

Passing “the message” in Cape Verde

- A minor field study of domestic violence against women in Cape Verde.

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Ht-12



“Sometimes the message that the father passes to his son is like ‘You can’t let women do whatever they want. It has to be what you want and what you say.’ That’s the message they pass.”

- Social worker, Espargos Cape Verde

Handledare: Hanna Wittrock

Abstract

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Today Cape Verde is considered a good example and at the forefront in prosperity development compared to other Sub-Saharan African countries, and since Cape Verde recently made stricter legislation in gender based violence, the aim of this study has been to analyze why reports of domestic violence against women in Cape Verde have increased. I have done research in three key areas: local environment, organizational and institutional work, cultural values and social norms. At the local environment I conducted six interviews in Sal Island, followed by 12 interviews with staff at organizations and institutions in Sal Island and Santiago Island. To analyze my gathered data I have used Max Weber’s power theory and the radical feminist theory.

Results demonstrate that the growths in reported cases are particularly depending by the increasing possibilities and promotion of reporting these types of crimes. But the recently updated gender based violence law also gives impacts to the increasing of the reported cases, according to the informants. It appears as communities in Cape Verde are patriarchal where men are possessing power in both families and at work. This study also highlights how organizations are working with religious leaders to prevent women remaining powerless or becoming stigmatized. This report also points out organizational obstacles such as communication problems between the institutions, and that adequate teachers and leaders lack in spreading the message that gender based violence is wrong and illegal acts. The results also show that organizations, institutions and globalization processes contribute to the strengthening of women’s independence. The downside, however, shows that this creates conflicts because promoting women’s independence battles against cultural values of Cape Verde. Moreover, the results demonstrate that social norms such as heavy drinking and infidelity are accepted, but it triggers the domestic violence against women.

Keywords: domestic violence, gender based violence, Cape Verde, women, power perspective, organization, institution, police, Rede Sol, city hall, United Nations, ICIEG, Max Weber, radical feminism, social values, cultural values, gender equality, women issues, infidelity, unfaithfulness, nightlife, Minor Field Study

Preface

First of all I would like to thank SIDA and Campus Helsingborgs Vänner Stipendiumfond who made my fieldwork possible. I would also like to thank my supervisor, all my informants and new friends in Sal Island, Cape Verde. You all have contributed with valuable knowledge. Particularly much thanks to Sofia, Paulo, Daniel and Alexandra. I also want to give big thanks to my supervisor Hanna Wittrock for your incredible support, devotion and your excellent advices. Last but not least I want to give great acknowledgments to my family and especially my girlfriend Mathilda who really believed in me and that I could accomplish this journey.

I experienced the time in Cape Verde as incredible enlightening and rewarding. The surroundings and the people I met have contributed to a deeper understanding and knowledge about the Cape Verdean society, particularly from a female perspective.

- Kristoffer Helgesson, December 2012

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1. Introduction

Cape Verde is an archipelago made up by ten islands, and I spent two months in one of the northern islands named Sal making a minor field study about domestic violence against Cape Verdean women. My research in Sal Island was made in the cities Espargos and Santa Maria, and research was also made in the capital city Praia, Santiago Island.

I chose to use the title “Passing the message in Cape Verde” since the title argues about people who are trying to changing cultural values and behaviors which relates to domestic violence against women in Cape Verde.

1.1 Presentation of research problem

In Cape Verde, domestic violence against women is frequent, although the country is making extensive efforts to promote women’s rights (Regeringskansliet – mänskliga rättigheter i Kap Verde 2010). Unlike most African countries¹, Cape Verde does not belong to the category “least developed countries” since the year 2007. The “least developed countries” are classified by the United Nations as having the least socio economic development and being in most need of international support (United Nations News Centre 2012).

Cape Verde is at the forefront economically with high levels of prosperity development and is thus “a rare country” compared to the majority of Sub-Saharan African countries (United Nations Department of Public Information). The nation also stands out in its active promotion of women’s rights and demonstrates progress in areas such as maternal health and gender equality.

Cape Verde has ratified CEDAW² and the optional protocol (Regeringskansliet – Mänskliga rättigheter i Kap Verde 2010). CEDAW is an international bill of rights for women defined by the United Nations. It defines discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action ending such discrimination (United Nations CEDAW 2012). Cape Verde also achieved top scores in categories such as “political rights” and “civil liberties” seven years in

¹ UN explains 33 other African countries still belong in the category “least developed countries” (United Nations Africa Renewal 2010).

² Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

a row by Freedom House, which is an independent watchdog organization advocating extending political- and civil liberties (Freedom House 2012). Cape Verde also recently achieved UN's millennium development goals where categories "maternal health" and "gender equality" were two of eight goals (United Nations Department of Public Information 2012).

In some ways Cape Verde has come a long way in striving to gender equality (Nationalencyklopedin 2012). Cape Verde has, thus, taken a clear position to strengthen women's position in society.

So why, then, does domestic violence against women persists?

Despite the above listed efforts, Cape Verde made "modest improvements in women rights" according to Freedom House (2004), and recent published reports shows that domestic violence and discrimination against women in Cape Verde still remains in large scale (Regeringskansliet – mänskliga rättigheter i Kap Verde 2010). In this study I have examined why efforts to empower Cape Verdean women in their homes has not given better results.

In this essay, I'm highlighting the possible causes and I discern a range of possible reasons for this; physical strength, cultural values, social norms, lack of organizational- and national institutional work in women issues, and other general political decisions and laws. To examine this I have used Bronfenbrenner's micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro-model (Swedner, 1996, p. 48). The macro system corresponds to overall factors such as globalization processes, laws and political decisions and how traditions, customs and norms obstruct domestic violence against women. The meso- and exo system represents how organization's work inhibits domestic violence against women. The micro system corresponds to the interaction between the person and their immediate environments.

I chose to apply Max Weber's power theory since it examines people's ability to enforce their will in social relations, even if other people are resisting. Moreover, the theory creates interesting analyses since it argues all power differences needs to be justified and gain legitimacy in order to persist (Engelstad 2006). But since power may appear in different forms and operate in different directions (Hydén & Månsson, 2007, p. 267) I have also applied a radical feminist theory to provide a women-centered critical perspective and bringing a deeper understanding of the gendered implications.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

The government of Cape Verde demonstrates a strong visible ambition to strengthen women's rights and positions, and the purpose of this minor field study is to analyze why domestic violence against Cape Verdean women still is widespread. The purpose is also to problematize and point to possible obstacles in this work. Since domestic violence against women is a social problem I find Bronfenbrenner's model highly appropriate in analyzing data at four essential systems of society; micro-, meso-, exo- and macro systems.

How can domestic violence against women in Cape Verde be interpreted from a macro system of globalization processes, cultural norms and national policymaking, through a meso- and exo system of organizational and institutional work, to a micro system of interactions between inhabitants and their immediate environments?

1.3 Demarcation and definitions

Bryman (2011, p. 348) explains that terms should be applied in a way making the researcher leaving a very general picture of what he or she should search for. Thus, the terms become a tool for the researcher to discover the many forms and phenomena the terms can take. Therefore, I want to define some terms I am using in this essay:

Domestic violence refers to any emotional, physical, sexual or financial abuse between intimate partners who often lives in the same household. The term is often associated with physical assaults upon women by their male partners (Britannica Encyklopedia 2012). Sylvia (2008) argues domestic violence is a form of "gender-based violence" that mainly affects women.

Gender is another word for the social sex, which concerns how men and women are expected to be or behave. The view of what is masculine and feminine has varied throughout the history, and the perceptions also vary in different parts of the world (Nationalencyklopedin 2012).

Because of my time limit and the extensive of my study I had to limit myself in gathering data. Therefore, I conducted six interviews with men and women at the local environment in Espargos, Sal Island. Additionally, I conducted twelve interviews with management and staff from various organizations and institutions who are working on women issues in Cape Verde.

1.4 Disposition

In my introduction I question why domestic violence against women in Cape Verde remains, and I illuminate background, previous research, choice of theory and my research methods. I argue about the problem and illustrate how to look at the problem from different spheres of the society.

In the background section I am giving a small presentation of the nation's history, policy, economy, religion and demographic. I finish the background section by illuminating women's position in Cape Verde and giving an introduction to the gender based violence law in Cape Verde.

The method section argues about my choices of research methods, and the relevance of my study. In the previous research section I bring attention to what has been earlier studied concerning the research theme, and in the theory section I introduce Max Weber's power theory and the radical feminist theory which are essential tools in my empirical and analysis section.

2. Background on Cape Verde

In this section I will present summary facts on history, politics, economies, religions and demographics in Cape Verde. I will also illuminate the domestic violence, women's situation and organizational solutions in the context of Cape Verde.

2.1 History and politics

Cape Verde belonged to Guinea Bissau's joint Portuguese colonial administration in 1879 and had held the position as overseas Portuguese province in 1951. Almost a century later Cape Verde gained its independence in July 5th 1975 and broke the alliance with Guinea-Bissau in 1981. This was when the party "Partido Africano da Independencia de Cabo Verde" (PAICV) was formed. But in 1991 the introduction of the opposition and multi-party "Movimento para a Democracia" (MPD) won a major victory. But since 2001 PAICV regained power in the parliament, and there have been major investments in infrastructure and airports, including the built of several airports, which contributed to a growth of the tourism industry.

Unemployment has remained high, with continued migration as one of the consequences (Nationalencyklopedin 2012).

2.2 Demographics, religions and economics

Cape Verde has a population of approximately half a million inhabitants and around 98% of the population is Roman Catholics, partly influenced by traditional beliefs. There is a Protestant missionary based on São Tiago with churches established over most of the island, and the Church of Nazarene is successful (Nationalencyklopedin 2012).

The economy is dominated by the service sector, which is estimated to account for 75% of GDP. Agriculture was accounted in the year 2010 for 9%, while industry accounted 16% of GDP. Difficult growing conditions with recurring droughts affect agricultural production negatively and imports are dominated by food. The economically most important activity is tuna fishing and the export is dominated by footwear, textiles, fish and re-export of fuel for aircraft and ships. The country has a large trade deficit, and as a result of government investment the tourism has become increasingly important (Nationalencyklopedin 2012).

2.3 Domestic violence and women's situation in Cape Verde

Sylvia (2008) discusses that domestic violence is a form of *gender-based violence* that mainly affects women. Domestic violence is nowadays recognized as a social phenomenon that is observed in all spheres of the society, regardless countries' level of development, socio-economic characteristics or culture. Further the author stresses that domestic violence is a phenomenon that happens in the family, it's when a family member is being perpetrated by another family member, or by people who maintain some attachment to the family.

From a comprehensive study about domestic violence in Cape Verde, Sylvia (2008) stresses that 17% of Cape Verdean women have been confronted with acts of physical violence by their spouse. 14% have been confronted with emotional violence, while 4% have been subjected to sexual violence by their husband or partner. 20% of the women have been victims in one form of marital violence. The author ensures that being a sensitive topic, several measures were taken in to the study to ensure that questions were administered in private, not only for confidentiality reasons but also for the safety of the women.

2.4 The gender-based violence law

Until year 2010 domestic violence was framed in the Penal Code as “a crime of abuse of a spouse, applying only in situations of common law and formal marriages”. As I mentioned in my introduction, in the year 1980 Cape Verde ratified United Nation’s convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination and inequality of women (CEDAW). Cape Verde also signed several treaties, resolutions and international declarations on discrimination and gender-based violence. With engagement from the government authorities and the civil society, an increased visibility of the problem and an improved awareness of society and women arose (U.S Department of State 2012).

Sylvia (2008) refers to the Cape Verdean Penal Code from 2003 and declares that domestic violence has long been seen as private matter of the family. But now domestic violence, particularly violence against women, is a serious violation of human rights and punishable by law. The Cape Verdean authorities had to revise the penal code on violence against women and girls is in the forms of psychological, physical and sexual abuse. The authorities also had to take measures to establish a criminal mistreatment to the spouse or the person who lives within the union.

This new special law on gender based violence was updated in March 2011, and it was created by the government agency “Cape Verdean Institute of Gender Equality” (ICIEG) and with the support of the women parliamentarians and diplomatic representatives. This law demands a network of the civil society organizations, named “Rede Sol”, which is made up by NGOs, community law centers, the national police, hospitals and health centers (U.S Department of State 2012).

3. Methods

3.1 Choice of methods

I chose to use qualitative research methods because they are inductive and regard humans as wholes, in which I sought an understanding and interpretation of people based by their own frames of references (Levin, 2008, p. 36-38). Qualitative researchers often use several

different methods in the same survey. Therefore, I have conducted qualitative interviews and engaged myself in some social environments for observations. The reason for my observations was to observe and listen, in order to get a clear picture of the culture as a social group shows. I got a view of the country's culture, norms and socialization processes, which gave me a deeper understanding of the environment and how women participates in the society. I was also able to see and find out how organizations are working with women issues in the community (Bryman, 2011, p. 344).

Bryman (2011, p. 374-375) refers to Mies (1993) who explains that many feminists perceives qualitative research being more compatible and suited with feminist's theses than quantitative research. In qualitative research, women do not become treated as control objects, instead their voices becomes heard. Bryman (2011, p. 401) also refers to Reinharz (1992) who argue that feminist ethnography is important in relation to feminism because the method puts women in a context from their perspective. The method also documents lives and functions of women, which is something that had previously been largely perceived marginal and subordinate to men's lives and experiences.

Combining qualitative interviews with participant observations seemed to me is the best method in accessing information concerning my research theme. The awareness I achieved in this way of collecting data, I consider being a resource. The more views I got at the various contexts, the easier I had to deduce my empirical evidence from my analyze (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

Since I quite often took part of private opinions and felt solidarity among inhabitants, some conflicts became clear which I demonstrate in the last section. Aspers (2007) argues the importance for researches in such contexts is to be aware that their presence in the fields always affects the context in some way, just like informants and surroundings affect the researchers. But awareness is helpful when working with the analysis of the empirical data.

3.2 Sampling

Bryman (2011, p. 434) explains that sample techniques used in qualitative research based on interviews recommends using a "purposive sampling". The technique is trying to create consistency between the research questions and, out of a desire, the selections to interview who are relevant to the research questions. As my study aimed to investigate why domestic

violence against women still remains in Cape Verde, the management and staff at organizations and at the national institutions who promotes gender equality, obviously became a part of my purposive sampling. Since I intended to obtain an understanding of cultural norms in Cape Verde and how they affect women's life situations, my purposive sampling was also local Cape Verdean adults, both men and women.

In my study I had my purposive sample as mixed as I could possibly get. I got in touch with my informants mostly through my supervisor in field and my interpreter. The informants at the local level were chosen randomly, and the informants at the meso- and macro level were chosen by their engagement of work with women issues. Some of my informants got me further in touch with following informants which also could affect outcome (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

Since my informants got chosen on behalf of my supervisor and my interpreter, I am aware that this way of making a selection may follow a certain risk that informants and key employees may contribute to a particular direction of my discourse (Trost, 1995). Hammersley & Atkinson (1995) argues that gatekeepers may have an interest in influencing the research outcome by moving the field worker in certain directions.

3.3 Language and interpreting

Despite Portuguese is the official language in Cape Verde I believe Creole is mainly spoken on the islands. Though, I found it relatively easy to get around the country by speaking English, Spanish or French especially in Sal Island, probably due to the established tourism in Sal. It is important to note that I have used a Creole and Portuguese speaking interpreter, which consequently affected the material. Through my whole study the interpreter not only translated every interview, but also explained to me what happened in every social context we got into along our journey.

3.4 Interviews

My interviews were rich with detailed answers, and the benefits of this method were that the informant could differ quite a lot from each question without arising any problem, and I was able to ask supplementary questions from the informant's answers (Bryman, 2011, p. 413).

Since I conducted semi-structured interviews, the context was an important aspect of the interview. The semi-structured method gave more freedom to the informants in deepen their answers in their own terms, which standardized interviews do not allow. Before every interview I had prepared myself, and afterwards I always registered its character and the way questions were asked (May, 2001, p. 152).

I built my semi-structured interview through my interview guide where my specific themes were concerned (see appendixes). My interview guide was made in conversation with my supervisors. Basically, I asked the questions in their original order and if new issues arose during the interview I also asked new questions (Bryman, 2011, p. 415).

“Standardization” is a term which measures the extent to which the interviewer adheres to the same questions, using the same tone of voice and similarity in the interview session to the various informants (Trost, 2005). In my sessions I used the same questions in every interview since the purpose of this study was to compare the different answers the informants gave. I find my degree of standardization is relatively low since I only varied a few follow up questions based on the responses I achieved.

On each occasion I interviewed only one person at a time because it can easily create problem to interview several people at once; information can be influenced by several factors, some informants could use more space than others, peer pressure can affect what views you choose talk about etc. (Trost 1995).

At each interview I tried to dress as suitable as possible. I tried to sense what was appropriate to wear to the context, in order to avoid distractions and affect the interview session. I never wanted to express any opinions with my upholstery (Trost 1995).

Since I was concerned in *what* my informants would be saying and *how* they would express themselves, I used my voice recorder to increase the quality of my captured data. The advantages were that semi-unconscious interpretations could be controlled, and it facilitated careful and multiple testing of what my informants said (Bryman, 2011, p. 428). I was sure to get all the data from the interviews, so no important information was revealed after I turned off the voice recorder (Bryman, 2011, p. 431).

I aimed to conduct the interviews in a quiet environment as possible. I was structured and clear in my questioning and I gave the informant time to think and speak out. With an ethical

approach I also kept myself critically, and prepared to question potential contradictions within the informant's answers. After the interview I made notes of where the interview was held, if the environment was kept quiet and how my informant appeared, for instance, co-operative or nervous etc. (Bryman, 2011, p. 420-422).

Some interviews I managed to transcribe almost immediately afterwards. The advantages were being able to maintain the informant's words, and to early find emerging themes. The disadvantage was being a very time consuming act; therefore, I could not transcribe some interviews until weeks afterwards. But I transcribed them as soon as I could, and the transcriptions were all of high quality (Bryman, 2011, p. 429-430). For more information on transcribing see section 3.9.1.

Before I started to collect data from the local citizens, the first weeks, I follow my Cape Verdean contact in Sal to do observations and when I felt comfortable with my surroundings I began to suggest interviews. Concerning the employees at the national institutions I booked most of the interviews by email or telephone months in advance.

In the beginning I was not sure to determine how many persons to interview, and as my study progress it got evident that other groups needed to be interviewed. I collected data until I felt my research questions were getting answered, and until I reached "theoretical saturation", meaning that several observations/interviews did not give more astonishing results (Bryman, 2011, p. 370, p. 394, p. 400, p. 436).

3.5 Observations

The advantages of this method were that I could see the world through the eyes of the inhabitants, and I learnt some local language which was important factors in getting an accurate picture of the culture. Others advantages were meeting people in their natural surroundings could reveal implied features, hidden displays and deviant activities (Bryman, 2011, p. 440-441).

Bryman (2011, p. 384, p. 392) explains that ethnographers must often obtain information from any source available as they often meet with resistance. To get access to open and public environments the author discusses the concept of "gatekeepers": They can act as advocates and vouch for the researcher, which can lead to a permission to study a certain group. Thus

my supervisor in field became naturally my gatekeeper, and later on my interpreter turned out being my gatekeeper as well.

Bryman (2011, p. 380) explains that open and public places can be studied, for instance, local communities, neighborhoods and similar places. Bryman (2011, p. 389) also refers to Golds (1958) classifications and explain different roles an ethnographer can enter through. Since I found it valuable to pay attention to manners, body language and gestures in different social contexts I entered the role as “the observer as participant”. This means that a certain amount of observations existed, but my observations were hardly concerning any participation. Bryman (2011, p. 390) explains that the disadvantage of this role is that the researcher could create wrong conclusions, because the researcher may not understand the social environment or the individuals. I therefore always afterwards discussed with my “gatekeepers” if I correctly understood dialogues and gestures in various social contexts.

Since I found the locals in Cape Verde was very social and curious people, I sometimes got an active role during my observations. Some local people (mostly the younger teenagers) had conversations with me in English, but also in Creole through my interpreter. I took part of the field in both formal and informal settings during my time in Cape Verde. For instance I was invited to help in a beach cleaning and I observed an activity concerning fight against child labor held by the city hall. I was also on a small journey with my interpreter to the other islands in Cape Verde, where I got to know and see other Cape Verdean families. I was also invited to dinners and even some parties by Cape Verdean inhabitants, where I mostly chose not to speak about my research theme since I was told domestic violence against women is a sensitive matter in Cape Verde.

I always carried my field diary with me and as a tool made my research systematic. The notes were detailed summaries of various events and peoples behaviors including my own reflections on them (Bryman, 2011, p. 395). I wrote down my impressions as soon as I could, and at the end of the day I made my field notes complete (Bryman, 2011, p. 396-397). If it was not appropriate to write notes in my field diary because of the social context, I made mental or temporary notes, and later on turn them into complete field notes. All my notes were intended for me to understand (Bryman, 2011, p. 399-400).

I reflected my observations and made a detailed data analyze when I finished my field work and left the country, otherwise I could encounter obstacles in the environment that could limit the ability for me to do deep cultivated analyzes (May, 2000, p. 198).

3.6 Ethical circumstances

I never, under no circumstances, was trying to locate informants who had been involved in domestic violence or similar, and I never examined my research participant's personal experiences of violence in any kind, not only to preserve public confidence, but also to maintain the scientific status (May, 2000, p. 88).

Bryman (2011, p. 380) discusses hidden and open roles within ethnography and the author emphasizes that "hidden roles" causes ethical problems. Therefore when I got into conversations with inhabitants in Cape Verde I presented myself and my purpose of my trip to Cape Verde. When I found information relevant for my study, for instance from a spontaneous conversation, I always first suggested an interview before I made the information into field data.

I know observations and interviews are research methods that require a high degree of ethical awareness, as they tend to investigate living conditions e.g. poor and powerless people (Levin, 2008, p. 35-36). Therefore, before collecting data from my research participants, I declared to them that I follow ethical principles. I informed them how the research method was carrying out and that their participation was voluntary. I highlighted that they at any time could terminate their participation, and that the data collected was solely for the purpose of my research. I also informed how they could take part of my final essay and that SIDA and Campus Helsingborgs Stipendium Fond had funded my research (Vetenskapsrådet, 2012,p.7).

During my interviews I never approach the informants in any hierarchical way; instead I showed a high degree of trust, reciprocity and confidence towards my informants (Bryman, 2011, p. 438). I did not begin my study before the research participants had consented to the process. When I felt the informants were unsecure of their possible participation, I cancelled the process (Vetenskapsrådet, 2012, p. 9).

In this essay I have made the research participants anonymous, and before carrying out the research method I informed the research participants that they had the right to decide for how long and under what condition the process should carry out. I also informed that they could

withdraw their participation whenever they wanted without any negativity accompanies them (Vetenskapsrådet, 2012, p. 10). There never were any dependencies between me, the research participants or the interpreter (Vetenskapsrådet, 2012, p. 10), and I never exposed my research participants to excessive pressure (Bryman, 2011, p. 423).

All the information about identifiable individuals was, and still is, stored, recorded and reported making outsiders not able to identify them. The data is practically impossible for outsiders to access (Vetenskapsrådet, 2012, p. 12).

Information on individuals collected for my research can never be used or loaned by anyone else, and collected personal information will never be used for decisions or actions that directly affect the individual (Vetenskapsrådet, 2012, p. 14).

Before every interview I always asked my research participant if she or he would, later on, like to receive a published copy of this study, hoping that their involvement felt meaningful (Vetenskapsrådet, 2012, p. 15). To the local informants I also always afterwards offered a Swedish souvenir to show my appreciation for their participation.

Bryman (2011, p. 428) explains that recording instruments could get informants worried or upset, and when the informants did not want me to record the interview session, I asked them if I could take notes instead. The most important thing was that the informants felt safe during the interview. I also explained to the research participants that the gathered data was used for my essay only.

I made sure the informants were comfortable by having the interpreter joining the session, and I also believed an openness of talking about the interview procedure was important. Therefore, I informed that the questions were voluntary to answer, and if the informants found the questions were phrased in strange ways together we come up with clearer formulations.

3.7 Trustworthiness and authenticity

To emphasize the importance of contextual understanding and enhance the transferability and dependability of my study I made detailed field notes and detailed interview printings. To increase the confirmability I never let personal values or theoretical directions affect the execution or outcome of my study (Bryman, 2011, p. 354-355, p. 364). To fulfill this project in a good sense I had regular contact with both my supervisors.

To enhance the authenticity of my study I always gave a fair picture of my field observation notes and the different opinions and beliefs the informants had, which is shown by my transcribed interviews. I also endeavoured to reach a clearer understanding of the informants' social situations and environment, by example, comparatively share about the Swedish culture I grew up in. I have also traveled around developing countries previously and studied globalization processes, gender theories and social geography, which demonstrates necessary skills and my genuine commitment to my research theme (Bryman, 2011, p. 357).

The interview sessions at the organizations and national institutions I believe gives high credibility since almost every informant were highly educated and possessed high positions in their organizations or institutions.

During interviews the informants sometimes talked for a long time and the interpreter concluded a short version. But I always made sure nothing was left out by double-check with my interpreter, either during the session or afterwards. We always discussed the interviews afterwards, which probably helped me in avoiding misunderstandings.

Quotes in the analyze section might be *slightly* edited to make it easier for the reader to understand. For instance I have edited out constantly repeated words, but I have not edited out anything that would affect the context as a whole.

3.8 Criticism of the sources

Since I spent a lot of time with my interpreter traveling and discussing gender issues, I am aware of that our discussions somehow might affected my research in this essay. Having my interviews interpreted mostly from Creole to English, then transcribed might have affected the reliability and validity of my material.

3.9 Working with data

3.9.1 Transcribing

Transcribing my material was a process that took a long time due to the amount of interviews and the language difficulties. When obstacles occurred I discussed it with my interpreter, and if I could not hear or understand something from my recorded interviews, which rarely occurred, I never included that data as empirical information.

3.9.2 Coding

Coding means a sorting of the collected material, and this can be made from a coding schedule which is born out of empirical data and theory (Aspers, 2007). When I had transcribed all my interviews into different documents on my computer, I printed and marked them, grouped them and divided them into certain themes. I used different color pencils in my transcribed interviews to systemize possible themes. The ideas behind my themes were gradual building, as I was over and over reading my transcribed interviews. But the themes also arose from theoretical considerations, and they changed or were added to each other during the whole process (Aspers 2007).

When all my notes on possible themes were finished, I submit a new system and systematically arranged data to the appropriate theme, which made it easier to work and do the analyze.

4. Theoretical aspects

In this essay I have analyzed the empirical data through the radical feminist theory and Max Weber's power theory. Since my research question examines how to understand domestic violence against women in Cape Verde from different levels of society, these two theories becomes appropriate because they investigate what power women in Cape Verde possesses to make changes in their lives. The theories also examine how the power emerged and what power organizations and institutions possess to make changes. I am aware these theories emerge from western societies, but I still find it interesting to apply them to data from a West African society.

In order to grasp the complexity of domestic violence I chose to apply the radical feminist theory, particularly to look at gender-related subordination and in what forms and directions the power appears in. This theory discusses what power Cape Verdean women possess to make changes in their life situations. Since Cape Verdean women is my target group I find the radical feminist theory very suitable to my study because it highlights women's perspective on domestic violence.

Trying to understand how the power entitles and gains justification I have applied Max Webers power theory. Max Weber's theory of power concerns people's ability to enforce their will in social relations, even if other people are resisting. Weber's theory shows that all power differences need to be justified and gain legitimacy in order to continue. The legitimacy is based on the myth of how they occurred, and a powerful person may refer to the history of conquests or brave deeds where the person outgained the right to rule. The ruler or the society's power structures can conditionally be delegated to organizations or individuals, who in turn learned to interpret and accept structures as common sense and normal activity. In this way, power structures and the leader's position become preserved (Engelstad 2006, p. 31-32).

4.1 The radical feminist theory

Hydén & Månsson (2007, p. 267) explains that the radical feminist theory is based on an analysis of society's genderised power order. The theory argue that the existing power structure is patriarchal, which means that women gets subordinated. Furthermore, the authors explains that men's oppression of women is the primary form of oppression, for instance, class oppression, racism and oppression based on sexual orientation. That's why the radical feminism wishes to challenge the prevailing gender power structure and overturn it, the authors conclude.

4.1.1 The emergence of the theory

Gemzöe (2002) explains that the radical feminist theory grew out of the radical feminist movement that was formed in the 1960s in the U.S., Europe and Australia. The theory argues that women are oppressed due to their sex and that women's oppression is the most widespread and fundamental form of oppression. Radical feminist theory is a theory of women's position in the world, designed and made by women for women. The oppression manifests itself as men's control of women in families, sexual oppression within and outside the family, violence against women and contempt for women. Lesbian women's sexuality is suppressed just because it threatens the male control of women's bodies.

Gemzöe (2002) refers to Bryson 1992:183 who explains that the young women in the 1960s who got involved in the work for a more equitable world order, soon became aware that women's perception of the radical left-wing groups did not differ significantly from what the

surrounding community did. The women were allocated the role of housewife, secretary or sexual objects, whose tasks were to satisfy the male defender's domestic, political or sexual needs. Moreover, the authoress explains that the men in the left movements found it natural that women made coffee while the men posted the strategy ahead, and any attempt by women to take active part in decision-making was opposed openly by the men.

Gemzöe (2002) explains that the radical feminist minted the slogan "The Personal is Political", and the women began to organize themselves into groups and used a method known to be called "consciousnesses raising". Inspired by Maoism the women in group shared their personal experiences of being a woman and being oppressed. Then together they analyzed it politically and devised strategies for a change. The male-defined policy was called "private morality", and it was put primarily into the radical feminist's political analysis.

4.1.2 The patriarchy

Gemzöe (2002) clarifies, according to radical feminism, all women are exposed to oppression by just being a woman, and thus, it comes natural for a common movement. But also a common enemy which is known as "the patriarchy", a social system based on male domination over women. According to radical feminism, all men have benefits by living in patriarchy since it gives men power over women.

The idea of patriarchy would become a cornerstone of modern feminist thought and Gemzöe (2002) refers to Millette 1970 who explains that in all known societies, gender relations are based on power, and everywhere is a political character. The power relationship consists of men's dominance over women in all areas of society and all aspects of social life, which means that it perceives as being natural. The ideas internalize by both men and women and become a part of an invisible power structure, and for many women, results from living in patriarchy they accept the idea that they are inferior.

Gemzöe (2002) also argues that the patriarchy's power is not only based on an ideological domination of women, they are also kept down by force and threats of violence. The patriarchy's ultimate expression of control is seeing women as sexual beings, where the weapon of last resort is rape. The authoress gives examples of cruel forms of oppression of women worldwide: widow burning in India, wrapping women's feet in ancient China as well

as female circumcision in Africa. Finally, also functions the patriarchy by keeping women economically dependent on men.

Furthermore, Gemzöe (2002) explains that radical feminists point out that there is a fundamental conflict between men and women. It was emphasized already in the 1960s among the radical women's groups that a degree of separatism is necessary to strengthen and organize women's movement, which led to the women gathered as a group without men's involvement. Radical feminism wants to reevaluate and discover positive aspects of being a woman. The universal sisterhood is a source of strength, and they want to enjoy being a woman and honored in fellowship with other women.

4.2 Max Weber's power theory

4.2.1 Dominance and authority

According to Börjesson & Rehn (2009) Weber defines power as an individual's or group's ability to enforce its own interests in situations characterized by resistance. The power is about to subdue and force obedience, and it is a zero sum game where you get power by reducing someone else's. Power has always been present throughout the history and all historical changes have been made by power struggles, conclude the authors.

Weber believes dominance arises when people choose to submit to it. Those who get exposed and are vulnerable to domination have their own interests as they see best to be satisfied by accepting the supremacy. Weber believes people may be willing to accept inferiority when the person concerned believes in achieving his/her goal. Thus, the power does not arise by a superior force crushing an inferior force, but by people choosing to become subject of the power (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

According to Max Weber (1983) the concept "authority" stands for legitimate forms of domination, which is accepted and seen as natural by those governed by the same. Max Weber divides the authority into three different types. The first one is known as "traditional authority" and this type of dominance have a historical culturally defined structure. The power structures are created and maintained by myths and other cultural symbols, thus, is seen as a natural part of the social system. Weber explains how system, such as monarchies or a religious organizations, cannot question the authority without the whole system gets

questionable. This is a way to create and maintain inequalities in societies, and this shape prevents changes and development in societies, thus, prevents emergence of other modern forms.

“Charismatic authority” is the second type of dominance where authority is based on unique existing or attributed characteristics of a specific individual, making people want to follow the person concerned. This person already has an informal leader role, thus, automatically gets authority (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

Max Weber (1983) presents the third type of dominance “legal authority” which do not relies in a person, but in a system. Max Weber argues cultural development leads to an increasing of power stipulating, making structures and institutions. Moreover, Max Weber argues in modern societies the power is in bureaucratic structures, making behaviors, processes and penalties stipulated and printed. Thus, the power is separated from the people but on transparent regulations, and the power relies in a legal system rather than individual leaders. The idea is everything should be the same for everyone, concludes the author.

5. Previous research

In the first section 5.1, I will first demonstrate recent research which the National Institute of Statistics (INE) published in the year 2008. The study involved 1333 women in Cape Verde aged 15-49, and this research is relevant to my essay since quantitative data provides an insight into how domestic violence against women in Cape Verde could look like, and to what extent it has occurred (for full details see appendix 9.1).

The previous research in the next section, 5.2, is also important to demonstrate as it gives a picture of cultural values, social norms and aspects of love relationships from neighboring countries and the remaining world. These factors are of great importance to present since I examined the factors correlation to domestic violence in Cape Verde. Finally, I demonstrate research that discusses countries’ power influence over organizations who receive grants, which becomes interesting from a meso perspective since organizations in Cape Verde receive grants from western countries.

5.1 Domestic violence against women in Cape Verde

Sylvia (2008) concluded that more than 20% of the participants had experienced physical violence by their husband or other person since they were 15 years old. In the group where women were separated or divorced, 76% of the perpetrators were the ex-husband or ex-partner.

Concerning control mechanisms Sylvia (2008) revealed that 44% of the participant's partner gets jealous if the woman spoke to another man, and 17% of the participant's partner accuses the woman of unfaithfulness. 18% of the participant's partner will not let the woman have other female friends, and 42% of the participant's partner insists to know where the woman is at every moment. The women at highest risks were 20-39 years old, divorced, widowed, separated or workers who got paid in cash.

Concerning husband characteristics Sylvia (2008) concluded that the age difference between spouses has a significant influence on the magnitude of emotional violence. Alcohol consumption is also a factor and a determinant of violence within couples. Of the victims who experienced psychological violence 4% reported their spouse never drinking alcohol, and 42% when it's frequent, and concerning sexual violence the proportions was 4% and 49%.

5.2 Similar previous research outside of Cape Verde

Moore (2008, p. 777) has done a study on violence against women in West Africa and the author stresses that wife beating is deeply rooted in the African cultural norms, and women are generally more likely becoming victims of violence compared to men.

In developing countries the law enforcement authorities rarely report or investigate violence against women because of their own biases, and the law enforcement officials are poorly prepared to deal with these matters. Thus, this leads women not reporting experiences of violence because they assume no actions will be taken (Human Rights Watch 1999).

Moore (2008, p. 778) refers to Gage (2005) explaining that there are several factors that are considered affecting violence against women, particularly "intimate partner violence", and the complexity of this factor is large stresses the author. Furthermore, in low income countries where low social support exists and where women are poorly educated and do not receive

salaries; women are at higher risks of experience violence. Men with drinking problems are also in correlation with the domestic violence, concludes the author.

Moore (2008, p. 778) explains that men who lives in countries with strong norms of violence tend to exert violence against women because the norms strengthens and guides the behavior, and not until the violence becomes illegal, the violence against women will get abated.

Vogler, C. Lyonette, C. & Wiggins, R.D. (2008, p. 117) point out that heterosexual couples in Western societies almost always look upon their relationships as “partnerships between equals, based on love, sharing and equality”.

Chung (2005, p. 453) discusses gender roles, norms, domestic violence and power meanings in relationships. Among other conclusions the author summit that young Australian women use two strategies to equalize their relationship: “being knowledgeable about men and emotion work”.

Moore (2008, p. 778) explains that some research has shown that gender inequality, patriarchy and cultural norms maintaining marital violence affects women’s risks of exposure to violence. The author refers to Yllö (1988, 1993) who explains that male violence against women is, from a feminist perspective, men trying to dominate and control women and the low status of women in a patriarchal society makes men believe they are superior to women. Moore (2008, p.778) also refers to Smith (1990) who explains this violent behavior by men happens when they feel their power is being challenged by their female partners.

Sampson (1996, p. 128) discusses how NGO’s often are funded by western grants which often refer to specific projects over a limited period of time. The author argues that such a “world of projects” is unnaturally created and has its own international sphere, with its own language and etiquette and pool of Western experts where the power is guarded by both groups.

6. Empirical data and analysis

This analysis is based on 15 interviews where 10 informants are professional workers, and 6 informants are ordinary local people. The informants will be replaced with following letters:

P = Professional worker (or former worker) in the field of women issues or other kind of social promotion area.

L = Local Cape Verdean inhabitant who is not working with women issues.

P1: Worker within the police force, Sal Island.

P2: Worker within the United Nations Women, Santiago Island.

P3: Former project-recruited worker investigating gender based violence, Sal Island.

P4, P5, P6: Workers at different national institutions promoting gender equality, Santiago Island.

P7: Worker in an organization concerning women issues, Sal Island.

P8: Worker within the network Rede Sol, Cape Verde.

P8, P9: Workers at a national institution, Sal Island.

P10: Worker at the city hall, Sal Island.

L1: Older woman with roots from Saõ Nicolau Island, but has lived in Sal Island for 40 years.

L2: Older man with roots from Saõ Nicolau Island, but came to Sal Island 20 years ago. He has eight children and a wife.

L3: Younger woman with roots from Saõ Nicolau Island who lives with her sister in Sal.

L4: Older man and woman who have been together for 30 years and have 7 children.

L5: Middle aged woman with roots from Santiago Island who has lived in Sal for 14 years.

The following sections will analyze how domestic violence against women in Cape Verde can be interpreted from macro-, meso-, exo- and micro systems. Max Weber's power perspective and the radical feminist perspective are applied to the empirical data.

6.1 Domestic Violence - The macro system

6.1.1 Society norms and power relations

P8 argues: “We are in a patriarchal society, so it means very male”. P6 share the same opinion and clarifies “the domination is male”.

P1 and L5 explains that the society describes the woman as the one who takes care of the children, cleans and cooks while the man goes out and sees other girls. Men cannot stay with *one* woman and it is accepted in one way, stresses P1. “As long as you continue to have women at home and men in the public space, that is an inequality that foster gender based violence”, stresses P2.

P2 argues most women and men in Cape Verde still believe that men has to tell the women that “men is higher and has sanctioning- and educational power of the women”. P2 stresses: “It’s a very thin line in between a women not accepting that and gender based violence.”

P4 argues that the biggest factor why women in Cape Verde becomes victims of domestic violence “is a question of power, and the power is with the men”. In Cape Verde the man is seen as the provider and the one who has more power within the family, emphasizes P4. Moreover, P4 argues that it is already shown in politics and private companies that men have the greater functions. “There is a big step if it will take the women from the subordinated place that they are and try to give them more power”, explains P4.

The informants argue that the Cape Verdean societies are controlled by men, since the men have power in politics, overall companies and within families. Some informants assert the Cape Verdean society is “a patriarchal society”. Gemzöe (2002) declares that the idea of the patriarchy is a central part of modern feminist theory, and according to radical feminism it is referred by a social system which bases on male domination over women. All men have benefits by living in the patriarchy because it makes men having power over the women, concludes the authoress.

6.1.2 Cultural values and behavior

6.1.2.1 The roots

During my interviews with professionals, a typical answer for the existence of domestic violence against women is explained by P1: “It’s like the roots. It’s like really deep. It’s cultural!” P1 exemplifies:

The women, they assume it’s their fault and he should beat them up. Because she did something wrong, it is normal, it’s understandable that she is getting beaten up. For example they punish their wife exactly how they punish their son or their kid. The same way, they just remove their belt and keep hitting them.

P8 argues:

When it’s a girl that is born she has to clean and help the mother with domestic functions. Sometimes the message that the father passes to his son is like ‘You can’t let women do whatever they want. It has to be what you want and what you say.’ That’s the message they pass.

P3 explains this cultural behavior is a habit and something that they learned from their parents and grandparents. “So they think it’s a way of discipline the woman and to do whatever they want”, stresses P3. P3 argues about a female victim in the 1990s, Santiago Island, who endured domestic violence for 15 years where the elders kept saying: “Don’t worry. He’ll get better. He’ll stop doing it”.

P10 narrates about a woman who came to their office making a report:

‘I want to report domestic violence.’ And filling out the form she was asked ‘How long ago?’ She said ‘20 years now’. Like it’s a normal thing! She considered it was the function on the husband to do that! She endured that for 20 years!

Furthermore, P10 argues even though women are getting more educated and independent “the cultural behavior is still strong and it can be really hard to stop right away, it will take some time to do it.”

Börjesson & Rehn (2009) argues that according to Max Weber the power is ever present throughout history and all historical changes have taken place through power struggles. Moreover, the authors present Weber’s power conception “authority”, which set off legitimate forms of domination. “Traditional authority” arises when there is a historical cultural defined structure, which is maintained by myths and other cultural symbols. Thus, the domestic violence against women in Cape Verde has been internalized a long time ago, and the current authority survival is seen as a natural part of the social system (Weber 1983).

6.1.2.2 Jealousy, cheating, parties and a “promiscuous” society

As mentioned in chapter 5.1 and appendix 9.1 a study has shown how control, exercised by husbands/partners, is associated with domestic violence against women in Cape Verde. P3 stresses and quotes an aggressor:

You know, Cape Verdean guys [...] they think they own the women, their girlfriends. [---] There comes the jealousy. ‘She is mine! She cannot be anybody else’s!’

P1 stresses that nowadays men are using violence against women mostly because they go to parties and nightclubs. P8 argues about women’s opinion on jealousy:

They accept it because they see the jealousy as a normal thing so ‘Oh he beats me up because he’s very jealous and it’s normal, because he loves me so much’.

Another perception was also revealed: P3 explains:

Sal is like [...] it’s not like closely romantic. Relationships in Sal are like promiscuous. It’s like everybody wants a piece of everything.

Moreover, P3 explains how the jealousy develops:

It all starts with the dancing [...] rubbing against each other and doing all these sexual movements. You consider it dance here! [---] And they turn it to a very very sexual dance. Like really physical contact. [---] So it becomes very very promiscuous you know. [---] They keep exchanging partners. [---] I know groups of young people who are 17-18 years old having group sex. [---] But those guys are older of course.

L4 argues about irresponsibility among the younger population:

They go to parties at night, they keep changing boyfriends and girlfriends. You know it’s like things all change now. Back in the days they used get one woman and stay with one woman. Now it’s like they don’t even bring a girlfriend home anymore, because each weekend they have one girlfriend else. Sal, Praia, Saõ Vicente are the worst islands.

P8 argues: “Back in the days it was only men cheating on women. Now they are both cheating on each other”. Concerning religious aspects on infidelity P3 argues the priests are unfaithful too: “This is not something that has to do with religion. It has a lot of cultural... Cheating is very social you know!”

Informants revealed how many Cape Verdean women find it normal to be beaten when their partner becomes jealous, and according to Max Weber’s notion “traditional authority”, legitimate forms of dominance has been set up by past cultural defined structures. This leads to the current authority’s survival and presumes to be a natural and essential component of the social system (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

Furthermore, informants reveals about a “promiscuous” society where exchanging partners and infidelity are natural ingredients in many Cape Verdean Islands. According to informants, the men have always been unfaithful and it seems as women’s interests nowadays could be to equalize power relations by being unfaithful too (Weber 1983). But another perception could be women finding benefits by having several partners, since the radical feminism wants to reevaluate and discover positive aspects of being a woman and enjoy being a woman (Gemzöe 2002). However, infidelity can lead to jealousy, which may result in conflicts. Thus, both factors are important in analyzing domestic violence against women in Cape Verde.

6.1.2.3 Novella and hospitals – not for Cape Verdean men

During my research I found out that many Cape Verdean women watches the very popular soap opera “Novella”. P3 argues that Cape Verdean men cannot watch something they think is more female. “What, you’re watching Novella? Man come on! [...] You look like a woman”, quotes P3. Furthermore, P3 argues that women get romantic by watching the show and men always criticize them. But P3 encounters: “It’s like the only way they see romance nowadays. Because Cape Verdean men doesn’t bring romance to them anymore”.

P2 argues that men are not doing very well since their life expectancy is 10 points under women’s. “They go to doctors usually when they are dying”, declares P2 and quotes a Cape Verdean man: “Men are strong! They don’t go to doctors! That’s for women!”.

It seems as men in Cape Verde certainly do not want to be associated with something a larger scale of women are dealing with, even if it costs the men’s health. Concerning women watching television shows recorded from other countries, such as Novella, it makes them become more independent individuals (see analyze section 6.1.7.1 globalization processes). Fail or not, independence leads to conflicts, and in worse case results of domestic violence (see analyze section 6.2.2.2).

6.1.3 Alcohol- and drug influences

Since Sylvia (2008) demonstrated alcohol as a factor of violence within couples in Cape Verde (see chapter 5.1 and appendix 9.1), I sought to examine alcohol habits in Cape Verde.

P4 discusses: “Well I don’t think alcohol is a cause for domestic violence, but it stimulates violence, and in Cape Verde we have big problems with alcohol. Big problems.”

P1 argues: “Sometimes they even drink so they can do that (use violence). You see, to find one motive to do it. To find courage.”

P10 argues alcohol is a very predominant factor of domestic violence in Sal Island because you can constantly find places who sell alcohol. Moreover, P10 argues the alcohol consumption is very cultural and the inhabitants drink in both sad and happy moments, “It’s like, alcohol is for everything!”

Sylvia’s (2008) study (see chapter 5.1 and appendix 9.1) did not demonstrate drugs correlation with domestic violence. But P1, P3 and P7 ensure drugs are also associated with domestic violence against women. P2 explains “drugs and all that are very related to violence against women in a big way [...] it has a very big affect on a lot of things.” P7 argues:

The main thing that provokes all this is drugs. Alcohol a little bit, but not as much as drugs. Because drugs makes you see things, do things they would never do. Alcohol would just make that guy dizzy, or he’ll go to sleep and wake up tomorrow.

Furthermore, P7 clarifies cannabis does not provoke violent behavior as much as cocaine does. Cocaine provokes hallucinations, thus, it provokes violent behavior concludes P7.

There seems to be some differing opinions to what extent alcohol affects domestic violence against women in Cape Verde. However, all informants agree the alcohol consumption is high and it is a contributing factor to the domestic violence. While many informants argue that drug use also is a contributing factor, one informant want to distinguish the impacts of soft drugs and hard drugs. By analyzing alcohol’s correlation to Max Weber’s power theories, the heavy alcohol consumption appears to have a historical cultural defined structure, and considered as a natural part of the social system, thus heavy alcohol drinking gets legitimized (Börjesson & Rehn 2009). See section 6.3.7.4 to find out how the national institutions argue about alcohol interventions and how they can reduce the domestic violence against women.

6.1.4 Religious aspects

P3 quotes a 60 year old man: “On a relationship there must be a leader, and a leader can’t be a woman [...] God made the man first.” P3 narrates about a woman who used to be a part of the church of Nazarene, and the woman agrees to the statement above. Moreover, P3 explains this woman was excluded from the church because she had a child with a man from a different church. P3 quotes the woman:

I couldn't find, inside the church, a man to have a child with [...] They think I'm ugly. So I couldn't get any of those guys.

P3 argues that extreme religion gives more power to the man which increases the domestic violence against women. Furthermore, P3 argues that religious people do not report domestic violence because “they have faith in god [...] It is the will of god. ‘I have to endure’”.

P3 argues about the church of Nazarene:

That religion is like man can do anything they want. Men are like supreme. They can do anything. They can cheat! They can do it! It's allowed, you know. They can do that because they are the masters. Women just have to stay put and do what the man says.

P2 argues in Cape Verde it is a question of the stake holders and how much power each stake holder has. P2 puts the question: “How much power does the church has?” and at the same time answers:

People are quite free to do whatever they want, even with the church [---] I mean anyone in this country will say to a woman ‘Your house is not a house of respect because your house doesn't have a man’. That doesn't have to do with church. It does to a certain extent, but anyone would say that, church or not.

P2 emphasizes it's the social value of family, the social believes and the way people see it more than the church. The churches have a lot of influence in their areas, but they also get into social issues and political issues as much as religious issues, concludes P2. P4 argues that religion plays a special role because they reproduce sexual roles of being a woman and a man. But religion in Cape Verde is also fulfilled with prejudices, emphasizes P4. P9 argues:

There are some religions where they either cause a lot of domestic violence, and it's worse because the violence there is not reported [...] religion should also go with time, evolve with time, and follow development of the society.

Apparently informants shared different opinions in how the churches in Cape Verde affect the domestic violence against women. Max Weber power notion “traditional authority” argues there may be systems such as monarchy or religious organizations where authority cannot be questioned without the whole system itself gets questionable. Weber's central point is that this is a structure to create and maintain inequalities in the society. This shape actively prevents changes and developments in societies, thus, preventing the emergence of other more modern forms (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

6.1.5 The purpose and impacts of the gender based violence law

The reported complaints concerning domestic violence went up 100% from year 2010-2011 according to P1. But the same amount still existed before, now women dare to make reports and also witnesses can make complaints, explains P1. P7 believes the statistics went up because women now dare to challenge the man, they feel safe with the support from the institutes and the gender based violence law. P5 stresses:

There always been violence in Cape Verde, but in 2004 it was not seeing. No one would address that issue. They were aware that gender based violence existed, but you know there were no reports. People they don't talk about it. Social workers, anthropologists, people that worked in the communities and all that are aware. They saw that this violence exists and it was not reported [---] That's why it may seems upon the report that it's spreading. But no, it's just that things are seen now [...] They are trying to remove the curtain.

P1 explains that in Santiago they have the most complaints about domestic violence against women in Cape Verde, followed by Fogo and then Sal Island. But according to P1 the statistics are made by numbers, and not until later on reports comes with the percentage according to the number of population and cases of domestic violence. For instance Brava Island, who has the least reported cases of domestic violence, also has less people living on the island, declares P1. But the majority of cases never become reported because the victim is ashamed, and not until years later, when they are tired of being beat up, they will make the report, emphasizes P1.

P2 argues about domestic violence statistics:

The statistics are high because we have statistics, and other countries don't have statistics [...] The domestic violence is 20%. If you look at the international statistics of all the statistics there is, it is the lowest in the state [...] I'm very worry about the data, but still you have to put it into a context.

The latest report on gender based violence was by Demographic Health Surveys (DHS) in 2005 P2 emphasizes: "You will have this data until 2012, 2013 or whatever, so of course you have this gap". Furthermore, P2 explains since the law was established they had a flooding of cases in justice so it is very hard to analyze the situation. P2 puts the question: "Does that mean that gender based violence has increased or does it mean that people has access to justice?" P2 concludes by saying "If you are not quantifying you can't say it is a lot. We are very happy that we can say 'Look! This is a real issue and we have the law!'"

P2 is optimistic: "The word gets out very quickly in Cape Verde. Everybody knows about everything". P2 argues that aggressors realize the severity:

If a man in Saõ Domingos tells his friend ‘Look you better be careful. Because the other day I gave my wife the rights, you know [informant slaps hands], I gave her what she deserved, and now I have to go to the police station every week to present myself’.

It seems as the increase of reported cases of domestic violence against women in Cape Verde is natural, since the gender based violence law has made it easier to report crimes. Thus, women and men who are victims of gender based violence are making their reports to police, and they are also getting their own interests satisfied (Weber 1983). Despite the nation’s high statistics, one informant is proud since many other Sub-Saharan African countries have deficiencies in their investigations and rarely want to demonstrate these cultural problems. It also reveals that the latest survey on domestic violence against women in Cape Verde was in 2005, but a new study is expected in 2012 or 2013, and not until then you will see how the development progressed. But as P2 informs, in regard must be taken that the gender based violence law became public in March 2011.

Max Weber describes the legal and rational authority as a power that lies with a system, and in modern social system relies authority and a lot of the power in bureaucratic structures. By having behaviors, processes and penalties for deviations written down and recorded, this separates power from the people, but on transparent regulations where the idea is having the same for everyone. Thus, the power relies on a legal system rather than on individual leaders (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

6.1.6 National economics – funding and interventions

P1 explains that the gender based violence law predicts shelters for victims, but there is no capital or conditions gathered yet to build it, and the police can only warn the aggressor to not return where the victim is. P1 also argues that more policemen could be needed to work on the cases with gender based violence.

P8 are very positive to the gender based violence law, but “Only creating the law is not enough”, stresses P8. There has to be some financing on these associations and institutions in the network Red Sol, “because they are the ones that who are making all the field work” argues P8.

P4 argues that many NGOs don’t have the competence to elaborate with their projects, and one of the largest problems is trying to find funding for their projects. Cape Verde works with

a lot of international cooperation and “Spain is a good partnership of gender issues”, explains

P4. Concerning the power relationships P4 argues:

When these countries finance a project I can't sense, in any kind of feeling, that they have power over the organization. But instead I can feel this type of authority from institutions that are here basing in Cape Verde, for instance the United Nations [...] They finance a project, and it's like 'they are in charge'.

P8 argues:

Sometimes these western countries send their evaluators people to see if those actions that they are financing are well implemented. But in most cases they just ask for reports within the indicators [...] but sometimes the indicators doesn't match with the actual result [...] the indicators should be evaluated in more the quality of the results, not only in numbers.

P9 argues they are feeling “a little dependent or less powerful” when being financed by other countries:

For example this network, violence based on gender, was a project that was financed by a NGO that right now have some difficulties because of the recession in the world [...] they are not working full because of this NGO is facing some small problems.

P9 argues when their projects are not funded by their government or other countries they collect money by renting buildings or selling things which their organization is manufacturing. Furthermore, P9 argues they plan to open a cyber cafe to finance some of their projects.

Although the gender based violence law stipulates protection shelters for the victims, there seems to lack financial resources in creating them. Rede Sol is also emphasized as the credible actor who deserves and need financial resources in continuing their fieldwork. When it comes to funding and seeking financial assistance from other countries, there are different opinions among the informants concerning the power relations. According to Weber's power theory the national economics is a factor that relies within bureaucratic structures. In this case, the Cape Verdean government and the countries who give the grants becomes the “legal authority” (Börjesson & Rehn 2009). It appears, however, that funding makes difference, but the assisting countries hardly makes qualitative evaluations since quantities seems to be of greater concern to them.

6.1.7 Globalization processes

6.1.7.1 Television and opening of airports

P3 argues that the opening of international airports in Cape Verde changed women's behavior a lot, because people were going to Europe and the United States and observing other lives and seeing women getting treated equal like men.

P3 clarifies about the changes:

I can't see a change on man. But women change the behavior, the way in dressing, the way in living, they change everything. But men, they still think they are even more powerful and the ones who are supposed to support the family [...] But the women are constantly changing.

As demonstrated in section 6.1.2.3 more women than men in Cape Verde seems to watch the popular television show "Novella". P3 emphasizes how the television has made Cape Verdean women more independent:

If you watch those Brazilian 'Novella', where those women are very independent, and they are like really powerful. They are strong women!

Moreover, P3 exemplifies themes from the show: domestic violence, women issues, racism, gay-love between women etc. "They are very focused on equality and showing what is wrong and what is good", concludes P3. P2 argues the more women are excluded from globalization, the less they recognize their rights of women. Furthermore, P2 argues that television has a lot of influence and they can also be horrible in depicting women, but that concerns the whole world as well.

P8 argues about the other effects:

We have an example of a well known reporter that was a victim of domestic violence and she exposed herself in national television. She helped to break the silence that we had from years [...] She came forward on national television and said 'I'm a victim of domestic violence. I got beaten by my husband' and she showed all her leaches and injures.

According to informants women in Cape Verde has not only changed because of the opening of airports. Women in Cape Verde are changing the cultural values due to observing foreign cultures on television. However, the men who do not like to be associated with women's interests lose out important impacts of globalization processes which alter cultural behavior. The television also seem to inform and spread concrete facts about domestic violence against women in Cape Verde, but at the same time can portray women in ghastly aspects. According to Max Weber's power theories the opening of airports relies to the notion of "legal authority,

since bureaucratic structures are behind the decisions. Since actors from shows, such as Novella, has unique attributed characteristics that makes people want to follow them, the power notion becomes “charismatic authority” according to Max Weber (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

6.1.7.2 Migration effects and outside world movements

P2 argues that globalization processes can be both positive and negative for Cape Verdean women. P2 exemplifies:

Let's say in the people who have gone to Italy for domestic work, let's say 80 % or whatever had successful emigration processes. They come back having seen the world, economical power, social status [---] and so you have this phenomenon where you have women empowered [...] and having an empowered woman is a very big thing [...] it is something people would inspire to.

Furthermore, P2 declares that traditionally men emigrate and women just reunited with the family when they are called. P4 argues women in Santa Antaõ have a very domestic life, and they see emigration as a way of escaping and start working for themselves.

During my interviews it got evident that movement outside the world, such as Lazo Branco (the White Ribbon movement), affected Cape Verdean inhabitants thinking and ideas about certain things. P2 explains this network of men who are against gender based violence publically protested how a certain company's television commercial depicted behavior in men. In the television commercial, a man lies to his girlfriend in a humoristic way, just to be able to sneak to a party. P2 encounters:

When men say ‘We don't accept this! This is not the real men. Real men wouldn't do that’, that is an important thing!

It seems as women who emigrated and became empowered affect cultural behavior in Cape Verde. But also movements, such as Lazo Branco, affect cultural values. According to Max Weber this type of power is also “charismatic authority”, since people are inspired by the ascribed attributes these particular individuals have. Thus, the empowered women and the people representing the movements are informal leaders (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

6.2 Domestic Violence - The meso- and exo systems

6.2.1 Work, education and economical aspects

Although Sylvia's (2008) report demonstrated figures how education, economy and work is in correlation with domestic violence against women in Cape Verde, I want to demonstrate other difficulties and contradictions within these perspectives.

L4 explains that all their seven children are over 18 years old and five of them are unemployed. L4 stresses it is the worst thing that can happen to a family. P2 argues if men don't have education and are unemployed they will easier get into groups and fights, and it has an impact on violence as a whole.

P9 argues about work and economics:

When they do not have work, they do not have money. And when they do not have money there are more frustration. And when there is frustration they can bring that home, and it can start conflicts at home.

P2 argues about education figures from the DHS report in 2005:

It is very clear that the less educated people are, the more they live in rural areas, which means a more traditional role of women and men. The more they will have less gender based violence. And that's not because there is no gender based violence. They just naturalize it. They think it's normal. They think the man has the right to sanction them.

P10 on the other hand argues:

There are less domestic violence with people who has less education. See they don't have much problems so they don't get into conflicts. But when you come to a family where everybody is starting to question [...] and she confronts the husband...

There seems to be different opinions among the informants whether an educated woman in Cape Verde is more likely to become a victim of domestic violence or not. However, what is clear is that unemployment has an impact on violence broadly, and you will find "traditional authority" in rural areas which has been made up by their historical cultural defined formation. In these traditional societies many women believe gender based violence is a natural and necessary action to sanction them, and according to Max Weber, this is a structure to main inequalities in societies (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

6.2.2 Organizational and institutional work

6.2.2.1 Debate sessions and “passing the message”

P5 argues in order to raise awareness about gender equalities they “make a lot of complaint about the situation”. P5 explains:

We used to go with flyers, but we also go to grass root communities and promote debates on these issues, and also in seminaries and magazines [...] We go to community centers and we organize a session, and anytime we go there we change themes of the sessions. So perhaps in one session there will be gender based violence, so we distribute the flyers, the information we have. We also have a debate.

P10 stresses it can be hard making local people to show up to the sessions because couples can have different opinions when discussing intimate personal matter, and some of them does not feel comfortable to expose themselves. Furthermore, P10 emphasizes men does not show up at all: “They are invited and called. But the cultural thing doesn’t let them go”.

P5 explains that during the debates participants share experiences, for instance about what could be violence and what is not violence, and they let people who have influence in the community become leaders of the sessions, and thru them the message will pass. P7 explains by passing the message “that what was back in the days was wrong” to the aggressors and to the population in general is essential in the work with domestic violence against women. P7 emphasizes they have to “bring the old generation and the new generation together and try to pass the same message”. P7 and P8 highlights children are of most important to pass the message to.

P7 explain their set out:

You don’t have to correct that system that was there. You remove that. You try to build a new system, a better system, based on experience that you had from the old system.

“Young people they are following these leaders. So if the leader does it, they will do it also”. P5 emphasizes that teenagers are “more open to these issues than the grownups”, and women’s participation is much larger than men “so you have to do more than 10 sessions and slowly the men start to show up”. P6 narrates about a family planning workshop, where many women participated and a husband showed up and “ripped the woman from there”. P6 explains: “It still exists this resistance from men about this kind of thing”.

It seems as the sessions are the heart of passing the message. Unfortunately, men are not as keen to attend because the cultural behavior prevents them, and some men even pull away their partner from the sessions. All informants have argued that children are a key link to make changes, and through them, new cultural values will be created.

During the sessions, the participants share experiences of what could be violence and oppression. Gemzöe (2002) explains that radical feminists came to use a method known as “consciousness raising”, where women in group shared their personal experiences of being an oppressed women, and then analyze changes.

Moreover, it appears as institutions make inhabitants, who are already having influence in the community, moderators of the sessions. According to Max Weber this way of using power is known as “charismatic authority” because the moderators are informal leaders with significant characteristics (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

6.2.2.2 Promoting independence and the empowerment of women

P7 believes making women more independent will reduce the domestic violence. P7 argues they are aware many parents do not enjoy when children and teenagers are becoming independent. P7 argues:

The problem is not the children, the problem is the parents. They have to have some tolerance and they have to lead the children to understand the freedom or independence that they wanna have [...] When they are facing this situations of independence they have to know how to deal with the child in these stages of their lives.

P6 argues in every change there is repercussion but empowering women cannot bring any negativity. P6 argues: “Depending on someone, it’s bad.” Furthermore, P6 explains that nowadays children and adolescents are aware of their rights, and even if the elders are having a hard time watching their children and grandchildren becoming independent, “it’s a natural generation conflict”. “We gain more from it than we lose from it”, emphasizes P6.

P9 argues it is important that the young population does not depend on their families, and many young individuals in Cape Verde wants to help and support projects for the community. P9 emphasizes many of the young people are mature enough to become independent and that creates conflicts within families and towards the community. P9 argues they “promote the solidarity spirit in those young people, and with that they will start get their own maturity to get independent”.

When I put the question: “Do you promote women to be more independent?” P5 replies: “We promote the empowerment of women” which among others includes economical empowerment and self-esteem. P5 argues this approach covers more than only promoting independence. P5 explains:

We are talking about relationships between men and women, so in fact we are targeting both genders [...] we focus on both.

It seems as many parents and grandparents do not appreciate young people becoming independent. Meanwhile, organizations and institutes encourages young people to not depend on their partner, fail or not, this can create conflicts since two messages passes from two different authoritative actors. The parents and grandparents posses “traditional authority” where the obedience is not established by stipulated rules, but by tradition, and the person concerned has allegiance to the ruler. Organizations and institutions on the other hand posses the “legal authority” since they exercise power by bureaucratic systems over members in their union, which is all inhabitants of Cape Verde (Weber 1983).

6.2.2.3 Giving economical power to the women

P3 argues women overall are not doing well, especially not in social economical terms which is “determinant of life-, family- and society survival”. L1 explains that concerning divorces it can be hard for women to initiate divorces, because then they have to pay for all the expenses. Most women do not have that money because the men are the ones who are working and earning money, but if the man has health problems he can send the woman to work, stresses L1.

P4 argues that a lot of women do not leave their husbands because of their economical dependence, and they submit to violence guaranteeing their diary meal for her and her children. P3 narrates about a victim whose husband quit giving food, why she took their kids and ran away.

Gemzöe (2002) argues according to the radical feminist theory the patriarchy’s power is not only based on ideological domination over women, but they are also kept down by forces such as keeping women economically dependent on men. Informants in this section seem to suggest that many women are economically dependent on their husbands, and it appears some women can even put up with domestic violence as long as they receive food for the day. According to Max Weber, dominance emerges when people chose to submit to it, and those

who are vulnerable to domination have their own interests which can be satisfied by accepting the supremacy. In this case, the women's "interest" would be the necessary food for survival (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

P8 argues by making women depending less economically in their partner will inhibit the domestic violence against women. P7 argues microloans give the opportunity for women to start "their own business and escape from this economical dependence". P7 argues:

The moment the women can support their selves, have money to support their selves, they become more important. They feel like they are the boss and they are in charge [...] This is also a way of reducing violence. Because if they live together and man comes with this trying to do violence based on gender, they can just say 'Ah c'mon keep your house I'm going away! I have the money to support myself, I can rent a place and leave.'

Providing micro-loans is a form of "legal authority" since it develops by a field of competence with bureaucratic systems which posses the necessary power of commandment (Weber 1983).

6.2.2.4 Small Islands - Advantages and disadvantages

P7 argues it is easier to do social work in small town where everybody knows everybody, because if people do not know who approaches you "with this kind of sensitive matter they tend to flee or run away to avoid talking about it". P7 explains trust is essential in the work.

P8 argues when women of the high class of the society becomes victims of domestic violence they tend not to report it. P8 argues:

I think it's because they have a certain image in the society and they are well known people here in the society. It's a little island and everybody knows everybody.

It seems as small Cape Verdean communities have both advantages and disadvantages since social workers can find it is easier getting to know the local people, but on the other hand victims may find it difficult to respond towards the social worker. Unless the social worker posses "charismatic authority" the victim will believe in the social worker's power (Weber 1983).

6.2.2.5 Marching out

P7 explains when a complaint is made to their organization they will immediately call the criminal police and "the network against domestic violence". P8 argues social workers had courses in domestic violence against women within the police force, and now they have

created an office which deals with this kind of matters. P7 emphasizes if children are involved they will also call the institution responsible for children and adolescents. P7 explains:

Those three have the means. They have cars, they have social workers working with them, so they have means to intervene.

P7 explains if the incident is happening close to where the social workers are, they will go there by foot and intervene as well. Concerning priority, P7 argues:

The first thing is to save the child from listening from those bad words that they keep saying to each other, and the second thing is to save her from being hit.

According to Weber (1983) those three operators, the police, the network and the department for children, possess “legal authority” since their power is built through bureaucratic system.

6.2.2.6 Institutional cooperation

Concerning the work in changing cultural values and gender equality P5 stresses: “You have to understand it’s a process, and we have already 8 years of work [---] but it’s a long way to come up with results”. Furthermore, P5 demonstrates their institutional national plan for equality where interventions are planned among sectors such as: education, GPV, communication, politic, economic and health. P5 explain they will analyze the situation and then they will work with the appropriate sector, and they have people in each institution that will cooperate with them. P4 exemplifies the national institution which is promoting gender equality (ICIEG) and the ministry of justice are implementing the rehabilitation program for the aggressors.

Concerning communication between the NGOs who are working with gender issues P4 argues:

Our experience is good, there are some cases were it doesn’t work so good. But in general it’s working alright [...] They try to work with the community and there are some of them that work better than others, it depends also on the structure of the NGO.

The work and cooperation within the institutes clearly demonstrates “legal and rational authority”. The offices are arranged by hierarchical principles and special training is necessary for the exercise of power being carried out fully rationally (Weber 1983).

6.2.2.7 Working with the churches

P2 argues about the churches: “The church hasn’t been alighted and there is no impediment to the church being alighted. It’s a question of working. In Cape Verde we haven’t invested that much in it.”

P5 argues that some religious leaders are open-minded but others are more conservative. Whether the church is concerned to keep the family together, the state is also very concerned about it too, because “the main concern of the general prosecutor is to keep the family together in order to protect the child”, stresses P5.

P8 argues about working with certain religious leaders:

There is this church that preach that a married women can never get separated or married again. Once she is married she is forever married, she can never separate [...] we had a case were the woman wanted to get separated or divorced and the man said ‘No’. Well, they are still married.

Informants seem to share different opinions in how the churches in Cape Verde affect the domestic violence against women (see section 6.1.4 for more data). The power the church posses are known as “traditional authority” according to Max Weber. Authority in system, such as religious organizations, cannot be questioned without the whole system itself gets doubtful. Weber emphasizes those structures create and maintain inequalities in the society. Concerning the organizations and institutes who are working with religious leaders obviously posses “legal authority” since they are a part of the government (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

6.2.2.8 When to split the family?

P3 narrates about a woman who was a victim of domestic violence: “She was hoping that he would stop doing that. She was wrong, an aggressor won’t stop”. P7 argues the best way women can fight domestic violence is by running away from it and separate from their partner. P4 on the other hand argues that most cases in murdering of partners are when victims flees and searches for help. Moreover, P4 argues:

I don’t have the vision that if you have violence in the family you have to split – no. If the man or woman that are taking this aggressive behavior, they must be helped to solve it. I don’t think ‘Ok, so you have to split!’ – no. I don’t have that kind of vision if the family can be helped to rebuild another relationship [...] in some cases they can meet somewhere again.

Obviously, it seems to be difficult to determine when authorities must break up families due to domestic violence against women. Authorities can intervene because they possess “legal

authority” according to Max Weber, and the ones who are subject of obedience are obeyed only because of the formal legality (Weber 1983).

6.2.3 Streamline the organizational and institutional work

During my study informants expressed that in my final report a section of possible actions would be of great concern to them. Since a part of my purpose was to point at possible obstacles in the work with domestic violence against women in Cape Verde, the following section will only highlight informants’ thoughts and ideas in streamlining the organizational and institutional work.

6.2.3.1 Resistance and communication problems

Concerning cooperation between institutions P5 argues: “The main problem that we have with the other institutions is that they don’t see the gender issues as an approach for development.” Furthermore, P5 emphasizes that the institutions know about the conception of gender equality, but when it comes to practice they find resistance from the rulers, decision makers and politicians.

P5 argues about the resistance:

Because we have patriarchal societies it’s rather difficult to come up with a new sort of behavior that is more gender friendly. It’s difficult for people to understand, and in this order we make a lot of complaints about this situation to raise awareness about these issues.

P3 argues that the institutions outside of Santiago Island, seems to be more optimistic in working with gender issues. P3 believes that the institutions in Santiago probably feel more resistance because they work closer to the government.

P5 argues about communication problems: “They always change these technicians (officials). You know, that makes a problem”. P5 explains that many officials working at the national institutions quit their employment when being offered another job with higher salary, which often occurs in private companies. Thus, when the employee quit at the institution concerned, they might lose several years of competence, explains P5.

According to the informants, it appears as not all sectors understand the magnitude of working with gender issues in Cape Verde. It also appears that institutions and organizations often changes staff, which affects competence and skills within the institutions and organizations.

6.2.3.2 Events

Observing an activity in Sal Island held by the City Hall, and in conversations with local people, they told me that they could not understand difficult terms leaders agitated out through the speakers.

Organizations are not effective in the way they give information, because for one person to learn and change the ways of thinking about certain issues, “the information should be given continuously”, argues P3. “The organizations is planning and talking a lot”, stresses P3. When social promotion activities are held in the community people will only listen if something is brought to them, and that’s why the organizations plays music and are giving away free t-shirts during the activities, explains P3. “But believe me, they’ll go there and take their shirts, listen to some music, dance, go home and beat up their wife because she was dancing with other people”, stresses P3.

P3 explains that for these events to happen the organizations needs money for free t-shirts, water bottles and to pay the DJ. But P3 argues that they could do otherwise:

One week for example [...] Chose one area and one group and go there every day. If they are social workers, they work for the Câmara Municipal (City Hall). They get paid every month so they should do it [...] Giving the same information to everybody, making sure everybody gets that information, and that they understand that information. The other week you can go somewhere else. You can get focal points on each area, and they will also monitor and start remembering these neighbors about this issue.

A lacking of human resources cannot be an acceptable answer, because you can see the City Hall do other campaigns in Sal Island for instance beach cleanings, stresses P3.

During my field work I also examined how organizations announced their social promotion events to the community. I found events on the social network “Facebook” made by the City Hall, but P3 argues disappointed:

The only think you get from it, if you publicize a social event is ‘I like it’, ‘I like it’, ‘I like’, ‘I like’, ‘I like, ‘I like’ but nobody shows up at those social events [...] No people from my generation or this young generation, they don’t go, they are not interested.

The work with domestic violence against women could have shortcomings in how they plan to disseminate information. One informant claims that work must be done more frequently, and invitations by Facebook does not help much. It also appears as leaders at certain events in the community have failed to communicate to the local population due to difficult language and lack of approach. Max Weber explains with “charismatic authority” leaders are mandated

to exercise power, since they already are informal leaders with certain ascribed characteristics (Weber 1983).

6.2.3.3 Prevention, appropriate workers and how to make the 2nd step

P3 argues:

The violence based on gender is a very personal matter [...] The work of the institutes in this case is to give the information, try to change the mentality, and change the education that they give their children at home, where they get beaten or see their mother getting beaten.

P3 stresses that the institutions needs to focus on preventing children to observe domestic violence behavior. “They can call for help, or they can hide but not to see that”, emphasizes P3. To prevent domestic violence from happening it is necessary to educate in gender issues, create protection shelters for the victims and work with aggressors’ rehabilitation, argues P4. P7 believes social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists should do closer follow-ups on victims and aggressors. P7 argues: “Every month you have to follow how she is doing, and even how the aggressor is doing”.

P3 discusses:

Appropriate people who really knows about this matter, and who believes that it is possible to change that cultural behavior should pass on these messages. They want to implement that through schools, but how will you implement it when the teacher is a wife beater? How do you implement that when one of the teachers is a woman that gets beaten? How will she tell the kids, you know? ‘It’s not good. Don’t be like me.’ She’s not gonna tell them.

P4 is frustrated about all the work that has been done for a long time but is given less in return. P4 explains it is hard to implement gender education in schools because the teachers don’t like their own jobs, they hit children in the classroom, teachers eat during classes and they call “stupid” to the children. P4 stresses:

They are missing pedagogical skills to deal with children and their needs. How can they implement gender equality when there are no bases for it? The schools have to take care of these basic needs first.

P1 explains that some of the members of the government who approved the gender based violence law did it against their will. This mentality is still existing in Cape Verde, for instance within the police enforcement and court, which affects the domestic violence against women, believes P1. P2 explains that the gender based violence law came out of thorough diagnoses of what was not working, and it was a very big shift in the law. But P2 also

emphasizes that the “mentality shift” has to change over time, and for the law to be implemented “it is not something that happens over night”.

P4 argues the gender based violence law is one of the most significant steps that was given in 2011, but “what’s left is everything!” The second step is to make the law practical, and it is important for the institutions to cooperate with each other, emphasizes P4. Moreover, P4 argues that there are conditions that the gender based violence law demands which are not created yet:

The law predicts that the aggressor should be given a sentence of more than two years in jail. There are sentences given to these aggressors where that is more than two years in jail, and less than two years. Those sentences given less than two years, they don’t send this person to jail but they give them commentary services, rehabilitation programs [...] The problem is we don’t have those rehabilitation programs. [...] Because they don’t have it yet, it means that if a person is below two years they can’t apply the law, because they haven’t created that program.

The informants seem concerned about the small effect that the great work by “legal authority has given” (Weber 1983). Again, emphasizes protection shelters for women, rehabilitation programs for the aggressors, and the preventive work through schools since teachers lack pedagogical and interpersonal skills.

Although the gender based violence law was stipulated by the “legal authority” (Weber 1983), an opposite cultural mentality seems to still exist in Cape Verde, even at the parliamentary level according to one informant who are working within the police force. It seems as the implementation and the mentality shift will linger according to all the informants. Moreover, an informant explains that aggressors who receive sentences of less than two years in court, never actually get a penalty since the rehabilitation programs are not developed yet.

6.2.3.5 Police work, alcoholic laws and political biases

P7 argues the police are making excellent work in schools talking to the students about domestic violence against women. But P7 stresses when marching out to crime scenes the police do not always show up in time, and sometimes when the police show up at a drunken aggressor the police are not patient to deal with the aggressor. P7 stresses:

They don’t even talk to the drunk, they just come start beating him up [...] they are not very patient, they know this guy is going to do that again tomorrow. He is going to beat up his wife again.

P6 argues Cape Verde could inhibit domestic violence by scrutinize the nation's alcohol law. P6 exemplifies raising taxes in selling alcohol is one way, but also "teach the schools and try to educate them about the using of alcohol".

P10 argues there are a lot of organization, associations and institutions focused in social work, and they are missing out an association which coordinates all of them. This association should have every schedule from everyone and know about every action from everyone, and inform everyone involved what is happening at the moment, argues P10.

P8 argues sometimes inhabitants tend to "tag an institution with a political color", and then they do not want to get help from the institute because they believe the institute is linked to a certain political party.

According to informants, it seems as the police exercise "legal authority" in an inefficient way since they do not show up on time to the crime scene, and also violates the suspect without having spoken to the suspect. It also reveals that changing alcoholic laws by bureaucracy and "legal authority" possibly could reduce alcohol related violence, which also can affect the domestic violence against women (Weber 1983).

There also seems to be a desire for a coordinator who gets overall control of all institutions in Cape Verde, who could possess schedules and know how every institution work generally. Furthermore, it seems as prejudices of the local population complicates reporting domestic violence against women, since many of the inhabitants believe the institutions are working with a specific political party.

6.3 Domestic Violence - The micro level

6.3.1 Physical power

Another theory why domestic violence against women appears is because of men's physical strength, argues P3:

Those guys who goes to the gym and you know getting their bodies fit are more likely to get into fights in nightclubs or social meetings [...] These men have this idea that they are stronger and because they can't defend their ideas in conflicts with their partners, maybe by using their head, they use their fists. Or to show the woman that they are stronger.

P3 quotes an aggressor:

‘Women need to respect men. [...] And to respect them, they need to fear them. And for them to fear them, we have to show them that we are stronger. We have to beat them up, so they can fear you [...] It can be wrong, but it’s necessary’.

Gemzöe (2002) argues due to the patriarchy, women are also kept down by threats of violence. The oppression manifests itself such as men’s control of women in families, violence against women, and contempt against women concludes the authoress. Börjesson & Rehn (2009) argues Max Weber defines power as an ability, by individuals or groups, who wants to enforce their own interests in situations characterized by resistance. The power is about subduing and forcing obedience, and it is a zero sum game where you get power by reducing someone else’s concludes the authors. In this case the women’s power gets reduced and the men’s power increases.

6.3.2 Families

6.3.2.1 The family structures

By making research about domestic violence against women in Cape Verde, P2 argues:

You have to take account the specific family structures [...] The majority of children are born out of marriage and wedlock [...] 17% of children in Cape Verde don’t live with either the father or the mother [...] 30% are raised just by their mother.

Moreover, P2 explains that a lot of families are headed by women and families also have links all over the world because of migration. “It is a specific situation if you see it as a problem or not”, explains P2. Many families do not value themselves because they believe they are not an idealized family, and many women can put up with gender based violence for a long time because “if you break up a marriage you have failed and socially it’s not nice [...] It’s not necessary bad. It’s an adaption to circumstances”, argues P2. P6 strengthens the argument: “To see inside a family is very difficult because people tend to hide their difficulties or problems they have”. L1 clarifies that there are different family cultures on every island in Cape Verde. In Saõ Nicolau the term “family” is more valued, they stay more together and help each other than in Sal, emphasize L1.

According to the informants, the Cape Verdean family structures seem to have an impact on domestic violence against women. Data reveals that some of the women rather endure violence than separate and making them not an idealized family. But it seems as families are different engaged in solving family matters on different islands as well. Max Weber power

theories assert dominance emerges when people submit to it. The people who get exposed to domination have their own interests, and in achieving their interests they must accept the dominance. Weber believes the power is not born by a superior force crushing an inferior, but by people choosing to become subject of the power. By applying Weber's theory, the women concerned have their interests in not being exposed as a non-idealized family, therefore, they accept the supremacy (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

6.3.2.2 The young independent generation

During my interviews data revealed that the generations are diverse independent. P3 argues that the oldest generation in Cape Verde was looking to finish school, know how to read and find a husband. The second generation (born around 1974-1978) was more concerned about to get scholarships, explore the world, receive equality, get more knowledge and become more powerful. The most recent generation of young adults is not looking for a partner to support them at all, "they really want to have a job that will pay the bills", concludes P3.

P3 argues that among the younger population there are groups of single mothers who have been beaten by their partners when they were around 18 years old. But turning around 24 years old they do not accept it anymore, they separate and become strong independent women, explains P3.

L3 argues that parents used to be stricter concerning their children's education, but nowadays they let them do whatever they want. L3 emphasizes: "Too much freedom can lead to bad things like drugs, prostitution, easy life".

L1 states that life was better before when teenagers had more respect for the elders. L1 explains the younger population used to stop and take blessings by the elders, but nowadays the youth doesn't even say "good morning". Nowadays teenagers believe they "own the power" and that they can do whatever they want, concludes L1.

It seems as the younger population challenge the "traditional authority" since they has become increasingly independent (Max Weber 1983). They do not want to depend on anyone, either financially or emotionally. On the other hand, the older population, parents and grandparents, seems not to encourage this new trend. Organizations are using "legal authority" in promoting women's independence, fail or not, it obviously creates conflicts which can lead to domestic violence (see section 6.2.1.8.).

6.3.3.3 Class-distinction

P8 argues the middle class suffer a lot from domestic violence but they do not make reports because they feel ashamed. Concerning the high class in the society they do not want to report either because they do not want to be exposed to the society, explains P7 and P8. P9 argues the low-income families are more closed families who rarely reports domestic violence, because it will “take away the low economic stability that they have”.

It seems as there are difficulties in reporting domestic violence no matter what social class the victims belongs to. The women in the higher class accept dominance from their partner because they want to protect their own interest, which is about hiding family issues towards rest of the community and maintaining high status. The women of the lower class of society also accept dominance from their partners, because their interest lies in maintaining the economical stability that they are depending on by their partners (Börjesson & Rehn 2009).

7. Discussion

Probably as in any country, jealousy can lead to domestic violence against women. However, as the informants P3 and P8 reveals there seems to be an obvious conflict in Cape Verde. Because if both partners are infidels, living in a “promiscuous society” where “everyone wants a piece of everything”, and the Cape Verdean men consider they “own their girlfriends”, it certainly triggers jealousy which could cause domestic violence against women.

Informants also stressed the approval of the gender based violence law was a big step, but implementing the law remains, such as giving protection shelters to the victims and rehabilitation programs for the aggressors. According to informants P1, P2 and P4 there is also disagreement as to whether there actually exists rehabilitation programs for perpetrators in Cape Verde or not? The disagreement shows that informants either have different views about what counts as rehabilitation programs, or they have missed out adequate information.

What also can be seen by the analysis is that many of the older inhabitants do not appreciate the independent trend which is growing among adults and adolescents. Many elderly emphasizes that independence creates conflicts in relationships. Probably the elders react because the behavior challenges traditional patterns. Although many organizations know

about the elder's opinions, the staffs are still encouraging women's autonomy. Fail or not, these are two completely different messages, which inevitably creates confusion or uncertainty among young and adult women.

Based on my interviews, it emerged that societal norms in Cape Verde has historically always given more power to men than to women, in both family- and work-sphere. This strengthens Max Weber (1983) theory of power as Weber believes that power has a historical cultural tie. However, what is interesting in the current situation is that Cape Verde could to be right on the epochal because in because institutions want to promote charismatic leaders to change these societal norms in Cape Verde. The new societal norms announce that it is illegal to practice emotional, physical, psychological or sexual violence against wives, sisters or daughters at home. If the message is passing correctly by the leaders, this consequently are giving women in Cape Verde more power, which may seem threatening to men because a historical and cultural context previously shown the opposite.

Max Weber (1983) also explains that power must be legitimized in order to exist, thus, the institutions, the organizations, the charismatic leaders, the police officers, the school personnel, the social workers and others are the ones who can enable the new societal norms being legitimized.

This study has discussed that Cape Verde could be constructed by patriarchal societies. I have also previously mentioned that I intend to find out what power women in Cape Verde, in the current situation, possess to escape domestic violence. From a radical feminist perspective women possess power to make changes through "consciousness-raising", and I find the debates is one of these forms, thus women already exercise power. For example, the gender based violence law arose through women debating according to informants. Moreover, "consciousness raising" has also been shown when victims have taken control and exposed themselves through national television and complained about domestic violence (Gemzöe 2002).

According to Potter *et al* (2008), in recent years, the world has shrunk since technologies and techniques developed at breakneck speed. It's now easier to communicate and move across countries than before. According to Max Weber (1983) power structures are created to maintain inequalities in societies. But Weber's theory does not specifically cover the many aspects of globalization effects, probably because the world was not developing fast when he

wrote his power theories. From the interviews it appears as women in rural areas often live by traditional roles, where the women have less power than the men, and the women find it normal. When Max Weber argues these inequalities are created deliberately, I question that argument. As P2 explained many rural inhabitants are not aware they are living in an unequal society. This contradicts Weber's power theory as it claims that power structures are *deliberately* created to maintain inequality. But I suspect that the inequality in rural areas are created by unconscious actions, where globalization effects gets a significant role, because the people in rural areas are more isolated and do not see or hear as much about other cultures. If rural women in Cape Verde would get a larger insight into other cultural values and society norm, they may *consciously* fight to change power structures in their rural areas, which certainly would affect the domestic violence against women.

I believe Cape Verde will overcome cultural values which trigger domestic violence against women, and I believe they will probably see big changes within 20 years. Not many informants wanted to provide suggestions whether how long it will take until statistic will show less complaint. But nonetheless, Cape Verde has certainly already proven big steps, for example by introducing the gender based violence law. And another big step to emphasize is that the nation has introduced a research module regarding domestic violence into the Demographic Healy Survey (DHS), which is a big standardized inquiry all over the world.

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9. Appendixes

9.1 National Institute of Statistics

2008 there was a second published report made by the National Institute of Statistics (INE) concerning demographic and reproductive health in Cape Verde. In chapter 13 “Domestic violence”, Sylvia (2008) demonstrates data from a study where 1333 Cape Verdean women aged 15-49 participated, where the following results were given:

Physical violence since the age of 15 years old:

- More than 20% of the participants had experienced physical violence by their husband or other person since they were 15 years old.
- The groups at most risks were women aged 20-39, the divorced or separated women, educated women and women who work and got paid cash.
- In 19% of the cases the perpetrator was the husband or partner, and in 22% of the cases the perpetrator was a former husband or partner.
- In the group where women were separated or divorced, 76% of the perpetrators were the ex-husband or ex-partner.

Physical violence during pregnancy:

- 5% of the participants had experienced physical violence during pregnancy and the group at most risks were divorced or separated, highly educated women and women who work and got paid cash.
- The data shows large differences between urban and rural areas.
- 61% of the perpetrators were the husband / partner, 14% former partner, 26% other person.

Control exercised by husband / partner:

- 44% of the participant’s partner gets jealous if the woman spoke to another man.
- 17% of the participant’s partner accuses the woman of unfaithfulness.

- 18% of the participant's partner will not let the woman have other female friends.
- 8% of the participant's partner provides limited contact for the woman with her family.
- 42% of the participant's partner insists to know where the woman is at every moment.
- 39% of the participant's partner has no trust in the woman's handle with money.
- 28% of the participant's partner exercises at least three types of control behaviors against the woman.
- 28% of the participant's partner does not exercise any kind of control against the woman.
- The women at highest risks are 20-39 years old, divorced, widowed, separated or workers who got paid in cash.

Violence against married women where perpetrator is husband / partner:

- 16% of the married women were confronted with acts of physical violence.
- 14% of the married women suffered from emotional violence.
- 4% of the married women were subjected to sexual violence.
- 20% of the married women had been the victim of at least one of physical, emotional or sexual violence.
- Particularly vulnerable groups were women in 20-39 years old, women in cancelled relationships, educated women, and women who work and got paid.
- Marital violence is greater in urban zones than in rural zones. Saõ Vicente Island has the lowest proportion of domestic violence (8%) and in urban Santiago (31%) the most.

Married women who have ever been victims of violence perpetrated by a spouse emotionally, physically or sexually:

- 11% have seriously threatened the woman.

- 3% have given the woman kicks.
- 8% have hit her with something that could cut / rip.
- 9% have slapped her.
- 12% have brutally pushed or shock her.
- 2% have attacked the woman.
- 4% have threatened her with a knife.
- 3% have tried to strangle or burn her.
- 1% has forced the woman to perform other sexual acts.
- 4% have physically forced her in having sex.

The frequency of married women who suffered physical or sexual violence by their husband / partner in the last 12 months:

- 61% addressed that it happens within 5 years of living together.
- 21% reported having been assaulted by her partner after 10 years of living together.
- 3% have suffered violence before marriage.
- 4% have suffered violence after separation.

Consequences of violence and spousal support search:

- 4% of married women who reported marital violence had hematomas from the aggressor. 1% of them had wounds, fracture or sprain. The severity of violence took 3% of the married women to consult a doctor or health worker.
- 25% of the married women who reported sexual or physical violence from their partner had bruises, wounds or fractures. 10% of them had sprains and 19% had to seek treatment from health personnel.

Women who has experienced violence since the age of 15 years old and seeking help:

- 36% of the victims of physical or sexual violence sought help.

- 25% of the victims went to their family for help.
- 23% of the victims went to other relatives or friends.
- 43% of the divorced or separated women sought for help, 36% of the married women and 27% of the unmarried.
- 40% of the victims who sought help had a job and 31% of the victims who sought help did not have a job.

Marital violence, women's attitudes and husbands characteristics:

- Data shows that educated husbands have positive impacts on marital violence.
- The age difference between spouses has a significant influence on the magnitude of emotional violence.
- Violence in any kind between spouses is less common in women's level of education than in the husband's level of education. The phenomenon happens more often when the partner has a higher level of education and is more expressive when spouses have equivalent levels of education.
- Alcohol consumption is a factor and a determinant of violence within couples. Of the victims who experienced psychological violence 4% reported their spouse never drinking alcohol, and 42% when it's frequent. Concerning sexual violence the proportions was 4% and 49%.
- It seems that violence is lower among couples who have a better index of harmony. But the results demonstrate also that 8% of the women has higher index of harmony and marital violence.
- The results indicate that marital violence is significantly influenced by the topology of the family. For instance in a nuclear family 10% of the married women had experienced physical, sexual or emotional violence from the husband in the last 12 months. And in non-nuclear families the proportions was 4% and 3%.

Violence against the woman's partner

- 84% of the women did not experience violence and did not exercise it either.

- 2% of the women did not experience violence but exercised it towards their partner.
- 4% of the women was victims of violence and exerted it as well.
- 11% were victims of violence but didn't exercise it back.

9.2 Interview guide

Interview guide

Micro area (local people etc.)

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself?
2. How does your traditions look like in Cape Verde?
3. Do traditions vary in different areas of the country?
4. How is the household work constructed in Cape Verdean? For instance what tasks does men and women do?
5. In Cape Verde how does child raising look like?
6. What is typical men and women work in Cape Verde?
7. How old are Cape Verdeans when they get married?
8. How does a love relationship look like in Cape Verde?

Meso area (organizations working on women issues)

1. Your organization is promoting gender equality and working on women issues, how is your work constructed?
2. How does your organization work in the neighborhoods?

3. Organization's work on women issues plays an important role according to human rights reports. What results has been done in your organization?
4. According to human rights reports the Cape Verdean government is pursuing a joint project with local and international organizations in the civil society, are you one of them?
5. Cape Verde is supposedly making great efforts to promote women's rights, and Cape Verde is a rare country with high levels of prosperity development compared to the majority of Sub-Saharan African countries. But according to recent reports domestic violence against women is still widespread in Cape Verde, why is that do you think?
6. According to recent human rights reports domestic violence against Cape Verdean women is "widespread", will it stop?
7. A researcher, who has done studies on violence against women in West Africa. She states that wife beating is deeply rooted in the African cultural norms. What are your reflections on that statement?
8. This researcher also states that in low income countries where low social support exists and where women are poorly educated, women are at higher risks of experience violence. What are your reflections on that statement? (What's your opinion on social support in Cape Verde, is there low social support or high social support?)
9. How does the violence look like?
10. In what social class do you find most cases of domestic violence against women?
11. Is alcohol in correlation with the domestic violence against women?
12. Researchers state that men who live in countries with strong norms of violence tend to use violence against women more often. What do you say about that?
13. The report also shows cultural patterns making it more difficult to openly see what's going on inside families. What are your reflections on that?
14. Sal is a small island where everybody seems to know everybody. How does that affect the work with the domestic violence against women?

15. According to U.S Department of State domestic violence is prohibited by law in Cape Verde, but it's not culturally perceived as a crime and enforces the law ineffective. How do you feel about that statement?
16. What inhibits domestic violence against women?
17. NGO's often are funded by western grants and they often refer to specific projects over a limited period of time. What do you say about these constructions of welfare?
18. What is now on your top agenda?

Macro area (national institutions working on women issues)

1. How has the ratification of the CEDAW affected domestic violence against women today in Cape Verde?
2. How does your nation's legislation inhibit domestic violence against women?
3. What is your opinion on even stricter legislation?
4. Could changes within the legislation impede on domestic violence against women?
5. How does the globalization process inhibit domestic violence against women?
6. How does Cape Verde's current political agenda affect domestic violence against women?
7. According to Human Rights reports, in developing countries the law enforcement authorities rarely report or investigate violence against women because of their own biases, and the law enforcement officials are poorly prepared to deal with these matters. Since Cape Verde still is a developing country, how do you feel about this statement?
8. Would you say Cape Verde is made up by patriarchal society structures?
9. How do you think the male emigration has affected domestic violence against women?
10. What is now on your top agenda?