# HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY AND INTIMATE PARTNER ABUSE: A

QUALITATIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY.

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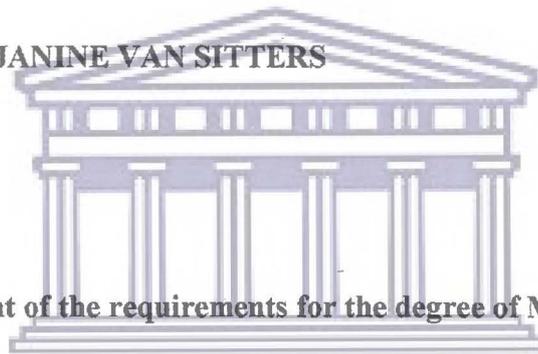
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ABSTRACT

The year 1994 has important historical meaning for South African citizens. The 1994 election marked the beginning of a new nation and a time of freedom and democracy. As part of the change to a democratic society, the rights to gender equality and women's rights were incorporated in the development of the new constitution. However, although our constitution provides a clause on women's fundamental rights, women abuse is still a pervasive problem of enormous magnitude in South Africa. South Africa has a strongly entrenched patriarchal system, which makes men in terms of gender dominant and women subordinate. In certain contexts traditional and cultural values accept violence as a means of resolving conflict and these values have been critical in shaping and perpetuating the violent behaviour of men toward women. Intimate partner abuse is a social phenomenon that attracts great personal, political and theoretical concern. Studies have not yet thoroughly explored the facts around male perpetrators of abuse. It is partly for this reason that a critical investigation was conducted into the ways which hegemonic masculine roles and ideals play a role in intimate partner abuse. In this study the focus was on hegemonic masculinity and intimate partner abuse. The aim of the study was to explore the extent to which hegemonic masculinity contributes to the occurrence of intimate partner abuse in heterosexual relationships. The study used a qualitative methodology based on six in - depth interviews. A semi - structured interview schedule was utilised. Participants were drawn from a rehabilitation group for male perpetrators of intimate partner abuse based at Famsa – Western Cape. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the interviews. Participants were assured anonymity and confidentiality. The central findings of the study are that a pre- cast masculine script underpins and encourages abusive men to have power and control over their wives. The results also indicate that structural and cultural beliefs contribute and

maintain male hierarchical power. Any threat to their masculinity or objections to the tyranny of their domination is often met by retaliation. A socialised pattern of abuse in their family of origin was identified and made it easy for the men to tap into abuse as problem- solving technique. Numerous recommendations are made such as extending the sessions of the programme, introducing couple counseling and having a mix male and female psycho-educational group. It is recommended that for future research an in - depth evaluation could be performed to measure the effectiveness of the programme in order to list the successes that were achieved.
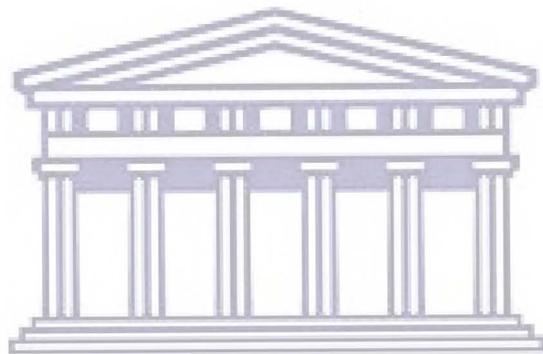
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DECLARATION

The author hereby declares that this whole thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is her own work.

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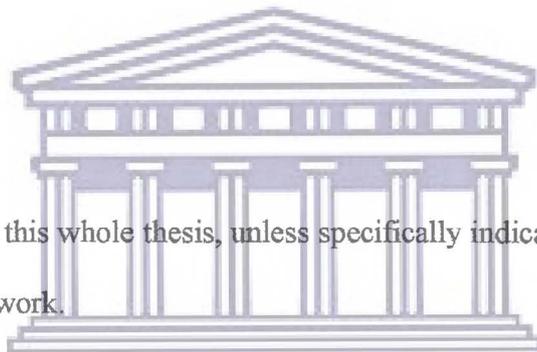
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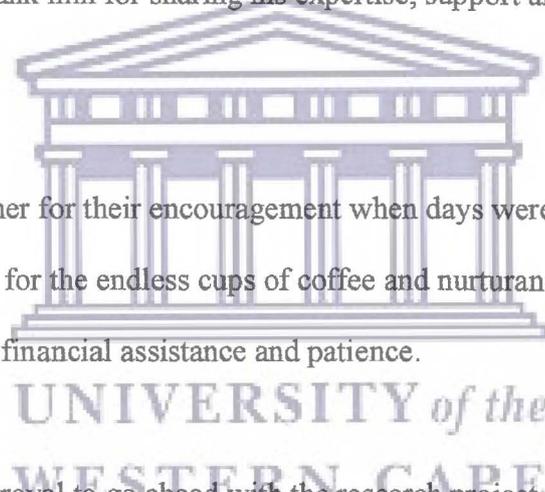
Famsa – Western Cape, for their approval to go ahead with the research project.

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Yes, I am crying, although I am a man.
But has not a man eyes?
Has not a man hands, limbs, heart, thoughts and passions
Does he not live by the same food,
is he not wounded by the same weapons,
warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter as a woman?

If you prick us do we not bleed?
If you tickle us do we not laugh?
If you poison us, do we not die?
Why should a man be forbidden to
Complain, or a soldier to weep?
Because it is unmanly?
Why is it unmanly?

August Strindberg (2000)

DEDICATED TO MY MOTHER, JOHANNA VAN SITTERS.

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5.1 FAMILY SOCIALIZATION

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an overview of the social problem of intimate partner abuse. It explains the difference between gender and sex and sheds light on a definition of hegemonic masculinity. The chapter also notes the significance of the study.

1.1   Intimate partner abuse
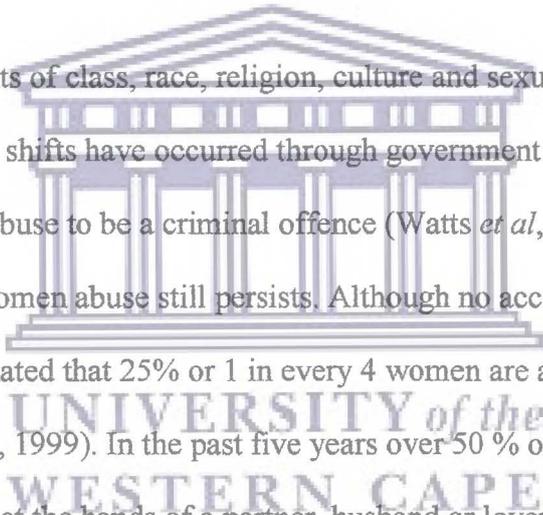
Women abuse cuts across all contexts of class, race, religion, culture and sexuality. In light of the Constitution, many fundamental shifts have occurred through government policy and legislation, e.g. legislating women abuse to be a criminal offence (Watts *et al*, 1995). Despite these laws, the social dilemma of women abuse still persists. Although no accurate statistics are available in South Africa, it is estimated that 25% or 1 in every 4 women are assaulted by an intimate partner every week (Blaser, 1999). In the past five years over 50 % of all homicide victims in the Cape Metropole died at the hands of a partner, husband or lover (Blaser, 1999). Research evidence suggests that the failure to treat violence against women as a crime must be understood as a structural aspect of the criminal justice system (Yllo & Bograd, 1988). It also suggests a notion of victim blaming and minimization. While reform is proceeding among the various levels of the criminal justice system, the acceptance of batterers' rationalisations for their violence remains commonplace (Yllo & Bograd, 1988).

Abuse against women is used as a way of securing and maintaining the relations of male dominance and female subordination that are central to the patriarchal social order (Hester *et al*,

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1996). It is important to view violence against women within the South African context by looking at the strong patriarchal context that exists. Traditional and cultural values accepts violence as a means of resolving conflicts and these values are critical in shaping and perpetuating the violent behaviour of men towards women (Watts *et al*, 1995). Women and men enter into relationships and marriages with different socially created expectations and obligations (Maconachie *et al*, 1993). Traditionally, men are expected or prescribed roles are those of breadwinners, whilst women are expected by society to be the providers of emotional cohesion in relationships. Women are also held responsible for maintaining the success of the relationship (Maconachie *et al*, 1993). Men have traditionally been expected to be in control, tough, dominant and aggressive. Men choose to abuse women as a means of controlling and exerting power over them.

1.2   Difference between sex and gender

The way in which the question " What is gender?" is most commonly answered is that gender is the social construction of sex, and sex refers to the biological, genetic difference that distinguishes males from females. As Eagle (1988) points out that it is important to distinguish between sex, which refers to the biological characteristics of male and female and is fixed at birth, and gender which refers to a process whereby males and females are socialised into the beliefs, behaviour, and attitudes of the particular sex they are born into. This distinction is useful as it allows theorists to criticise the notion that there are inherent biological differences that emerge in the differing roles and personalities of men and women in most societies (De La Rey *et al*, 1997). In other words, the emphasis is taken away from biology and placed on society.

Hence it can be concluded that gender is not biologically determined but part of a set of social expectations, norms and values, which are separate from what is seen as biological. Consequently, gender is not cast in stone but can change over time and from place to place (Bohan, 1992; Hare-Mustin & Maracek, 1992). It is important to note that the differences between the two genders are not neutral. They vary in value. In other words, there is a power relationship between men and women, whereby men as a gender are viewed superior and women as submissive. This power dyad usually exists in an entrenched patriarchal system.

Within the realm of theorising about gender, postmodern thinking allows for the recognition of the multiplicity of gender experience. Shefer (1998) argues that while the distinctions between gender and sex have served an important role politically, the term gender has become as problematic as that of sex. She notes that the traditional theorising of gender is imprinted on the female as well as the male body. In this way, the essentialist conception of gender inequality has been tied to biological differences and has inadvertently been perpetuated. The conceptual distinction between sex and gender has been critiqued as setting up a rigid, deterministic relationship between sex and gender (West & Zimmerman, 1992) and perpetuating the biological versus social dualism (Butler, 1990). Shefer (1998) further states that the traditional notion of gender, while challenging social constructions as restrictive and repressive especially for women, still reproduces and naturalises the notion of a dualism of gender, the binary opposites of male-female.

1.3 Hegemonic masculinity

Issues around masculinity are important but not easy. Bly (1990) taps into the importance of men's emotional lives, which strikes one as a revelation, because conventional middle-class Western masculinity tends to suppress emotion and deny vulnerability. Keen (1991) comments on the distortion of men's emotional lives and how that connects with violence, alienation and environmental destruction. The definition of masculinity varies in society (Kimmel, 1987). We might therefore expect that in multicultural societies there will be multiple definitions and dynamics of masculinity (Connell, 2000). Kimmel (1987) contends that within the dominant class structure, the masculinity that sets the standards for men are more often the norm.
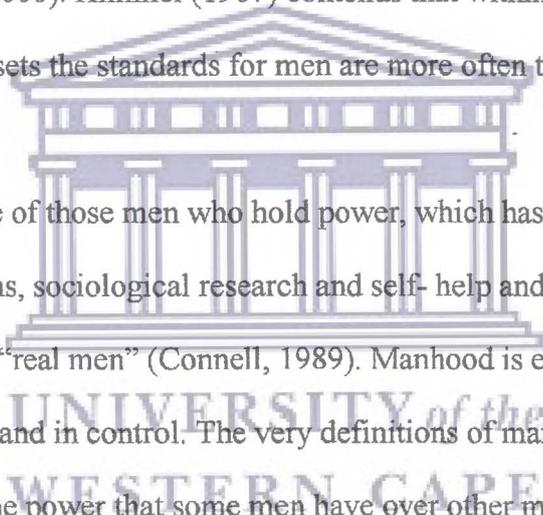
Hegemonic masculinity is the image of those men who hold power, which has become the standard in psychological evaluations, sociological research and self- help and advice literature for teaching young men to become "real men" (Connell, 1989). Manhood is equated with being strong, successful, capable, reliable and in control. The very definitions of manhood we have developed in our culture maintain the power that some men have over other men and that men have over women (Kimmel, 1987).

Our culture's definition of masculinity thus comprises several stories at once. It deals with the individual man's quest to accumulate those cultural symbols that denote manhood and indicators that he has in fact achieved it. Kimmel (1987) suggests that it is about those standards being used against women to prevent their inclusion in public life and their consignment to a devalued private sphere. It is the differential access that different types of men have to those cultural resources that confer manhood, and how each of these groups then develop their own

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modifications to preserve and claim their manhood. In summary, it deals with the power of these definitions themselves that serves to maintain the real life power that men have over women and that some men have over other men.

It is through this perspective of hegemonic masculinity that the pervasive subordination of women within patriarchal societies becomes the key to understanding intimate partner abuse (Bograd, 1988). The subjugation of women into subordinate roles is accomplished through societal discrimination and ideological beliefs that women are innately inferior (Yllo, 1988). The result is that men exercise power and privilege in society at large and women are systematically excluded in many spheres. The use of male domination, power and authority in the home are similarly used to establish and maintain control over women.

1.4   The present study

Abuse against women can be viewed as one of the many outflows of a strong patriarchal structure. Intimate partner abuse is a social phenomenon that attracts great personal, political and theoretical concern. Studies have not yet thoroughly explored the facts around male perpetrators of abuse. It is partly for this reason that a critical investigation was conducted into the ways in which hegemonic masculine roles and ideals play a role in intimate partner abuse. In this study the focus is on masculinity and intimate partner abuse. This is seen as the central problem.

Research has placed a lot of emphasis on intimate partner abuse, referring mainly to women. Important to note is that if we want to end or decrease the cycle of violence we have to investigate the dynamics of the perpetrator of these abusive acts. After having a clearer

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understanding of the causes of their behaviour and beliefs, we can think of possible interventions for both parties within the abusive relationship. It is therefore the aim of the study to explore the extent to which hegemonic masculinity contributes to the occurrence of intimate partner abuse in heterosexual relationships. It is envisaged that the study can contribute to decreasing the phenomenon of abuse.

1.5   Significance of the study

This study is mainly motivated by the restricted data that is available which examines the male perpetrator of intimate abuse. The study hopes to contribute to this compelling area of research. The significance of the study is fourfold. Firstly, to understand the impact pre-cast masculine gender scripts have in contributing to the occurrence of intimate partner abuse. Secondly, to examine whether a strong conformist male gender identity contributes to abuse in intimate relationships. Thirdly, to examine in which way their cultural context underpins intimate partner abuse. Fourthly, to identify the type of intervention services men need to integrate effectively into a life without abuse. The participants evaluated the existing programme at Famsa – Western Cape.

1.6   Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the study and outlines its significance at a theoretical level. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the perspectives on masculinity construction. The chapter also explores the available domains in society where the construction of masculinity takes place as well as a contextualisation of women abuse in South Africa. Chapter 3 provides

an overview of the perspectives on possible causal factors that lead to men abusing their intimate partners. Chapter 4 reports on the methodology used to collect and analyse the data. The chapter also presents the researcher's reflection on the research project. Chapter 5 highlights and discusses the themes that emerge in the study. Finally, in Chapter 6, the researcher draws out the central conclusions of the study and provides recommendations for intervention and further research.
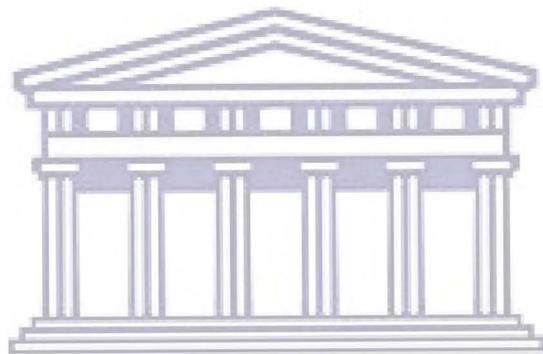
CHAPTER TWO

PERSPECTIVES AND DOMAINS

OF MASCULINITY

This chapter provides a short review of the important perspectives and interpretations of the concept of masculinity. It is important to note that the notion of hegemonic masculinity is strongly identified within social learning and feminist theories. The dominant spaces and arenas of masculinity construction are also discussed. The chapter also provides a contextualisation of women abuse in South Africa.

2.1 PERSPECTIVES ON MASCULINITY
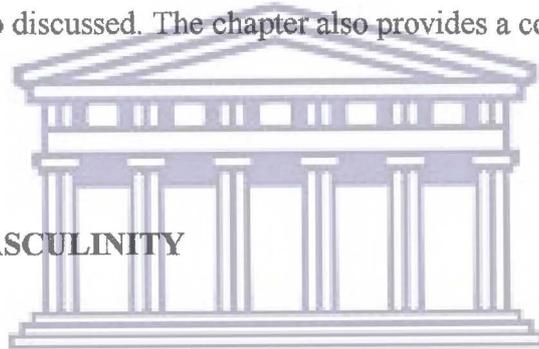
In this study two perspectives on masculinity construction are offered. These are the social learning and feminist theories. A short summary of the psychoanalytic theory will be provided but will not form part of the theoretical basis of the study.

2.1.1 Social learning theory

Social learning theory can be explained as an environmentally orientated theory. Social learning theory explains the processes whereby gender roles and behaviour are learned through a reaction to gender- orientated behaviour. Social learning theory differs from psychoanalytic theory in the sense that it does not put forward general developmental stages of gender role development. Rather it

explains gender role development in terms of reinforcement, observing and identification (Gerdes *et al*, 1988).

Freud's main explanation for the development of gender related to biology, while Erickson stressed societies and cultures. However, they both agree that parents have a vital impact on a child's development. Psychoanalytic research has shown how adult personalities, including one's sexual orientation and sense of identity, are constructed via conflict-ridden processes of development in which the gender dynamics of families are central. Psychoanalytic theorists suggest that men's character structure tends to be internally divided, even contradictory, and showed masculinity and femininity as the product of psychological compromise, often tense and unstable (Chodorow, 1994). Psychoanalysis was, however, regarded with suspicion.

Social learning theorists also emphasise the parents' role, but in a different way. These theorists hold that children learn from watching their parents and other adults, what kinds of behaviour are right and proper and what it means to be male or female. The process of gender role identification starts with observing and imitating the same sex role model. According to Kagan (1971), four related processes establish and strengthen identification: firstly, wanting to be like the model, secondly, acting like the model; thirdly, feeling what the model feels, and fourthly, believing that they are like the model. The social learning theory suggests that young children, male and female, generally identify with the parent of the same sex and when they imitate that parent their roles are reinforced. The male will imitate his father (especially when he sees the father as competent, successful, powerful) and is then rewarded for acting like a boy (Papalia & Olds, 1992). Children learn morally acceptable behaviour in the same way that they learn gender identity by imitation and reinforcement. By the end of early childhood, these lessons are largely internalised and the child no

longer needs frequent praise or punishment or the presence of a model to act in socially appropriate ways (Papalia & Olds, 1992).

The main hypothesis of the social learning theory with regard to development of masculinity is that masculinity has a link with the degree of nurturance and warmth, which the father gives to his son. If the son develops an abundance of love and respect for the father, the father's approval will reinforce the son's behaviour that he models on the father (Scholtz, 1982). This idea could be extended to the person taking on a paternal care-taking role in the child's life in the absence of the biological father.
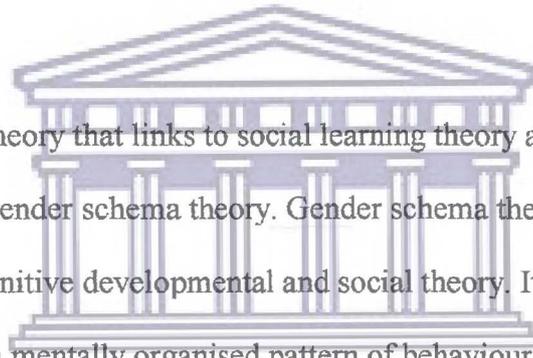
Of particular significance is a sub-theory that links to social learning theory and cognitive developmental theory, namely the gender schema theory. Gender schema theory is a cognitive social approach with elements of both cognitive developmental and social theory. It is based on the gender schema (Bem, 1983). A schema is a mentally organised pattern of behaviour that helps a child sort out information. Bem (1983) maintains that children socialise themselves into their gender roles. First they develop a concept of what it means to be male or female by organising information around the schema of gender. They pick up this schema as they socially classify people more by gender than by anything else. Males and females wear different clothes, play with different toys, use separate bathrooms and line up separately in schools. As children see what boys and girls are supposed to be and do, they conform to their cultures' gender schema. They therefore adapt their own attitudes and behaviour. From the full range of human attributes, they pick up and choose those in their society's gender schema that fit them. In most cultures boys learn that it is important to be strong and aggressive, while girls learn that it is important to be nurturing. Children then look at

themselves and consider whether they act gender appropriate. If they do, their self -esteem rises. If not, they feel inadequate (Papalia & Olds, 1992).

This theory assumes that since gender typing is learned it can be modified, and that stereotyping can be eliminated if children do one or more of the following:

(1) Discard all schemata: distinguishes the sexes only by anatomical and reproductive differences.

(2) Learn the individual difference schema, meaning that there is great variation within groups. For example, while some girls do not like to play baseball, others do and some boys do not.

(3) Learn the culture-relativism schema: the understanding that people in different cultures and at different historical times hold different beliefs and customs about what is appropriate for males and females.

(4) Learn the sexism schema: the conviction that gender stereotyped roles is not only different but wrong, no matter how common they are (Papalia & Olds, 1992).
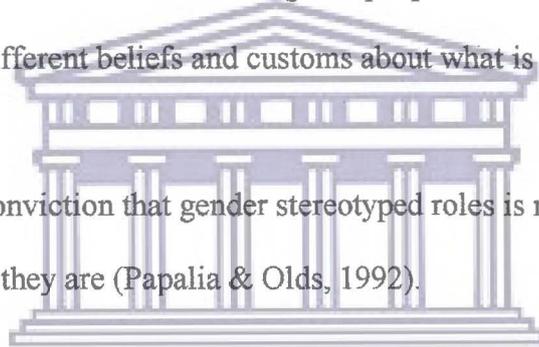
In many countries around the world, this gender schema is undergoing change. Political and informal standards for gender appropriate behaviour have changed considerably over the past several decades, with mixed results.

Social learning theory appears to make sense but has been hard to prove. Children do imitate adults, but not always those of the same sex. According to Hargreaves and Colley (1986) it gradually became clear that a one sided view of gender role development whereby parents mould the behaviour of their children with the influence of the opposite sex, has many shortcomings. Social learning theory may underlie acquisition of gender identity and behaviour standards, but simple imitation and reinforcement do not seem to adequately explain how this occurs (Papalia *et al*, 1992).

2.1.2   Feminist perspective

Feminists reject the claim that traditional masculinities are either morally necessary or biologically grounded. For them masculinity is created through male privilege and its corresponding oppression of women. They are of the opinion that traditional masculinity is also harmful to men (Clatterbaugh, 1990). Clatterbaugh argues that masculinity is created and maintained by misogyny and violence against women, and that patriarchy is the social and political order in which this masculinity exists. To counter the patriarchal order, radical feminists believe that it is necessary to repudiate masculinity and to replace it with new behaviour and attitudes that are informed by feminist values (Clatterbaugh, 1990). This theory also suggests that men can unlearn patriarchal behaviour by taking on more care-taking roles in society. This could also create non-competitive, non-hierarchical organisations.
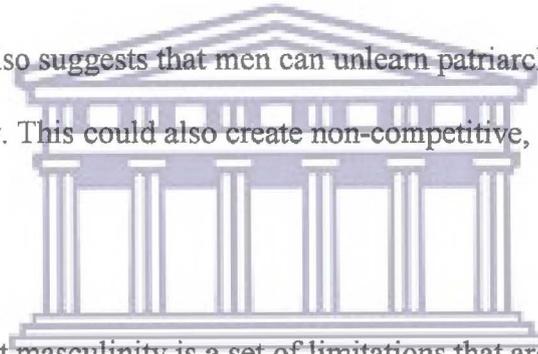
Other liberal feminists maintain that masculinity is a set of limitations that are imposed on men, much as femininity is a set of limitations that are imposed on women (Clatterbaugh, 1990). These limited ways of behaviour are encouraged by a system of rewards, punishments and social stereotypes. Clatterbaugh (1990) argues that both men and women are prevented from self-realisation by these restrictive roles. He points out that the best way to combat sexism is for males and females to break through their own limitations and to become fully human, just as women have had to struggle to overcome the limitations of femininity.

2.2   DOMAINS OF MASCULINITY CONSTRUCTION

Recent works on masculinity have suggested that the notion of " a single masculinity that all men aspire to, must be given up". Rather, a range of masculinities should be explored (Jefferson, 1994). In this study, three domains of masculinity construction will be discussed, namely, in the family, in schools and with regard to body image.

2.2.1   Gender role socialisation in the family

Gender role socialisation is reinforced and experienced from the moment of birth and onward. Two mechanisms are primarily responsible for gender role socialisation: *differential treatment* and *identification with role models.* During infancy the dominant mechanism of gender role socialisation is differential treatment (Popenoe, 1983). Social customs, conventions and expectations affect the newborn child. Differential treatment continues as children grow. For example, parents tend to use physical punishment on boys more often than on girls and boys especially are strongly discouraged from playing with the "wrong" toys such as dolls (Stockard & Johnson, 1983 cited in Popenoe). As the child grows, he or she quickly learns what people mean by "masculine" and "feminine."

As the child grows older, identification with role models becomes an important form of socialisation. Men in our society are expected to work hard to support their families, be competitive, aggressive and successful. Women are expected to fulfill their female status as mothers and wives, these roles stress supportiveness and nurturance (Popenoe, 1983). Gender roles in a society have social consequences that profoundly affect the quality of individual lives.

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Gender is a major source of inequality where men and women are assigned different roles. These roles are judged and rewarded unequally. Men and women have unequal access to social rewards (Popenoe, 1983). Gender inequality and male dominance are not only limited to the family.

2.2.2 School

Integral to understanding the practice and construction of masculinities is the process of investigating the sociology of education. Second wave feminism has provided the major contribution to our understanding of gender in the school arena, thus providing a stimulus for the theoretical and conceptual development of masculinities (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, cited in Mac an Ghail, 1996). Important to note is that the traditional mainstream schooling system prescribes gender appropriate knowledge and vocational training, thus legitimating the existence of hegemonic masculinities. In other words, schooling can be seen as having multiple implications for masculinity as a gendered and cultural form.

Heterosexual masculinities are understood and referred to as a set of traditional values, ideals, roles and beliefs when related to men as a gender. There is a definite interconnectedness between gender and sexuality as it is lived out in our schools. The boundaries of heterosexuality, alongside the boundaries of proper masculinity and femininity in hegemonic schools, are policed by structuring and ascribing attributes to being a real boy/girl (Connell, 1989). For example, to be a real boy you need to be publicly in opposition to and distant from the feminine and the feminised version of masculinity. At an institutional level, students' identities are formed in
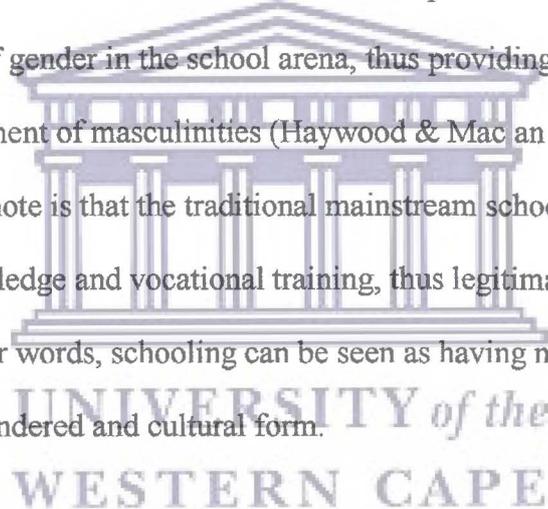
relation to the formal curriculum and categories it makes available, including the academic/vocational, the arts/science and the academic/sporting polarities.

Schooling is found to be a site of an extensive set of gendered practices, which constitutes a risk for sexist and gender typed activities. In this section, we consider two linked forms of control in school, namely: hegemonic masculinity and sexual harassment. Each of these acts not just reproduces gender relations, but also limits choices for pupils. Firstly, we look at how hegemonic masculinity is lived out in schools. Mirembe and Davies (2001) report that males still maintain domination through all forms of power positions in society. The formal gaining and denying of power also depends on the definition and stereotyping of leadership in school. The conjunction of being female and underachieving indicates the potential denial of leadership and the undermining of self-confidence. Boys may engage in activities that promote compulsory heterosexuality, but they cannot be blamed because their behaviour is integral to their gendered sense of self. This is articulated in the existing sexualised discourses in the school (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Kehily & Nayak, 1997). To confront sexist jokes, therefore, is not just a matter of censorship or monitoring language. Dixon (1997) argues that a man is only a man in so far as he is capable of using his penis as an instrument of domination. Jokes that support heterosexuality, therefore, are ways of "fitting in" or attempting to claim that masculinity. It is with these unequal and discriminate education systems that boys operate within a gender regime that perpetuates being tough and malleable. It complements a culture that is supportive of patriarchal hierarchy and male domination.

Research has shown that the social construction of masculinity through sport and physical education is a fruitful breeding site for the ideology of masculinity to exist (this will be

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discussed in more detail under the section dealing with Body Image) (Connell, 1987, 1995).

Haywood & Mac an Ghail (1996), Messner (1992) and Parker & Spears (1996) have highlighted the ways in which gender is socially constructed through corporal engagement in social and cultural practice. Brittan (1989) and Connell (1995) suggest that any analysis of masculinity needs to account for the multiple forms that are shaped by their different classes and specific contexts. Drawing on Gramsci's (1971) notion of cultural hegemony, Connell (1995) contends that certain forms of masculinity, typically connected to ideals of dominance, force and physical competence assume positions of hegemony. These ideologies operate uncontested and perpetuate the common sense notion of what it is to be a man. This form of hegemony, however, is never complete and must constantly undergo change and modification to maintain its dominance. Whitson (1990) argues that the hegemonic ideal of toughness and dominance must also be seen as constructs that have developed over time within particular social and cultural fields. The process through which boys learn to become particular types of men must then be viewed as collective patterns of expectations of physical domination developed for boys over generations. This in itself could be some of the predictory factors that, on a subconscious level, are rationalisations for remaining (by means of physical violence) in control of women.
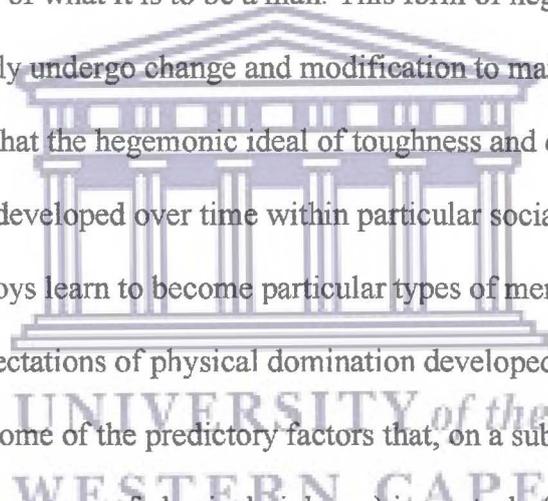
Mirembe & Davies (2001) found that gendered expectations of male control of events and relationships mean that boys are in a much more leading and authoritative position. Boys were expected to conform to masculinity ideals of proving manhood, where male entitlement to the female body is still the norm (Morrell, 1998). Secondly, sexual harassment is a popular form of degradation of girls. Sexual harassment is a manifestation of formal power, a form of social control practiced mainly by one group of people - the controlling group - on another group (Herbert, 1989). Most of the time it starts at primary school level by means of verbal abuse. For

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example, boys pointing to girls' bodies and engaging in sexual insults. This is one of the ways boys learn to degrade female bodies. This deliberate intimidation of girls in and out of the classroom through the use of abusive language greatly undermines girls. Lees (1997) reports that such language restrains the girls and ensures their subordination. Normalisation of sexual harassment further legitimises acceptance of male power in such regimes and countries. By failing to challenge power imbalances and by promoting conformity with a particular gender regime, schooling is reinforcing the macro customs that place undue pressure on boys to exploit the power gap. It also puts pressure on girls to accept male leadership roles.

2.2.3   Gender initiatives in South African education
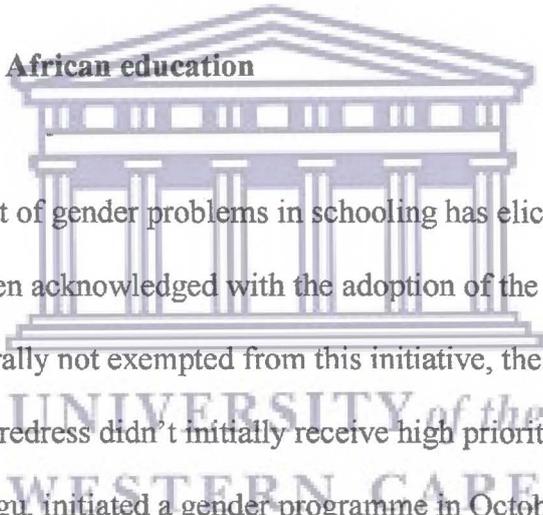
The growing awareness of the extent of gender problems in schooling has elicited a number of responses. These responses have been acknowledged with the adoption of the Bill of Rights in 1996. Although education was naturally not exempted from this initiative, the massive task of standardisation and gender equality redress didn't initially receive high priority. The Minister of Education at the time, Sibusiso Bengu, initiated a gender programme in October 1996, headed by Ann- Marie Wolpe and finalised in Rustenburg in July 1997. Many areas requiring efforts to affect gender equity were identified. Violence in schools was highlighted as being a critical threat to gender justice in schools (Wolpe, 1997). Gender task teams were assigned to schools to compose a non-sexist, equal opportunity legislation relating to the curriculum.

2.2.4 Body image

Schooling reinforces a Westernised hegemonic masculinity notion through the stereotypical strong male body image, muscularity and physicality (Buchbinder, 1998; Pronger, 1990). Young men's bodies are only seen as problematic to schools when they are caught in the act of violence against others (Mac an Ghail, 1994).

Masculine identities and sexuality are learned in school via the body. This reinforces the male gender script (Butler, 1997; McLaren, 1991). Being physically normal for one's assigned sex is not enough. This means that boys must engage in homogenous discourses or practices of masculinities (Frye, 1983). Boys need to both act masculine through speech and bodily gestures as well as physically embody the male profile through size, stature and muscularity. This physical sense of maleness is central to the cultural interpretation of the hegemonic male gender (Connell, 1995). Bodies that are conditioned to perform in ways that are closer to the hegemonic ideal may be able to exercise a certain degree of importance (Davison, 2000). The body's centrality to the formation of gender identity has guided much feminist research whereby sport has been identified as an important site for the construction of gender relations (Theberge, 1991).

Drawing on the works of Connell, Light and Kirk (2000) examine the corporeal and discursive practices associated with rugby training for a small group of boys at an Australian school. They found a class specific form of masculinity that is connected to ideals of physical domination, competitiveness, toughness, teamwork and self-restraint. This continues to be produced and reproduced. The hegemony of this particular masculinity is however continually contested and

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forced to adapt to challenge through modification. The form of masculinity taken to maintain hegemony was through ongoing adoption and reproduction of forms of masculinity, which seeks dominance over others. These forms are reproduced through particular corporeal and discursive regimes focussed on the body. At some schools rugby seems to be a cultivating ground for hegemonic masculinity to exist and be promoted. The experience of rugby embodies the ideology of manhood. Through these experiences options of appropriate masculine behaviour were connected to domination through physical force and intimidation. This is under constant modification through generations and adaptations for schoolboys. It continues to reproduce a hegemonic interpretation of what it is to be male. Recently, attention was paid to the construction of gendered identities through sport and physical education. It indicates that sport is a cultural practice through which gender inequality and the gender order is reinforced and reproduced (Connell, 1987). The gender order refers to historically constructed relations of power between men and women that privilege men over women through definitions of masculinity and femininity. It locates power within the masculine ways of seeing the world (Wright, 1998). Within this gender order hegemonic forms of masculinity are developed in relation to other subordinate forms and to femininity (Light & Kirk, 2000).

Light and Kirk (2000) state that the form of masculinity embedded in the habits of the young men at this Australian school, clearly indicates that the hegemonic ways of being male contributes to the maintenance of existing relations of power between different forms of masculinity and between men and women. The body's engagement in sport and physical education is significant for the social development of young men and women's thoughts, attitudes and beliefs. It can aid the development of their gender identity and this can contribute to the reproduction of unequal, gender-based social relations (Light and Kirk, 2000). Within the

growth of literature on the body there is clearly a need for further, in-depth research on the extent to which social relationship of power are embodied through both boys and girls experiences of school sport and physical education. Investigations of how it acts to reproduce gender-based social inequality are also needed.

The world of manual labour also provides a continuous display of men's bodies in motion. Manual workers are vulnerable to a working situation that allows them to define masculinity through the labour process (Connell, 1995). Heavy manual work calls for strength, endurance, and a degree of insensitivity, toughness and group solidarity. Emphasising the masculinity of industrial labour has been both a means of survival in exploitative class relationships and a means of asserting power over women (Connell, 1995). This emphasis reflects an economic reality. Donaldson (1991), collecting accounts of factory labour, notes that working men's bodily capacities are their economic asset. Their bodies are what they put on the labour market. Yet this asset changes. Industrial labour under the regime of profit uses up the workers' bodies through fatigue, injury and mechanical wear and tear. The decline of strength, threatening loss of income or the job itself can be offset by the growth of skill up to a point (Connell, 1995). Connell (1995) points out that it is at that point, unless he is very lucky, that a man's labouring days are over.

The combination of force and skill is open to change. Where deskilling and casualisation alter work, working class men are increasingly defined as possessing force alone. The process is virulent where class exclusion combines with racism, as was the case in South Africa under Apartheid. The Apartheid economy literally "reserved" skilled jobs for white men and casualised black labour on a massive scale (Connell, 1995). Connell suggests that this definition

is supported by a powerful historical change in labour markets, the growth of credentialism, linked to a higher education system that selects and promotes along class lines.

The body, in conclusion, is inescapable in the construction of masculinity. But what is inescapable is not necessarily fixed. The bodily processes entering in the social process becomes part of history (both personal and collective) and a possible object of politics (Connell, 1995). Connell argues that this does not return us to the idea of bodies as landscape. They have various forms of recalcitrance to social symbolism and control.

2.3 CONTEXTUALISATION OF WOMEN ABUSE IN SOUTH AFRICA
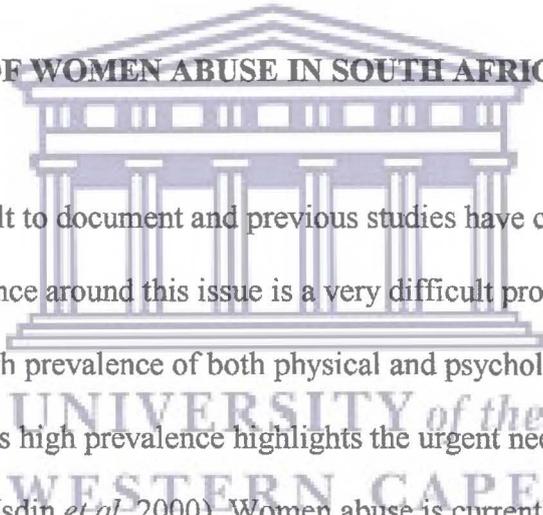
Women abuse is notoriously difficult to document and previous studies have considerably underestimated it. Breaking the silence around this issue is a very difficult process. Despite this, various studies have identified a high prevalence of both physical and psychological abuse against women in South Africa. This high prevalence highlights the urgent need for more effective legislation and policing (Usdin *et al*, 2000). Women abuse is currently being legislated as a criminal offence and is punishable by law. Jackson (1997), in her review of the current services for abused women, argues that although the broader principles on women abuse have been set out, a lot of change needs to occur in terms of changing the attitudes of the police. It will lessen the secondary abuse many abused women suffer when reporting such incidents. The training of the police force should include a more empathetic response to the plight of the abused woman.

In terms of domestic violence, the legal system in South Africa still needs a lot more refinement to protect the right of the female victim. The Western Cape Network on Violence against Women were outraged at the suspended sentence handed down to a man who hit his wife with his fists, dragged her over the ground, burned her with hot candle wax and throttled her (Ellis, 2002, p. 26). Ellis (2002, p.26) reported that Cheryl Ayogu, coordinator at the above mentioned organisation stated that incidents like this showed that prosecutors and magistrates "…undervalue the lives of women" and that "…the sentence is unjust and truly unbelievable". The Justice Department is a strong mechanism to send out the signal that the use of anger and treatment of women in a harmful way will not be tolerated.
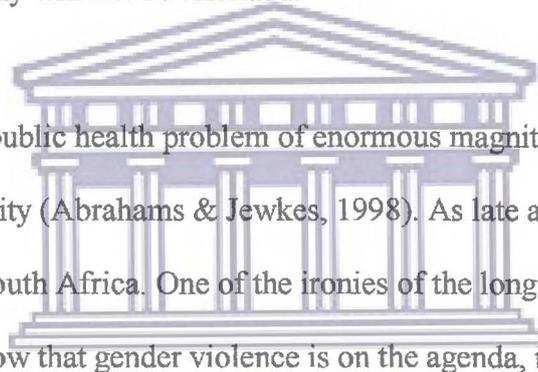
Male violence against women is a public health problem of enormous magnitude and is an important cause of women's mortality (Abrahams & Jewkes, 1998). As late as 1997, it became recognised as national priority in South Africa. One of the ironies of the long years of struggle by women's organisations is that now that gender violence is on the agenda, it has been labeled as a "women's problem." Abraham & Jewkes (1998) argue that the essential role of men in gender power relationships and abusive interactions has been substantially ignored, as interventions has focussed on support for abused women (which obviously is important) and various forms of women's behavioural change. In the cycle of violence, one of the most important role-players are left out and that is the partner, hence the perpetrator. As a consequence, very little is known about men who abuse women. Especially that aspect of their abusive behaviour that has the potential for change is inadequately explored.

It is becoming more recognised that interventions have to be directed towards the abuser in order to decrease abuse against women, since most women choose to live with the man (Schuerger &

Reigle, 1988). Few men's programmes are initiated in South Africa, with the exception of the work done by the Catholic Welfare Development programmes in Cape Town, ADAPT in Alexandra and Famsa – Western Cape.

Much of the conflict related to men's views of gender roles originates from the perceptions that they own and have a right to control their women and their households. These findings are in keeping with overseas research findings (Ellsberg, 1997). Motsei (1983) states that poverty is not the main cause of violence against women in South Africa. She suggests that men learn from an early age to see and treat women as objects. They have been raised to believe a real man is one who is able to control women by being aggressive and violent. South African structures, institutions, cultures and practices, which are male dominated, justify, maintain and produce violence. South Africa comprises of multiple cultures and abuse occurs across all these cultures. Watts *et al* (1995) notes that some cultures are more patriarchal and binding than others. A cultural institution such as *Lobola* objectifies women and gives more substance to the notion of patriarchy. The payment of *Lobola* restricts women from leaving abusive relationships. Women located in rural communities are especially more disempowered because of the lack of structural support and resources (Department of Justice, 1997).

Abuse against women cannot be understood in isolation. We need to view it from a social, political and cultural context (Benjamin, 1995; Gilbert, 1996). South Africa has a very violent history, especially of political violence. People have been exposed to high levels of violence and have been desensitised to the psychological effects of the trauma of violence. It is argued that people became complacent and accepted violence as natural (Duncan & Rock, 1994). South African men and women have often experienced our history in different ways. Gender has coded

women's identities and cast them in particular social roles, which have restricted their civil and political status (Goldblatt & Meintjies, 1997). Goldblatt & Meintjies (1997) argue that the gender coded identity form the basis of the public-private divide, which gives men the main role of civil and political representation within the household, to the exclusion of women. Also intersecting with gender is race, class and other identities, such as ethnic and religious allegiances.

Goldblatt & Meintjies (1997) argue that as with other forms of social and political control and dominance over women have often been enforced by violence. While Apartheid defined blacks as secondary political and civil subjects, women were given an even further diminished status through various social and legal mechanisms. The recent sprees of family murders are another dimension of control and power which men have over their women and children. According to Bamford (2000, p.10), Daleen van Staden, director of Famsa –Western Cape argues that the perpetrators of these crimes exert power over their women and families. On the outside they would be macho but inside they would feel like a victim. If anyone questioned their authority or tried to interfere, they would become targets. Van Staden also mentions that this type of man would also have a sense of entitlement and would not see the value in a woman, especially if she is unemployed.

Ratele (2001) investigated how black masculinity is constructed in everyday interactions with black males by examining the discursive experiences of a number of black men. Ratele (2001) looked at the way in which girls and women are located in black men's understanding of themselves, as well as how masculinity is negotiated in social processes. The assumption is that everyday conversations that the "ouens" occupied, played an important role in the ways in which

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masculinity are discursively constructed. The sites of heterosexual relationships are said to be the site of inequality and gendered violence.

Our country has one of the highest rates of domestic abuse, rape and increasing levels of HIV/AIDS infections. Intimate relationships reflect these conflicts. Abuse against female partners is tolerated and becomes part of life. In the majority of cases men are the perpetrators of abuse against women. Men refuse to practice safe sex while relationships of inequality, dominance and submission prevents women from effectively negotiating safer sex and a life without abuse.

2.4   Chapter summary
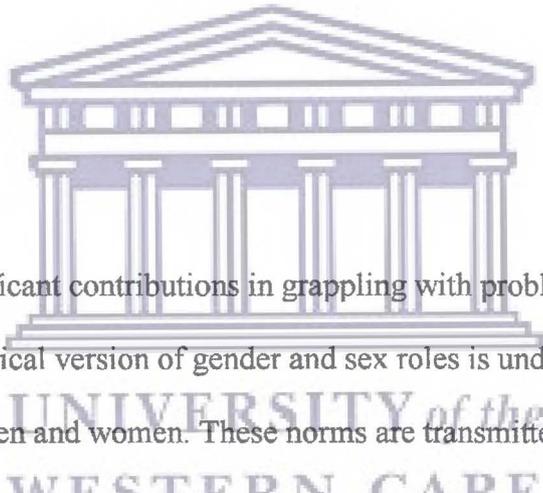
Social researchers have made significant contributions in grappling with problems around men and masculinity. A socio-psychological version of gender and sex roles is understood as a range of behavioral norms intended for men and women. These norms are transmitted to the youth through processes of socialisation. Whereas social learning theory places emphasis on socialisation and cultural processes, psychoanalysis refers more to the relationship between biological differences and the psychological character of men and women. Feminist analysis emphasises how women's sex roles oppress women, this view also leads to a discussion of the way men's sex role oppresses men. The key underpinnings of this theory investigate gender as a structure of social relations, especially as a structure of power relations.

The traditional masculine character is structured and maintained by formal and informal practices. Although the mentioned domains in this chapter have been under construction

recently, it remains commonplace for patriarchal powers to exist and create notions of sexual inequality, gender order and the female-male dichotomy.

South Africa is continuously engaged in creating a society with a deepened sense of democracy, non- – sexism and non-racism. Critical to that is the transformation of power relations between women and men in all spheres of our lives including the family. Central to transformation is the eradication of all forms of abuse against women. Abuse against women is a societal problem that has had phenomenal proportions. This phenomenon is one of the most serious threats to democracy. Elimination of this social disease becomes a challenge to all in governmental organisations, academia, businesses, social movements and communities. The elimination of abuse against women needs a multi – dimensional approach, whereby public education and united action by both government and legislative structures are necessary. Until women are freed from the torture of abuse, they cannot be full and active participants in civil society. In the next chapter, a theoretical framework is provided why men abuse their intimate partners.
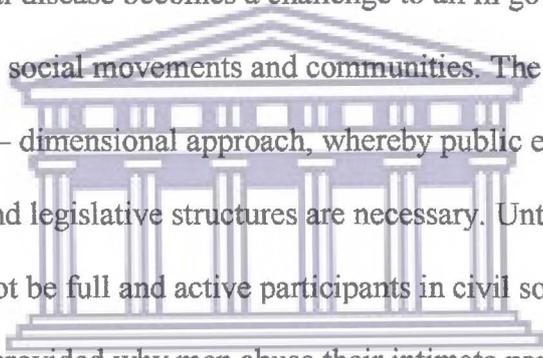
CHAPTER THREE

PERSPECTIVES ON WHY MEN ABUSE THEIR INTIMATE PARTNERS

This chapter will explore three theories that attempt to explain men's abusive behaviour toward their intimate partners. A review of social learning, structural and feminist theory will be undertaken. Although all these theories are taken into consideration in the research process, the researcher's understanding is more firmly lodged in the social learning and feminist theories. A short summary of the psychoanalytic theory will be provided but will not form part of the theoretical basis of the study.

3.1   Social learning framework
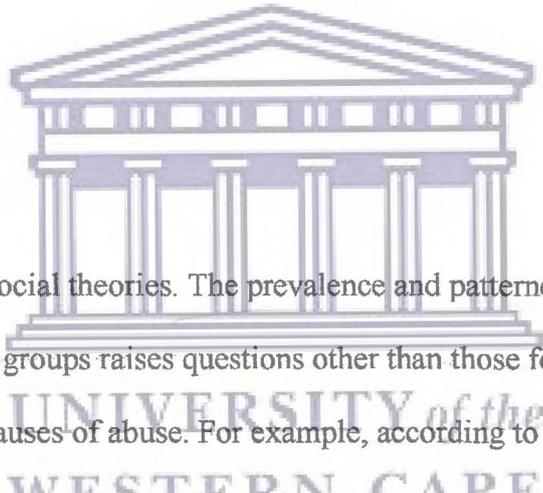
Male violence raises questions for social theories. The prevalence and patterned variation of wife abuse amongst different social groups raises questions other than those focusing on psychoanalytic factors as primary causes of abuse. For example, according to the psychoanalytic perspective, a process of more emphatic individuation of boys takes place, initially from the mother and later from others. This entails the defensive establishment of ego boundaries as an overlay on fundamental emotional insecurity (Chodorow, 1978). In turn, these defenses may develop to become forms of compensatory hyper-masculinity that invite forms of abuse when women cannot or do not satisfy men's dependency needs and misogyny itself.

Sociologists are not concerned about individual psychopathology or personality traits, but rather assume that social structural factors lead to wife abuse (Yllo & Bograd, 1988). The social structure contains two analytically distinct elements, (1) social organisations or the patterns of

relationships among groups and (2) culture or the norms and values guiding behaviour (Yllo & Bograd, 1988). Sociologists who focus on behaviour that leads to wife abuse assume that particular structural arrangements within the family produce stress and conflict. The family system responds to it by adopting the dynamics and conditions of the larger society, and these responses are mediated by socialisation and learning. The reactive response of violence is a response to structural and situational stimuli. Other sociologists place more causal emphasis on the domain of social meanings, norms and values that specify who can hit whom, how hard, and under what circumstances (Yllo & Bograd, 1988). These sociologists link wife abuse to social norms and cultural values that legitimise the sexist structure of male/female power relations and men's prerogative to use force against their wives. Sociologists often attribute wife battering to the breakdown of the family as an institution resulting from external stresses or changing cultural norms.
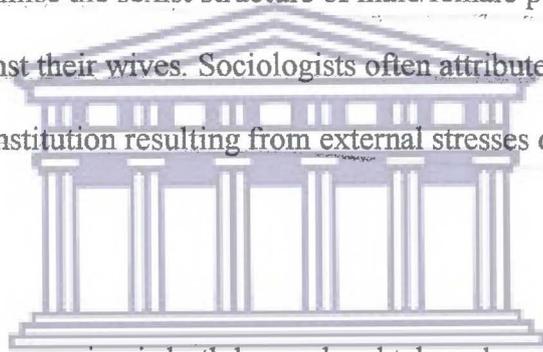
Social learning theory argues that aggression is both learned and takes place in a social context. It rejects the notion that aggression is an inner drive (Segal, 1983). As applied to family violence, O' Leary (1988) suggests that a combination of contextual and situational factors, including individual characteristics and societal characteristics, create an environment in which family violence may or may not take place. The situational factors precipitate family violence when they occur in the presence of contextual factors that also encourage family violence (O'Leary, 1988). He suggests that contextual factors that are especially important for spousal abuse in the family of origin are stress and aggressive personality style, whilst the key situational factors are marital strife and alcohol use. When these four factors come together, abuse between spouses is likely. It should be noted that research has proven that abuse can occur

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without the presence of alcohol and that if alcohol is present it only it serves as a facilitator (Levinson, 1989).

The approach within the social learning perspective that has drawn the most attention is the theory of intergenerational transmission of family violence. There is now considerable evidence that individuals who observed or perhaps experienced family violence in their childhood homes are more likely to be involved in violent, abusive marital relationships later in life (Kalmuss, 1984; Pagelow, 1981; Strauss *et al*, 1980; Ulbrich & Huber, 1981). However, it is important to note that some research suggests that the effects of observing family violence in childhood may be somewhat different for men and women, with a more direct effect on men (Arias & O' Leary, 1984). In accordance with the social learning perspective, this intergenerational pattern can be explained in terms of the individual modeling their behaviour on that of significant others. A criticism of this theory is that it doesn't explain why only some men who have been exposed to violence become violent with their partners. It also does not take into account the function that violent behaviour plays in maintaining power and control over women by individual men, and by men as a class (Hanmer & Sanders, 1984; Maconachie *et al*, 1993).

Social learning theory also implies that men learn to be violent. They are exposed to violence as a coping mechanism for dealing with stress in the family (Roy, 1977). The assumption made by Roy (1977) suggests that individual psychopathology is not the core reason for abuse. Rather, it is a way in which certain men learn to respond. The cycle of violence is repetitive once abuse has occurred between partners. Because violence is learned behaviour, batterers can change, learn abusive behaviour or learn new behaviour.

3.2   Structural framework

Among structural explanations of abuse, emphasis may be placed on patriarchal capitalism (Messerschmidt, 1986), patriarchal social relations, or the role of patriarchal institutions in supporting violence (Kelly & Radford, 1987). Messerschmidt (1986) argues that crime, including violence, is available as a resource for the making of masculinity, or at least particular forms of masculinity. Miedzian (1992) focuses on the dominant rearing patterns and socialisation processes of boys. Her approach is not a simple model of socialisation, but rather an attempt to consider the construction of masculinity and violence. Her approach also attempts to analyse the power of violence in negotiating masculinities. While this may be functional in considering men's violence towards each other, such analysis needs to be extended to men's reproduction of violence/masculinity in relation to women (Stanko, 1994).
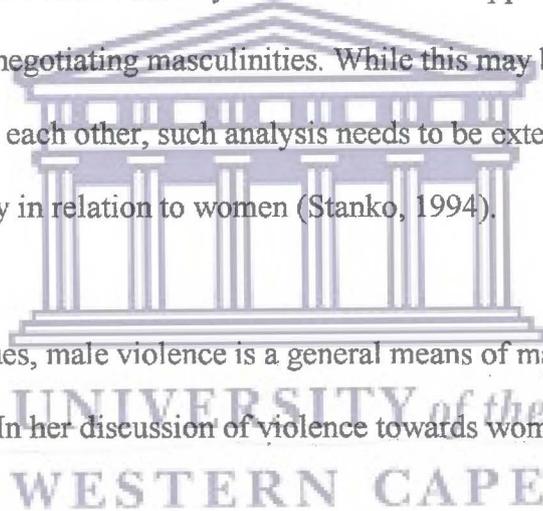
According to anti-patriarchal critiques, male violence is a general means of maintaining and reinforcing power (Carlson, 1979). In her discussion of violence towards women, Carlson states that:

> Part of the tradition of the family home has the husband and father as absolute ruler. Out of generosity he may help with the dishes or help with the kids. But it is understood he doesn't have to do it; his "helping" is a gift. His work is to maintain his version of a proper family. His wife and children must be trained to his standards of decorum. If he feels the need to use physical force to maintain the version, he has considerable support.

In this context, men's abuse of known women is an outflow of dominant-submissive power relations that exist in "normal" family life. Men may resort to violence when their power and

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privileges are challenged, and other strategies fail. Furthermore, men's violence to known women may develop in association with feelings of being threatened when women do not do what men expect in terms of child care, housework, paid work, sex and other spheres. Frustration and anger at possible or potential loss of power in one sphere may also be acted upon in another sphere or relationships where there may be less resistance. The subordination of women is associated with patriarchal societies (Bograd, 1988). Researchers argue that there has been a historical tolerance and sometimes even encouragement of abuse against women by male members of religious, medical, criminal justice and legal systems. It should thus come as no surprise if abuse is tolerated in the family as well (Kurtz, 1987).

Women are viewed as the property of their fathers, then of their husbands. Social institutions in which men wield power and authority tolerate women. *Lobola* in the South African context is a culturally acceptable tradition that tends to perpetuate entitlement and objectification of women by men. As a result of these ideologies, men exercise power and privilege in society at large. Women are systematically excluded from business, legal, political and religious leadership. The same gender hierarchy is used to maintain and establish control over women at the home front (Cardarelli, 1997).

Some researchers view sexual inequality as a causal factor in intimate abuse, because a sexist society provides few opportunities for economic independence for women who would otherwise leave abusive marriages (Pogrebin, 1974; Schuyler, 1976). On the other hand, some researchers have argued that abuse becomes a measure of maintaining sexual inequality. This is so because husbands may feel threatened by marital conflict, since there are increasing alternatives to marriage (Toby, 1974; Whitehurst, 1974; Marsden & Owens, 1975). Martin (1976) and Dobash
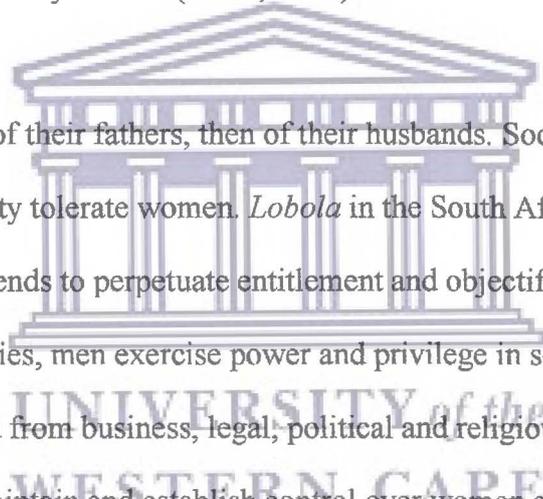
& Dobash (1988) argue that wife abuse is a modification of a long standing historical tradition of male domination of women. In extending this perspective, Martin (1976) focuses on the economic dependency of women on men and argues that this dependence is the result of the organisation and history of marriage along with the economic, legal and religious systems that relegate women to subordinate roles.

Dobash & Dobash (1980) assert that violent men who assault their wives are actually living up to cultural prescriptions that are cherished in Western society. Aggression, domination, degradation, female subordination and the use of physical force are means to enforce that dominance.

The structural perspective on the "normality" of men's abuse within dominant masculinities and men's patriarchal power is not necessarily at odds with psychoanalytic accounts of men's abuse. The fact that there are abusive men is not the product of psychological traits – all men can be abusive. However, it is certain men committing abuse to known women and it is possible that these men, like other men, can be assessed and understood psycho-dynamically (Hearn, 1987). This still leaves the question of the place of abuse, both in general and to known women, within the psychodynamics of men who are not currently physically abusive and within what is seen as " normal masculinity."

3.3   Feminist framework

In contrast, feminists suggest that stress is not simply external impositions on the family, but is built into the very same nature of contemporary family life. This is because of the way

heterosexual intimate relationships are structured along lines of gender and power (Bograd, 1988). Husband-to-wife abuse is thus conceived not as an aberrant phenomenon but as a fundamental dimension in most normally functioning families (Bograd, 1988). Bograd (1988) is of the opinion that while sociologists aspire to understand the link between personality, family life and the broader social context, their interpretations and theoretical explanations are often too general and do not empirically answer why men as a class wield control over women.

Many feminists have critiqued both the ideology and the structure of the traditional one-income two-parent heterosexual family (Barrett & McIntosh, 1982; Branca, 1975; Gittins, 1985; Segal, 1983). Not only is the traditional ideology unrepresentative of the experience of many women, but society is also organised such that women who do not conform to this structure are denied acknowledgement within social institutions (Kirkwood, 1993). A major feminist critique of the hegemonic two-parent heterosexual family is that it supports and reinforces a system where women are oppressed. One of the most profound illustrations of such oppression in the traditional family system is woman battering. Thus, through this feminist approach, women abuse is seen as developing out of a social ideology and structure that enforces the traditional family.

The propensity to use violence is greater among men than among women. For men violence is embedded in a net of physicality experienced in male culture. Young men are risk takers and although male culture is variable in aggressive and violent behaviour, it is highly valued in many cultures of masculinity (Dobash & Dobash, 1988). Violence lifts men to heroic stature. It emphasises male power and control. These are the markers of masculinity. Certain cultures of masculinity reward aggressive and violent encounters (Archer, 1994). Such encounters are

valuable signs of manhood and male prowess. It symbolises that men are different from women (Bourgois, 1996; Descola, 1996; Lancaster, 1992). Men learn to "do" violence and within some cultural expressions it plays an important role in their social place and personal identity (Newburn & Stanko, 1994; Toch, 1992). Important to note is that the power and domination strategy in wife abuse does not only include physical violence but is at times accompanied by psychological, emotional, verbal and economic abuse.

Given the wide variety of feminist philosophies, there is no unified feminist perspective on wife abuse. A question that unifies many feminist researchers is " why do men abuse their wives?" Furthermore, feminists seek answers to this question at a social or group level rather than examining it on an individual level. Feminists seek to understand why men in general use physical force and psychological means against their partners and what function this serves for a given society in a specific historical context (Chapman & Gates, 1978; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, 1976; Pagelow, 1981; Russell, 1982; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1979).
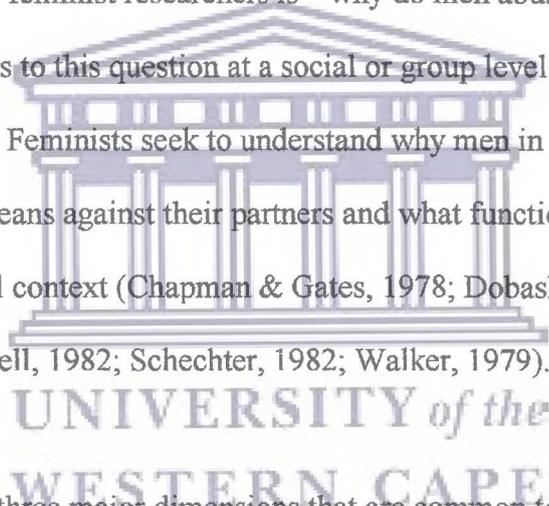
The following is an explanation of three major dimensions that are common to all feminist perspectives on wife abuse. These are the explanatory utility of the constructs of gender and power; secondly, the analysis of the family historically situated as a social institution; and thirdly, the validation of women's experiences:

1) The explanatory constructs of gender and power

When a husband abuses his wife it is viewed as a random, impulsive and irrational act. A feminist definition of wife abuse becomes more analytical and understandable through

examining the social context of the occurrence. Our society is constructed along dimensions of gender. Men as a dominant class wield power over women. As the dominant class, men have differential access to important material and symbolic resources, while women are devalued as secondary and inferior (Yllo & Bograd, 1988). Although race and class differences exist among men, all men can use abuse as a means to subordinate women. There are many ways that men as a group maintain women in oppressed social positions. Abuse is the most effective, short-term, overt means of social control (Yllo & Bograd, 1988).

Yllo & Bograd point out that even if individual men refrain from employing physical force against their partners, men as a class benefit from how women's lives are restricted and limited because of the fear of violence, demoralization and humiliation by husbands, lovers and strangers. The above theorists also view wife abuse as a reinforcing agent of women's passivity and dependence as men exert their rights to authority and control. The reality of domination at the social level is the most crucial factor contributing to and maintaining wife abuse at the personal level.
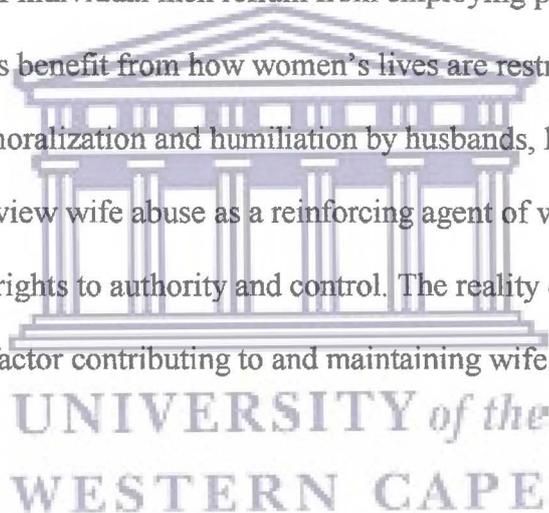
2) The family as a social institution

The family as a social institution mediates the oppression at a broader social level and the personal relationship of intimidating partners. The family's structure, functions and processes must be examined in their current socio-historical context (Yllo & Bograd, 1988). Feminist theorists have congenially argued that wife abuse is closely related to the historical development of the isolated nuclear family in a capitalist society, by division of the public and domestic domains. The specialisation of appropriate male and female family roles contributes to the

current position of wives as legally and morally bonded to husbands (Breines & Gordon, 1983; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, 1976; Schecter, 1982).

The particular socio-historical context is an essential factor in understanding women abuse. As feminists link wife abuse to the structure of current family life, they draw theoretical and empirical links to the personal and the political. This leads to new understandings of battering and abuse. Wife abuse is not a private matter but a social one (Yllo & Bograd, 1988).

3) Validating women's experience
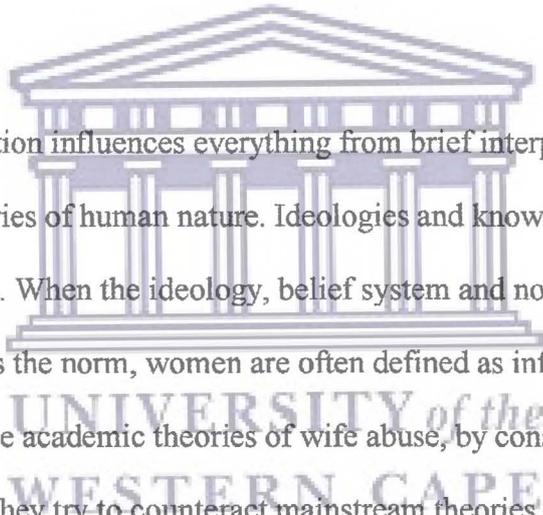
Feminists assume that male domination influences everything from brief interpersonal exchanges to the most abstract theories of human nature. Ideologies and knowledge are shaped by the interest of the dominant class. When the ideology, belief system and norms (which is mainly male-orientated) are taken as the norm, women are often defined as inferior, distorted or invisible. Feminists critically analyse academic theories of wife abuse, by considering it from women's own frame of reference. They try to counteract mainstream theories that explain wife abuse as the way women are blamed or implicated in the abuse. In contrast to the dominant views of abuse that portray women as the helpless victims or as provocative women who ask for the abuse, Yllo & Bograd (1988) view abused women as survivors of harrowing life-threatening experiences who have many adaptive capacities and strengths. Another feminist critique of the bias in theories and practices is that it is linked to systematic patterned beliefs that reflect male constructed understandings of women, abuse and intimate relationships.

A critique against the feminist model has also been highlighted. Yllo (1983) points out that feminist paradigms have fallen short of providing a full or complete explanation of intimate abuse. For instance, why is a relatively small amount of men choosing to abuse despite the rewards that the act seems to bring. In addition, while the feminist perspective highlights the gendered nature of power and entitlement within heterosexual relationships, this emphasis overlooks the problem of partner abuse in same-sex relationships, especially lesbian relationships (Carderelli, 1997).

3.4   Chapter summary
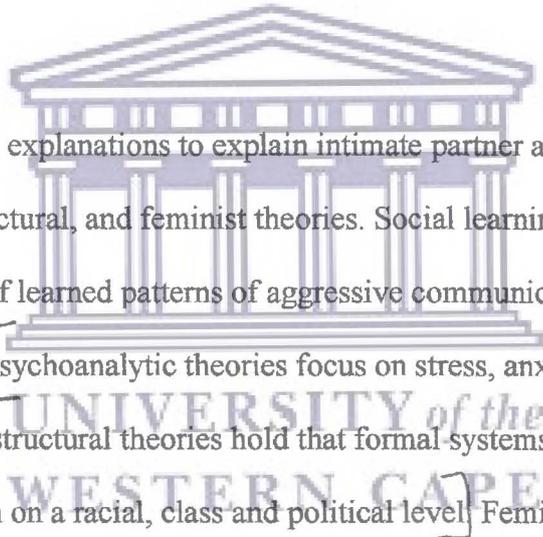
This chapter offered four theoretical explanations to explain intimate partner abuse, namely social learning, psychoanalytic, structural, and feminist theories. Social learning theories consider abuse to be an outgrowth of learned patterns of aggressive communications to which both husband and wife contribute. Psychoanalytic theories focus on stress, anxiety and anger instilled during childrearing, while structural theories hold that formal systems in society perpetuate the oppression of women on a racial, class and political level. Feminist explanations consider patriarchal power to be at the heart of the abuse. The following chapter provides a report on the methodology used to collect and analyse the data. The chapter also presents the researcher's reflection on the research project.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains qualitative feminist methodology and philosophy. This is the central methodology utilised in the study. Furthermore, I will examine the conflicts that exist for women researchers in the process of doing research on men (especially perpetrators of intimate partner abuse). The chapter also provides an overview of the aims, methods and procedures, as well as a reflection by the researcher on the research project.

4.1   Qualitative and feminist methodology

This study makes use of a framework that largely draws upon qualitative feminist research methodology and philosophies. Feminist researchers argue that because there is a real relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee in their work, it is therefore important for the interviewer to be aware of his or her emotions and reactions. It is also important to note the cultural assumptions that the participants adhere to.

Qualitative research is defined as an interpretive study of a specific issue or problem in which both the researcher and participants are central to the research (Bannister *et al*, 1994). Feminist researchers view the researcher and the participants as collaborators. Both qualitative and feminist methodologies emphasise self-reflexivity. This means that the researcher needs to reflect on her own process during the research, including reflections of her social identity, the role of the researcher in the process and her investment in the project (Shefer, 1998). For a feminist researcher, reflecting on her socially identifiable role as a woman is also vital in the

research process. In this respect, the researcher will reflect on her own experiences and how they influence the research process and analysis. The feminist framework takes into account the influence of gender stereotypes and roles of men in interpretations of research findings. Therefore, a diary was kept to reflect on feelings and observations that the researcher experienced through the data-gathering process.

Qualitative interviewing emphasises the relativism of culture, the active participation of the interviewer and the importance of giving the interviewee a voice (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). A central question for social researchers is how they construct, understand and deconstruct reality. This informs the way research will be conducted (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1993). Like the interpretive social researchers, ideas need to emerge from the interviews and from the lives and examples of the interviewees, rather than to categorise answers (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Qualitative social researchers tend to agree with feminist methodology in that the interviewer should not be dominating the interview relationship. Qualitative research also argues that the interviewer cannot be completely neutral. They need to consider their own beliefs, needs and interests as they go through the process of the interview.

Qualitative research does not seek principles that are true all the time and in all conditions, like laws of physics. Rather the goal is the understanding of specific circumstances, how and why things actually happen in a complete world (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The knowledge gained in the research is situational and conditional. In other words, a researcher does not begin with a theory and then prove it, but rather begins with an area of study. What is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Some feminist researchers emphasise the need to be collaborators. A critique has been lodged

against the traditional positivist model of research whereby power relationships between the researchers and those being researched, exist specifically between men and women.

Feminist methodology and analysis are not separated from the political and social realities of men's experiences. The feminist framework takes into account the influence of gendered stereotypes and the roles of women in the interpretation of research findings. These methods include feminist principles of research.

4.2   Doing research on men
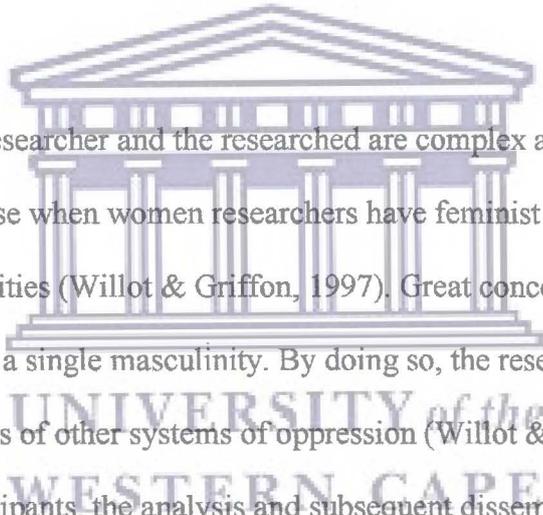
The power dynamics between the researcher and the researched are complex and sometimes contradictory. It is especially the case when women researchers have feminist convictions in their exploration of masculine identities (Willot & Griffon, 1997). Great concern is given to analyse male discourses in terms of a single masculinity. By doing so, the researcher risks failing to see the big picture in terms of other systems of oppression (Willot & Griffon, 1997). In the course of talking to the participants, the analysis and subsequent dissemination, privileging any voice over another must to be avoided. Willott & Griffon (1997) describes the unawareness of doing research with men, as our unawareness of the myriad of subtle ways in which we are positioned in relation to the knowledge/power structure nexus.

Feminist research has typically chosen to explore the experience of women, previously silenced by an androcentric academy (Squire, 1989; Warren, 1988). Feminist research into the construction of masculine identities is important, partly because femininities are constructed in relation to masculinities. It also makes sense that as feminists we need to understand this

relationship. Mies (1991) puts it in this way: "A new perspective on the totality of society, means we bring relationships to light which previously remained in darkness." That is to say, when we speak about women, we must speak of men (Mies, 1991). Exploring the construction and re-negotiation of different masculine identities in relation to each other is another way to understand the relationship between femininities and masculinities (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). The traditional psychological research has been based mostly on the experiences of white, middle class, heterosexual, able-bodied men. We must take account of all systems of oppression in any analysis of gender. We should also consider the lives of men who perpetuate and are subordinated by this norm, thereby throwing light on dominant versions that oppress women and men (Willott & Griffon, 1997).

Being a woman with feminist ideologies doing research on men, can be problematic, given the inseparable and complex connection between power and all systems of oppression such as gender, class and race. When people divided by such systems interact, there is a necessity both to reflect on how each is positive and to seek ways to redress inequality (Willott & Griffon, 1997).

4.3   Aims of the current study

The broad aim of the study is to explore the extent to which hegemonic masculinity contributes to the occurrence of intimate partner abuse in heterosexual relationships. More specifically, the focus is on the following objectives. Firstly, to see the extent to which masculine ideology is brought into abusive relationships. Secondly, to see whether a strong conformist male gender identity contributes to intimate partner abuse. Thirdly, to see the impact, if any, of culture, on the

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role the men perceive hegemonic masculinity to play in relationships. Fourthly, to see how the study can in some way contribute to decreasing the phenomenon of abuse in intimate relationships.

4.4   Participants

The participants of the study were drawn from an existing group of male perpetrators ("Men Stopping Violence Rehabilitation Programme") at Famsa -Western Cape. The group at Famsa - Western Cape is an open group whereby members joined either voluntary or were court-ordered. Six participants were included in the study. In terms of the selection, participants needed to be relatively new to the group. The time frame was specified because of the "unrehabilitated" beliefs and attitudes they still hold about the roles men and women have in society. The rehabilitation programme entailed sixteen sessions. The men were asked to participate voluntary. The co-ordinator of the programme, Joslyn Cruywagen also acted as the liaison officer and recruited the participants.
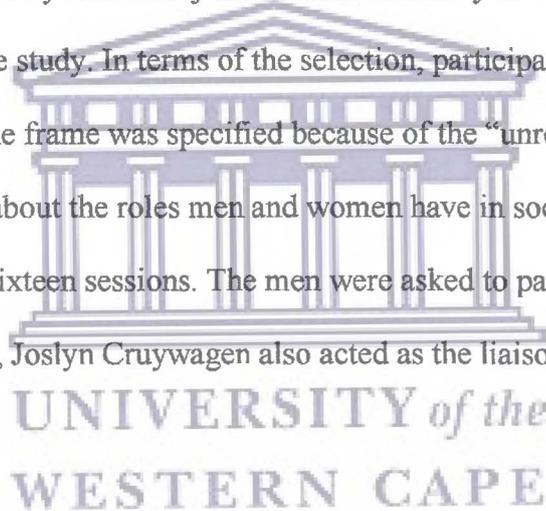
Most of the interviews were conducted in English or Afrikaans. The participants chose to conduct the interviews in English, yet through some of the interviews some of the participants switched between English and Afrikaans. The participants' ages ranged from between 23-45 years old. Five of the participants were Coloured and one was White. Three of the men were employed in the formal market, two were self-employed and one was unemployed. Two were separated from their wives at the moment of the interviews and two were still living with their wives. One was in the process of obtaining a divorce and one was trying to resolve his relationship with his girlfriend. Five of them are fathers of children. Four of them have been

served with interdicts and were ordered by the court to attend the rehabilitation programme. Two of the participants joined the rehabilitation programme voluntarily. Famsa – Western Cape reports back on the progress of the court-ordered members to the Magistrate' s Court or Correctional Services. Finally, the members of the group evaluate each other's progress.

4.5   Instruments

In the study a semi-structured interview schedule was utilised. The interview schedule consisted of two parts. The first part included biographical of the participants. Part two, were the interview questions, which consisted of three sections. Section one explored the participants' gender role socialisations within their cultural context. Section two explored their role in the abusive relationship and section three focussed on a brief evaluation and suggestions by the participants, if any, of the existing rehabilitation programme.
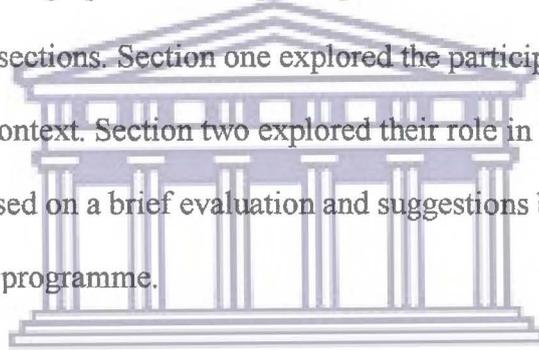
The in-depth interview with each participant was done in one session of approximately one to one and a half hours. The responses to the interview were audio-recorded and then transcribed verbatim. Permission for conducting the study was gained from the management team of Famsa-Western Cape. Copies of the permission contracts were handed in to Famsa -Western Cape. The researcher conducted the interview in the available area that the Centre provided. After conducting each interview, the researcher kept a diary of the process and explored possible themes, which emerged during the interviews.

4.6   Analysis

Thematic analysis was utilised to analyse the interviews. After transcription of the tapes and multiple readings of the transcription and diary entries, the dominant themes were documented and the data was coded accordingly. In the transcripts the participants were given numeric codes from 1 to 6. The transcripts were not included due to their bulkiness but is available on request. The process of analysis involved the thematic categorisation and classification of results. The process occurred through a dialogue with four basic steps. Firstly, an intuitive, holistic grasp of the data. Secondly, to see the emergence of similarities and themes. Thirdly, a reflection, synthesis and transformation of the data that has been gathered. Lastly, to see the classification of categories (Bless & Higson, 1995).
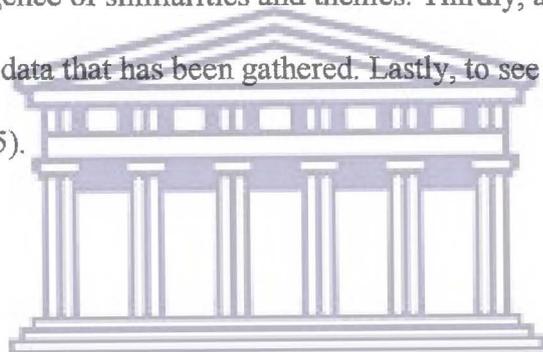
4.7 Ethical Considerations

The men in the study participated voluntarily and gave consent to be interviewed. The first part of the interview was utilised explaining the procedure and ethics of the research project. The information was treated anonymously and confidentially. All names or potential identification were omitted from the transcription and thesis. Given that women abuse is a sensitive issue, participants were allowed to withdraw if necessary. A copy of the thesis will be made available to Famsa-Western Cape. The participants were informed that a copy of the transcripts and final reports would be made accessible to them.

4.8   Self reflection on the research project

Feminist and qualitative research methodologies emphasise the investment of the researcher in the research process. As a woman, daughter, student and citizen my motivation to investigate spousal abuse from a different angle was to produce knowledge in order to decrease the endless atrocities against women. I had to venture into unknown territory armed with a readiness that I might find a well-guarded male domain. Mies (1991) states that we bring a new perspective on the totality of society, meaning that we bring relationships to light, which previously remained in darkness. Although I was wearing the cap of a social researcher and intern psychologist, hearing the participants' ideologies and validations of intimate partner abuse made me think that maybe we still have a long way to diminish the patriarchal force that braces several forms of oppression in South Africa.
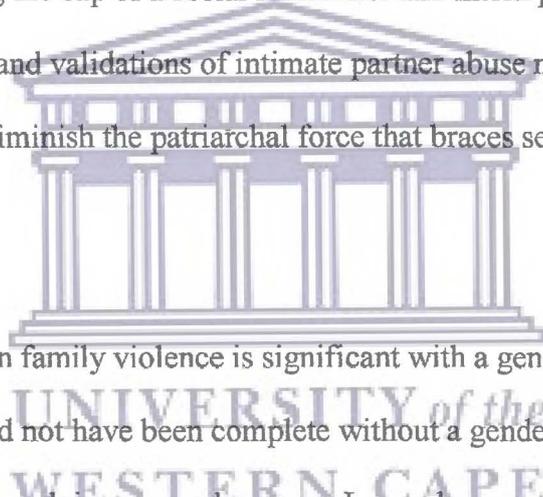
Gordon (1988) states that research in family violence is significant with a gender analysis to guide it. I found that the study would not have been complete without a gender and power explication. Being a female researcher doing research on men I was also aware of the subtle power play that was present. I would argue that there were often complex and contradictory power dynamics, therefore it could have implications for the particular piece of research that I was engaged in. Due to my prior knowledge and work with abused women, I constantly needed to refrain from having a biased "voice" through the exploration process. Although feminist methodology seeks to break down the hierarchy between researcher and researched, I found myself, in a number of ways, trying not to advantage one voice over another (be it mine or theirs).

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Moving into the well-guarded male domain I had to operate "without gender" in order to become a blank screen. My intention was for the men to see beyond my gender and hopefully I could create an atmosphere whereby they could feel open to disclose their narratives of abuse. Researching about men brings about different power relations. On the one hand, I was in a more powerful position as "the researcher with the knowledge," but in some ways, I was disempowered because I had to downplay my status as a woman. My gender was not very easy to forget and was still met with male chivalry and amenities.

During the interviews it was incumbent upon me to minimise myself as much as possible. I tried to limit my emotional responses and judgmental affect as much as I could. My intent was to facilitate honest narratives rather than continually challenging the men. While the confrontational approach could have been an effective strategy, I felt this style would have brought about a collection of the most defensive, superficial and dishonest responses. I would have maximised my impact and minimised their voices.
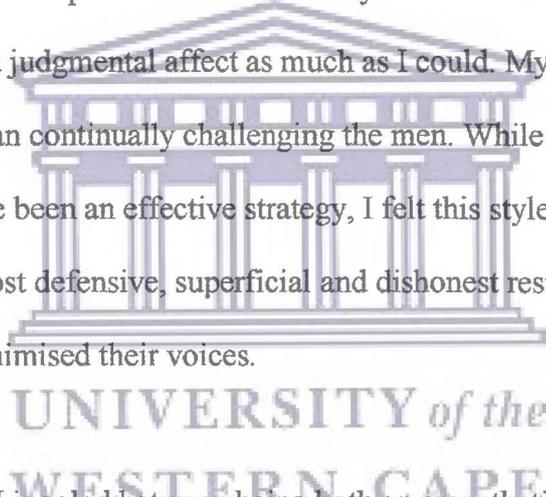
On the issue of being judgemental, I juggled between being both an empathetic participant and a detached observer. I was quite confident that I established the necessary empathy to have built rapport and trust. I gradually became aware of my own judgemental tendencies and made myself conscious thereof before interviews. There seemed to be an undertone of resistance and jockeying of power beneath the friendly manner which some of the individuals displayed during our initial telephonic appointments. After agreeing to participate four of them failed to show up for appointments, had endless apologies, rescheduling and last minute withdrawing from the research project. The endless phone calls, cancellations and last minute excuses delayed the completion of the project. This created delays and frustration. It could be interpreted that this

conflicting interaction may have been precipitated by a daunting fear of sharing the cruel details of their past (or present) with a stranger, especially a woman, even after agreeing to do so. The men who declined participation also attend the group infrequently. This might be a possible indication of their irresponsibility and lack of ambition to confront their abusive lifestyles.

In retrospect, although I was faced with personal conflicts, I have grown within the research topic. It was also an eye opener to the vast degree of unequal cultural gender beliefs that are entrenched on different levels of society, from rearing patterns, schooling, sports, sex and language. It made me aware that the same sexist beliefs that oppress women do oppress men as well, because of its conforming nature. Through the study I realized that in order to decrease the occurrence of women abuse, we need to start at the core of the problem - the abuser. Therefore I intend to continue my involvement by working inclusively with the survivor as well the perpetrator of abuse.
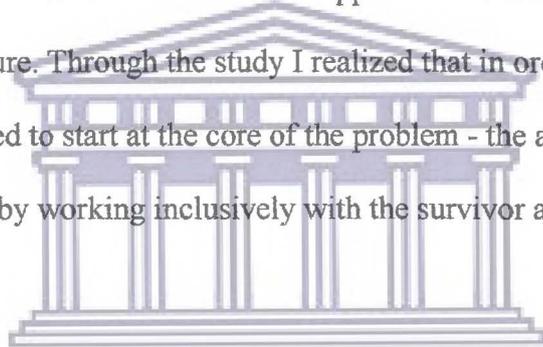
4.9   Chapter summary

This chapter presented the methodology used in the present study. In particular, it described the participants, the research design, the research instruments, the procedure and data analyses. Furthermore, ethical issues were addressed, as well as a reflection of the researcher on the research project. It also focussed on the experiences of women researchers working with men. The following chapter examines and discusses the themes that emerge in the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the results and discussion of the central themes that emerge from the study. It classifies the dominant themes into categories, substantiated by quotations from the participants. The participants are part of a rehabilitation programme. They stressed some of the beliefs and ideologies they ascribed to are prior to their experience at Famsa. They strive to alter these perceptions through attending the programme.

The themes are presented in five main categories:

(1) Family socialization

(1) Male identity construction

(2) Culture and perceptions of women

(3) Men's perceptions of abuse against women

(4) Famsa's "Men Stopping Violence Rehabilitation Programme".

5.1 FAMILY SOCIALIZATION

According to the evidence obtained, it is suggested that stresses are not merely external impositions on the family but are built into the nature of family life because of the way heterosexual intimate relationships are structured along lines of gender and power. The husband – to – wife abuse that these men observed between their parents could have contributed to their assumption that power and control are obtained by means of abuse. The abuse becomes a fundamental dimension in their family life. Many of the men in the sample experienced minimal

emotional expression as children and consequently communication difficulties with their intimate partner arose in their adult relationships. But this could also be ascribed to a pre- cast male assumption that emotion is assumed to be unmasculine. Showing emotions could be seen as a sign of weakness.

5.1.1 Witnessing abuse in family of origin

Social learning theory postulates that abuse is behaviour learned through the process of socialisation within families or societies. According to Park *et al* (2000), children who are exposed to violence or psychological harm, whether they experienced it themselves or witnessed the abuse of their mothers, suffer from emotional effects later in life. Five of the six participants recalled an abusive home in which their fathers victimised their mothers. The evidence in this study indicates that witnessing assaults on one's mother in childhood puts boys at risk of adopting similar techniques as an adult:
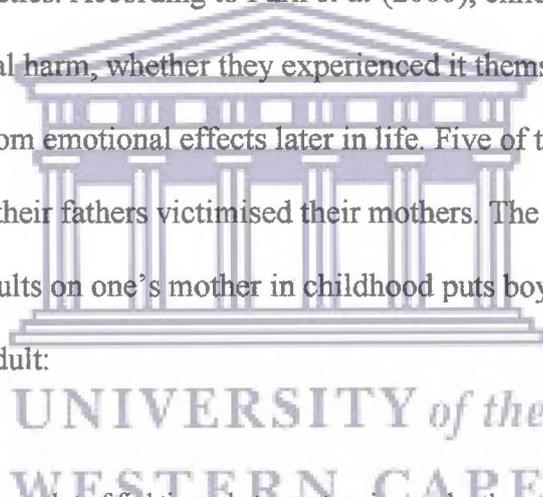
I guess I was growing up… there was always a lot of fighting whatever, tugging each other, my father leaving for two days, that's how I remember, always fussing and fighting (2).

The relationship..uhm..according to me …between my mother and father was difficult to understand……:my father always use to be the demanding person in the home and everything always at his specifications….. Everything he told my mother, she must do (3).

…Pretty aggressive. There was domestic violence. It was violent, yeah. It was violent because that's why I'm in this programme because of what I saw… what happened in my family.. I saw what happened between the two of them … and I mean it's sad for a child to see what grown ups is like. I told myself I will never ..and I don't want to be like that. That's the reason why I'm in this programme cause I don't wanna be violent (4).

The participants felt that they were opposed to the way their mothers were treated by their fathers. Yet a similar pattern of destructive problem-solving measures was apparent in their own intimate relationships. It can thus be interpreted that boys who witness abuse learn a powerful message about the right of a husband to demand conformity and obedience from their wives, and to use violence and psychological manipulation to achieve it.

One of the participants actively drew the violent behaviour of his father towards himself in order to protect his mother. Dobash & Dobash (1988) found that children who observe attacks overwhelmingly support their mothers either passively or actively:
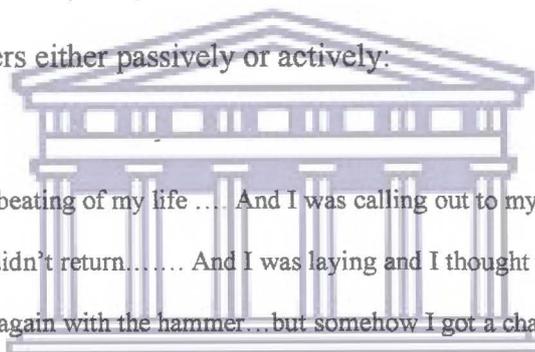
My mommy escaped... that night I got the beating of my life .... And I was calling out to my mommy and yet again... I felt that she left me because she didn't return........ And I was laying and I thought that was it...I'm gone. He punched me quite a few times and then again with the hammer...but somehow I got a chance to escape (6).

The findings in this study seem to concur with other similar studies. Gelles (1976) argues that a child who is exposed to violence in the home and who is a victim of parental abuse is much more likely than a child raised in a non-violent home to use violence against a child or spouse. The interrelation between wife abuse and child abuse experienced by some of the participants may be related to the unequal power relations between their fathers and mothers and between adults and children.

5.1.2 Father and son relationship

All the participants described their relationships with their biological father or stepfather as emotionally distant. Their fathers were unavailable for them at times. Father - son relationships frequently revolve strongly around physical activities. However, when a boy needs comfort or emotional release, he cannot always count on his father to provide this for him (Frosh *et al*, 2000). Four of the participants stated that there was no bond between their fathers and themselves:

It was very distant (the father–son relationship)...distant in the fact that we didn't have conversations, it was a silent relationship (1).

He was a very quiet person, very stern. Somebody I wouldn't normally have an open conversation with (3).

Two of the men spoke of their ambivalent feelings towards the abuse that their mother and themselves suffered at the hands of their father. Although they are aware of it they are replicating the same behaviour in their own lives:

There is no bond between my stepfather and I and there is no bond between my biological father, he left me at age when I was three years old. There was no father-son relationship, I saw what happened between my mother and father and I mean it's sad for a child to see ...growing up and I always told myself I will never be....like that ....(4).

I use to see my mother sitting on my father's head...and they use to argue...nagging all the time. I grew up telling myself never to let my wife nag on my head...but today I can see why she was nagging, so I understand why she did it , even though I understand why she did it, when my wife carry on like that , I have to shut her up...whether it is by smacking her or telling her to fuckin shut up or whatever... I would do that even though it is wrong, but it is like build in, you know, it's like robotic if she does this I'm gonna do that even though I know its wrong (3).
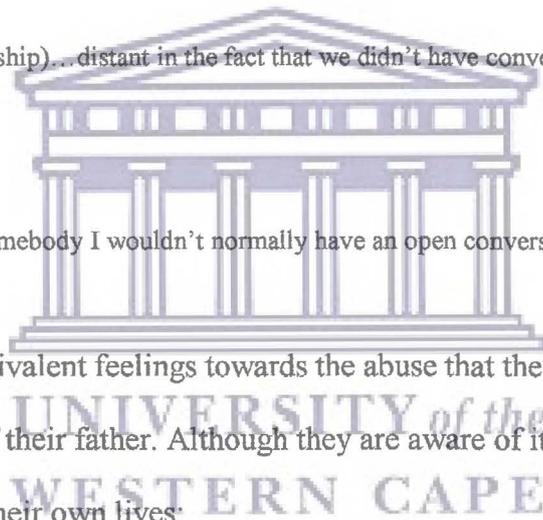
It seems that this type of role modeling has become an available source of dealing with conflict for these men. The rewards of being abusive are very powerful, as they maintain their authority and control over their significant others. It can also be argued that limited alternatives were not readily available for these men when they had to deal with differences.

5.1.3   Self expression in the family

All the men in the study reported that they had difficulty with expressing themselves at home. If they tried to express themselves, they would be "shut up" and often felt "rejected" because of this. They had to learn to "mask" and suppress their feelings. When they needed to confide in one of their parents, they would prefer their mother rather than their father, because they found the father to be unapproachable on an emotional level. Boys were not supposed to complain because they would be labeled as a "sissy". Therefore they would rather deal with it on their own. This point could be explained by referring to the constant gender role conditioning from childhood, where males are brought up to hide feelings of vulnerability. Keeping feelings in check is part of being in control and as a result, men are less likely to discuss or express feelings. The interviewer questioned respondents about the possible consequences of displaying feelings of vulnerability, and most of the men responded with hyper-masculine and control-seeking responses. All of the participants commented on their inability to show or share intimate feelings, and rather thought of other devices to cope with it:

Nobody really knew what was happening inside of me. Our first house that we had, I would normally climb on the roof and sit for hours and dream. I was never weak in anybody's eyes (1).

I was like in control you know everything was hunky dory and…I was in control of my life, even at a young age, yeah I was basically in control of my life (voice becoming softer) (2).

….When I really felt I don't have nowhere to turn to, I would just take the dog and take a walk to the bushes… when I normally calmed down and manage with my problem, then I can deal with my problems …then I go back to the house (3).

As a boy/man in society, it is not easily permitted to show emotions, which has a feminine connotation. Usually it leads to mocking or marganilisation. In a study of male and female relationships, Rubin (1983) argues that the societal messages that men receive are of camouflaging their feelings under a cover of exterior calm, strength and rationality. Feelings of fear are characterised as feminine. Therefore, when threats of the disintegration or breakdown of a relationship in adulthood take place and feelings of vulnerability are experienced, a man's sense of masculinity is challenged.
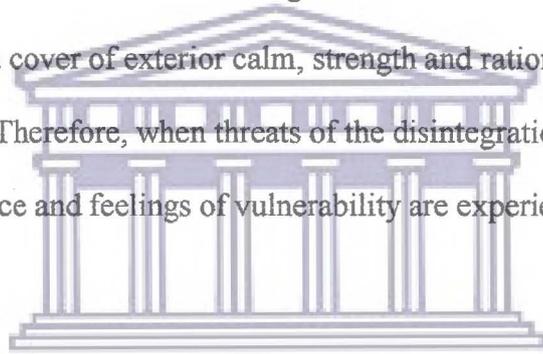
Most of the participants concurred that they deprived themselves of showing their feelings, and experienced difficulty in communicating with their partners:

I will get angry , it takes a lot from me to get angry. In other words I can absorb a lot and let it flow off my back. I have always been a bad communicator, it is my biggest flaw in life , when I was a child I also didn't need to talk to anybody or shared my feelings with anyone.I must make an effort to speak with my wife…I'm a bad communicator (5).

I'm not the type of person that would confide that easily out, you know for me to come to Famsa was a big step, I mean serious, it was something. If I weren't sort of pushed here by the court I would never have come. I'm better today than fifteen, ten years ago. I, I bottled up a lot of things. Sort of you know, just ride through it (4).

I felt insecure. I felt, I'm not good enough for her, why is she looking at somebody else when I'm here (3).

It could be argued that the emotional handicap that these men experience in their current relationships could be tied to the notion that men are not generally expected by society to be emotionally expressive or self-revealing, particularly with regard to feelings of vulnerability and weakness. They would "bottle" up their feelings, and tension would build up inside of them. This results in threats towards and degradation of their partner. Three participants expressed their feelings in a negative way toward their partners, and were rewarded with obedience and submissiveness. Jourard (1964) labels men's low self-disclosure a lethal aspect of the male role.

5.1.4 Traditional gender roles in family of origin
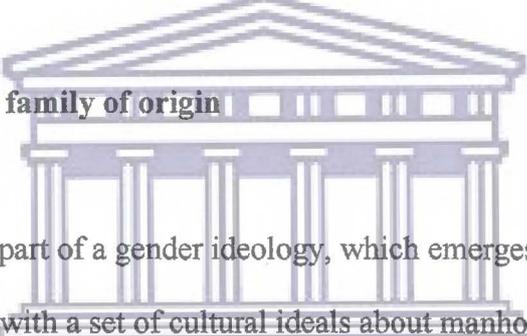
Hoschild (1983) states that abuse is part of a gender ideology, which emerges from adolescence. People come to embrace or identify with a set of cultural ideals about manhood and womanhood. In the extracts, the participants claimed that their mother took on a dominant position when it came to the maintenance of the house, whilst their fathers were either using substances or were physically unavailable. Yet, the role reversal provoked a lot of anxiety in their fathers. They had to retrieve power and control in order to reestablish their manhood by terrorising, oppressing and chastising their wives and children. Whitehurst (1974) arrived at similar conclusions, that men do not easily accept the reversal of the hegemonic gender roles and will try to bring a woman "down to size." Furthermore, it will become clear that these participants experienced anxiety when their gender roles where under threat. The most common outcome was abuse against their partners. The physical force which their fathers inflicted on their mothers should be seen as part of the husband's strategy to bring about a desired state of

affairs which limits women's power, authority and equal status. The following are some narratives from the participants:

My mother… was the head of the house….So…my father, he's the man of the house (emphasised) but my mother ran the house….. my mother's a more stronger person, so it will be right to let her handle the home issues…because he is never around to handle anything…when things become tough for him…he runs out to his friends and does drugs. He runs away from his problems and when he comes back he wants to be the man… and my mom had to listen…. (2).

He was the man of the house. That's what he normally said…he is the breadwinner, he is the man of the house. We were living according to his rules he was setting down. My mother normally didn't always have much input to set the rules (5).
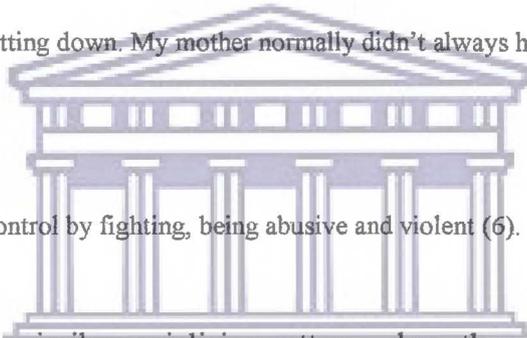
…In that way he can show that he was in control by fighting, being abusive and violent (6).

The men in the sample experienced a similar socialising pattern, where they developed certain beliefs about different gender roles. The traditional attitude of these males towards women is a dichotomy of subordination of the wife and superiority of the husband. This notion perpetuates widespread practices of violence and coercion, which is evident in the study.

5.2   MASCULINE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Patriarchal sentiment constructs the masculine ideal on different planes of society. The individual male, who successfully completes the masculinising practices programmed by patriarchy, reaps the rewards that it brings. These practices claim that manhood is equated with power over women and other men. Unequal gender bases in the family support the oppression of women, while men benefit from this power position. Evident in the research, the body and its

activities becomes central to the male experience. Competition and power becomes the watchwords. This is metaphorically connected to the male body, the masculine ideal and men's identities. The data suggest that elements of homophobia are present amongst the men in the sample. Homophobia is intimately interwoven with sexism. In the same way women are abused they would treat men who move away from the hegemonic objective.

5.2.1 Masculinising practices at home

The first area of male identity construction is within the family of origin. In the accounts of most of the men, a general thread of a masculine gender identity had been established early in their lives. The gender categories have clearly been established and have formed part of their cognitive schema. Many of the men, when interviewed, found the questions about gender-differentiated activities to be frivolous, because these activities are perceived as normal. Two of the participants noted that playing with girls' toys or even playing with girls was prohibited:

We will mostly play marbles while girls play… "pophuisie". We were not suppose to get involved with that (3).

As participants were growing up, their father or a father figure was their model for what it means to be a proper boy/man. Even in the simplest of activities there were instances of gender-differentiation. Romantic movies with love themes were rejected and labeled as "girlie movies." As one of the participants commented, he will never touch a Mills and Boon book or a "Huisgenoot", which are regarded as women's magazines. He will rather read the newspaper or a "Western" book, which to him, is more masculine reading matter. These views reinforced a notion of difference between males and females.

One of the participants recalls an attempt by his father to initiate him into manhood by teaching him how to defend his manly honor and pride:

.....When I got into a fight, this boy punched me quite badly. He watched the whole thing, without interfering and he told me if I can't hit him with my fist I should use anything around me... to hit him...because I shouldn't let anybody bully me around (6).

5.2.2   Masculinising practices at school

The second area is closely linked to power relations, where the demarcation of masculinity is an important feature. The descriptions of the majority of the participant's experiences at schools could be considered as part of the masculinising practices, governed by the gender regime of the school. Morrell (1998) argues that the disciplinary methods become closely linked to power relations. The participants explained that receiving corporal punishment showed "braveness". This bravery becomes a test of masculinity of the crudest kind:
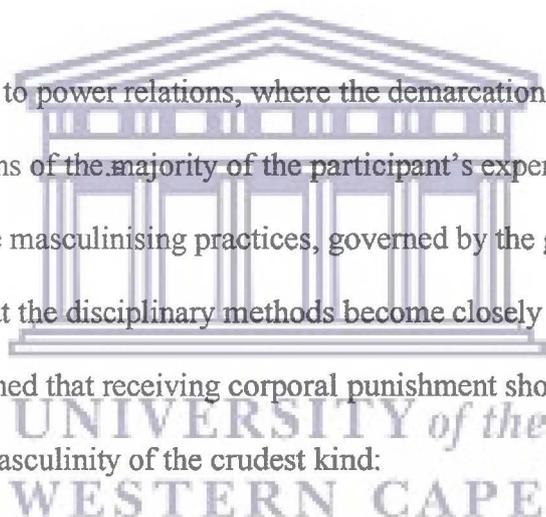
The girls were treated differently than boys were treated. They were treated girlie like, treated very soft. ..they were learned to be proper girls, walk straight up and things like that. When it comes to boys you were like treated that boys don't cry first of all. I was learned at home boys don't cry... at school boys don't cry. That was the way I was reared...... (4).

When the hegemony of the school is secured, boys learn to wield disciplinary power themselves as part of their learning of masculine hierarchy. For example, one participant highlighted his monopoly as an older boy. He ruled with power and held a feared status at school:

Let me put it to you I was a roughneck.I wanted to be the bully. I actually made up my own click and if you are not bullying you are protecting. I always used to pick up fights (5).

5.2.3 Masculinising practices in sport

The third area sport, blends power, symbolism and emotion in a particularly potent combination. According to Foley (1990), sport is a vehicle for the celebration and reproduction of the dominant codes of gender. Four of the participants who actively participated in sports suggested that it gave them a sense of achievement. Others admired them for their physical skill. The game directly defines a pattern of aggressive (depending on the sport type) and dominating performances. This type of sportsmanship is considered as the most admired form of masculinity. Here are examples of participants' descriptions:

I was motivated to keep on playing rugby.I was motivated to being a leader because some of the people saw that I got leadership ability.....I was captain of the team and since that time, I told myself that I know I can be a leader. I'm no follower (1).

I can remember maybe once or twice on the field.... they started pushing and pulling on the rugby field (laughing) so we quickly fought it out. I've always been a fierce competitive fellow. I'll play and play 'till I win (5).

The groups of girls forming part of their entourage further enhanced these participants' masculine identities. It shaped their identity, and became a source of pride. Other boys and the wider community admired these boys for their heterosexual prowess:

I was popular then...parties would be thrown; there were girls eyeing you... it was fairly easy to get girls...I think I messed around alot. I wasn't interestd in one girl. So..I wasn't a great guy to be around that time...I think I had a "big head", big ego
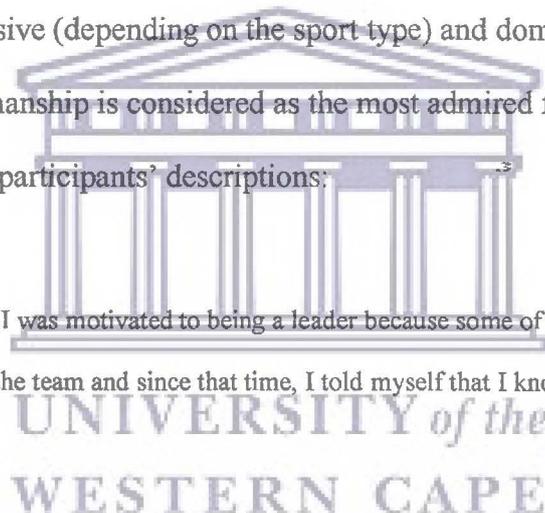
because of the soccer. I just thought girls will follow. You are a sportsperson making a little bit of name for yourself, you know (1).

It felt good because those guys who moved with me at the time, they use to look at me and they will think one guy four girls.... So, that was an ego boast to me (2).

5.2.4 Policing hegemonic gender categories

The data provides interesting evidence of how the participants were socialised to police their identities and ostracise those who steer away from the traditional gender categories. Those who have crossed the boundaries were rendered effeminate or gay. Although the participants present themselves as tolerant and accepting of homosexuality, fear and anxiety seems to abound. Homosexuality is classified as a subordinated masculinity and is associated with femininity. As a result, homosexuals are degraded, humiliated and labelled "sissy" ,"moffie" and "rob":

We would normally call him a "moffie". We normally didn't want to associate with him because we would normally say he is "rob". We normally use to say "die ou is rob, moenie worry met hom nie, hy is bad luck". He brings bad luck to everyone (3).

.....I wouldn't want to be in a room with somebody who is a "moffie" or "gay", I'm afraid that they will make a pass at me and I'm not going to handle it (1).

We will make fun of him... we will mock him... he wasn't a man... I think he were perceived as a girl (a wannabe). I thought if you were not muscular and manly and you have girlish notions, I thought I'll disrespect you .... I'll slap you in the face and say " Hey broer, wake up, you're a man". I didn't enjoy a man being like a girl (1).

The aim of these men's attitudes was to draw social boundaries. The above-mentioned quotations show attempts to define "real masculinity" and by the same token distancing from the rejected. Connell (2000) states that the oppression of men who move away from the quintessential male type is an attempt to maintain an authoritarian hegemonic male social order. This phenomenon is often connected to the oppression of women.

5.3 CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN

From a feminist viewpoint, patriarchy entails exploitation of women and children by men to maintain a hierarchy that ensures male domination and control (De La Rey *et al*, 1997). Within such an ideology abuse serves the function of intimidating and controlling those who are less powerful in order to maintain the status quo. The men in the study come from a cultural context whereby most of the power and control are in the hands of male figures. This type of ideology calls for unquestionable female obedience to male domination. Any perceived challenges to their male authority are met with intolerance, punishment and victimisation. Minimal community and religious responses further enhance the silences concerning abuse.

5.3.1 Male as provider/protector – female as nurturer/caretaker

Part of the heterosexual script is that of man as the hunter and woman as the prize. The participants systematically built a belief system about women. These beliefs were sanctioned by the bigger social context. The courting of women not only objectifies women but also proves to be a measurement of their manhood. The following extract attests to this notion:
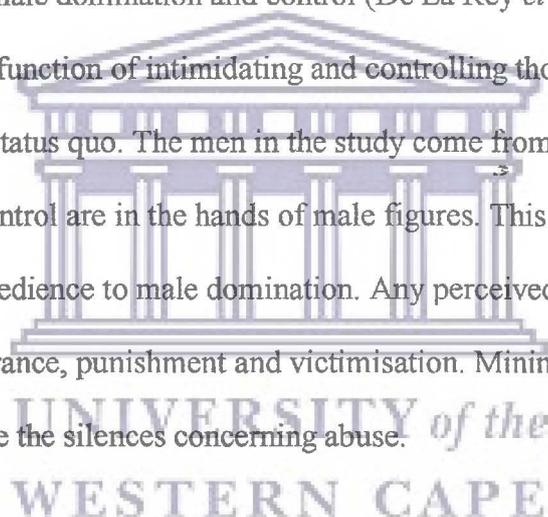
So it was viewed that girls would be there…to be hunted…in a way. …we went to clubs for that reason and they dare you to see how many girls you get for the night. The one who gets the most girls he is the guy and when we came to school, you would make sure everybody knows it. So, the women were like trophies (2).

All the participants have been socialised in a social context that is patriarchal and characterised by the domination of men over women. The different gender roles are understood by these men as patterns of expectations and norms for the behaviour of men and women. Men are typically seen as the head of the household or the breadwinner, protector. Women are seen as the caretaker and nurturer:

They take care of you, you know, they feed you and clothe you, do the domestic work, make sure everything is ok, that is how I view them…like my mother and even my sisters (1).

….I normally saw them as the persons that would bare children and specifically, they look after the house (3).

As ek sê 'n koppie tee dan maak jy seker die tee is gemaak… that sort of mentality, and that's how we grew up, I mean…uhm.. (E).

A lot of my generation or most probably all of my generation grew up with that sort of mentality… Today it is a bit different because, you may marry someone that doesn't take your crap (laugh), you know (E).

5.3.2 Women opposing their traditional role

The term "sitting on a man's head" was often used in the conversations and referred to women's behaviour that tries to undermine men's authority. This expression is symbolic of their internal fear of loss of power and control as a husband. They inadvertently equate sitting on a man's

head as a defiant act of "disrespect" which could be a synonym for disregard of authority and acknowledgement of him as the superior one in the relationship. The so-called "disrespect", when a woman asserts herself, translates into anxiety to be emasculated. At all costs women must be "put in their place". A common form of retaliation that the participants made use of were verbal and physical responses. Cultural assumptions have sanctioned men's power over women. The notion of 'men in charge of women at all costs' has become an essential part of our ideology. Women's assertion in the household may reflect a sense of perceived weakness within the man. He will be viewed similarly by society at large:

Men are dominant in the house….that is what my culture told me…I have to take care…… I have to be respected.. in the house. Mostly what I say goes…..especially in the community, if other people see your wife sitting on your head… it shouldn't be like that…that is what my culture learned me… and he must act like a man…otherwise he will be mocked…even by his friends, if they see your wife sitting on your head…you need to set her straight (1).

A man only have to take charge. He has to lay down the rules and if someone breaks it, there is trouble. " Jou pa is die man in die huis" he is the man of the house and everyone must abide by the rules. So, yes, the man would always be the dominant person in the relationship (3).

One of the participants recalled an incidence of high-level abusive behaviour in his immediate community and how it became a common phenomenon. Moore (1995) argues that high levels of abuse hardened people to tolerating more abuse. Abuse becomes, for these men, a culturally sanctioned occurrence in an entrenched patriarchal society:

… There was always male partners fighting with their girlfriends. I remember this "ou" always fighting with his girlfriend…and there was another incident where the wife was almost killed by her husband. All this things happening in one small road. (6).
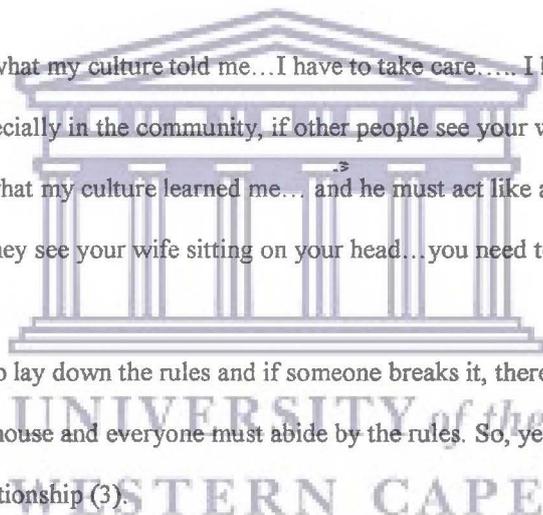
According to Mullender and Morley (1994), religion and culture have been used universally by men to maintain power over women and to justify misogyny and chauvinism. The participants acknowledged that the religious message "the man is the head of the house" and "the wife should respect her husband's authority and abide by his rules" formed part of their belief system. The following are quotations to illustrate this point:

I normally used to believe the actual quotes in the Bible, that the man is the head of the house and the woman must abide. I use to believe that strongly. I do still believe it. The woman is seen as the "vloerlap in die huis". She use to attend to all the dirty work in the house. Seeing to the man, that he is clean and the house is in perfect condition (C).

5.4 MEN'S PERCEPTIONS ON ABUSE AGAINST WOMEN

The narrative of an individual, whose behaviour is regarded as socially unacceptable, is called an account. An account represents a complex of anticipated judgements, face – saving and status negotiations (Scott & Lyman, 1986). Two types of accounts that serve to neutralise socially unacceptable behaviour are excuses and justifications. A number of men in the study used excuses, denying full responsibility for their actions. Others used justifications, accepting some responsibility but denying or trivialising the wrongness of their behaviour.

5.4.1 *Excuses for abuse*

The narratives given by most of the men were vacillating between subjective reasoning and minimal ownership for their actions. Their reasons for choosing to be abusive towards their intimate partners are filled with self–preserving and explainable excuses and justifications.

5.4.1.1 Denial of responsibility

Women are frequently portrayed as inciting abuse by their own behaviour (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Five participants referred to their wives as "nagging" and reported that they bottled up feelings, until "lashing out" when they had enough of the consistent "moaning." The participants readily adopted their own explanatory model of provocation to excuse their behaviour to themselves and to others. It also deflects blame away from themselves and towards their partners because it feeds into not taking responsibility for their behaviour. One of the other measures of denial which three participants used is self-defense, thus legitimizing their attacks. Renzetti (1992) states that the perpetrator rarely expresses remorse and shame and will not take full responsibility for his actions. The remorse that the participants expressed was functional in that it prevented their wives and children from abandoning the relationship.

You see …you get angry, she nag,nag,nag and that kind of shit and she fights with you…… when a woman lifts her hands for her husband, that is when he is going to hit her back…that's what I thought (2).

Respect. You know to be respected. …and maybe it goes beyond respect, cause if she goes beyond your wishes she don't respect you. If you tell her no, but she wants to do what she wants to do, she is disrespecting you, cause you the man, so you have to put her on her place to show her (4).

5.4.1.2 Loss of control

A perception that seemed to have contributed to the difficulty of acknowledging the problem of abuse is the unified notion of a temporary loss of control. The experience of "lashing out" was implied by referring to being provoked by the partner and being driven to a point of frustration.

The participants felt that they could not be held responsible for their impulsive reactions. This pressure is often described as building with a hydraulic type of inevitability. In contrast Harding (1986) argues that men's subjective sense of loss or slipping control is often a precursor to wife beating. This assumption becomes a partial and perverse perspective. Bandura (1973) argues along the same lines regarding the frustration – aggression hypothesis, postulating that aggression is only one of a selected number of responses to frustration that is available. Most of the men in the sample mentioned that they would use physical power as a strategy when it seems that their authority is being threatened. These forms of abuse were precipitated by situations in which women challenge their authority. Abuse thus becomes a means of keeping these women in subordinate positions. Harway & Hansen (1993) attest that men who assault their wives are actually living up to cultural prescriptions that are cherished in society – that of aggressiveness, male dominance and female subordination. Men therefore use physical force as a means to enforce that dominance. One of the participants was quite firm in justifying his behaviour by referring to the abuse as a way of defending himself against his partner. This concurs with previous research findings whereby men justify the use of force claiming to defend themselves against their partners' transgressions. Although abusers are willing to accept partial responsibility, they maintain that the abuse is never entirely their fault (Renzetti, 1992). The following quotations reflect this:

In self defense… I always say, if a women hit you, you must smack her back…and don't tell me I'm abusing you because I'm smacking girls…but then I must be really over the top. I believe if a woman want to be treated equal…they must not do what a man's suppose to do. But most of the time, you try to walk a way, she ask you why you walking away, she's getting more pissed off, she pull at your arm and before you know it you slap her (4).

We will have an argument over her wanting money and that used to boost my adrenaline… she will throw me with a plate and my temper because I had this temper that I could not control and I tend to turn abusive when she hit specific nerves (3).

5.4.1.3 Minimising

Minimisation is characteristic of men's accounts of abuse of women. Boddy (1998) found that elaborate accounts are difficult to obtain; elements seem to be forgotten or are not counted as "real violence" by men. The accounts of the women involved in such incidents are almost universally more detailed. They often describe the sources of conflict, the nature of the attack, injury, emotions and effects on the relationship and other individuals in the immediate environment. The findings in the study show that the participants minimise events and are not readily able to retrieve the details as vividly as women are. One participant minimised the injury of his wife by downplaying the intensity of the assault:

It's mostly bloody nose or a bloody lip, you know. No broken bones or stab wounds or… (Laugh) no (5).

5.4.1.4 Victim blaming

Another main category of response and excuse voiced by the participants is victim blaming. Women are frequently portrayed as inciting abuse through their own behaviour (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Abusers readily adopt male explanatory models of provocation to excuse their behaviour to themselves and to others. It feeds into a pattern of denial and minimisation (Mullender, 1996). An overarching pattern of abuse occurred whereby the participants asserted

themselves in response to their wives' verbal aggressiveness. In many cases a pattern of verbal assaults preceded the physical assault. Their partner's verbal aggressiveness proved to be a justification for their abusive behaviour. Dobash & Dobash (1979) argues that provocation excuses solidifies male dominance:

….we would have an argument, she would be the first one to grab me at my chest and point fingers in my face and tell me where the fuck I was and I always tell her, don't do this, you know. Don't slap against my chest, don't point fingers in my face, I asked her everytime, don't take advantage…….till the day I smacked her back (4).

Everything happened when I'm angry, you know, and I use to get driven to a point and will get angry and then I will react on that anger. I will never just sort of out of the blue go and smack my wife. It is always through an argument and …for that ten, five seconds I will almost "black out" (5).
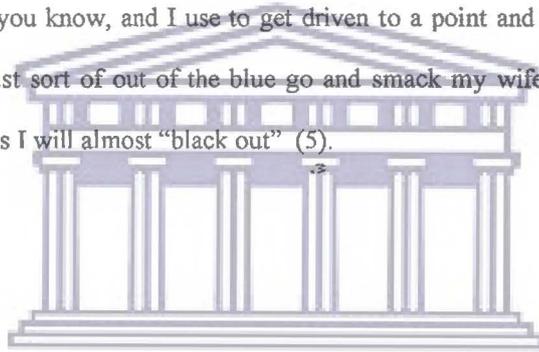
5.4.2 *Justifications for abuse*

In many of the accounts of abuse it was found that men justify their behaviour by shifting blame away from themselves and putting the responsibility for their actions on others. All the participants used the word "respect" very loosely. Their understanding of respect equates to their partners' acknowledgement of their authority, domination and control.

5.4.2.1 Failure to be a good wife

Some men regard their partners as failures in the roles of wife and mother. It is assumed that women have a moral obligation to be present in the home in the event that her husband or children need her services, simply because this is where a good wife is supposed to be. Men

often switch back and forth between denying responsibility for their actions and arguing that the women deserve it for failing to fulfill their obligations as a " good wife":

I told her , that you are no good. " jy's fokkol werd nie". Jy is nie die soort vrou wat ek wil hê nie. Jy's nie n vrou vir my nie, jy is n vrou vir die straat, because you like to be on the road everyday. That is what you do everyday, you prefer the road instead of the house (3).

5.4.2.2 Male entitlement / "husband right"

One participant felt that his wife was in some way indebted to him because of sacrifices he was forced to make when he entered into a relationship and later marriage with her. This is a sentiment shared by other participants in the study and entitles the man to unacceptable and often physically violent behaviour:

I have build my life around them, I actually dropped everything, I put my family aside and had a fight with my parents because of her. So…I didn't wanted to be less than number one (4).

Rich (1979) explains husband right as a gender ideology whereby men, through patriarchal socialization, feel entitled to services. A belief is created that the woman " belongs" to the man with whom she is involved. One specific form of husband right that was alluded to was the right to and the consistent availability of sex. Any sense that the privileges of male entitlement have been unjustly denied will be responded to with a pattern of aggression and intimidation. This in turn continues the cycle of abuse based on a different reason:

Say we had a fight last night …and I put her on her place and here tonight I want sex and she doesn't want to.. now what the hell is the problem now. I can start arguing or she can make things for her better and go with whatever I want, because you the man and she must do whatever you want to do or else there is trouble again (2).

5.4.2.3 Infidelity

An interesting emerging theme amongst four of the participants is adultery within the marriage.

She has caught me fondling somebody…that started the whole argument… (1).

I would take my chance, yeah. Nobody would know…like I said…unless they would catch me whatever or unless the female brag about it (6).

Respondents viewed infidelity within the marriage as a male privilege. It is acceptable, almost regarded as a right, if committed by the man. But it became clear that this was not tolerated as acceptable behaviour for women. Men are entitled to have relationships with more than one woman, and when the partner opposes this, it is further cause for conflict. Adultery is thus one of the many things that a woman has to bear as part of her marriage relationship.

5.5 FAMSA's "MEN STOPPING VIOLENCE REHABILITATION PROGRAMME"

Majority of the men in the sample was court –ordered, while the others were attending on request of their intimate partners. A short evaluation of the Famsa " Men Stopping Violence Rehabilitation Programme" was conducted in order to obtain insight to the positive and negative aspects of the programme. The feedback by the participants could be valuable in order to better the programme.

5.5.1 Becoming part of a rehabilitation programme

Many of the participants indicated that, without the support of an organisation such as Famsa–Western Cape, they have been unsuccessful in attempts to cease abusive behaviour by themselves. The reward, gratification and control achieved through the act of abuse was too satisfying. The men's resistance seems to stem from the fact that peers and society at large sanctioned the abuse. Abuse still remains a private domestic affair. Therefore the need for exposure becomes less. The silence of the partner contributes to the continuation of the destructive behaviour. The reasons for failing to stop the abuse ranges from complete denial, empty promises to self-justifications:

You lie to yourself thinking you can change. I tried not to do it anymore, it is so easy just to do it and it is difficult not to do it cause it is part of you (1).

Yeah. I've tried it before (stopping) it didn't work. Just lied to myself thinking I can it just get worse ...(2).

Several times, let me put it to you this way because I've been lying to myself, you can lie to yourself that much, I'm not going to do it but at the end of the day you're going (4).

You promise yourself that you will never do this again. You say I'm sorry I'll never do this again but you know when the situation is wild it happens. When the ingredients are there it happens...you know it is not intentionally it happens through anger it has never been my intention to hit her (5).

The participants assumed that domestic abuse is a private affair and that seeking help will highlight their wrongdoing and risk exposure. From the narratives (which are not quoted here) it appears that they are rendered "helpless victims" of their own abusive interactions. There also

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seems to be a lack of ownership of their behaviour. They interpret the abuse as "provoked" and as a conditioned response to the negative behaviour of their partner. One participant, however, reported feelings of shame and remorse for his behaviour because he was labeled as an abuser in his neighbourhood, since the abuse he inflicted on his wife was no longer only confined to their home:

I've tried stopping on my own but sometimes I get so angry and then there is now way I could deal with my anger or with the way I felt at that specific moment because I could really talk to no one. At that moment in the area where I stayed whenever my wife had a problem with me ...I don't wanna put blame on her but what she normally do is go to the people that knows me, she would talk to them and say...he was abusive again. So I couldn't go to those people because they knew before hand what had happened (3).
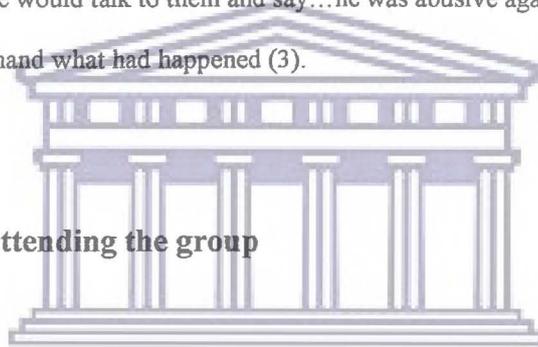
5.5.2   Motivating reasons for attending the group

Apart from being obligated to attend the group by a court order, an overriding fear and constant warnings of abandonment by spouses and children caused most of the men to attend the programme:

She said you got to make up your mind if you want to stay in this marriage or not stay in this marriage. I'm a person that believe once you married (it may sound stupid I'm a traditional towards the marriage) you'll try to work everything out there is no such thing as divorce and yes I still believe it today. If there is faults you work it out and try to fix it that is how I landed at Famsa (5).

.... My main goal is to get them back, to be back with them and for us to get back again. I told her that (Wife) that is my goal now (1).

Well, my wife got me to this programme. She gave me an ultimatum that if I don't come to the programme she's definitely going to leave me. There is no way she is going to take me back if I don't come and see you (2).

5.5.3   Evaluating the existing "Men Stopping Violence Rehabilitation Programme"

The participants spoke of the "road to recovery" and said that the programme became a very important support system. One participant described the programme as a "nicotine patch" which constantly reminds him of his new "ways of dealing with stress." The participants stressed certain comments and suggestions about the programme. One participant felt that the group interventions challenged his attempts to control his partner by reconstructing his traditional beliefs that led him to be abusive:
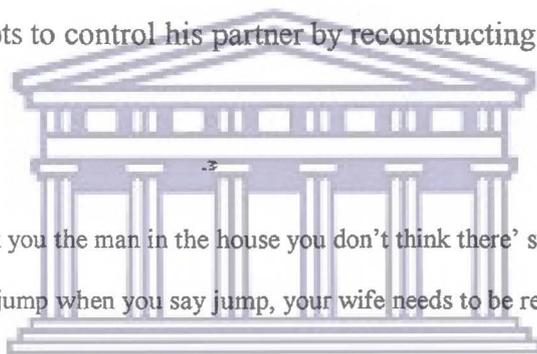
Well they tap into your beliefs...you think you the man in the house you don't think there' s equality, you always feel you must be respected and they must jump when you say jump, your wife needs to be respected as well (3).

Another comment was on the learning of new techniques to control any form of abuse by identifying their own triggers together with an internal dialogue so that they have alternatives to their regular responses:

You get taught about the way you think. You always thinking and questioning what you are doing. That helped me because when I feel I don't like things happening around me and I start to brew again I think of counseling and I either go quiet or let your wife talk finish and I won't say anything until she is finish. I learned not wanting to be right all the time (2).

Integral to the rehabilitation programme is diminishing the existing problem-solving techniques, how to cope with anger differently and learning new communication strategies with their partners:

I learned instead of using violence you can communicate with your wife. If there is a problem, instead of keeping it to yourself be outspoken, speak to your wife about it. Tell her you don't like the way she prepares the food or isn't there another way to prepare the food or can I help you to do it. The communication was bad at first between me and my wife but since I have been to the programme I actually communicate to her and sometimes I just have to wait for the right time to approach her about some stuff.... (5).

More than one participant mentioned that they appreciated being part of a group and learning new strategies in which to cope with negative triggers from ex-abusers:

The positive part for me to the group is that you are not alone there is people in the same situation. I learned a lot from the other guys too it was a sort of encouragement because they've been through all this situations (5).

A critique of the programme was related to the structure of the programme. They felt that in order for the programme to be more successful they would like the group to be scheduled more than once a week and to extend the time allocation:

I would like to have more sessions during the week for instance some sessions at weekends where you can spend more time in the programme itself. Instead of making it an hour making it perhaps two hours (3).

They must make it longer and it's not about the money I want more time to learn the things that I want to learn.....(2).

Two of the participants felt that there is a need for couple counseling and a male/female constituted group:

And perhaps maybe where the woman can come along as well on that specific day or the next day even or maybe sessions where the wife and the husband can come together (3).

5.6   Chapter summary

A range of identifying pre-cast masculine scripts was ascertained. The pre-cast masculine scripts perpetuate the participants' entitlement to have control over intimate partners. The results of the study also indicated that structural and cultural agents facilitated a strong male gender identity. For these men the social message was defined in terms of unequal power relations between males and females. What makes these men different from other men that do not abuse their wives is a strong identification with a stereotypical male role. It seems there are few alternatives to the hegemonic masculinity for the participants. Any threat to their masculinity by their partners is met by retaliation. The participants' core belief is that men are hierarchically more powerful than females and if the roles are reversed it causes distress. They try to reclaim their power through domination. A socialising pattern of abuse in the family of origin makes it easier for them to tap into abuse as a problem- solving strategy. Although changes have been made in terms of gender equality, society on a macro level still sanctions the abuse of women. The messages of non-interference and the lack of a collective community stance against domestic disputes perpetuate the ongoing cycle of abuse.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Central findings

Many of the emerging themes within the research project support previous literature. The intergenerational transmission of abuse, whereby individuals (more likely boys than girls) who witness abuse between their parents have a disposition to abuse their own partners more than individuals coming from a non- abusive home (Strauss *et al*, 1980; Hotaling and Sugarman, 1986; Strauss and Gelles, 1990), is highly debatable. The majority of the participants in the study indicated the occurrence of abuse in their family of origin. This outcome is valid for the study in the context of social learning theory's assumption that children learn morally accepted behaviour in the same way as gender identity, by imitation and reinforcement. The study does not try to imply that this is a rationalisation or excuse for these men's abuse of their partners, therefore it should be interpreted with caution.
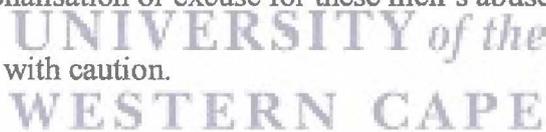
The study received a one-sided account of the abuse (from the perpetrator), therefore a vast amount of self-justification and self-preservation was presented to the researcher. Although their interpretations are biased in its own sense, the backdrop of their cultural context and their ongoing masculine identity formation was very significant and yielded rich and dense information in terms of their dichotomous perception of women. The research also elicited contributing factors to why men choose to abuse women. It strongly points to a degree of gender role socialisation within an entrenched male culture in a patriarchal society. The cornerstone of such a male dominated culture entails elements of power, control and subjugation of women and

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other non-conforming males. If in any way these men who yielded power are opposed and under threat they will with militancy retaliate to resume a power position. Their anxieties arose very strongly and the thoughts of abandonment of partners evoked fantasies of disintegration. The partner has provided a way for the man to assert his superiority and with the threatening loss (emotionally, psychologically, economically and physically) of the partner he may assume it as an insult to his societal role of being a recognised and respected man/ husband.

This concurs with the findings of Segal and Labe (1990) who found that as men lose their power bases in the family they struggle to regain their self-esteem. They do this through the subjugation of women. As part of these men's growing up process they have been actively constructing rigid masculine resources and strategies within their social settings. A learned prescriptive, stereotypical male behaviour pattern is evident and these men tend to follow the hegemonic ideal of the masculine state that inadvertently suggest that women are inferior and males have an ascribed status of control over them and their children. These assumptions tend to leave women powerless against onslaughts by their husbands because of the societal and communal sanctioning of this atrocious behaviour.

The study went as far as looking at perceptions of women abuse and found more rationalisations, justifications, excuses and contradictions on the parts of the abusers. The excuses and justifications I have detailed are ideological constructs at the individual level. They obscure the abuser's self interest in acting abusive at the societal level and they mask the male domination underlying abuse against women. The dominant literature on men and women abuse focuses predominantly on the negative accounts of men who abuse. Further research can attempt to dismiss that all men are incorrigible or beyond redemption. It is every bit as sexist as

suggesting that women are inherently feeble and powerless. We thus need to engage in a radical shift in thinking and search for "success stories", whether through similar rehabilitation programmes or other interventions. Therefore an evaluation of the programme by the group members was intended to create an improved programme to help the abuser to keep his partner and children unencumbered by harm. As one of the participants stated, he attends the group to ensure that at least himself, his wife and children are safe from him. The responses of the participants reflect the challenges, which the programme sets itself to achieve.

The positive aspects of the programme range from deconstructing male cultural beliefs, an improved equality and partnership with women in general, to cognitive behavioural techniques that include anger management, self-talk, communication strategies, identifying triggers and developing new problem solving strategies. Suggestions that came forth were the need for longer and more sessions per week. A further need for couple counseling and an integrated group of males and females, as well as an exclusive group for the wives were expressed. Further in-depth research could be conducted following this research project (for example follow-ups with participants) to see the effectiveness of the "Men Stopping Violence Rehabilitation Programme" at Famsa –Western Cape. This venture could make a contribution to academic literature and popular knowledge for service intervention organisations.

In order for society to remedy the abuse against women we should aim to develop democratic gender practices for men. Democratic gender relations are those that move towards equality, non-violence and mutual respect between people of different genders, sexualities, ethnicities and generations. The task is not to abolish gender but to reshape it, to disconnect power from violence (Connell, 2000). For men, the democratic remaking of gender practices requires

persistent engagement with women, not like the separatism-for-men that is strong in current masculinity politics. The global task is to make boys and men aware of the diversity of masculinities that already exist in the world, beyond the narrow models they are commonly offered.

6.2 Limitations of the study

Owing to the small sample size, the findings should not be generalised to all men. Nevertheless, the findings provide valuable insight into the perceptions of men about their abusive tendencies towards their intimate partners. It would have been favorable if an interview (or report) with the abused partner were conducted to see the difference between the two accounts. The cultural diversity in the group may have been restricted. A Xhosa-speaking person could have been included. Unfortunately the compilation of the group was made up only of Coloured and White participants.
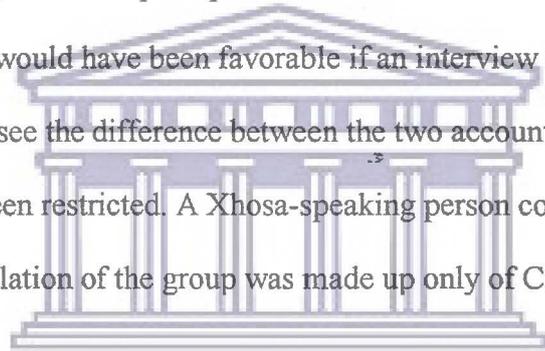
The researcher is aware that despite attempts to reduce researcher-researched power differentials, the context at Famsa still inevitably placed the researcher in a position of knowledge and power. The evaluation of the Famsa " Men Stopping Violence Rehabilitation Programme" may have been too simplistic. Therefore a suggestion should be made for future research to investigate the effectiveness of the programme more in - depth, especially with ex-members of the programme.

6.3 Recommendations for future research

As mentioned previously, a one sided account of the abuse was elicited whereby the partners' voice is silenced by justifications and excuses. An exploration of both male and female ideologies in the same abusive situation could be pursued. It is my recommendation that more tracking and documenting of successes should be done, rather than just focussing on failures and the inability to change, so that men can realise that change is possible. It is hoped that this study would be regarded as a pilot study to initiate an in-depth evaluation of the " Men Stopping Violence Rehabilitation Programme" that could elicit the effectiveness of the programme. A distressing thought is the amount of children that were witnesses to the abuse that was taking place in these men's dwellings. A suggestion would be that these traumatised children are identified and receive counseling and support.
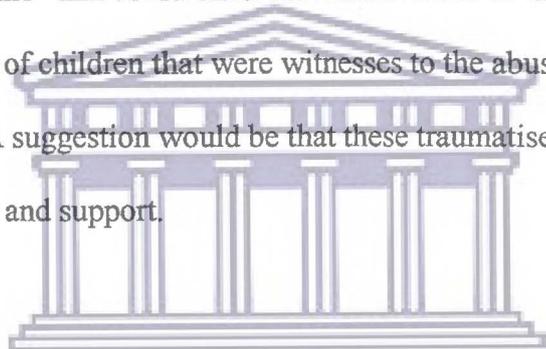
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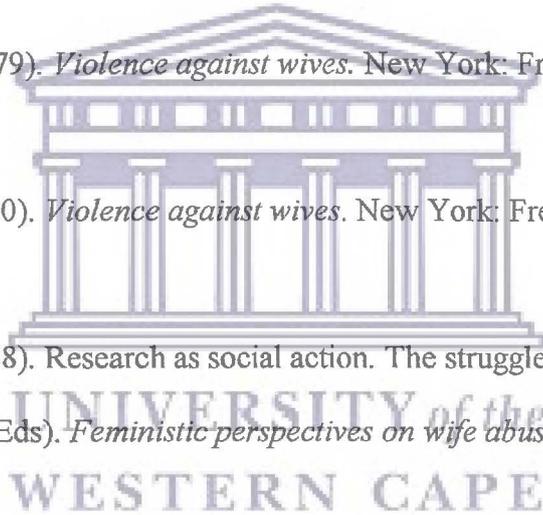
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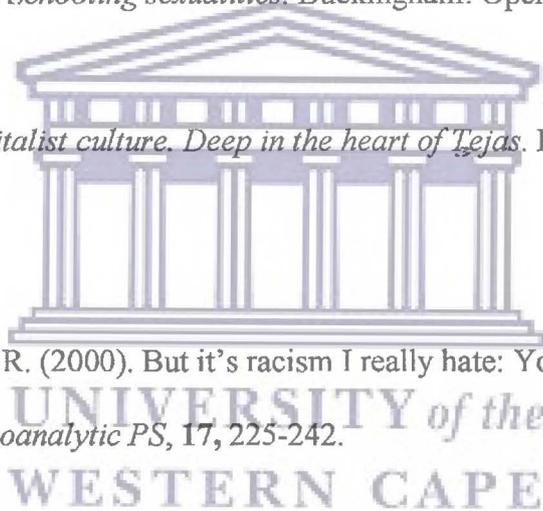
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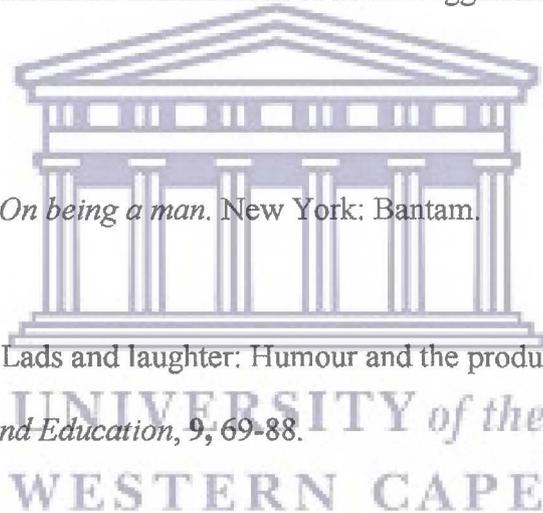
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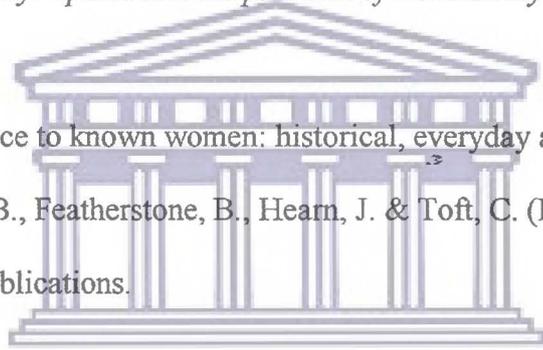
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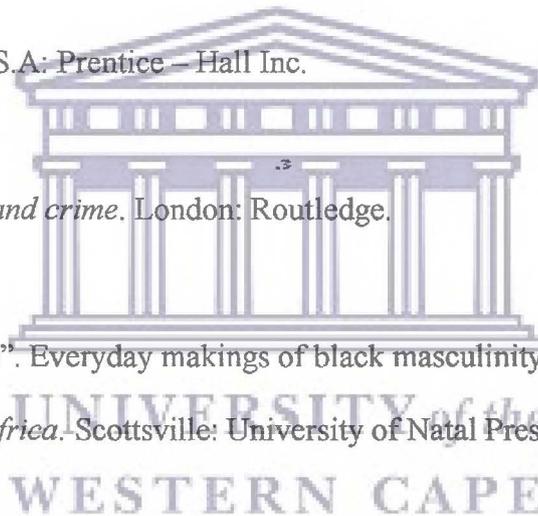
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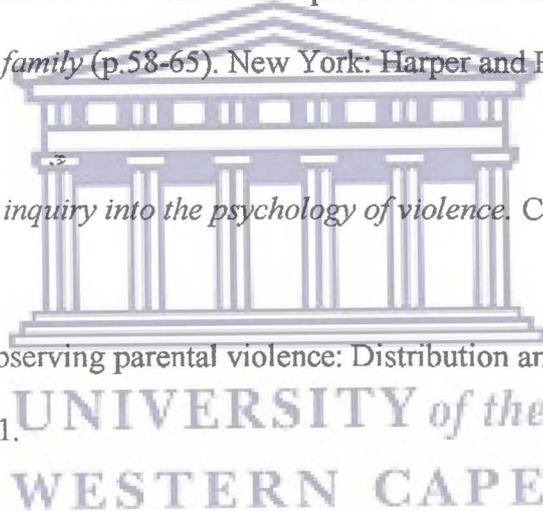
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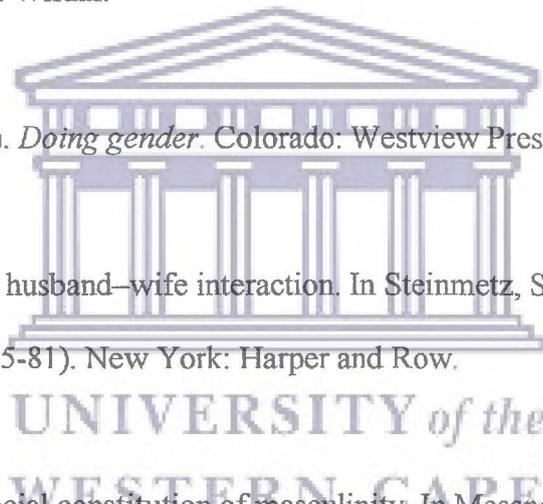
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APPENDICES
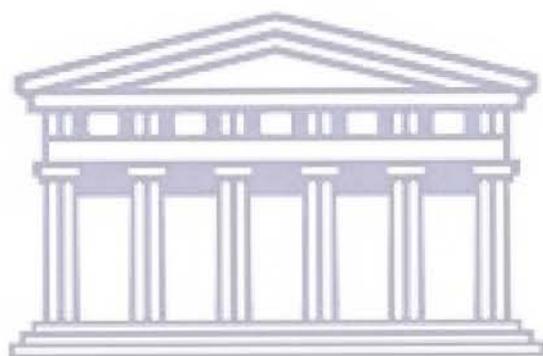
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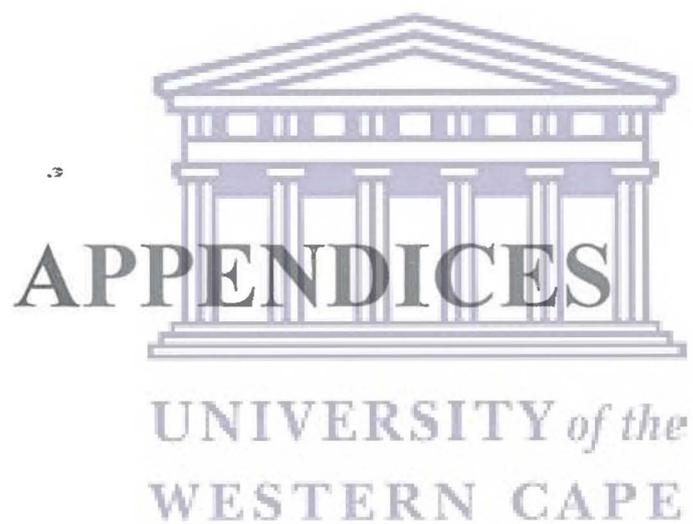
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APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

*Name:* _____

Age: _____

Marital status: _____

Children: _____

Occupation: _____

Religious affiliation: _____

Criminal record (if any, specify): _____

Substance use (if any specify): _____
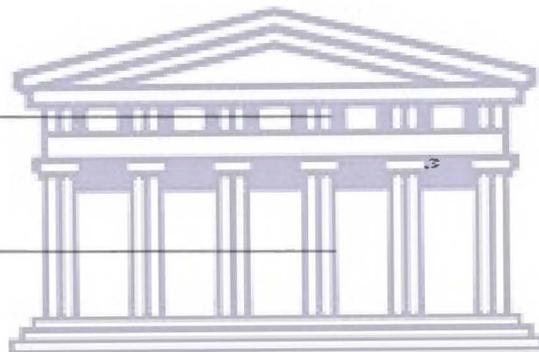
Thank you for your time and willingness, your contribution is highly acknowledged. Do remember that all information will be treated private and confidential.

PS: All names will be omitted

APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEW

Hegemonic masculinity and intimate partner abuse: A qualitative psychological study.

- The first part of the interview was allocated to attain biographical data of the participant.

- The research project and its aims were also explained to the participant.

- A client consent form provided by Famsa – Western Cape were co - signed by both the participant and researcher.
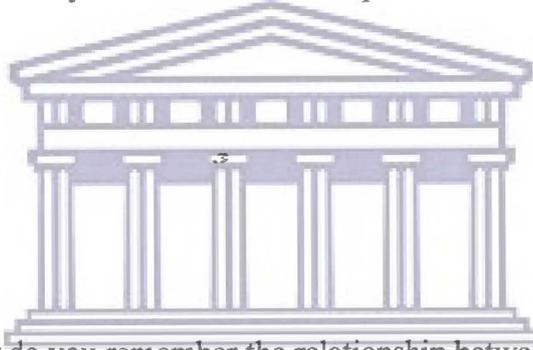
SECTION ONE

1.1.1   As a child growing up, how do you remember the relationship between your mother and father?

1.1.2   As what kind of person do you remember your father?

1.1.3   As what kind of person do you remember your mother?

1.1.4   Growing up, can you recall in which way you were told, showed, taught to be a " proper boy?

1.1.5   Do you have any sisters? – Were you treated in the same way or differently?

1.1.6   As you became older were there certain things " only boys could do' and things which "only girls could do ?" How do you feel about it?

1.2. 1.   Tell me more about your experiences as a boy at school.

1.2. 2. How were you punished at school?

1.2.3. Did the teachers treat boys and girls differently" {Probing if answers not elicited}

1.2 4. SPORTS and other gender differentiated activities

SECTION TWO

1. Can you recall the first time you started dating?

2. At that time how do you think you were supposed to act in your relationship?

3. Were you ever violent/ abusive to your dating partner (Why, what happened? How did it make you feel?) Explore the forms of abuse.

4. From the cultural grouping that you come from, what role is a man supposed to take in? Explain.

5. Can you describe the first violent incident between you and your partner?

6. How did you feel (hitting, humiliating, degrading, and verbally abusing her)?

7. When you done it, what did you hope to get?

8. How did you feel after the incident?

9. How do you think she felt?

10. Can you remember when you last did it?

11. When did you realise your behaviour is becoming a problem?

12. When do you think it is OK to hit a woman?

13. What is your feelings around the statement: " Men are the breadwinners and women should stand by her man/ husband no matter what"

14. What in your opinion is a good wife/ partner?

15. How do you maintain discipline in your home?

SECTION THREE

1. What brought you to be part of the rehabilitation programme?

2. Have you tried on your own stopping your behaviour? {Explore difficulty, if any}

3. Let's talk about things now. Please tell me how things are for you know.

   Are you in a relationship with the same person or anyone else?

4. Did you talk to anyone else about your problem? (Why was it difficult to

   express your self)

5. Who or what is helping you presently?

5.1 What is helpful

5.2 What is not helpful

5.3 What more or different would you like?
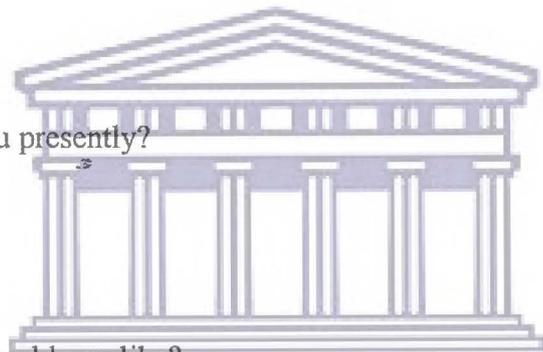
Thank you for your time and willingness. Your contribution is highly acknowledged. Do remember that all information will be treated confidential.

Interviewer

Janine van Sitters