtrop et al., 2017). All the facilitators agreed that the positive qualities of fairness, respect, building a safe therapeutic alliance, trustworthiness, a non-judgemental attitude, being aware of one's own biases and stereotypes, openness, compassion and friendliness were essential qualities for working with perpetrators of intimate partner violence.

Similarly, the South Asian client, Prashant, found accessibility, a friendly nature, openness, honesty, confidence and a non-judgemental and uncompromising attitude to be essential qualities of facilitators. These findings are supported by the literature (Bowen, 2010; Denne et al., 2013; Holtrop et al., 2017). The value of female facilitators also emerged in Amelia's and Kim's narratives. Amelia's understanding was supported by Prashant, who also articulated that the female facilitator's role was essential. This finding is backed by Denne et al. (2013), who report that co-gendered facilitation is beneficial because it allows participants to express their thoughts and feelings to the female facilitator. However, only the female facilitators understood the importance of their role in the men's behaviour change programs. I wonder whether the ignorance of male facilitators was wilful or arose from the influence of power dynamics and neopatriarchal attitudes (Campbell, 2014). Neopatriarchy can surface as more subtle forms of power dynamics, gender inequality and gendered expectations, norms and stereotypes.

Overall, I identified that the facilitators' role is not just to deliver the program's content. Both the facilitators and the South Asian client indicated that facilitators required multiple attributes to be effective: Fairness, respect, the ability to build a therapeutic alliance, trust, a non-judgemental attitude, an awareness of their bias and stereotypes, openness, compassion and friendliness. The existing literature supports this finding. Theme F08 reflects the therapeutic abilities facilitators require to work with South Asian clients, thereby addressing Research Question 3 (How do the facilitators appraise their approaches when

working with South Asian clients?). This theme also addresses the gap in knowledge identified in the literature review regarding how men's behaviour change program facilitators in Australia can motivate predominantly collectivist and patriarchy-oriented perpetrators to participate actively in men's behaviour change programs and reduce their resistance to responsibility via a solid therapeutic alliance.

5.2.9 F09: Group Diversity is Beneficial

Most facilitators expressed their preference for greater cultural diversity within groups so that South Asian clients could learn from different perspectives. They believed that a group of people from similar cultural backgrounds would be more challenging. The perceived benefits of a diverse group composition included alleviating cultural determinism, offering diverse values, opinions and attitudes, similar purposes with different outlooks, exposure to other cultures and constructive feedback among group participants.

Prashant supported the facilitators in this preference for diversity in groups. He commented that "working with everyone from different backgrounds is good", "if we have a different background and he [South Asian client] will have a different opinion", and "it's good to learn from different backgrounds." Likewise, Isaac stated that "all South Asian men together means there are no diverse opinions", "an opportunity to look at other cultures where domestic violence is not acceptable", and "mixed group would give a mixed opinion and food for thought." Ryan, Annabel, Amelia, Damien, Carl and Kim expressed a similar view. This finding is confirmed by numerous studies (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Buttell & Pike, 2003; Holtrop et al., 2017). Holtrop et al. suggest that group diversity is a beneficial feature of men's behaviour change programs. A similar finding is reported by Silvergleid and Mankowski (2006), who highlight the importance of multiple perspectives among group participants.

However, other literature presents conflicting views that advocate limited diversity or exclusive group composition based on cultural needs. Thus, some researchers highlight the value of culturally focused perpetrator programs (Gillum, 2008; Gondolf, 2005; Saunders, 2008; Welland & Ribner, 2010; Williams & Becker, 1994).

Most participants, including the South Asian client, believed that culturally diverse groups in men's behaviour change programs are the most effective for South Asian clients. This is also supported by the literature. However, I question this notion, given that all participants attend the program for the same reason. I wonder why the facilitators assumed that exposure to other men who had also abused their wives from a position of power and control would be beneficial. Could this be because Western facilitators viewed men with backgrounds

similar to their own as ‘better’ than men from collectivist South Asian backgrounds? This leads me to reflect on the motives of these facilitators. Their interpretation may be influenced by a White supremacist mentality, which indicates racism, prejudgement, oppression and ignorance (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Campbell, 2014; DiAngelo & Dyson, 2018; Pulido, 2015).

It is apparent that men’s behaviour change programs are designed to include clients from all cultural backgrounds; hence, in response to Research Question 4 (What are the facilitators’ understandings of the cultural constituents of existing programs to facilitate men’s behavioural change among South Asian clients?), specific cultural elements to work with South Asian clients are absent. The review of the current literature indicates a gap in knowledge regarding the most suitable format for South Asian clients. Is group or individual work, or an integration of both, more effective? Is an exclusive or diverse cultural group composition more suitable for this clientele? Current literature suggests a lack of consensus on whether culturally exclusive groups or groups with diverse cultural representation are more influential for South Asian perpetrators of intimate partner violence. The findings suggest that South Asian clients have rigid views with a lack of accountability; therefore, to work with these characteristics, a mixed format offering individual counselling sessions combining group work with clients from diverse backgrounds may be most effective.

5.2.10 F10: Lack of Embedded Cultural Components

Facilitators predominantly noted the lack of a cultural component embedded in the programs. Theme F10 indicates men’s behaviour change programs’ lack of depth regarding cultural elements. In this theme synthesis, the facilitator participants disclosed their anticipated varied reasons for the men’s behaviour change programs’ cultural inefficacy: Predominantly based on Western lenses, limited consideration, lack of cultural training, no national standards established, a one-size-fits-all approach and merits of cultural component embedded in an intervention.

As Lauren stated, there is “huge room for improvement in cross-cultural facilitation”, and “we should have a program that embeds that lens.” Lauren also indicated that no national standards require the inclusion of cultural components in domestic violence programs in Australia. All the facilitators endorsed Lauren’s insight that “we are a multicultural nation”, “continue to have many diverse groups represented”, and “no requirement at all in our national standards to do that.” The literature acknowledges that domestic violence programs give little or no consideration to minority cultural groups to cater for their specific cultures (Williams &

Becker, 1994). Almeida and Dolan-Delvecchio (1999) conclude that most domestic violence programs minimise cultural differences among their group members and exercise dominant, White-centric theories in their service delivery systems. Consequently, misinterpreted cultural differences may increase the risk for victims among marginalised groups.

Conversely, the South Asian client, Prashant, did not experience any issues with the program's lack of a cultural component. As he revealed: "I did not feel anything … culture-wise." Prashant's view aligns with Lauren's accounts that "at the moment [it] is generally left to the skill of the facilitator' and 'there's huge room for improvement because the facilitators may or may not … be culturally competent." Therefore, Lauren suggested that a cultural component should be embedded in the program instead of relying entirely on the facilitators' ability in this regard.

Lauren's interpretation is also supported by Amelia, who stated: "It pays for the facilitators to be culturally aware and have excellent training on how to break down barriers, understand traditions … and how that feeds into attitudes and beliefs around family domestic violence." This comment illustrates the benefits of programs that embed cultural components. Family Safety Victoria (2017) recommends minimum standards and practices for men's behaviour change programs. The agency suggests that providers of men's behaviour change programs should "monitor group dynamics and respond to marginalisation or other forms of exclusion on the basis of race, culture or English-language ability" (p. 127). Almeida and Dolan-Delvecchio (1999) and Mackay et al. (2019) support the recommendation that domestic violence programs must include cultural elements to benefit diverse group members.

The data from six facilitators revealed the subtheme "Lack of cultural training", which aligns with my own experiences as a men's behaviour change program facilitator. A deeper reflection of this theme led me to view it critically in the context of the larger system. I question the lack of support from the system for men's behaviour change program facilitators working with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. Does the system wilfully ignore culturally and linguistically diverse people because of systemic discrimination, bias and White supremacy? (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Campbell, 2014; DiAngelo & Dyson, 2018; Pulido, 2015). Or is it because of a lack of funding and resources? I believe that culturally and linguistically diverse people need better services and attention because of the influence of ongoing discrimination. Moreover, the effect of family violence on the Australian economy is substantial. The Department of Social Services (2009) reported that "without appropriate action, the total cost of violence against women and their children in 2021–22 is estimated to be $15.6 billion" (p. 7). Similarly, the Fair Work Commission (2021) reported that

domestic violence costs the Australian economy between $12.6 and $22 billion per year. Given the significant impact of family violence on the Australian economy, it would be prudent to allocate funds to appropriate training and supervision.

However, Kashkooli-Ellat (2022) revealed that men's behaviour change program facilitators in Australia lacked access to training and clinical supervision despite this being suggested by practice standards. Therefore, to minimise family violence, governments must direct resources to organisations that work with people from minority groups (Becker et al., 2021; Card & Hepburn, 2022). Neoliberalists believe in limiting public social welfare programs and funding and finding economic solutions for social issues (Card & Hepburn, 2022; De Lissovoy, 2013; Sarfati, 2019). However, the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (2020) reports that ethnic organisations are poorly funded and acknowledged by the government for their vital work. The report suggests that recognising the efforts of community organisations and allocating adequate funds and other resources can lead to the increased engagement and improvement of culturally and linguistically diverse clients. Additionally, it will improve government awareness of the challenges associated with cultural diversity in communities. Therefore, allocating resources to specialised training and clinical supervision for men's behaviour change program facilitators would benefit not only the culturally and linguistically diverse clients but also the larger system.

In sum, the facilitators predominantly identified a lack of cultural components embedded in men's behaviour change programs. However, for Prashant, this lack of cultural elements did not hinder his learning during the program. The conclusion of F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components) responds to Research Question 4 (What are the facilitators' understandings of the cultural constituents of existing programs to facilitate men's behavioural change among South Asian clients?). It was evident from the literature review that most studies were conducted outside of Australia and exhibited a lack of knowledge of the existing cultural demands of Australian men's behaviour change programs. Additionally, a lack of specialised training and clinical supervision of the facilitators to work effectively with culturally and linguistically diverse clients was identified, which may have been attributable to the influence of systemic discrimination. This study addresses this gap and indicates that interventions require cultural elements to work best for clients from predominantly collectivist and patriarchal societies such as South Asia.

5.2.11 F11 Unique Themes

Most themes that emerged from the facilitators' accounts corresponded with each other. However, four unique themes emerged from Josh, Amelia, Kim and Lauren's accounts, respectively: "A preferred exclusive cultural group composition", "Politeness as a mask", "Rule followers" and "Academic and well educated."

5.2.11.1 F11.1 Preferred Exclusive Cultural Group Composition

A unique theme, "A preferred exclusive cultural group composition", arose from Lauren's accounts. This theme is related to theme F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components) on the one hand and is unique on the other. They are related because both themes focus on the cultural component of domestic violence programs and advocate that those programs should be rich with cultural elements to benefit minority clients. However, they are also distinct because Lauren's theme indicates unique aspects that are separate from theme F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components), which other facilitators did not significantly illuminate and consider. In contrast, Lauren suggests an exclusive group composition for South Asian clients because of their distinct cultural orientation, a point that other facilitators did not mention. The female facilitator considered that a culturally focused exclusive group would benefit South Asian clients.

A culturally focused exclusive group is confirmed by numerous studies that highlight the significance of culturally focused perpetrator programs (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Saunders, 2008; Williams & Becker, 1994). Lauren believed that a group should be specifically designed for South Asian clients. She considered that such a group would better meet the needs of these clients. As she explained, "putting [South Asian clients] in a program that was designed [specifically] for them and for people from similar cultures would create safety", and "the more shared understanding in the group, the better". Lauren recalled that in non-inclusive groups, the minority found it a "very alienating experience", and they did "not [feel] safe". Similarly, some studies indicate that ignoring cultural differences in men's behaviour change programs may heighten the danger for victims from marginalised groups (Almeida & Dolan-Delvecchio, 1999).

In sum, Lauren recommends that men's behaviour change programs run exclusive groups for South Asian clients. These unique themes that emerged from Lauren's accounts directly relate to Research Question 4 (What are the facilitators' understandings of the cultural constituents of existing programs to facilitate men's behavioural change among South Asian clients?).

5.2.11.2 F11.2 Politeness as a Mask

Another unique theme, "Politeness as a mask", emerged from Josh's narrative. In this theme, Josh communicates his experience that South Asian clients had a polite and friendly attitude, but this was a facade to cover their actual conduct. Josh experienced his South Asian clients as placid and courteous. He observed: "They're very polite and very nice … They'll greet with a smile, and they'll be very friendly." Josh reflected that this friendly behaviour might cast doubt on the client's capacity for abusive behaviour towards their intimate partner. He said: "That could be rather disarming sometimes" and "[South Asian clients appear to be] humble men but then … afterwards [you] find out his history, his behaviour history." Therefore, Josh cautioned that facilitators should be mindful of such "disguises" and maintain focus on the client's abusive behaviour towards their intimate partner.

According to Josh, it is essential not to be taken in by the polite impression created by the clients. Similarly, in his book *Why Does He Do That? Inside the Minds of Angry and Controlling Men*, Bancroft (2003) exposes the charming behaviours of men who perpetrate violence against women. The author suggests that intimate partner violence perpetrators can create a facade for anyone who intervenes, including judges, counsellors and group facilitators. Bancroft warns professionals to scrutinise these charming behaviours to identify whether they are genuine or simply a means of controlling victims and tricking the system. Josh's reflection on the facade presented by his South Asian clients can be understood through Goffman's theory, which posits that in social situations individuals portray themselves in a certain way to mask their true selves and improve their social acceptance. In this way, they provide others with a moral obligation to value and treat them accordingly (M. H. Jacobsen & Smith, 2022). However, I wonder whether Josh's perception of this facade may be a form of moral exclusion based on a limited scope of justice. The scope of justice (also known as the moral community) determines the criteria for fairness or justice (Deutsch, 1990; Opotow, 1994). In his paper on moral exclusion, Deutsch (1990) suggests that groups outside of or opposed to the moral community may be perceived as 'inferior', and thus do not deserve the same justice or fairness, while individuals who belong to the moral community may mistreat, humiliate or even kill outsiders without violating their principle of justice (Deutsch, 1990; Opotow, 1994). Applying the scope of justice and moral exclusion to Josh's comments implies that he may view his South Asian clients as more deviant and inferior in contrast to his White clients. It is possible that notions of White supremacy (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Pulido, 2015) may have consciously or unconsciously influenced Josh's interpretation of his South Asian clients' behaviour.

In sum, Josh found South Asian clients friendly and polite. At the same time, he advised facilitators to remain vigilant and not be fooled by this type of superficial behaviour.

5.2.11.3 F11.3 Rule Followers

Amelia perceived her South Asian clients as rule followers based on their unfailing attendance at every session. I believe this interpretation is valid because people in South Asian society collectively construct rules and reinforce them to maintain the hierarchical system (Dollard, 1988; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008; Oyserman et al., 2002; Subedi, 2016; Triandis, 2004). On deeper reflection, I discovered that I also typically follow the rules, an attitude that is embedded in me from my family and larger society.

5.2.11.4 F11.4 Academic and Well Educated

Kim perceived her South Asian clients as "quite academic and well educated". This description may stem from the complex hierarchical socioeconomic class and caste systems in South Asia (Dollard, 1988; Subedi, 2016), which influences most aspects of life, including education (K. A. Jacobsen, 2021). South Asians gain respect and privilege based on their educational, financial and professional achievements (Dollard, 1988; Subedi, 2016). Therefore, South Asians may aspire to gain a higher social status by accessing higher education to obtain a professional position with higher wages.

5.3 Discussions of Client's Findings

The case study of a South Asian client participant, Prashant, revealed five superordinate themes. The theme C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) indicates Prashant's challenges with his behaviour and attitude toward his wife before entering the intervention. The South Adain client participant's understanding of his cultural orientation and upbringing in a predominantly collectivist and patriarchal culture was revealed by the theme C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture). Theme C03 (It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program) suggests Prashant's difficulty in joining the intervention. Regardless of the challenges in enrolling, the South Asian client participant found that the facilitators were very supportive and had helpful attributes towards the group members, which is established by the theme C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do). The theme C05 (The program helped him to understand his behaviour) informed Prashant's self-assessment on the program's assistance in changing his behaviour and attitude toward women. The South Asian client participant's most superordinate themes were found to be related to the facilitator participants' main themes.

The case study of the South Asian client research participant addressed three research questions. The responses of the South Asian client's participant established that he was influenced by traditional patriarchy and collectivist orientation, which was an important Research Question 5 (What insights does the South Asian client have into his cultural orientation?). Nonetheless, the client participant highly valued the program and expressed disappointment in being unaware of the program before breaking his family. This outcome responds to Research Question 6 (How does the South Asian client value the intervention in which he participated?). The South Asian client participant found the facilitators' helpful attributes to be accessible, friendly, open, honest, confident and non-judgemental. He understood the female facilitator role as highly significant in keeping men accountable for their language and group behaviour, therefore addressing Research Question 7 (How does the South Asian client judge facilitators' influencing qualities?). Out of five superordinate themes of the client participant, four were related to the facilitators' findings.

There is an association between the findings of the facilitators and the South Asian client. Theme C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem), F01 (Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement), F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim), and F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility) are all connected because they represent unhelpful clients' characteristics such as resistance to accountability, accusing the victim and inflexibility of views. The cultural aspects of clients and the programs were illuminated jointly by a few themes, such as C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture), F02 (South Asian men's views of women are frustrating), F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour), F09 (Group diversity is beneficial), and F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components), therefore theses all themes are associated with each other. Similarly, to work effectively with culturally and linguistically diverse individuals, the facilitator and the client participants identified helpful attributes such as accessibility, friendliness, openness, honesty, confidence and non-judgemental and female facilitators in programs are vital. This information surfaced collectively from themes C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do), F07 (Being firm but flexible) and F08 (A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer).

Some themes showed association in relation to the South Asian clients' change process, regardless of the difficulties the South Asian client faced in entering the program. Therefore, theme C05 (The program helped him to understand his behaviour) is linked with theme F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious) because both are concerned with the client's understanding of bringing about change. Although both the facilitator and client

participants found the program helpful, the client participant reported the challenges in joining the program. The challenges faced by the South Asian client participants surfaced in theme C03 (It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program), which is a unique theme. This is because the theme C03 reflects the client's struggle to access the program, and that has little relevance to the facilitators. Therefore, a detailed discussion is presented in relation to research questions and existing literature to establish the connection between the client and facilitators' superordinate themes.

5.3.1 C01: In the Past, He Could not Handle the Problem

Prashant assessed his own behaviour before and after the group program and believed that he was a changed person. The theme C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) refers to the South Asian client's self-assessment of his behaviour and attitude. Theme C01 and the facilitators' themes F01 (Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement), F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim) and F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility) are linked because all represent unhelpful characteristics typical of South Asian clients.

Prashant discussed his behaviour before participating in the men's behaviour change program. He indicated that he could not cope with stresses: "In the past where … I cannot handle the problems … I always try to run away. And I cannot deal with it … I just leave the house … and then I will get angry." This excerpt suggests that Prashant struggled to manage stressful interpersonal situations before participating in the program. He described his anger, inability to address the situation, and tendency to avoid the problem by running away and then arguing with his partner. Similarly, his comments, "I had no patience, I would react to things too quick before I even think", and "if things are worse, I will make it more worse" also suggest his previous lack of skills in managing demanding situations.

Prashant examined how, in the past, he would demean his wife as a result of his views. Before participating in the program, he considered himself a supreme power in the household with an undermining outlook toward women. His perception of himself in relation to women was high: "I am the man … I do anything. I build my empire and … this is me. I did everything", and "I am the one [who does] everything, because I build everything, and I am the man of this house." Similarly, the facilitators observed that their South Asian clients were condescending towards women, as demonstrated by the themes F02 (South Asian men's views of women are frustrating) and F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour). Prashant's view of himself as a supreme power supports the notion of hegemonic masculinity, which

legitimises men as dominant and women as subordinate in relationships. Cultural influences and persuasive communication promote this dominant–subordinate relationship by encouraging everyone to accept unequal relationships between men and women (R. W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2019; Russell, 2021).

Prashant conveyed that previously he did not think that his spouse had the right to participate in decision-making because he had financially supported the family. Therefore, he was the one who should make decisions, as conveyed in his statements: "I had this mentality [that] women don't make a decision", and "I am the one who makes [a] decision... She [does] nothing." Prashant said he expected his word to be final, and his spouse would have to follow his orders if she wanted to stay in the relationship. He added that he had a mentality of 'going my way or no way'.

Prashant also revealed that he used to live by socially constructed gender roles: "Women … are housewives … They stay at home to look after kids, do their things, and [the] male works," and "Women are here to just cook and clean. That is what their jobs are. A man work[s]." The facilitators' theme F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour) corresponds with this aspect of Prashant's conservative beliefs. Gupta (2016) confirms that family management is considered a woman's primary responsibility within traditional socially constructed gender roles.

Thus, Prashant disclosed his previous behaviour before participating in a men's behaviour change program; he would demean women and believe in socially constructed gender roles and gender hierarchy. Prashant's description of his pre-program beliefs was aligned with the facilitators' descriptions of typical beliefs and attitudes held by South Asian clients of men's behaviour change programs. The prevailing literature also supports this perception. The theme C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) suggests that the South Asian client participant's understanding indicates his patriarchal cultural orientation, addressing Research Question 5 (What insights does the South Asian client have into his cultural orientation?).

5.3.2 C02: He Was Born and Grew Up in a Different Culture

Prashant believed that he lived and experienced a culture diametrically opposed to the culture of his new homeland of Australia. Prashant's cultural orientation is discussed in the theme C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture). Theme C02 refers to his upbringing in a predominantly patriarchal culture. It is evident that themes C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) and C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture) are

associated—both connect with the concept of abusive behaviour culturally acquired in a different society than Australia.

Additionally, themes C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) and C02 also correspond with the facilitators' themes F02 (South Asian views of women are frustrating), F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour), F09 (Group diversity is beneficial) and F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components), because all these themes are referring to the cultural orientation of South Asian clients and the group interventions. Themes F02 (South Asian views of women are frustrating) and F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour) also discuss the facilitators' perceptions of their South Asian clients' typical acceptance of socially constructed gender hierarchy and patriarchal beliefs. Therefore, Prashant's themes C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) and C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture) are also directly related to each other and to the facilitators' themes F02, F03, F09 and F10.

Prashant revealed his experience of being raised in a patriarchal society, where he was taught that women are subordinate to men. He witnessed the imbalance of power between men and women and recognised South Asia as a more patriarchal society compared with Australia. Prashant said that he grew up in India and acknowledged an enormous cultural difference between Australia and India: "I grew up with a different culture and different system" and "It is a big difference, the culture difference." Prashant believed Australia was an egalitarian society with equal rights for men and women: "We come from a different culture. Now here, men or women have equal rights." He considered that men and women in India did not enjoy the same privileges. Prashant described his upbringing in a patriarchal society in which he observed his primary caregivers practise gender hierarchy. He narrated that "our parents told us … that the males make the decisions for everything" and "women should listen [to] what men said. And follow the man's instructions." Several studies report on the patriarchal beliefs in South Asian culture (Ahmad et al., 2004; Chaudhuri et al., 2014; Gorringe, 2018; Gupta, 2016; Johnson & Johnson, 2001; Prasad, 1999; Weightman, 2011). Johnson and Johnson examined several fatal forms of violence, including honour killings, the burning of women and dowry death experienced by women in India. The article concluded that violence against women was linked to the prevalence of patriarchal beliefs. A Canadian study entitled "Patriarchal beliefs and perceptions of abuse among South Asian immigrant women" suggests that primary prevention should include education that challenges patriarchal beliefs to promote gender equity and informed decision-making to minimise intimate partner violence among diverse cultural groups (Ahmad et al., 2004).

Prashant recognised that his views had changed after his group involvement. He described how he now disagreed that the man should be the sole decision-maker in the family. He acknowledged that women should also have the right to share their opinions: “The woman has [the] right to have an opinion on that one [and] she can make [a] decision as well.” Prashant’s experience of change is echoed in some of the facilitators’ accounts, who identified some attitudinal changes in their South Asian clients.

In summary, Prashant acknowledged that he grew up in a predominantly patriarchal culture that had taught him to undermine women. This knowledge is widely supported by the current literature. This theme relates to Research Question 5 (What insights does the South Asian client have into his cultural orientation?) because the client participant understood his cultural orientation as predominantly collectivist and patriarchal. However, Prashant admitted that his experience in the men’s behaviour change program had profoundly changed his patriarchal views. Nevertheless, without corroboration by Prashant’s ex-partner or the justice service, I question the validity of his view of himself as a changed person. Therefore, I believe that any assessment of change assessment should be the collective responsibility of the cultural, administrative and political systems of the community.

5.3.3 C03: It Was Not Easy for Him to Get into a Behaviour Change Program

Prashant struggled to enrol in the men’s behaviour change program. He expressed a positive opinion about the program but conveyed disappointment in his difficulties in joining. Prashant stated, “it is sad. It took a long time to get in”, and “it is a good thing, and it is not easy to get in.” Further, Prashant disclosed the time it took for him to join the program: “It took me … more than three to four months to get into this program,” and “there is a process to get into this program, and it is a long process.” Prashant’s difficulty in joining the program aligns with my experience as a facilitator of a group intervention, where most attendees revealed their difficulty in accessing the intervention and experienced long waiting periods.

Prashant also described what it entailed for him to join the program. He revealed that he called the agency daily for three to four months: “I have been literally calling every single day.” Prashant said he believed that numerous other people were waiting for support: “There is [are] a lot of people waiting out there to get into this program. There is a lot of people out there that need help and support.” Prashant also disclosed the challenges one of his fellow group members encountered in joining the group: “It is a new fellow... He said it took him one year to get into this program.”

Prashant believed that few agencies provided behaviour change services, and many men needed this form of the program: “Not too many people running this program” and “Nobody’s perfect. Everyone needs help. We need programs like this to help men.” Prashant believed that most men needed help to change their behaviour. To support many people, Prashant suggested: “What needs to happen is maybe they need to open more institutes or maybe need to hire more people, so people don’t have to wait for that long.” Further, Prashant commented: “We should run these programs more often so people can get access to it easily. They do not need to wait four months or a year.” Prashant recommended that the frequency of domestic violence programs should increase to improve accessibility, avoid lengthy waiting periods and provide greater opportunities for men to work on their behaviour.

In summary, Prashant had trouble joining the program. He perceived it to be a lengthy process with only a few agencies offering the service. He meant that many men did not have access to such programs and were, therefore, denied the opportunity to change. Prashant’s perception of denied opportunities because of an insufficient number of services offering men’s behaviour change programs suggests that he highly valued the intervention, responding to Research Question 6 (How does the South Asian client value the intervention in which he participated?). This is a unique finding which is not found in other literature on the subject.

5.3.4 C04: Facilitators Were Doing What They Were Supposed to Do

Prashant found that his facilitators were supportive and non-judgemental. He conveyed his positive experiences with the program’s facilitators in theme C04. Therefore, theme C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do) uncovered facilitators’ attributes. This theme directly corresponds with facilitator themes F07 (Being firm but flexible) and F08 (A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer) because all three themes discuss the facilitators’ approaches and attributes. Prashant advised that his group was co-facilitated by a male and female facilitator: “Two of them, A male and female.” Further, he shared his positive experiences with both facilitators and seemed fully satisfied with the approaches taken by the facilitators. Prashant could not suggest anything his facilitators could have done differently to support the group’s members better, saying: “I just can’t judge them. I can’t say anything like they should put anything extra on it to help us.” Prashant appreciated the facilitators’ efforts: “They [facilitators] are doing what they are supposed to be doing. They [facilitators] are doing great’ and ‘They [facilitators] are already giving us their 100% and it worked.” He valued what the facilitators were teaching him: “They [facilitators] are not telling me anything bad.” Prashant also suggested that the facilitators were making a great effort: “They have been 100%

… in any [every] way." In a study examining the relationship between the therapeutic setting and outcomes in a UK-based domestic violence perpetrator program, a positive association was established between the facilitators' supportive leadership and psychological changes in the participants (Bowen, 2010).

Prashant described the supportive attributes of the facilitators, saying that "they [facilitators] are pretty friendly, like you can communicate", "the way they [facilitators] explain things, the way they [facilitators] do things is just awesome", "the way they [facilitators] treat, the way they [facilitators] educate you is just awesome", "they [facilitators] are willing to do anything … if you need any help" and "they [facilitators] asked individually people about their emotions. Are you [group participant] doing OK?" Prashant believed that the facilitators' friendliness, approachability, teaching methods and willingness to support group members were helpful characteristics. He elaborated: "If you are down, they [facilitators] will help you. Like how I can deal with it?" indicating that the facilitators of his group helped him during difficult times. According to Prashant, the facilitators provided advice on how he could deal with his challenging situation. Prashant's experience is supported by Holtrop et al. (2017). The authors suggest that facilitator qualities such as listening, problem-solving, understanding and empathy are essential for supporting program participants.

Impartiality was another important facilitator attribute from Prashant's perspective. He stated that he did not notice any bias from facilitators towards culturally and linguistically diverse group members. However, Prashant's lack of knowledge of cultural safety, cultural humility and cultural opportunities may have influenced his view of facilitators. In other words, he may not have been fully aware of his rights as a culturally and linguistically diverse client in the context of a group intervention. This interpretation is based on my experiences as a facilitator of a men's behaviour change program, which was not embedded in the multicultural orientation framework (Kivlighan & Chapman, 2018; Rigg et al., 2020).

Prashant considered the facilitators were non-judgemental people who treated everyone equally: "They [facilitator] exactly treat everyone the same no matter what culture you are from." Prashant observed that some group members had difficulty with language; nonetheless, the facilitators helped them and made them comfortable to speak: "There are some people who hardly speak English" and "They [facilitator] are helping them, giving them that comfort to speak whatever they [facilitator] can." It seems that Prashant appreciated the facilitators' support to culturally and linguistically diverse community members and their unprejudiced attitude. Similarly, Denne et al. (2013) report that participants of a family violence perpetrator program acknowledged that the facilitators' non-judgemental and positive team approach,

based on an egalitarian environment, was vital for participants' active involvement in the program and their increased learning. Prashant appreciated having a female facilitator in the program. He recognised her confidence in correcting group members who swore or used inappropriate words: "Having that female, she reacted to those things like, "It is not anything nice to say. Why would you say that?" So, it makes us understand that using those words is not funny.' Thus, Prashant appreciated the female facilitator holding group members accountable for their unhelpful language and views.

According to Prashant, a facilitator must be accessible, friendly, open, confident, non-judgemental, yet firm if the group program is to work. Theme C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do) revealed the facilitators' influencing qualities, hence responding to Research Question 7 (How does the South Asian client judge facilitators' influencing qualities?) and filling a gap in the literature regarding facilitator characteristics that support change in perpetrators from predominantly collectivist and patriarchal societies such as South Asia.

5.3.5 C05: The Program Helped Him to Understand His Behaviour

Prashant found that his engagement with the men's behaviour change program was valuable. Theme C05 (The program helped him to understand his behaviour) provides insights into the changes Prashant noticed in himself. This theme is associated with theme F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious) because both refer to the client's change. He said that through the program, he learned to better assess situations before taking action: "This program has made me understand to just wait, assess things and then make decisions." Further, he felt able to manage situations instead of reacting with anger: "I can deal with it rather than getting upset about it." It seems like Prashant was optimistic about his changes. Similar findings were reported by Silvergleid and Mankowski (2006). Silvergleid and Mankowski indicate that members were passionate about the changes they had achieved in the domestic violence perpetrator group program. Prashant stated, "after this program … I can think now. I still get angry or get upset to things, but I don't go extreme". After participating in the program, he understood how and why to regulate his emotions: "I will not run away. I will just deal with it. That is what I have learned from this program." Similarly, R. P. Dobash et al. (1999) mention a reduction in the controlling and intimidating behaviour of perpetrators after attending a program.

Further, Prashant claimed that the program helped him gain greater empathy and respect for women. He understood his former wife's position, that she was equal and had the

right to decide just like he did. He revealed: “We both have [the] right to make decisions’ and ‘as far as I got the right, she got exactly the same right.” Prashant recognised that although his wife was not formally employed, she looked after the children, which was equivalent to full-time work: “What I have learned is, OK, she did not work, but she was doing a full-time job looking after the kids.” Prashant communicated that he also learned that women deserved respect and were capable: “If I can work up north or in the mines, women can do the same thing and they are doing things”, “like males, and everyone deserves respect” and “we have to give her [female facilitator] the same respect she deserves. It doesn’t make any difference.”

Prashant also indicated that the program taught him to take responsibility for his behaviour and made him a better person: “More responsibilities, patience, making the right decision” and “the journey I have been through has just made me a good person, like overall. I can think more.” There is agreement among intimate partner violence researchers that perpetrators must accept the responsibility to change and hold themselves accountable for their abusive behaviour (Denne et al., 2013; Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2017; Hamilton et al., 2013; Holtrop et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2009) to ensure empathy and respect for women.

While it is important to hold perpetrators accountable for their abusive behaviours, the influences of various social determinants such as culture, ideology, judicial and social systems and education cannot be ignored (Pallatino et al., 2019). Therefore, the responsibility to stop violence against women lies with all stakeholders and the wider system. It is critical to avoid holding men exclusively accountable for their behaviour, which may create harmful stereotypes and inadvertently reinforce the perception that violence is an inherent characteristic of masculinity. Further, Prashant also appreciated how the program provided insights from the diverse cultural perspectives of other group members: “It is good to learn from different backgrounds as well.” Prashant’s comments such as: “They [group members] should come before all those things happen, to come to this program and learn how to deal with the problem before they go to all to these family courts.” These comments reveal his high opinion of the program. He believed there should be a program to teach men to manage challenging relationship situations to avoid legal proceedings.

Prashant highlighted the program’s benefits, stating, “I wish I learned that earlier and then could have saved my family, but it has been too late. It is awesome. This is one of the best things that ever happened to me.” These comments indicate the profound effect of the program on Prashant. Silvergleid and Mankowski (2006) report that group work influences attitudinal changes among its members. Similarly, Holtrop et al. (2017) also report that a group setting

enables change in the abusive behaviour of perpetrators. Numerous studies suggest that group therapy supports behavioural improvement (Bowen, 2010; Holtrop et al., 2017; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006). However, without an assessment by a legal or social representative, Prashant's positive view of the effect of the program on his learning may be biased. His view may also have been influenced by the presence of a South Asian female researcher.

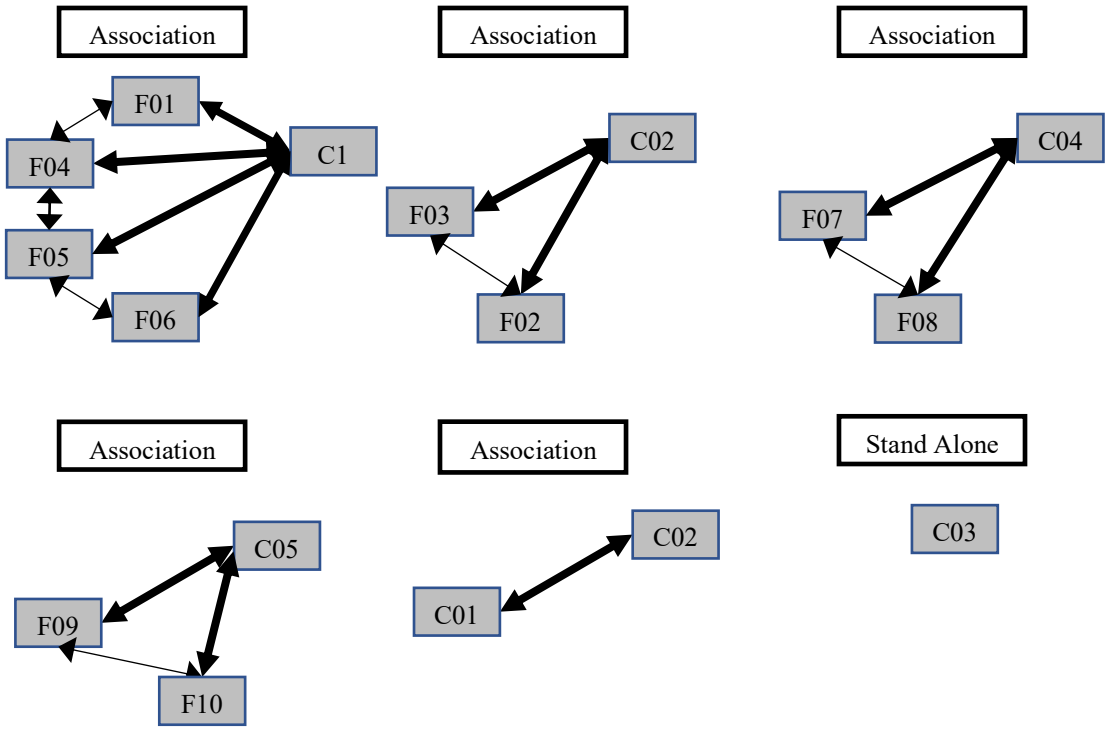
Hence, it is established that Prashant found the men's behaviour change program to be beneficial and that it taught him positive behavioural skills, which he felt made him a better person. Therefore, in Prashant's case, it appears that Research Question 6 (How does the South Asian client value the intervention in which he participated?) is answered in the affirmative. The literature review identified that most studies are primarily external to Australia and mainly conducted from a medical or psychological rather than a counselling perspective. Further, patriarchal and collectivist views are established as one of the leading causes of intimate partner violence, yet individualistic Western models primarily inform men's behaviour change programs. Despite this, the South Asian participant with patriarchal views positively experienced the men's behaviour change program he attended.

5.4 Analysis of Intra- and Interconnections of Themes

Figure 6 presents the relationships between the findings, thereby clarifying the study's achievement of its overall aim. Seven research questions examined the experiences of the men's behaviour change program facilitators and a South Asian client of a men's behaviour change program, revealing 10 and five themes, respectively. The relationship map of the findings presents a context for the summarised experiences of all the research participants: Both the facilitators and the South Asian client.

Figure 6

Intra and interconnections of themes



F01	Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement
F02	South Asian's views on women are frustrating
F03	Examining the gendered division of labour
F04	Clients need to stop blaming the victim
F05	Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility
F06	Change is always challenging but not always obvious
F07	Being firm but flexible
F08	A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer
F09	Group diversity is beneficial
F1	Lack of embedded cultural components

C01	In the past, he could not handle the problem
C02	He was born and grew up in a different culture
C03	It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program
C04	Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do
C05	The program helped him to understand his behaviour

Interconnection

Intra-connection

The facilitator participants' themes F01 (Although their rigid views harmed their families, clients resisted engagement), F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim), F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility), and F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious) correspond with the client participant's identified theme, C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem). These facilitator and client themes are similar in some respects and conflicting in others. The facilitators recognised that South Asian clients were rigid with a lack of tendency to actively participate in programs, denied accountability for their abusive actions and did not change their behaviour. Additionally, facilitators mentioned the South Asian clients' typical blaming attitude. Therefore, the facilitators noted no significant changes in the conduct of these clients. The South Asian client's theme C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) reflects similar points raised by the facilitators. The client participant revealed his rigid views, tendency to blame his wife, inability to handle difficult situations and absence of responsibility before participating in the program. However, after participating in the program, the South Asian client indicated that he eventually accepted responsibility for his abusive actions, in contrast to the feedback provided by most of the facilitators. According to the South Asian client, the men's behaviour change program improved his behaviour and approach, changing his rigidly held opinions.

Similarly, the facilitator themes F02 (South Asian views of women are frustrating) and F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour) complement the client participant's theme C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture). The client's theme unveiled his culturally determined patriarchal and misogynistic views favouring a gendered hierarchy. These two themes of the facilitators suggest a parallel understanding, corresponding to South Asian clients' attitudes towards women.

The South Asian participant's theme C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do) is aligned with two of the facilitators' main themes, F07 (Being firm but flexible) and F08 (A facilitator is not a mere content deliverer). These three themes identify essential facilitator qualities of trustworthiness, the ability to challenge constructively, build a strong therapeutic alliance, set firm boundaries, being supportive and non-judgemental, have an unbiased stance, be approachable and communicate respectfully with members of the group. Both the facilitator and client participants supported these findings.

The facilitators' two superordinate themes, F09 (Group diversity is beneficial) and F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components), were associated with the client theme C05 (The program helped him to understand his behaviour). The facilitator themes indicated that the programs were not culturally rooted. Therefore, the opportunity to effectively manage

unhelpful beliefs, such as patriarchy and gendered hierarchy, was not fully realised. The facilitators also stated that a diverse cultural group composition was most effective for South Asian clients. The South Asian client supported this view on cultural diversity in the men's behaviour change program. The client indicated that the improvement in his behaviour occurred thanks to exposure to the diverse perspectives of other group members.

The South Asian client's superordinate themes, C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) and C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture), are linked because both themes indicate the South Asian client's upbringing and the roots of his behaviour culturally acquired in a diverse society. However, the South Asian client theme C03 (It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program) was a unique theme that was not connected with the facilitators' experiences. This theme reflected the challenges potential service users face in accessing a program. According to the client participant, there was a shortage of services offering men's behaviour change programs; therefore, men in need must wait on long waiting lists before being accepted into a program.

5.5 Conclusion and Reflection

The examination of the seven research questions yielded 10 and five superordinate themes, respectively, from the facilitators and the South Asian client. The findings were generally consistent with the literature discussed in Chapter 2. Most of the themes were consistently mentioned by the facilitators and comprehensively linked with the South Asian client's experiences. The findings successfully satisfied the identified theoretical and empirical research gaps in the field and responded to all research questions.

The facilitators understood that their South Asian clients viewed women as inferior and lived according to socially constructed gender roles. The facilitators acknowledged that their South Asian clients blamed their intimate partners; hence, the facilitators' themes F02 (South Asian views of women are frustrating), F03 (Examining the gendered division of labour), and F04 (Clients need to stop blaming the victim) addressed Research Question 1 (How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?).

The facilitators also reported finding South Asian clients holding rigid and uncooperative attitudes, lacked accountability for the abuse they perpetrated, and failed to take responsibility for change. Some facilitators identified no changes in their South Asian clients, whereas others saw a minimal change; consequently, Research Question 2 (What are the facilitators' insights into South Asian clients' explanations about their alleged abusive behaviour?) is responded to by the facilitators' themes F01(Although their rigid views harmed

their families, clients resisted engagement), F05 (Individual accountability is the perpetrator's responsibility) and F06 (Change is always challenging but not always obvious). It was established that the facilitators did not tailor their approaches to meet the needs of South Asian clients. However, they suggested that if facilitators aimed to achieve better outcomes for their clients, they should show fairness and respect, build therapeutic alliances, foster trust and safety, have a non-judgemental attitude, be aware of their own biases and stereotypes, and be open, compassionate and friendly; thus, the facilitators' themes F07 (Being firm but flexible) and F08 (Group diversity is beneficial) answered Research Question 3 (How do the facilitators appraise their approaches when working with South Asian clients?). Further, most of the facilitators supported the idea of culturally and linguistically diverse groups for South Asian clients. Even though cultural elements were identified as significant, the facilitators reported a lack of cultural focus in men's behaviour change programs; hence, the facilitators' themes F09 (Group diversity is beneficial) and F10 (Lack of embedded cultural components) responded to Research Question 4 (What are the facilitators' understandings of the cultural constituents of existing programs to facilitate men's behavioural change among South Asian clients?).

The South Asian client's contextualised experiences yielded five themes. Research Question 5 (What insights does the South Asian client have into his cultural orientation?) was satisfied by themes C01 (In the past, he could not handle the problem) and C02 (He was born and grew up in a different culture) because of his insight that South Asia is a predominantly patriarchal culture and that he had acquired unhelpful attitudes around gender through his cultural background. The client research participant concluded that despite difficulty joining the program, men's behaviour change programs are highly effective for clients from diverse communities; hence C05, (The program helped him to understand his behaviour) and C03 (It was not easy for him to get into a behaviour change program) spoke to Research Question 6 (How does the South Asian client value the intervention in which he participated?). The client also praised the facilitators in his group, considering them accessible, friendly, open, confident and non-judgemental. Their firm stance helped him achieve his behavioural change, so C04 (Facilitators were doing what they were supposed to do) responded to Research Question 7 (How does the South Asian client judge facilitators' influencing qualities?). It is concluded that the study aims to fill the gap in qualitative interpretative phenomenological analysis with a social and contextual constructionist paradigm. It explored the experiences of a South Asian client and their facilitators of men's behaviour change programs.

I present my reflections on how my values and interests shaped this study and what I have learned from it. My interest in the topic stems from my personal history as a South Asian

woman who has experienced intimate partner violence firsthand and my professional experience as a facilitator. I view the world from the social constructionism paradigm, believing that society strongly influences people's beliefs and behaviour. Even though I suffered from intimate partner violence for the 16 years of my first marriage, I still view South Asian men who resort to violence in their relationships as victims of the patriarchal culture. In other words, their attitudes and behaviour have been socially constructed by their culture, which influences them profoundly. I believe that everyone deserves the best opportunity to learn to improve their behaviour.

I confirm that all experiences presented by the facilitators validated my own beliefs except for the concept of group composition. Most facilitators valued cultural diversity in group composition for South Asian clients. In contrast, I believed that cultural components should be integrated into the program or that separate programs should be provided for men originating from predominantly patriarchal societies. I consider that the patriarchal cultural systems have an undue influence on men who choose to be violent; therefore, I think that detrimental cultural beliefs need to be addressed to improve behaviour (Chaudhuri et al., 2014; R. Connell, 2014; R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Flood, 2011; Haj-Yahia, 2011)

There are, without doubt, many benefits that flow from men's behaviour change programs. However, improvements need to be made to address the factors that have been brought into focus and listed above. That said, I was surprised to learn from the experiences of the South Asian client, Prashant. I assumed that this client would react negatively towards the men's behaviour change program. This assumption was likely because of the poor response of participants willing to take part in my study. I thought that they would consider it unhelpful or a waste of time. However, Prashant had a positive attitude towards men's behaviour change programs and found that such programs had a significant positive impact. Thanks to his views, I am inspired and optimistic about the future.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

My research aimed to address the gaps in the interpretative phenomenological analysis research by employing social, contextual and critical constructionist components to improve existing men's behaviour change programs in terms of outcomes for South Asian clients. My interest in this study stemmed from the lack of knowledge on how to support South Asian clients in men's behaviour change programs. The literature review identified three significant gaps in the knowledge of men's behaviour change programs in relation to South Asian clients. First, most of the research is based on reviews of quantitative studies; second, most studies have been conducted outside of Australia and have been based on Caucasian or African American communities; and third, most studies have been conducted in the fields of psychiatry, social work or psychology rather than counselling. The limited literature on South Asian domestic violence perpetrators may be attributable to the lack of interventions in collectivist patriarchal societies and that existing programs, guidelines and practices are influenced by Western ideologies. Therefore, there is limited qualitative knowledge of the most effective way to work with culturally and linguistically diverse perpetrators of intimate partner violence in Australia. Consequently, this knowledge barrier slows progress in stopping violence against women.

Intimate partner violence is a growing concern in Australia. Therefore, every effort should be made to work effectively with perpetrators of intimate partner violence to reduce violence against women. However, the limited knowledge to effectively support South Asian perpetrators is a concern given their significant numbers in Australia and their collectivist and patriarchal cultural orientation. The cultural orientation of South Asians does not align with Australia's egalitarianism or the feminist and individualistic principles of the men's behaviour change programs in which they participate. This lack of attention to South Asian clients may be attributable to the underlying systemic White supremacy that sidelines people from minority groups. Hence, the findings of this study provide critical and reflexive insights to help reduce violence against women.

Section 6.1 presents the research summary. Section 6.2 offers study limitations. Section 6.3 presents recommendations based on the data from the participants and my own observations. Section 6.4 provides suggestions for future research, and Section 6.5 summarises the chapter.

6.1 Summary of Findings

Based on an interpretative phenomenological analysis of interview data from 10 men's behaviour change program facilitators and one South Asian client who was undertaking a men's behaviour change program in Australia to address his violent behaviour, this thesis reveals several insights. First, the facilitators observed that most South Asian clients held traditional patriarchal beliefs that women were subordinate to men and tended to blame their victims. In addition, they reported that many South Asian clients failed to take individual responsibility for their abusive behaviour. However, they did not consider the intersectionality of social and cultural aspects when talking about accountability and engagement.

Second, the study highlighted the importance of facilitator attributes, such as the ability to build a therapeutic alliance, friendliness, accessibility and self-confidence in female facilitators to encourage change among South Asian clients. The study also identified negative facilitator characteristics such as being judgemental or racist, having preconceived notions, failing to consider clients' cultural backgrounds, taking an ethnocentric perspective, colluding behaviours and confrontation when working with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. However, a significant and related concept, neopatriarchy, was not acknowledged as being detrimental to an effective men's behaviour change program.

Third, in terms of group composition and design, facilitators suggested that having a diverse cultural group would be most effective for South Asian clients. However, there was no mention of culturally oriented practices or a multicultural orientation framework. While men's behaviour change programs in Australia play a crucial role in educating perpetrators of violence about healthier relationships, they appear to be grounded in individualistic Western ideologies. The facilitators' perceptions of their South Asian clients, who come from a patriarchal and collectivist society, may have been consciously or unconsciously influenced by notions of White supremacy.

Fourth, the study identified that current men's behaviour change programs lack cultural components but could bring about subtle changes in South Asian clients. The literature suggests that a multicultural orientation framework is most effective for culturally and linguistically diverse clients. However, it appears that no attempts were made to incorporate the framework's elements: Cultural humility, cultural opportunities, cultural comfort, the social microcosm, the acceptance of mistakes and the identification of systemic privilege and oppression. By exploring facilitators' experiences, this study identified the resources and training needed for facilitators to work more effectively with South Asian clients. Despite

facilitators' ongoing requests for specific cultural training and supervision, this had not been provided. Although domestic violence is associated with significant economic costs, no attempts have been made to provide adequate resources and training for facilitators to work effectively with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. It appears that the system is wilfully blind to this need because of its perpetuation of White policies.

Fifth, the idiographic case study of a South Asian client highlighted his patriarchal views aligned with socially constructed gender norms. Nevertheless, Prashant derived value from the men's behaviour change program he had attended because of the positive attributes of the facilitators. Despite his difficulty in enrolling in the intervention, he reported that the program had helped him analyse the negative attitudes and behaviours he had acquired from his upbringing in a patriarchal society. However, his evaluation of himself as a changed person was not supported by a legal or social representative.

Further, I observed some similarities and differences between the interview data from the South Asian client and the facilitators. Similarities were seen for all research questions. With respect to Research Question 1 (How do the facilitators experience their South Asian clients' perceptions and attitudes about women?) and Research Question 5 (What insights does the South Asian client have into his cultural orientation?), both the facilitators and Prashant believed that South Asian intimate partner violence perpetrators undermined women because of their collectivist and patriarchal cultural orientation. With respect to Research Question 3 (How do the facilitators appraise their approaches when working with South Asian clients?) and Research Question 7 (How does the South Asian client judge facilitators' influencing qualities?), both the facilitators and Prashant suggested that the ability to build a therapeutic alliance, trust and approachability were helpful attributes when working with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. Additionally, the facilitators used psychoeducational, informative and relational approaches for all clients, regardless of their cultural orientation, to help them accept responsibility and accountability.

With respect to Research Question 2 (What are the facilitators' insights into South Asian clients' explanations about their alleged abusive behaviour?), the facilitators identified that their South Asian clients tended to not take responsibility or be accountable for their abusive behaviour, while Prashant acknowledged his rigid behaviour and lack of insight before participating in the intervention. In answer to Research Question 6 (How does the South Asian client value the intervention in which he participated?), Prashant believed that he had benefited from the program by gaining a different perspective of women. However, there was a lack of

consensus among facilitators regarding their South Asian clients' improvement; while few believed their South Asian clients had subtle improvements, others were unsure.

In response to Research Question 4 (What are the facilitators' understandings of the cultural constituents of existing programs to facilitate men's behavioural change among South Asian clients?), most facilitators agreed that interventions lacked cultural components. In contrast, Prashant had no concerns about the cultural aspects of the intervention. However, this may have been attributable to his lack of understanding about the type of support to expect from an intervention. Additionally, his view may have been influenced by the fact that he was currently in a group intervention and may differ on completion.

Both the facilitators and Prashant provided relevant insights to answer the research questions with respect to the effectiveness of existing men's behaviour change programs for diverse clients.

6.2 Limitations of the Study

Given that Australia is a multicultural country, with South Asians comprising a substantial portion of the migrant population, this study makes some valuable contributions. However, it is not without its limitations.

First, the study could have generated more insights had the data been collected by observing a group in action, followed by participant interviews. Being present in a group intervention would have allowed me to observe the engagement of South Asian attendees and the attempts by facilitators to change their harmful attitudes. The observation method would have also exposed the researcher to any collaboration patterns between clients and facilitators, as well as the clients' interactions with fellow group members from other cultures.

The interpretative phenomenological analysis methodology promotes sense-making by both the research participants and the researcher. Therefore, the researcher's position in this study is subjective, and there is the possibility that a different researcher may have arrived at different conclusions. My South Asian origins play a dual role in this study. On the one hand, my cultural understanding is helpful because I could easily grasp the concepts emerging from South Asia's cultural context. However, it was also a shortcoming because my subjective experiences and knowledge might have influence my open-mindedness on the topic. I managed this concern as best I could by presenting reflective statements wherever required.

I believe that my upbringing in South Asia as a lower-caste Shudra played a role in my interpretation of the data. I realised that I had been unaware of my default assessment of information through the lens of the hermeneutics of empathy, which may have inclined me

towards a White supremacist paradigm. My initial attempt to interpret the data exclusively through the hermeneutics of empathy acted as a constraint to bringing justice to the topic. However, when I was made aware of my lack of critical interpretation, I was able to apply the hermeneutics of suspicion. Consequently, justice was brought to the research topic by viewing the information from all viewpoints and presenting reflective statements wherever required.

Another limitation of the study is that it explored the experiences of a single South Asian client. However, it is argued that this did not affect the study's validity because the number of participants is less relevant in a qualitative study. Moreover, the insights gained from the South Asian client corresponded to the overall understanding of facilitators in terms of the cultural profile of South Asians. The client's deep contextual understanding supports the overarching objective of the study. He also provided feedback from a South Asian perspective, emphasising the challenges he faced in joining the program. However, one limitation might be that the data from this sole subject could differ if collected after he finished the men's behaviour change program.

An additional shortcoming is that this study did not aim to explore the cultural background of the female partners of South Asian clients. For example, if partners were from different cultural backgrounds, would this influence the behaviours and attitudes of South Asian men? Therefore, further research is needed to explore other perspectives on the cultural influences of South Asian intimate partner violence perpetrators.

It would also be interesting to explore how the systems and procedures adopted by support agencies influence South Asian men. Men from minority cultural groups face difficulties accessing men's behaviour change programs. However, it was beyond the scope of this study to explore the accessibility of men's behaviour change programs to South Asians, the competency of administrative staff and whether admittance procedures are culturally safe or flawed because of ethnocentrism. This information could provide more detailed information to create culturally safe services for South Asians.

6.3 Researcher and Participant Recommendations

6.3.1 Facilitator Suggestions

6.3.1.1 Cultural Elements

It is apparent from the participants' data that South Asian clients' culture significantly influences their behaviour. The literature has established that South Asian culture values patriarchy, allowing men to wield power over women. Therefore, South Asian clients abide by socially constructed gender roles, demonstrating a lack of accountability for their behaviour.

Most data revealed that men's behaviour change programs lack sufficient cultural elements to address rigid and unhelpful cultural beliefs. Incorporating a cultural paradigm or the multicultural cultural orientation framework into each men's behaviour change program would allow the facilitators to modify their clients' rigid views based on patriarchy and deconstruct their unhelpful views acquired through culture.

6.3.1.2 Training and Resources

Another point the facilitators made was the need for cultural training to equip them to work with clients from diverse cultures. It emerged that the facilitators were untrained to work with clients with diverse cultural orientations, and they required cultural knowledge to constructively challenge their clients' unhelpful cultural beliefs. No support or resources were allocated for improving the facilitators' cross-cultural understandings, and consequently, they relied on their own resources to gain this type of knowledge. Therefore, time and resources must be allocated to facilitators' training to teach them how to deal with clients from different cultural backgrounds.

6.3.2 South Asian Client Suggestions

6.3.2.1 Accessibility of Men's Behaviour Change Programs

The South Asian client strongly recommended that the accessibility of men's behaviour change programs should be improved. The participant described his challenges in enrolling in a men's behaviour change program and reported that many of his fellow group members had experienced similar challenges. Therefore, the participant suggested that more agencies should be encouraged to provide services to improve programs' accessibility.

6.3.3 Researcher Recommendations

6.3.3.1 Time as a Significant Factor

Nearly all the facilitators pointed out that time was a significant factor in transforming South Asian clients' attitudes and beliefs. When dealing with men raised in a predominantly patriarchal and collectivist South Asian culture, substantial time is required to bring about tangible changes in their attitudes and behaviour. Patriarchal views are normal for these men, who cannot see alternatives; consequently, they resist any insight that promotes equality for women. Hence, for men's behaviour change programs to be effective for South Asian clients, time with facilitators one-on-one is required in addition to group work for the entire program. This additional time allocation would assist facilitators in breaking down the client's rigid views and resistance to quality participation.

Sufficient time must also be made available to immerse South Asian clients in the men's behaviour change group sessions to understand better what is expected of them regarding their attitude, responsibility and respect towards women. Most facilitators concluded that more time was needed to achieve these outcomes. Therefore, for South Asian clients to integrate and improve their engagement in the men's behaviour change programs and to be exposed to diverse cultures, time is necessary.

6.3.3.2 Promotion of Men's Behaviour Change Programs

The literature and the participants' data established that South Asia is a predominantly patriarchal and collectivist society. Being South Asian, I have experienced firsthand the differences between India and Australia's social and cultural systems. In India, there are no programs for perpetrators of intimate partner violence. Men who resort to violence are not even considered perpetrators in such a patriarchal culture, where men's behaviour is not questioned. Hence, there is no perceived need for a service resembling a men's behaviour change program. Therefore, I assume that when these men arrive in Australia, they are not aware of the existence of men's behaviour change programs.

The South Asian participant's data revealed he only learned about the men's behaviour change program through the family court. Before being mandated to attend the program by the family court, it is unlikely he was aware of such programs that could assist him in improving his harmful behaviour. He also indicated that it was a lengthy and exhausting process to seek any help to improve his behaviour and save his family from falling apart. Based on the facilitators' understanding of South Asian clients and the South Asian client's own insights, I would endorse men's behaviour change programs as a primary program for migrants from predominantly patriarchal societies. I would also recommend that agencies promote men's behaviour change programs through the mass media, schools and established agencies that work with multicultural clients and workplaces to reach a wider audience. Additionally, I highly encourage agencies to use positive psychology to promote group domestic violence interventions because the label 'men's behaviour change' subtly indicates a punitive approach, potentially inviting resistance from men. Therefore, labelling these programs using affirmative words and associating them with family health instead may encourage culturally and linguistically diverse clients to engage with them.

6.3.3.3 Collective Responsibility and Accountability

I encourage all stakeholders to focus on the accountability of administrative, legal, social and political systems for ongoing domestic violence rather than exclusively focusing on

perpetrators. Improving the behaviour of intimate partner violence perpetrators should be a collective responsibility. While group interventions continue to focus only on perpetrator accountability while ignoring the role of the broader system, they will face resistance from clients, leading to poor outcomes. Therefore, all stockholders should work collectively to minimise violence against women.

6.4 Possible Areas for Future Research

This qualitative interpretative phenomenological analysis bridged the gap in the literature regarding domestic violence programs for diverse cultural clients in the Australian context. Many research areas are emerging from the limitation of the research, including exploration of existing time allocations for members of minority cultural groups of men's behaviour change programs; the current level of promotion of men's behaviour change programs; the existing cultural components in men's behaviour change programs; the current resource allocation and training opportunities for facilitators; and current men's behaviour change program accessibility for clients with diverse culture.

In terms of research design, other qualitative methodologies, such as critical ethnography, where the researcher directly observes culturally and linguistically diverse attendees of men's behaviour change programs, may be helpful in examining the power dynamics of the program. Further, a critical discourse analysis of talk and interaction between facilitator and client is required to understand power relations and structural influences, as well as compare these with societal expectations and explanations.

6.5 Conclusion and Reflections

The findings of this study contribute to the knowledge on minimising intimate partner violence by providing guidelines to effectively support South Asian clients. Additionally, they highlight the constraints to working effectively with South Asian clients, including the lack of systemic support and the prevailing White policies and practices. Therefore, this study's outcomes are important for practitioners and researchers. Qualitative researchers may benefit from this study because it applies the hermeneutics of both empathy and suspicion. Interpretative phenomenological analysis tends to place more emphasis on the hermeneutics of empathy rather than the hermeneutics of suspicion. Therefore, a strength of this study is that it adopts the hermeneutics of suspicion as an additional critical focus, which may be helpful for other interpretative phenomenological analysis researchers who wish to take a similar approach. Therefore, conducting this study was a personally and professionally rewarding

experience. I am grateful that I could share the voices of participants and practitioners with the broader professional community. I am confident that the knowledge created by this study will bring about changes for the diverse communities in our society, which will help to reduce intimate partner violence. In completing this study, I achieved its aim (i.e. addressing the gap in qualitative research on better supporting South Asian clients of men's behaviour change programs in Australia). All recommendations outlined in this chapter are intended to improve services to clients from diverse cultural backgrounds and to reduce the prevalence of domestic violence in Australia. This study has paved the way for future research to explore new ways to strengthen services for minority community members. Consequently, it provides one step forward in fulfilling my dream of every woman living free of the fear of violence from their loved one.

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Appendix I: Email for Agency

Hello,

I am Madhuri Mathisen, a PhD (counselling) student at the University of Notre Dame, Fremantle, Western Australia. I am writing to request you to kindly forward this email to the facilitators of men's behaviour change programme at your agency to pass to South Asian clients of the programme, so they could potentially participate in the research project entitled:

"Exploring the Experiences of South Asian Participants of Men's Behaviour Change Programmes: A Qualitative Study"

The intended participants will be from South Asia clientele (clients from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan, Afghanistan and Maldives) of men's behaviour change programmes. I am conducting this research project as part of the requirements for my doctoral studies. The details of the course are given below:

Course name: Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
Principal Supervisor: Dr Marieke Ledingham
Contact Details:

School of Arts and Sciences
The University of Notre Dame Australia
PO Box 1225, Fremantle WA 6959
Email: [redacted]
Phone: [redacted]

The project has received the clearance from the University's Human Research Ethics Committee. It is expected that the study will contribute to existing knowledge regarding group programmes for clients with Intimate Partner Violence from South Asia.

A Participant Information Sheet is also attached for more detail information about the project. The interested facilitator/s can contact me directly. For any further enquiries, please feel free to email or contact me on my mobile number given below.

Thanking you.

Best regards

Madhuri Mathisen

M-[redacted]

Email: [redacted]

Appendix II: Participant Information Sheet: Facilitators

THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME AUSTRALIA

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: For facilitators of men's behaviour change programme.

Project title: *Exploring the Experiences of Facilitators of Men's Behaviour Change Programmes: A Qualitative Study*

Dear participant,

You are invited to participate in the research project described below.

What is the project about?

Domestic violence in intimate relationships is a worldwide problem. There are many reasons for domestic violence and culture is a significant contributing factor. Australia is a multicultural society with citizens of diverse cultural values, such as those from predominantly collectivist cultures. The collective society can be understood as a culture where the group's mutual decision is prioritised over the individuals' needs.

This study aims to contribute to an understanding of facilitators' experiences of working with South Asian clients (from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan, Afghanistan and Maldives) in men's behaviour change programmes.

Who is undertaking the project?

This project is being conducted by Madhuri Mathisen will form the basis for the degree of PhD at The University of Notre Dame Australia, under the supervision of Dr Marieke Ledingham, Dr Robbie Busch and Dr Justine Maldon.

What will I be asked to do?

If you consent to take part in this research study, it is important that you understand the purpose of the study and what you will be asked to do. Please make sure that you ask any questions you may have and that all your questions have been answered to your satisfaction before you agree to participate.

This should include:

- Audio recording and one-on-one interview in person or Skype video calling. The audio recorded data will be professionally transcribed.
- As a facilitator you will be asked to answer semi structure questions related to your experience of men's behavior change intervention programmes.

- The interview will take approximately one hour.
- The study will take place at a convenient location for you.
- There will not be any out of pocket expenses to participants.

Are there any risks associated with participating in this project?

There are no specific risks anticipated with participation in this study. However, if you find that you are experiencing difficult feelings or becoming distressed, we can arrange for you to access support from a counsellor.

What are the benefits of the research project?

There will not be any immediate benefits to the participant. However, the findings of the study will benefit the professionals working in the domestic violence sector, and their clients.

What if I change my mind?

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Even if you agree to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time without discrimination or prejudice. If you withdraw, all information you have provided will be erased/destroyed.

Will anyone else know the results of the project?

Information gathered about you will be held in strict confidence. This confidence will only be broken if required by law. The identification of the participants will be hidden. The only researchers will have access to individual information. The data will be stored in a password locked computer in non-identifiable way. The participants will not be identified in publications and only aggregated data will be published

Once the study is completed, the data collected from you will be de-identified and stored securely in the School of Arts and Sciences at The University of Notre Dame Australia for at least a period of five years. The results of the study will be published as a journal article/thesis/book chapter.

Will I be able to find out the results of the project?

Once we have analysed the information from this study we will mail a summary of our findings. You can expect to receive this feedback approximately in six months after entire data collection.

Who do I contact if I have questions about the project?

If you have any questions about this project please feel free to contact either myself on [redacted] or [redacted] or my supervisor, Dr Marieke Ledingham, on

[redacted] or [redacted] My supervisor and I are happy to discuss any concerns you may have about this study.

What if I have a concern or complaint?

The study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at The University of Notre Dame Australia (approval reference number is 018018F) If you have a concern or complaint regarding the ethical conduct of this research project and would like to speak to an independent person, please contact Notre Dame's Research Ethics Officer at (+61 8) 9433 0943 or research@nd.edu.au. Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and fully investigated. You will be informed of the outcome.

How do I sign up to participate?

If you are happy to participate, please sign both copies of the consent form, keep one for yourself and email/mail the other to me in the envelope provided. Thank you for your time. This sheet is for you to keep.

Yours sincerely,

Madhuri Mathisen

Appendix III: Participant Information Sheet: Client Participants

THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME AUSTRALIA

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: For South Asian client of men's behaviour change programme.

Project title: Exploring the Experiences of South Asian Clients of Men's Behaviour Change Programmes: A Qualitative Study

Dear participant,

You are invited to participate in the research project described below.

What is the project about?

This study proposes to understand your experience of men's behaviour change programmes in Western Australia. The study's objective is to explore the experiences of men who have migrated from South Asia and are engaged in men's behaviour change programmes. It aims to identify how the structure and elements of men's behaviour change programmes are able to meet the needs of clients from South Asia, considering the cultural differences. Therefore, this study is designed with the following aim:

- To contribute new knowledge regarding the experiences of South Asian participants of men's behaviour change programmes. This new knowledge will be used to identify the helpfulness of already existing interventions for clientele migrated from South Asia.

The findings of this study will be discussed in relation to the strengths and weaknesses of the currently available interventions for participants from South Asia. The results will help to inform the design of programmes to address the needs of participants from the South Asian region.

Who is undertaking the project?

This project is being conducted by Madhuri Mathisen and will form the basis for the degree of PhD at the University of Notre Dame Australia, under the supervision of Dr Marieke Ledingham, Dr Robbie Busch and Dr Justine Maldon.

What will I be asked to do?

If you consent to take part in this research study, it is important that you understand the purpose of the study and what you will be asked to do. Please make sure that you ask any questions you may have and that all your questions have been answered to your satisfaction before you agree

to participate. If further questions arise for you during your involvement with the programme you can ask them at any time.

What you will be asked to do will include:

- Audio recording and one-on-one interview.
- During which you will be asked to answer semi-structured questions related to your experience of men's behavior change intervention programmes.
- The interview will take 40 to 60 minutes.
- The study will take place at a location where you are a service user of a men's behavior change intervention programme.
- There will not be any expenses to participants.

Are there any risks associated with participating in this project?

There are no specific risks anticipated with participation in this study. However, if you find that you are experiencing difficult feelings or becoming distressed, we can arrange for you to access support from a counsellor.

What are the benefits of the research project?

There will not be any immediate benefits to the participant. However, the findings of the study will benefit future clients from South Asia and professionals working with them.

What if I change my mind?

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Even if you agree to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time without discrimination or problem. If you withdraw, all information you have provided will be erased/destroyed.

Will anyone else know the results of the project?

Information gathered about you will be held in strict confidence. This confidence will only be broken if required by law. The identification of the participants will be hidden by providing the fictitious name to conceal the identity. Only the researcher and supervisors will have access to individual information. The encrypted data will be stored in a password-locked computer in a non-identifiable form. Participants will not be identified in the thesis or any publications that follow; only non-identifiable, aggregated data will ever be published.

Once the study is completed, the data collected from you will be stored securely in the School of Arts and Sciences at The University of Notre Dame Australia for at least a period of five years. The

data may be used in future research, but you will not be able to be identified. The results of the study will be published as a thesis/book chapter/journal article.

Will I be able to find out the results of the project?

Once we have analysed the information from this study we will email you a summary of our findings. You can expect to receive this feedback approximately in six months after entire data collection has been completed.

Who do I contact if I have questions about the project?

If you have any questions about this project please feel free to contact either myself on [redacted] or [redacted] or my supervisor, Dr Marieke Ledingham, on 08/9433 0221 or [redacted]. My supervisor and I are happy to discuss any concerns you may have about this study.

What if I have a concern or complaint?

The study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at The University of Notre Dame Australia (approval number 019117F). If you have a concern or complaint regarding the ethical conduct of this research project and would like to speak to an independent person, please contact Notre Dame's Research Ethics Officer at (+61 8) 9433 0943 or research@nd.edu.au. Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and fully investigated. You will be informed of the outcome.

How do I sign up to participate?

If you are happy to participate, please sign both copies of the consent form, keep one for yourself and email/mail the other to me in the envelope provided.

Thank you for your time. This sheet is for you to keep.

Yours sincerely,

Madhuri Mathisen

Appendix IV: Consent Form

THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME AUSTRALIA

CONSENT FORM

Research title: Exploring the Experiences of South-Asian Clients and Facilitators of Men's Behaviour Change Programmes: A Qualitative Study

- I agree to take part in this research project.
- I have read the Information Sheet provided and been given a full explanation of the purpose of this study, the procedures involved and of what is expected of me.
- I understand that I will be asked to take part in a face-to-face interview in person, which may last form forty minutes to an hour.
- I understand that the interview will be audio recorded. The audio recorded data will be professionally transcribed.
- The researcher has answered all my questions and has explained possible problems that may arise as a result of my participation in this study.
- I understand that I may withdraw from participating in the project at any time without prejudice.
- I understand that all information provided by me is treated as confidential and will not be released by the researcher to a third party unless required to do so by law.
- I agree that any research data gathered for the study may be published provided my name or other identifying information is not disclosed.
- I understand that data gathered may be used for future research, but my name and other identifying information will be removed.

Name of participant			
Signature of participant		Date	

- I confirm that I have provided the Information Sheet concerning this research project to the above participant, explained what participating involves and have answered all questions asked of me.

Signature of Researcher		Date	

Consent Form template (October 2017)

Appendix V: Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Facilitators

List of questions: For facilitators of intervention programmes.

1. What kinds of attitudes towards women have you encountered amongst participants?
2. Resistance to accountability and responsibility for abusive behaviour can be common in DV programme clients. Can you talk about how you manage this with your South-Asian service users?
3. What approaches have you found to be successful in working with service users from South-Asia who identify with collectivist values, where expectations and obligations are commonly shared among their members?
4. What changes have you noticed in service users from South-Asia engaged in your group?
5. What characteristics of the facilitator hinder and/or support changes in the attitude and behaviour of South-Asian service users?
6. What format is most suitable to work with service users from South-Asia?
7. What role, if any, does diverse group composition play for South-Asians from a collectivist context?
8. Are men's behaviour change programmes in Australia culturally sensitive and what measures are in place to make them culturally appropriate to work with collectivist-oriented service users?

Appendix VI: Semi-Structured Interview Guide: South Asian Client

List of questions: For service users of men's behaviour change programme.

1. What is your experience of your men's behaviour change intervention programme?
2. What are the most helpful elements of the programme for you?
3. Did you identify any elements of the intervention programme that didn't sit well with you?
4. Do you notice any changes in your behaviour and attitude?
5. In what form the change is evident?
6. What are the characteristics of the facilitator of the intervention that support the changes in you?
7. What characteristics of the facilitator of the intervention hinder the changes in you?
8. What is the most suitable format to work with the South Asian clientele?
9. Further, what role, if any, does having a culturally diverse group play for you?
10. In what ways do you find the programme in which you are taking part culturally sensitive or insensitive?
11. What else would you like to say about your experience with MBCP?