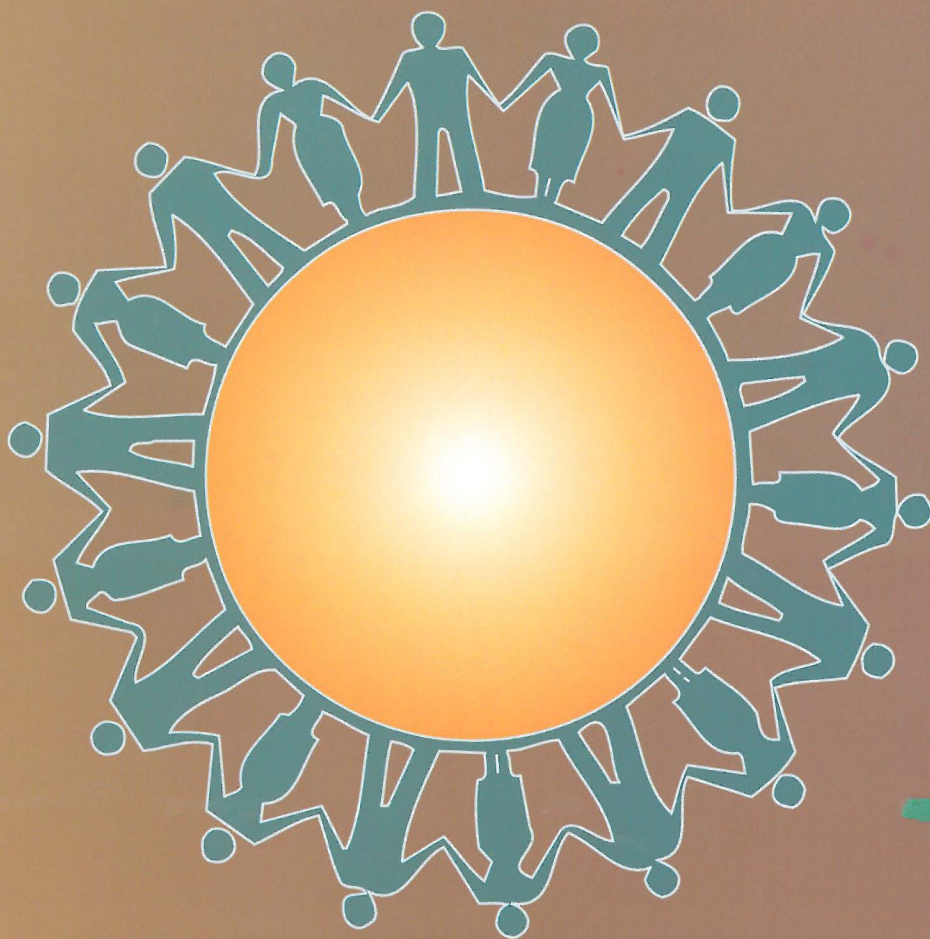


Partners in Change:

Working with Men
to End Gender-Based Violence



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INSTRAW



**Partners in Change:
Working with Men
to End Gender-Based Violence**

United Nations
International Research and Training Institute
for the Advancement of Women
(INSTRAW)

Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
2002

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List of Abbreviations

AGI	African Gender Institute
AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
AZT	Zidovudine – drug used in the treatment of AIDS
BIP	Batterers' Intervention Programme
CEPIA	Citizenship, Studies, Information and Action [Cidadania, Estudo, Pesquisa, Informação e Ação]
EMVnet	End Men's Violence Net – electronic listserv
GAD	Gender and Development
GAINS	Gender Awareness Information and Networking System
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
MANALIVE	Men Allied Nationally Against Living in Violent Environments
MOVE	Men Overcoming Violence
MRC	Men's Resource Center
MSV	Men Stopping Violence
NCVS	National Crime Victimization Survey
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NTV	No To Violence – the Male Family Violence Prevention Association
TB	Tuberculosis
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women

Preface

During 2001 INSTRAW implemented a collaborative research project on *Men's Roles and Responsibilities in Ending Gender-based Violence* as part of INSTRAW's Strategic Area of "Building Partnerships for Gender Equality". The activities of this project were aimed at understanding the linkages between men, masculinities and gender-based violence, and how stronger partnerships can be built among those working to end violence.

This was the first INSTRAW project to be implemented through the Institute's new working method - Gender Awareness Information and Networking System (GAINS) - a web-based system for collaborative research, training, information and networking. The assumption behind the project was that there is plenty of knowledge and learning embedded in the experiences of women and men, academics, practitioners, policy makers, survivors and perpetrators. It was further assumed that this knowledge and learning can be synthesized with the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs). The project featured a special website presenting all relevant information related to the activities, including the background papers and discussion summaries, a community page and a useful collection of resources on the subject. These pages are accessible through the INSTRAW website.

The central component of this project consisted of a 'virtual' seminar series carried out through an electronic listserv - "EMVnet" - which drew some 560 subscribers. Over a period of five months, the members of EMVnet focused their attention on specific aspects of the issue by participating in four two-week seminars facilitated by the moderating services of well-known experts in the field and supported by several background papers. As a 'virtual' on-line community, EMVnet members shared experiences, ideas and research findings on the causes of violence, working with men and boys to end violence, and collective lessons and practices. It was the 'virtual community' that provided a better understanding of who was doing what, and where, and what common practices and challenges are to be found in violence prevention work. The community also helped shape a vision of what new coalitions may look like in order to reach our goals of gender equality and violence prevention worldwide.

The papers presented in this publication were originally commissioned under this INSTRAW project as a set of “Working Papers”. To establish topics for these papers, INSTRAW turned to the ‘virtual community’ to define what was important, where gaps may be, and what type of work had not been published before. The Working Papers thus were nurtured by the interactive characteristics inspired by the project methodology. The papers came from participants in different regions and drafts were offered to the entire community for learning, feedback and refinement.

Following further review and editing, these Working Papers have been gathered together for publication in this single volume, which provides a glimpse of the scope of work that is currently being undertaken around the world as well as an insight into the concepts that are useful in understanding gender violence and the systems by which it is supported. More importantly, this publication presents some future interventions and prevention policies that may be required to more effectively confront and end this worldwide problem. INSTRAW hopes that this publication will stimulate both thinking and action on working with men, as partners in a range of programme and policy settings, to end gender-based violence.

In doing so, INSTRAW acknowledges the contribution of many people to the process of creating this publication. It, and the project from which it has emerged, would not have been possible without the EMVnet community, whose many individuals around the world voluntarily shared their experiences, questions and emotions to bring the entire endeavour to life. These individuals gave witness to the true spirit behind the project – namely that knowledge lies within the experiences and stories of a wide range of people of varied backgrounds.

INSTRAW would like to extend its gratitude to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for its collaboration in providing part of the funding for the implementation of this research project from which this publication results. We would also like to thank the seminar facilitators for their clarity and sensitivity in guiding our on-line discussions. Most importantly, we would like to thank the authors of the working papers that constitute the substance of this publication.

Savitri Butchey
Director
INSTRAW
Santo Domingo
2002

Introduction

James L. Lang

About Gender-Based Violence

Gender-based violence is not natural. It is not caused solely by biology or genetics. Gender-based violence is defined by a constellation of causes at structural, institutional and personal levels – in other words, it is predominantly based in social relations. As such, these causes are variable and open to change.

Gender-based violence is related to how women and men feel, experience and think about the world around them. It is related to systems of power, and how organizations, policies, norms and behaviours support those systems in different contexts around the world. It is rooted in ideas of what it means to be a woman, and what it means to be a man; in the notion that men are entitled to certain types of power, and in the consequences that ensue when that entitlement is thwarted.

The elimination of the causes of gender-based violence require profound social, cultural and economic change. In turn, these changes need the institutional and political impetus that requires a re-assessment of collective beliefs, motivations and behaviours related to gender, power and powerlessness. One thing is clear, violence cannot be ended simply by working with those individuals who use violence or with the survivors of their actions. Everyone is caught up in the politics and workings of gender, and thus implicated in the work necessary to end gender-based violence in our families, communities and the world as a whole.

The scope and impact of gender-based violence are profound. Gender-based violence plagues every society in every region of the world. No one group, regardless of culture, class, or location is immune to its devastation. It damages the physical, psychological and spiritual health of individuals. It kills many women and girls, and some men and boys, every day. It insidiously incapacitates families, social networks and communities, and damages people's ability to relate to themselves or others with love, compassion or respect. It spreads fear, destruction and self-loathing like a virus - a

virus that consumes the basic rights of adults and children alike. In a macro sense, gender-based violence thus restricts the achievement of development, peace, and freedom.

But why is the term gender-based violence used, rather than “violence towards women and children”, “partner violence”, “domestic violence”, or even “sexual abuse”? Gender-based violence encompasses these categorizations of violence, but it is framed in broader terms with the understanding that the causes and solutions to violence are at the same time personal, political and structural. Gender is what helps achieve a broader understanding of the causes of this violence in broader terms – and understanding gender is the key to developing strategies to end violence and its multiplier negative effects.

The description “gender-based” clarifies that reference is made to violence rooted in prescribed behaviours, norms and attitudes based upon gender. In other words, it is rooted in the gender discourses of masculinity and femininity, and how women and men are positioned hierarchically vis-à-vis one another and other groups of men and women. Gender-based violence both articulates and enforces these power hierarchies. Added to this are the personal experiences of gender and violence for individuals – learning and experiencing gender-based violence in one’s environment – the family, the media and the community.

Under this broad definition gender-based violence can take many specific forms - physical, sexual, psychological, restricted freedoms, coercion and threats - occurring in both the public and private spheres. Men, women and children all experience these “gendered” forms of violence. Yet, gender-based violence is predominantly men’s violence. It is men’s violence towards women and children, other men, and the self. It is warfare, wife beating, bullying, gay bashing, sexism, child abuse, prostitution, rape, and more. It is the violence that is bound up with unequal and oppressive social relations predicated on the most fundamental and durable hierarchical relation – that of male over female.

Working with Men to End Violence

Why should there be a focus on working with men to end gender-based violence? Firstly, men are central to most acts of violence, and violence is central to being a man in many cultures. In addition most political, cultural and religious leaders around the

world – those in better positions to influence change – are also men. Furthermore, gender is an element of everyone's lives, all women and men around the world. Men are gendered beings too, and men share the privileges and consequences of prescribed gender behaviours and gender politics. Yet, despite a large and increasing body of work on "men" to date, men have been conspicuously missing from gender-based violence prevention policy and programming. As such, men represent a largely untapped and under-utilized resource in the struggle to overcome violence.

In short, it is the absence or invisibility of men in conversations around gender and violence, and specifically the connections between gender and violence, which needs to be addressed. Men are not often talked about in terms of their gender because men are privileged by gender – and talking about men and gender would expose the workings behind that privilege. But this invisibility of men's gender spills over into the institutional and policy realms where policy makers, development workers, social service providers, both women and men, often think of (or dismiss) gender as a women's issue instead of intrinsically a human issue.

In the end, this invisibility of men's gender is not a benefit, especially when men are placed within cultures of gender-based violence. Much of the research on men who use violence looks at the space between the "triggers" of individual acts of violence and the institutional and structural determinants of such violence. It is in this space that we find the psychological, emotional and developmental worlds of men defined not only by the material and perceived benefits of a gendered order, but also by the consequences and use of violence in maintaining those real and perceived gains.

As the central protagonists and power brokers in any overall strategy to end violence, it becomes clear that working with men is a necessary component of effective violence prevention. It is also clear that not all men are the same; on the contrary men are different from one another in many ways. Like "women", the term "men" refers to a heterogeneous group comprised of individuals positioned within diverse and fluid contexts around the world characterized by different variables including cultural, religious, class, sexual, racial and ethnic structures. These structures are also modifiers of systems of hierarchy and inequality dictating that not all men and women are privileged, or discriminated against, in the same ways. These diverse settings are also (and consequently) characterized by differing definitions and uses of violence.

Over the last decades an abundance of research has focused on how different cultures define what it means to be a man, or “masculinities” (written in the plural to indicate that these definitions change across context and over time), how these discourses are created and perpetuated and to what end. One common element in this literature is the articulation of similar dominant models of masculinity in different contexts around the world. These discourses of men’s power and powerful men dictate the position of men vis-à-vis women and other men, by enforcing a limited set of prescribed behaviours and characteristics of “real men”. These dominant models are used as a policing mechanism to keep hierarchical structures in place, and violence often plays a part in this perpetuation.

Across the globe, with some variation, idealized models of masculinity describe a similar type of man: powerful, heterosexual and sexually successful, financially independent – a clear-thinking decision maker not distracted by emotions – a breadwinner, physically strong and healthy, attractive, admired by other men and women. All too often this “ideal man” is also portrayed as one ready to use violence; and many men follow suit to uphold perceived norms of masculinity or in attempts to display or “prove” that one is really a man. As a result, many men and boys are embedded in a world of violence from which all suffer – women, children and men themselves.

On the one hand, there are ideals of manhood that no one man can fully live up to, especially if one is not part of the privileged class, race, caste, ethnicity or religious group in any given context. On the other hand, there are all the characteristics that often remain outside of these constricting definitions of being a man – such as being sensitive, caring, cooperative and unthreatening. Most dominant messages of being a man give men limited options for behaviour and solutions. Not living up to the idealized models of masculinity causes stress for many men - but on the other hand these same models prohibit men from engaging in the types of behaviours that could be helpful to relieve these stresses. To work with men on violence prevention, we need to understand this paradox of men’s power and recognize that there are different types of men in the world who all share, to a greater or lesser extent, the simultaneous and contradictory positions of power, pressure and pain. Understanding the uses of masculinity and femininity, and

breaking down the shroud of invisibility surrounding men and gender, brings choice, options for behaviours and empowerment.

Partners in Change

Understanding gender in terms of both women and men opens doors to new opportunities for thinking about gender-based violence in relation to men. It is important to start with the assumption that violence is rooted in a mix of social and political causes which are informed by beliefs and behaviours that can, and do, change. Despite the widespread messages of the dominant forms of masculinity and its connections to violence, many men are not violent, and some men are working to end violence. There is a space for change in which both men and women, those concerned with ending all forms of discrimination and violence, have been working in different venues around the world. Moreover, it is in this space that we find more and more examples of encouraging work that reckons with the process of forging stronger partnerships across difference, as there are more women and men working together to end violence.

Although some men have been working for gender equality and an end to violence for many years, conversations around building partnerships among women and men to achieve these goals are relatively new in public discourse. Yet this emerging opportunity to work together towards gender equality should be seized and based not only on the experiences of the women's movement but also on the growing set of experiences of men allied with this movement.

The process of building stronger partnerships is not without its complications and detractors. Concerns about working with men need to be addressed. These include concerns where a focus on men (their positions, identity, needs and suffering) shifts from the position and oppression of women and children, and that a dialogue about gender-violence that includes men will be *de facto* controlled by men and thus, be biased for their benefit.

But the common goal is ending gender-based violence. Moving beyond the rhetoric, semantics, and blame, there is a recognition that violence disrupts the lives of many, and that by working together there is a better chance for successful prevention. Most people believe that a life free of violence is better, no matter if we are men, women, or children. In the end, this is a common ground from which to begin to build stronger partnerships for violence

prevention. On this common ground it is possible to stand together as partners with many others concerned with social justice, human rights, development and peace. Not all differences have to be overcome to build partnerships and coalitions. But it is necessary to move beyond ideas of “the other” and “us versus them” and make connections between different approaches to ending gender-based violence as well as to other development work.

This Publication

The goal of this publication is to foster greater understanding of, and work on, the roles and responsibilities of men in ending gender-based violence. It explores the challenges of this work, and describes entry points for making connections between men and better solutions for violence prevention. The papers contained within this book describe various efforts, projects and research questions, but they also point to the complexities of and multileveled causes that lie behind gender-based violence as well as the far-reaching effects of inequality.

These papers represent pieces to a holistic puzzle – and put together they help paint a picture of what a comprehensive plan for prevention may look like. The sequence of articles expresses the making of this “puzzle”. The first three papers in this collection lay out the issues and problems that must be confronted in working with men to end gender-based violence. The subsequent papers describe and discuss responses to these problems, across a range of community and institutional settings, at both the programme and policy level, and along a continuum of strategies from individual counselling, through group discussion and education. A brief conclusion identifies the main themes emerging from the body of work presented in these papers, highlighting lessons, tensions and questions, and charting possible courses for future thinking and action on men, gender and violence.

The opening paper *“Political Connections: Men, Gender and Violence”* by Alan Greig makes the connections between working with men to end gender-based violence and the necessary broader work towards social change. Greig sets the stage with a further explication of men, masculinities and violence – drawing out the uses and politics of masculinity and how these exist within larger structures of inequality and oppression. He presents an investigation of four programmes in the United States of America that are facing up to the simultaneous challenges of working with

men who use violence and working with the broader community for social change. Many violence intervention initiatives working in the field today realize that they cannot focus simply on working with groups of individuals – namely men who use violence – without also working to address the larger context of violence. Collectively, these programmes are trying to bridge the gap between intervention and prevention, and negotiating the tensions that arise in seeking to work at and across the individual, community and structural levels toward ending gender-based violence.

“The Crowning of the Rooster: Violence and Masculinity in North-East Brazil” by Sarah Hautzinger explores the question of how men are responding to efforts to criminalize domestic partner violence. Based on an ethnographic field study conducted in Bahia, in North-East Brazil, the research findings suggest that inter-generational changes in men’s conceptions of their ‘honour’, and the role of violence (against women) in maintaining it, have been influenced by the criminalization of such violence. However, across younger and older generations of men, such public policy changes do not seem to have challenged the cultural assumptions of gender difference and inequality that shape men’s violence against women in Bahia. The paper also argues that such violence is more accurately and usefully understood in terms of a “contestatory” model of conflict and violence, in which violence is symptomatic of changing gender roles and/or real power struggles between women and men, rather than the more familiar “dominance” model. The paper concludes by proposing that alternative models of masculinity and relationship are necessary, as well as transformations in the material and structural conditions in which Brazilian men and women live, in order to support and strengthen policy initiatives aimed at reducing men’s violence against women.

The problems created by public and private ‘stories’ about such violence are highlighted in Helen Moffett’s *“Entering the Labyrinth: Coming to Grips with Gender War Zones, the Case of South Africa.”* This paper looks at the “unacknowledged gender-based civil war” that the violence of rape constitutes in contemporary South Africa. It focuses on the ‘stories’ that are told about sexual violence, and specifically rape, that explain, endorse and perpetuate the problem. Moffett unravels narratives of the rapist, that either erase him and make rape a perpetrator-less crime, or demonize him in a way that distance “normal” men from recognizing the acts and attitudes of sexual violence as their problem. In drawing on the worst kinds of

racist stereotyping, this demonizing serves to harden racial barriers and to obscure by far the most common form of sexual violence: that which occurs within (and not across) communities. The paper puts this South African experience in the context of the current worldwide phenomenon of using rape as a story about “othering”, about what “they” do to “us” - or “our” women. It suggests that, in the post-apartheid era, women in South Africa have themselves become the “other”, the unstable and potentially subversive subclass that needs to be kept in its place. The paper concludes by arguing that it is essential to unravel these narratives if both sexes are to be engaged in the task of tackling sexual violence.

The importance of creating a space for men to tell their own and various ‘stories’ about gender and violence is discussed in *“Giving Men Choices: A Rozan Project with the Police Force in Pakistan.”* In this paper, Maria Rashid presents a detailed case study of a project that aimed to sensitize men (and women) in the police force to gender norms and roles, and gender-based violence. As with any large institution, the police force mediates between macro and micro levels, between public policy and community norms. But the police force merits particular attention because of the tensions between its public safety, violence prevention mandate and its traditionally patriarchal organizational culture based in its exercise of coercive power. The paper underscores the importance of working with men in the police force on issues of gender and violence and describes the project’s methodology, evaluation and lessons learned. Rashid notes how critical it was to create an atmosphere of genuine respect in small groups, emphasize participation and work through a self-growth component before introducing issues of gender and violence. She reports that the project achieved positive changes in relation to life skills and attitudes, especially in terms of male police officers’ enhanced sensitivity to, and understanding of, gender-based violence.

Non-violent pathways that men can take along a continuum of personal change are presented by Bernard Tonkin in his paper on *“Men Reinventing Themselves – Resisting Dominant Masculinities.”* Based on a study of men in a family violence programme in South-East Australia, Tonkin argues that it is useful to conceive of the change process for men who use violence in their family relationships as one of recovery from dominant forms of masculinity. This recovery model is grounded in an analysis of the necessity of moving from hegemonic understandings of power as “power over” to non-violent

conceptions of “power with” and “power within”. The paper highlights a number of pathways of change for men on their ‘journey’ to ‘resistance’, including: rethinking masculine identity; confronting attitudes to women; dealing with feelings; being able to recreate; reconceiving work life; and developing a personal philosophy or spirituality. Tonkin also makes clear that supporting men on these journeys took place in a programme that was itself supported by a public policy context which funds mainly voluntary programmes in the community sector, based on a principle of accountability for the safety of women and children.

And finally, Rus Ervin Funk emphasizes a sectoral, and not simply programmatic, focus in his account of “*A Coordinated Collaborative Approach to Address and Combat Teen Dating Abuse*”. This paper describes the process used to develop a coordinated community response to teenage dating abuse in Washington, D.C., USA. Recent research indicates that teenagers are frequently abused in their dating relationships, but not adequately served by the services and resources as developed by the movement to end domestic violence. Funk argues that the model of collaborative community response, currently being developed in many jurisdictions for adults, needs to be adopted and adapted for working with teenagers. The paper examines the coordinated community response movement, explores the relationship of teenage males to hegemonic masculinity (in the USA) and examines the implications of developing an array of services for this population, combined with social change efforts. The paper also distinguishes between the concepts of cooperation, coordination and collaboration, and looks at the different community responses to teen dating abuse that these respective concepts have helped generate.

Political Connections: Men, Gender and Violence

Alan Greig

Summary

This paper discusses the politics of men's roles and responsibilities in efforts to end gender-based violence. Feminist analyses of the arrangements of power and male privilege that both produce and are produced by such violence make clear that ending violence cannot simply be a matter of individual men changing their violent behaviour. Political action is required to challenge the patriarchal power and privilege underlying gender-based violence. But what can men's roles and responsibilities be in such action, given the 'dividend' that men share from living in patriarchal societies?

It becomes easier to answer this question when the *political* connections between men, gender and violence are made more explicit. This is to say, it is important to locate the connections between men, gender and violence, and strategies to address these connections, in the political space in which multiple oppressive social relations are formed and can be contested.

The paper begins with a discussion of the gender of violence, and the emergence in recent years of a discourse of masculinity which seeks to explain how gender 'constructs' violent men. Continuing, the paper considers the de-politicizing effects of this discourse which are produced by its emphasis on questions of personal identity (what it means to be a non-violent man) over questions of political vision (what it takes to create a non-violent world). It is argued that the discourse of 'masculinity and violence' cannot illuminate these latter questions, or the political actions they entail, because it is trapped within the binary, masculine/feminine logic of gender. This logic in itself is

violent in its definition of Self through negation of the Other and the implications this has for devaluing and disallowing certain ways of being— homophobia being an example of this ‘violence of gender’.

Exploring this ‘violence of gender’ makes clear that the term gender-based violence refers not simply to men’s violence against women but more fundamentally to the violence that produces and is produced by a hierarchical gender order that is itself enmeshed with other forms of inequality and oppression. The paper argues that there are connections between gender-based violence and the violence of other hierarchical and oppressive social relations. It proposes ‘social justice’ as a conceptual framework within which to analyze these connections. A social justice framework of analysis can be used with different kinds of men to explore their differing relationships to multiple hierarchies of power and the range of ways in which they both reproduce and suffer from the oppression that these hierarchies produce. By identifying the connections between gender-based violence and the violence of other forms of oppression, a social justice framework enables (some) men to connect their role in challenging the oppression in their lives to their responsibility to end gender-based violence. The paper then discusses some of the tensions that arise when programmes, which work directly with men on their own violence, try to make these connections in practice. It reflects on the experiences of four U.S.-based “Batterers’ Intervention Programmes” which locate their work within a discourse of social justice and looks at the ways in which they have negotiated these tensions. The paper considers the strategies which these programmes are developing, not only to support men in taking personal action to end their own violence, but also to mobilize men around the political action necessary to challenge the patriarchal power and privilege underlying this violence. In the paper’s conclusion, some remaining challenges concerning men’s political roles and responsibilities in ending gender-based violence are discussed.

Introduction

“...to produce a masculinity whose desire is no longer dependent on oppression, no longer policed by homophobia, and one that no longer resorts to violence and misogyny to maintain its sense of coherence. That is a major political project...”(Rutherford and Chapman 1988:18)

This paper is an enquiry into the politics of men's roles and responsibilities in efforts to end gender-based violence. That such efforts constitute a “political project” has been clear from feminist analyses of gender-based violence over the past three decades. Such analyses, primarily focusing on men's violence against women, have emphasized the structural and public, rather than the individual and private (“domestic”), nature of such violence. In arguing that the “personal is political”, feminist activists and theorists from the early 1970s onwards have sought, in part, to connect the physical violence of some men against some women in the domestic sphere with men's political, economic, social and cultural power over women and the patriarchal norms and structures that maintain this oppression.

Given this analysis, ending such violence could never solely be a matter of individual men changing their violent behaviour. Political action is required to challenge the patriarchal arrangements of power and male privilege that both produced and were produced by men's violence against women. In noting the importance of this gender-based analysis of men's violence against women, in contrast to the gender-neutral emphasis of “family violence” perspectives on individual and family-based causes of and solutions to such violence, Garske (1996:271) argues that:

“It is a unifying theory that accounts for the wide range and prevalence of violence against females, both in the home and on the streets (from sexual harassment, workplace violence, incest, rape, assault, and homicide), by recognizing how the patriarchal culture systematically discriminates against women and implicitly supports abusive and violent behaviors by men. This perspective offers strategies for change that move beyond the individual and the specific family to encompass broad social changes.”

But what should the roles and responsibilities of men be in the “broad social changes” necessary to challenge the patriarchal foundations of men's violence against women? Indeed, what could these roles and responsibilities be, given the ‘dividend’ that men

share from living in patriarchal societies? As Connell (1995:82) has noted:

"To speak of a patriarchal dividend is to raise exactly this question of interest. Men gain a dividend from patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command. They also gain a material dividend."

Given this 'dividend', it is arguably in men's 'strategic gender interest' to defend, rather than change, patriarchal arrangements of power. As Connell (1995:82) continues:

"A gender order where men dominate women cannot avoid constituting men as an interest group concerned with defense, and women as an interest group concerned with change."

The question of "why should men change" is fundamental.¹ It becomes easier to answer this question, and to identify men's roles in the "broad social changes" necessary to challenge the patriarchal foundations of men's violence against women, when the *political* connections between men, gender and violence are made more explicit. This is to say, it is important to locate and address the connections between men, gender and violence in the political space in which multiple oppressive social relations are formed and can be contested.

The Gender of Violence

The connection made most commonly between men, gender and violence is that gender produces violence in men and against women. So much so, that the term "gender-based violence" is often taken to be synonymous with, or a shorthand for, men's violence against women. This is unsurprising given the cross-cultural, and trans-historical pervasiveness of such violence.

A summary of twenty studies from a range of countries "document that one-quarter to over half of women in many countries of the world report having been physically abused by a

¹ In my HIV/AIDS prevention work with men and work with violence prevention programmes, I am continually confronted with this question of "why should men change". The parallels between HIV/AIDS prevention and violence prevention are clear. In situations where women's vulnerability to HIV infection or violence is related to structures of male power and privilege, what roles do we envisage men playing in changing the prioritized structures of power? Urgent answers to this question are needed, if the epidemics of HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence --being related, and not distinct problems-- are to be effectively addressed.

present or former partner” (Heise 1997:414). At least 10-15 per cent of women in the world report being forced by men to have sex, according to a UNDP report on violence and the global HIV epidemic (Gordon and Crehan 1999). The U.S. Department of Justice² has reported that a woman is battered by a man every 15 seconds in the USA. The same report notes that 78 women are raped by men every hour.

The gender asymmetry of violence in terms of perpetrators and victims is striking – it is overwhelmingly men who are violent towards women and not the reverse. This violence is not confined to acts of physical violence. Women suffer from male violence throughout their lives, at the hands of both individual men and male-dominated institutions. Denial of political, economic and social power relative to men, prescribed gender roles which constrict women’s rights and opportunities, gender norms which limit women’s autonomy in their social and sexual lives – all these are forms of violence against women that are grounded in patriarchy, understood as the institutionalization of male power and privilege.

As noted above, gender analyses of male violence in terms of patriarchal structures of power date back to the beginnings of the women’s movement and feminism. But in the last twenty years, in countries of the industrialized North at least, there has been a growing interest in looking more closely at the connections between structures of male power and the violence of actual men in order to develop more effective strategies for ending this violence. This interest has been driven by operational and theoretical concerns.

At the operational level, for example within the domestic violence movement, it has been increasingly acknowledged that working with women as the victims of violence is not sufficient to stopping the violence, and that shorter-term strategies for working directly with violent men are required alongside the longer-term strategies to dismantle the patriarchy through broad social change. At the theoretical level, there is a growing body of work, inside and outside of the academy, which applies feminist insights about the role that discourses of ‘femininity’ play in the social construction of

² These statistics are taken from the Violence Against Women Fact Sheet (1995), which itself is based on the updated National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice.

women's experience of the world, and thus of violence, to the role that discourses of 'masculinity' play in determining men's violence.

These operational and theoretical considerations are apparent in the history of the founding of Men Overcoming Violence (MOVE) in San Francisco, California in 1981, which came out of the domestic violence movement of the 1970s in the USA and its challenge to men to end their oppression of women. The movement's feminist analysis of gender, which understood the violence that produced inequalities between women and men to be socially and not biologically determined, also created space for thinking about changing men's violent behaviour. As one of the co-founders of MOVE, Michael Radetsky, has noted:

*"An article of faith from the beginning was that men's violence was learned. Abusive behaviour didn't come with the plumbing. That's what made it possible to even think about doing the work. If it was learned, it could be unlearned."*³

Within gender-based analyses of the structural basis of men's violence against women, discourses of masculinity have emerged as an attempt to move beyond simply blaming men for male violence and to understand how patriarchy plays out in the lives of all, and the interpersonal violence of some, men. Such discourses focus, with varying psychological and sociological emphases, on the social construction of men's gender identity, their gender socialization, and how this translates into violence.

This focus on socialization and identity has several significant features which have proved valuable in working with individual men on 'unlearning' their violence, but appear to be less useful when it comes to thinking about men's potential roles in challenging the structures of male power, privilege and violence. The first feature relates to the emphasis placed on the connections between men's emotional development and their subsequent violence. In a well-received book on the developmental basis of men's violence, Pollack (1998:44) notes that:

"The trauma of separation is one of the earliest and most acute developmental experiences boys endure, an experience that plays a large role in the hardening process through which society shames boys

³ Quoted in *MOVEMENT!* Newsletter of Men Overcoming Violence, Autumn 2001.

into suppressing their empathic and vulnerable sides. [As a result] boys are pressured to express the one strong feeling allowed them – anger.”

Emotional suppression is a common theme of discourses that connect male violence with constructions of masculinity. A second feature of these discourses is the attention given to the role that ‘culture’ plays in this emotional suppression and socializing men into violence. In examining the connections between gender and war, Goldstein (2000:283) claims that:

“[C]ultural norms force men to endure trauma and master fear, in order to claim the status of ‘manhood’. [C]ultures develop concepts of masculinity that motivate men to fight.”

The precariousness of men’s claim on the ‘status of manhood’ and the role that violence plays in performing and proving men’s gender identity is a third feature of the way that discourses of masculinity approach the problem of men’s violence. This theme of the fragility of men’s masculine identity is emphasized by Heise (1997:425) when she points out that:

“Men in many cultures wage daily battle to prove to themselves and others that they qualify for inclusion in the esteemed category “male”. To be “not male,” is to be reduced to the status of woman or, worse, to be “queer”.[...] It is partly men’s insecurity about their masculinity that promotes abusive behaviour toward women.”

In raising issues of “men’s insecurity,” discourses of masculinity have served to illuminate what Michael Kaufman, of the International White Ribbon Campaign against men’s violence, has termed the “paradox of men’s power”. An emphasis on the fact that power and powerlessness co-exist in men’s lives, and that this dual experience can produce violence in men, could be said to be a fourth feature of discourses of masculinity which seek to explain male violence. This is especially true when the plural ‘masculinities’ is preferred to the singular ‘masculinity’, in recognition of the heterogeneity of the group of people referred to by the term “men” and in acknowledgement that the links between gender identity and violence in men’s lives are complicated by relations of power between men, along lines of economic class, social status, race/ethnicity, sexuality and age.

These explanations of men’s violence against women offered by discourses of masculinity/ies, and their focus on problems of gender socialization and gender identity, have created space for working

with men on their violence. They make clear that men are not simply agents of the patriarchy, but are shaped by gender pressures in ways that lead some men to be violent. The implications of such discourses for ending male violence are played out in efforts to reach men with messages about non-violent masculinities, to provide non-violent role models for young men, and to change cultural norms of masculinity in order to reduce men's violent behaviour. The vision of such efforts is stated succinctly by Heise (1997:426), when she writes:

"The more I work on violence against women, the more I become convinced that the real way forward is to redefine what it means to be male."

But it is important to question how useful the 'project' of re-defining masculinity is to defining men's roles and responsibilities in the social change necessary to end gender-based violence. While discourses of masculinity/ies have been helpful in speaking to men's lived experience of gender and violence, in part because of their features described above, these same features tend to de-politicize analyses of the connections between men and violence and how to address them. They do so by focusing on questions of emotional development, cultural socialization and gender identity; they often frame such connections in personal and behavioural terms, calling on structural contexts to explain individual men's acts of violence. This 'individualist' emphasis has been noted as a more general aspect of the entry of "men and masculinities" into Gender and Development (GAD) work as a field of enquiry and area for action. White (2000:35) is clear that:

" 'GAD for women' is robustly materialist, concentrating on social relations particularly as they define rights and responsibilities in work, consumption and households.... 'GAD for men' is by contrast much more individualistic and personal, much more preoccupied with the self."

Even when issues of power are discussed, as in the 'paradox' of men's power and powerlessness often referred to in discourses of masculinity/ies, such issues are frequently described in personal terms, in relation to men's "experience" of power and how this affects their behaviour.

Framing the connections between gender, power and violence in men's lives in such individualistic and experiential terms, makes it harder to get to a discussion of the structural changes that are

required to end gender-based violence, and men's roles in them. In part this is because discourses of masculinity/ies focus on gender as an explanation of men's interpersonal violence against women, but tend to neglect the ways in which gender is, as it is currently understood and practiced, itself a form of structural violence in the oppression that it creates and justifies. The next section looks at this 'violence of gender' and the ways in which it opens a space for considering the spectrum of violence, which is expressed structurally, culturally and interpersonally. Understanding the interconnectedness of violence across this spectrum, and the connections between gender and other forms of oppression, helps in better defining and addressing the full scope of the violence that is based in gender, and men's role in this. But this requires a more explicitly political analysis of the nature of, and men's differing relationships to, oppression and violence than is currently offered by discourses of masculinity/ies, with their individualized accounts of men's violent behaviour. Indeed, as the next section will argue, current understandings of masculinity/ies are implicated in sustaining the structural violence of gender itself.

The Violence of Gender

"I grew up understanding something of the violence of gender norms: an uncle incarcerated for his anatomically anomalous body, deprived of family and friends, living out his days in an 'institute' in the Kansas prairies; gay cousins forced to leave their homes because of their sexuality, real or imagined; ...it was difficult to bring this violence into view precisely because gender was so taken for granted at the same time that it was policed."(Butler 1999:xix)

In countries and cultures shaped by Judeo-Christian traditions at least, gender as it is practiced and understood insists on our experiencing the world in binary terms – male vs. female; masculine vs. feminine; active vs. passive; strong vs. weak; and dominant vs. submissive. The women's movement in the last 30 years has made great progress, in many countries, in disrupting the gender order's normative alignment of female-feminine-passive-weak-submissive as defining how women should be in the world. But it remains true that people who resist or betray the gender order too much (for example, feminine men or dominant women) continue to experience invalidation, intimidation and attack which is intended to bring them 'back into line'. Jasbir Puar, a former Board member with Narika, an organization working with battered women in South Asian communities in Berkeley (USA) emphasizes that:

“Any kind of rejection of conventional gender roles, whatever that might mean in a particular context, is going to be punishable vis-à-vis violent behavior.” (Munia 2000:10)

It is this prescribing of certain, and disallowing of other, ways of being in the world that constitutes the ‘violence of gender’. Gay-identified people have experienced this violence for many years. Normative heterosexuality remains such a defining feature of the gender order of the industrialized North, that people who choose to have sex with others of the same sex are still perceived by many as constituting a fundamental threat to the social order. Despite the gay rights movement in a number of countries, and the protective legislation and policies it has demanded be enacted, the violence of homophobia remains both virulent and pervasive.

In policing people’s lives in this way, the gender order relies on binary terms that are defined in negation of the other. The masculine is, by definition, what is not feminine. The current gender order also insists on a hierarchical relation between these terms, such that the masculine is, by definition, superior to the feminine. No wonder that the fear of feminization plays such an influential role in men’s gender socialization and that men “wage daily battles” to avoid being reduced to the “status of woman”. The violence of misogyny is about men’s fear of, and need to negate, the feminine.

Discourses of masculinity/ies have difficulty in addressing this gender violence because they assume, rather than question, a necessary alignment between men and masculinity. Defining masculinity as men’s gender identity means that efforts to re-define a non-violent masculinity for men remain within the logic of not being a woman. In these terms, a “non-violent masculinity” can only mean a set of non-violent values and behaviours which are defining of, and thus exclusive to, men, and hence not available to women. Yet the values and behaviours required for non-violent social relations are gender-neutral, available and applicable to both men and women. Working with men to create non-violent social relations must involve challenging the violence of gender itself, and its logic of hierarchical and oppositional social relations.

Looking at some men’s experience as victims of the violence of gender provides a way into understanding the issues that underlie such violence. This is not intended to in any way compare men’s and women’s experience as victims, and by so doing deflect attention from the already discussed, overwhelming gender asymmetry of

men's violence against women. But it is to argue that men's violence against women is not coterminous with gender-based violence, and that in focusing on the latter it is important to get beyond the gender of perpetrators and victims, to examine the gendered logic of domination and subordination on which it is based.

In a contribution to the INSTRAW virtual seminar series on men's roles and responsibilities in ending gender-based violence (from which this publication has emerged) Matt Ezzell wrote:

*"At the rape crisis center where I work, 8-12% of our clients year to year are men. Most have been assaulted by other men, yet some have been assaulted by women. It is important to note, that even if the sex of the offender is female (this is admittedly a small minority of the cases -- the US Department of Justice found that 23.3% of assailants of boys and men were women in 1999) the issues remain as power and control, which are masculine features of a patriarchal society -- thus, the crimes are still examples of gendered violence."*⁴

Whether the "sex of the offender" is irrelevant to a definition of a gender-based violence is questionable, given that such violence is necessarily about maintaining a gender order predicated on male domination and female subordination. But it is clear that the issues of power and control, which underlie the inequality of the gender order, and the violence that it produces, extend beyond gender relations to other social relations. As Diane Alm eras emphasized in one of her contributions to the same virtual seminar series:

*"Masculine ratio-nality divides the world between dominant classes of subjects (males, whites, property owners, heterosexuals, adults, the mentally and physically sane, urban) and oppressed classes of objects (women, blacks, proletarians, homosexuals, children, the crazy and the sick, rural)[...] We are talking here about patriarchy as the basis of gender-based violence or violence-based-on-the gender ratio-nality of the social order, which in some cases may happen to have a scanty relationship with the sex of the victim and the perpetrator. In other words, a woman who sexually or physically abuses a child of either sex also perpetrates gender-based violence because she then enters the patriarchal/political logic of dominant subject who have rights of ownership and use on an oppressed object."*⁵

Gender-based violence is connected to a "patriarchal/political logic" of oppressive social relations, in which some people exercise

⁴ <http://www.mail-archive.com/emvnet@un-instraw.org/msg00041.html> .

⁵ <http://www.mail-archive.com/emvnet@un-instraw.org/msg00201.html> .

power and control over other people. Men occupy differing positions within these oppressive social relations, depending on their class, 'race', age, sexuality, social status and religious faith. Connecting the structural violence of gender with the violence of other forms of oppression creates a space within which many men can identify a need to challenge the patriarchal/political logic, which damages their lives, and the lives of their families and communities.

Men, Violence and Multiple Forms of Oppression

The political connections between gender-based violence and other forms of oppression are evident in Montoya's account of such violence in Nicaragua, when he writes:

*"Violence in couple relationships is a problem of power and control. [...] It is maintained by the social structures of oppression in which we live—based, among others, on gender, class, age, and race inequalities. A national history of wars and a culture of settling conflict through force also maintain it. Colonialism and imperialism have had a role in intensifying this violence."*⁶

Social structures of oppression are discussed here not merely as an explanatory context for men's interpersonal violence against women but as integrally connected to this violence, and whose connections express an underlying "problem of power and control". In the virtual seminars, Moffet makes similar connections in her work on experiences and narratives of rape in South Africa, arguing that:

*"...there is a link between the violently enforced hierarchical structures of apartheid and our current levels of gender violence.[...] A pattern (admittedly one among many others) seems to be emerging in which rapists choose victims because they "dare to" practice freedom of movement, "hold their heads up", make eye contact, are "cheeky" and so on. These are exactly the reasons given in cases of unprovoked attacks by whites on blacks over the past five decades."*⁷

Getting to the issues of oppression that connect gender-based and other forms of violence requires a framework of analysis that includes but does not privilege gender. This is the shortcoming of the discourse of 'masculinities', most fully developed in Connell's work (1995), and its account of inequalities in power between men. Such inequalities are characterized in terms of struggles between

⁶ Personal communication.

⁷ <http://www.mail-archive.com/emvnet@un-instrw.org/msg00054.html> .

hegemonic and subordinate masculinities. In doing so, differing forms of oppression (class-based, 'race'-based) and the violence they generate are confined within a gender frame that abstracts men from the social groupings that experience this oppression (working class communities, communities of colour) and the political interests in structural change generated by this oppression.

But rather than privilege gender as the primary lens of analysis through which other forms of oppression can be perceived, it is important to be explicit in applying multiple analyses to understanding men's relationship to oppression and its violence. Socialist-feminist scholar Lynne Segal (1990:265) offers an example of this kind of explicitness when she writes:

"It is the sharp and frustrating conflict between the lives of lower working-class men and the image of masculinity as power, which informs the adoption and, for some, the enactment, of a more aggressive masculinity. There was a time...when feminists would not so readily have lost sight of the significance of class oppression for the sake of identifying a universal male beastliness."

Keeping 'sight' of the multiple forms of oppression as they are expressed in men's and women's lives, and the violence of them, is critical in order to understand men's potential roles and responsibilities in the broad social changes required to end gender-based violence. The concept of social justice is useful in this regard because it offers a framework within which multiple forms of oppression, and the way in which they interact to create injustice in people's lives, can be kept in view. A social justice framework is characterized by its insistence on the connectedness of different forms of violence and oppression. Within such a framework, gender-based violence is perceived in its relation to an oppressive gender order (patriarchy) whose 'logic' or hierarchy and inequality both shapes and is shaped by other determinants of oppressive social relations (for example, racism, homophobia, histories of colonialism, transnational capitalism).

It is useful to apply this social justice analysis in working with men to end gender-based violence. This framework of analysis can be used with different kinds of men to explore their differing relationships to multiple hierarchies of power and the range of ways in which they both reproduce and suffer from the oppression that these hierarchies produce. In so doing, the connections between gender-based violence and the violence of other forms of oppression can be clarified, thus enabling (some) men to connect their role in

challenging the oppression in their lives with their responsibility to end gender-based violence. Applying a social justice analysis can help to move work with men on gender-based violence beyond the personal questions of what it means to be a (non-violent) man, to the political questions of what it will involve to create a more just and less violent world. In addressing these latter questions, such work can help men in identifying the roles they can play in the broad social changes which will be required to end gender-based violence. The next section looks at the experience of four U.S.-based programmes, working directly with men on their violence against women, in their efforts to apply a social justice analysis to this work. It discusses some of the strategies which have emerged from this analysis for working with men toward political as well as personal change, and raises some of the challenges that still confront this work.

Making Connections in Practice ⁸

"It is critical that we develop responses to gender violence that do not depend on a sexist, racist, classist, and homophobic criminal justice system. It is also important that we develop strategies that challenge the criminal justice system and that also provide safety for survivors of sexual and domestic violence. To live violence-free lives, we must develop holistic strategies for addressing violence that speak to the intersection of all forms of oppression."⁹

Programmes working directly with men on their own violence also have the opportunity to raise questions with men about their roles in creating a less violent and more just world. Indeed, many such programmes, in the USA at least, define their vision and mission in terms of broader social change. The Men's Resource Center of Western Massachusetts (MRC) describes the vision of its work as being, in part, as:

"...a catalyst to help bring about a more just and peaceful world. We are a network of men and women committed to challenging personal and institutional violence, sexism, homophobia, racism and other forms of oppression and to supporting healing and empowerment for all people."

⁸ Most of the quotations in this section are taken from interviews conducted by the author with staff of the four programmes being discussed.

⁹ Critical Resistance-INCITE statement on Gender Violence and the Prison Industrial Complex.

In a similar vein, MOVE in San Francisco states the first part of its mission as:

“MOVE is dedicated to ending male violence by organizing for social change...”

Describing how it came to call itself Men Allied Nationally Against Living in Violent Environments, MANALIVE, also based in the Bay Area in Northern California, reports:

“We called it MANALIVE to reflect its social activism intent.”

But such intent often exists in tension with the funding requirements, organizational constraints and individually-oriented educational and therapeutic approaches of such programmes. As programmes have become increasingly reliant on referrals and associated funding from the criminal justice system, they have necessarily become more focused on changing the violent behaviour of individual men rather than on mobilizing men to challenge the violence of gender and related structures of oppression. The pressure on such programmes to be providers of social services, and not catalysts of social change, is also a function of the very structures of oppression within which they operate. Paul Kivel, a noted activist and educator on men and violence in the USA, has described the ‘buffer zone’ function of the NGO (non-profit) sector in a capitalist economic system as being to take care of those at the bottom of the economic pyramid to ensure that they do not organize themselves and try to claim power from the ‘ruling class’.¹⁰ Programmes working with men on their violence often fall within this buffer zone. They are further constrained in their potential for social change by their educational approaches to dealing with men’s violence as a learned behaviour, that in part reflect the influence of the discourses of masculinity/ies which were described earlier. The challenge facing such programmes is how to push the boundary between individual and social change, and develop “holistic strategies for addressing violence that speak to the intersection of all forms of oppression”.

In reviewing the work of a number of Batterers’ Intervention Programmes (BIPs) working directly with men on their own gender-based violence, it is possible to identify the beginnings of a number of such strategies. The first involves making the connections

¹⁰ This analysis is taken from Paul Kivel’s workshop on “Uprooting Violence”, which he offers to staff working in the NGO sector across the USA.

between intersecting forms of oppression as they are expressed outside of these programmes and how such oppression is experienced within organizations themselves. As programmes take on a political analysis of these connections between men, tensions can become apparent within staff teams struggling with oppression in their own lives and in the workplace. Steven Botkin, Executive Director of MRC, talks of “learning to trust” these struggles as signs of a maturing organization coming to grips with its own sexism, racism, homophobia and class biases. He also emphasizes the importance of developing policies, decision-making processes and structures of accountability within the organization that create a strong enough “container” to hold the conflicts that arise. Significantly, he identifies class issues as the “next frontier” for MRC as it takes on still further the implications of its political analysis of gender-based violence.

The ability of programmes to support their own staff in challenging the ways that structures of oppression express themselves in the organization has also been aided by a clear commitment to accountability to the communities and other stakeholders served by the programme. Such accountability has been demonstrated in staffing policies, which insist that staff teams reflect the communities with whom they work – for example, both Men Stopping Violence (MSV) in Atlanta and MOVE have significantly increased the number of people of colour on their staff to better reflect the communities of colour with whom they work. The boundary between staff and community has also been blurred by an emphasis on hiring men who have been clients of a programme to become staff with the programme, most notably in the case of MANALIVE, and to a lesser extent MRC.

A second strategy that programmes are using to respond to men’s violence in the context of intersecting forms of oppression is to make more explicit connections between gender-based violence and the violence of other oppressive social relations in their work with men. MSV, working with large numbers of African-American men, emphasizes the connections between racism and sexism in its educational curriculum, and builds their empathy for women’s experience of men’s violence by connecting it to their own experience of the violence of white racism. In describing the group-work curriculum developed by MANALIVE for violent men, its founder Hamish Sinclair says:

"We wanted a programme that briefed men on the politics of men's violence."

BIP staff are clear, however, that making these connections between the violence of different forms of oppression is in no way intended to excuse men's own violent behaviour. They stress that it is important for men to understand the contexts of their violence, and to be simultaneously challenged and supported to act differently in the world.

A third strategy relates to BIPs' efforts to connect the violence intervention work they do with men inside their programme with the violence prevention work that these men can do outside of the programme in their families, social networks and communities. For example, MSV has tried to broaden the focus of its group-work by requiring that the male perpetrators in its groups bring at least two male friends from their community to attend some group sessions, to not only act as witnesses and supporters of their own change, but also as potential collaborators for working for change at the community level. MRC is also clear about the importance of making this connection and states its mission as being:

"...to support men, challenge men's violence, and develop men's leadership in ending oppression in our lives, our families and our communities."

In recalling the design of the MANALIVE programme, Hamish Sinclair talks of wanting a programme that:

"...recruited and trained [men] to go out in their neighbourhoods and workplaces to spread the word to other men."

A key focus of programme development for MANALIVE now is to refine the leadership development component of its work with male perpetrators. The first year of the MANALIVE programme works with such men on stopping their own violence, in preparation for the second year phase of the programme, which will work to train and support some of these men to be violence prevention advocates in their own communities. Ways in which men can be supported to take on these leadership roles in violence prevention are also being explored by MOVE, but its leadership development strategy, currently focused on youth, has concentrated on working with young men in existing leadership positions in youth development organizations and strengthening their capacity to address gender-based violence in their work.

This approach is linked to the fourth strategy being developed by programmes to address intersecting forms of oppression and mobilize men to be involved in working for the broader social changes required to end gender-based violence. This strategy is concerned with partnership and coalition-building with groups and organizations already working on issues of social justice. Initially MRC, a largely white organization, tried to take on issues of racism and class-based oppression by reaching out to low income communities of colour in its area, but it had difficulty gaining entry and establishing credibility. Changing tack, it is now partnering with existing organizations, which are working on issues of social justice within these communities (for example, in relation to immigrants' rights) and is building their capacity to integrate issues of gender-based violence into their work.

This partnership and coalition-building with social justice organizations is not simply a way of supporting them to make the connections between differing forms of oppression and gender-based violence. Paul Kivel points out that this strategy is also about connecting work with men on gender-based violence to a broader movement for social justice and creating ways to be accountable to this movement.¹¹ But such a commitment to accountability raises questions about programmes' relationship with centres of power, and the tension between an activist-outsider and a professional-insider approach to their work. For many of these programmes working directly with men on their violence, this tension has become more pronounced in recent years as they have become more deeply embedded within the criminal justice system's response to this violence.

For organizations such as MOVE, this tension has become too great, and it has decided to shift its strategic focus from being a batterers' intervention programme working for behaviour change to becoming a social justice organization committed to ending men's violence through social change. But this transition brings its own tensions in terms of the partnerships and coalitions that become easier and harder for programmes to build when they take explicit political positions on issues such as homophobia, racism and class-based oppression in their bearing on gender-based violence. Efforts to broaden the coalition of organizations working on issues of men's violence may be compromised by a deepened and explicit political

¹¹ Personal communication.

commitment to working with men on the roles they can play in ending the violence that is based in gender and related structures of oppression.

For MOVE, this deepened political commitment finds expression in its exploration of community organizing strategies to change the social norms and challenge the social inequalities that provide the context for men's violence. Community organizing can be regarded as a fifth, and perhaps the most ambitious, kind of strategy being developed by some BIPs in response to the connections between gender-based violence and intersecting forms of oppression. While still in its early stages, MOVE has already learned lessons about the tensions that can arise in entering communities with a violence-prevention concern which is not prioritized by communities themselves, and also the challenges of focusing this work specifically on men when it is often women who take on community leadership and care-taking roles. The initial conclusions drawn from these lessons relate to the importance of working in partnership with other organizations in order to be more able to respond to the diverse needs presented by communities, and thus establish greater credibility with them. They also relate to the necessity of taking time to build relationships with key community 'gate-keepers' and stakeholders in order to identify men to work within community organizing.

These strategies suggest that such programmes are beginning to make the political connections between men, gender and violence which are necessary to mobilize men in efforts to bring about the structural change necessary to end gender-based violence. In so doing, they are applying a social justice framework to understanding the connections between such violence and other oppressive social relations. But it is clear that challenges remain. Firstly, much of the work done with men on ending gender-based violence is grounded in a gender analysis that is curiously unconcerned with issues of sexuality. But gender and sexuality are closely enmeshed. The violence that produces and is produced by the gender order is also the violence of the hetero-sexist order that regulates sexuality. Acknowledging this relationship opens up questions about men's experience as both victims and perpetrators of such violence as well as questions about the different kinds of violence that have a basis in an oppressive gender-sexuality system. Child sexual abuse is an example of violence rooted in the system's logic of power and control over another's body, and yet is relatively neglected in the

current literature on ending gender-based violence, despite the fact that it constitutes many women's (and men's) first and sometimes primary experience of such violence.

Secondly, the importance of community, as both site and agent of change, also needs to be more fully recognized. As already noted, the political connections between men, gender and violence require a broadening beyond individual-behavioural to social-structural change in order to end the violence. But mobilizing men around issues of structural violence can be difficult because of the apparent abstraction of such issues, unless they are made concrete for men (and women) at the level of their community, however it is defined. Such a community focus is critical in being able to work beyond questions of gender identity and toward issues of social justice, and to articulate the roles and responsibilities that men have as part of their community in this work.

Finally, it is clear that many programmes currently working with men on their violence need greater capacity to work at the community and not merely the individual level. This would include increased capacities in community organizing and leadership development strategies that could enable men to take on responsibility for playing their part in ending gender-based violence in their community. Capacity also refers to the skills, support and resources men will need in order to take on these roles in social change in the face of likely opposition from other men (and women). Building this capacity is a crucial function for programmes working with men on their political roles and responsibilities in ending gender-based violence.

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The Crowing of the Rooster: Violence and Masculinity in North-East Brazil¹

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Summary

How do men respond to efforts to criminalize domestic partner violence? This paper draws upon material from six men's focus groups, convened at the conclusion of long-term ethnographic research in Salvador, Bahia, the major city in north-eastern Brazil widely recognized as the heart of Afro-Brazilian culture. Research findings suggest that criminalization catalyzes a reduction in tolerance for men's violence, specifically in the ways younger men constructed men's honour in relation to violence. Such changes probably provide a significant, if limited, deterrent effect.

However, the paper argues that: 1) any such deterrent effect is unevenly distributed, acting more heavily upon socially marginalized men and thus reproducing discrimination; and 2) that the effect is superficial, and does not penetrate to affect the cultural assumptions of gender difference and inequality that shape violence. The Afro-Brazilian setting, where women exercise central roles in family decision-making, income-generation, and areas such as possession-based religion, appears contradicted by the notorious levels of machismo in the region. A "contestatory" model of conflict and violence, wherein violence is symptomatic of changing gender roles and/or real power struggles between women and men, is offered alongside the more familiar "dominance" model as a way to understand the forms conflict takes.

The paper concentrates on differing conceptions in two generations of men's honour in relation to violence.

¹ This paper's title is borrowed from a quote from Woortmann (1987:21 - "Aqui o galo não canta, pois ele não é o dono do terreiro").

Younger men had constructed more autonomous models of subjecthood and honour than their older counterparts, by resisting cultural models that mandated that they use violence to avenge women's adultery and - by association - to control women more generally. The effects of criminalization of such violence appeared to be a contributing factor here, because young men always cited the potential loss of liberty (older men did not appear to share this concern).

On other scores, however, younger and older men subscribed to the same models of relationship and power, which assumed that dominance and authoritarianism were natural and inevitable. Thus, women's gains and the increased reliance of men on women's income - particularly for poor, marginalized men - posed serious threats to their senses of self and of masculinity. The paper concludes by arguing that alternative models of masculinity and relationship are necessary, as well as transformations in the material and structural conditions in which Brazilian men and women live, in order to deepen the ground gained in ameliorating men's violence.

Introduction

How do men respond to efforts to criminalize domestic partner violence? This paper draws upon material from focus groups with men, convened at the conclusion of long-term ethnographic research. Since 1990, researchers have studied the cultural effects of criminalization of men's violence against women in Salvador, Bahia, the major city in northeastern Brazil widely recognized as the heart of Afro-Brazilian culture.

The focus group phase of the research followed a study of one of Brazil's all-female police stations, established expressly to combat violence against women. The first of these specialized facilities was created in 1985, during the initial reintroduction of democratic rule; there now are over 200 posts throughout the country. The police stations, staffed by and registering complaints exclusively from women were never intended to stand alone as Brazil's primary institutional response to high levels of domestic assault. Legal,

psychological, and socio-economic assistance programmes were widely seen as critical accompaniments to moving beyond palliative measures, toward true prevention. Despite this awareness and some progress in this direction, for most Brazilians the punitive, criminally-oriented police stations remain the sole response to domestic assault of which they are aware. Here, the implications of this over-reliance on criminalization, a phenomenon that sociologist Laureen Snider (1998) has argued misidentifies penalty with social control - a much more comprehensive project - is examined.

Research findings suggest that criminalization catalyzes some diminution in tolerance for men's violence, specifically in the ways younger men construct men's honour in relation to violence. Such changes probably provide a significant, if limited, deterrent effect. However, this paper argues that: 1) any such deterrent effect is unevenly distributed, acting more heavily upon socially marginalized men and thus reproducing discrimination; and 2) that the effect is superficial, and does not penetrate to affect the cultural assumptions of gender difference and inequality that shape violence.

Methods: Focus Groups and Men's Voices on Violence

Focus groups with assault survivors have recently been used to gain reliable information on domestic violence.² Focus groups with perpetrators, however, are susceptible to such threats to validity as deception, social desirability issues, low levels of trust, face-politeness needs, and researcher bias (Albrecht et al., 1993). It is critical, therefore, to stress that the goal in using focus groups for this study was not to produce reliable accounts about violent incidents; nor were the researchers exclusively interested in speaking to men with known or suspected histories of violence. Instead, the primary goal was to ascertain whether the cultural tolerance for violence was changing as a result of the gradual criminalization of that violence. Staging conversations in men's peer groups seemed an ideal way to do this.

Six focus groups with men were held. Five focus groups were also convened with women, but these will not be discussed in this

² For example, the Center for Disease Control in the United States of America used focus groups in the "Risk and Protective Factor Focus Group Study" (see <http://cdc.gov/ncipc/dvp/fivpt>).

work. Focus group participants were recruited from the three adjacent communities studied; two of these were comprised of predominantly working-poor, the third lower-middle class. Nearly half of the focus group participants had been interviewed in the previous stage of the research. In each group, at least one participant was known to have had some conjugal history involving violence. Participants were assured that unlike in previous interviews, there was no desire to delve deeply into their personal experiences (nor would anything be disclosed). Rather it was hoped that they could help improve our understanding of the results from the earlier research. Group size ranged from 3-8 people, and the duration of group meetings ran from about an hour and a half to over three hours.³

Regardless of the commitment not to bring previous knowledge about participants to bear upon the actual group discussion, the extensive background information held on many participants enabled a deeper analysis than convening focus groups “cold” could have. The transcript of the discussion from one of the men’s groups, for example, reads as extremely normalized and progressive, full of received messages (from the media and Brazil’s own nascent “politically-correct” doctrines) about women and men having equal rights, and negative views of “those” misguided men who still harboured *machista* (adjective derived from macho/machismo) beliefs.

From the transcript alone, one would never have guessed that this group was composed of: a man who had assaulted his wife continually for years and who had recently impregnated her while raping her; a man who had just responded, in the women’s police station, to charges lodged against him by his wife who had recently left him; a man who admitted to having assaulted his wife “because of a disagreement about food” (she later committed suicide, under circumstances that remained quite vague); and finally, a man who professed an idealized, egalitarian relationship with his wife, but

³ As a non-Brazilian woman, my presence surely affected the dialogue in the men’s groups to a certain extent – often participants would excuse themselves before referring to something sexually explicit or say they could not repeat some profanity with me present. Nonetheless, the discussions were so productive even with me there (and perhaps the men sought to explain themselves even more because of my presence) that the loss to my final analysis of having to rely solely on transcriptions and collaborators’ reports outweighed what might have been gained had I absented myself.

whose sister (in a separate conversation) insisted that the couple had a violent history.⁴ In this light, the group discussions made possible the comparative exercise of trying to understand the gaping contradictions between theory and practice, men's motives for dissimulation, and the feelings of shame and inadequacy that lurk behind contradictory self-presentations (i.e., in an interview versus in a group situation).

Partner Assault in the North-Eastern Brazilian Cultural Context

The case of Brazil, a country historically infamous for cultural codes virtually mandating men to "wash their honour with blood" (by killing wife, her partner, or both) when subject to female adultery, calls into question treatments of violence that assume it to be somehow opposed to or destructive of cultural meanings.⁵ However reprehensible, if in Brazil violence is something that can "wash" honour, then it is constitutive of meaning and value. Even as the so-called "legitimate defense of honour"—and yes, it *has*, historically, always referred to men's honour—is losing its viability as a tactic through which to absolve wife-murdering Brazilian men, and even as men's impunity is slowly diminished through increasing criminalization, it is undeniable that men's violence still holds positive connotations and values in Brazilian popular culture. Not only *can* a man use violence to "prove" that he is, in fact, a man; often he may be seen as being *required* to call upon violence, particularly when has few other options by which to succeed in the high-maintenance, labour-intensive work of continuing to "be a man" (Buffon 1990; Lancaster 1992).

Anthropologist Klaas Woortmann (1987:21) wrote of the poor, predominantly Afro-Brazilian men he studied in Salvador: "Here the cock does not crow, for he is not the lord of the land". Woortmann focused with concern on men's sense of being peripheral to their

⁴ Focus group #5, held 13 September 1995.

⁵ One of the best illustrations of this mandate can be found in Jorge Amado's novel *Gabriela: Clove and Cinnamon*, in which the male protagonist is socially ostracized for only beating, but stopping short of killing, his wife when she is discovered committing adultery. By contrast, a minor character in the novel who does kill his adulterous wife and her lover is praised by town folk as "a real man, resolute, brave, honourable..." (1962:103). For more on violence and gender-related reforms with redemocratization, see Alvarez 1990, Rohter 2001, Americas Watch 1991, Patai 1991, CEPIA 1993.

mother-centered families, and marginalized by the wider society⁶. He found poor Afro-Bahians in general to share sense of "subjective marginality" that exacted a particularly heavy toll from men, "strongly inhibit[ing them] from fulfilling roles of masculinity as defined in the dominant culture" (Hautzinger's translation, Woortmann 1987:21). He observed that the poverty of these men disallowed their ability to "be macho"—for their wives earned more consistent income, fed and clothed their children, and called their men weak—"she talks just to talk, to humiliate him, because she knows very well that good jobs are few." With firm footing in neither the labour force nor the family, poor men's identities were especially destabilized and precarious.⁷

The point Woortmann drives home is that polygyny and matrifocality are an integral part in the 'popular' classes of contemporary Salvador. This social pattern reinforces men's peripherality to their families and, in a central theme to this work, heightens their need to assert themselves as powerful. Violence, this paper argues, can serve as a last-ditch vehicle to power. Most often,

⁶ Many have remarked upon the strength and apparent autonomy of Bahian women, who have often struck outsiders for their lack of subjugation to men, both in familial and Afro-Bahian religious contexts. An early example is in Ruth Landes' fieldwork in Bahia, which she entitled *The City of Women* for precisely this reason (1994[1947]).

⁷ Woortmann underscores Bahian men's polygyny as a major factor in keeping them on the periphery of matricentric households, where they are non-essential members. In fact, for Woortmann, Afro-Bahian polygyny goes hand in hand with matrifocal kinship organization, precisely because the dyadic bond of greatest importance is that between mother and child. Woortmann recognizes that African institutional structures could not survive the ravages of slavery. At the same time, he argues that on an ideological level (similar to that described by Mintz and Price (1992) as "cognitive" or "grammatical" African continuities), the continuation of models of kinship influenced by Africa is plausible. For Salvador specifically, he points to the polygyny (and agnatically-based lineages) of Yoruba-Nagô groups (the most important of which, in Bahia, was Kêtu). Polygynous family structures, he argues, have a predisposition toward matrifocality, particularly where women command significant power, as in historic reports of Yoruba women (Mintz 1976). Today it remains an open question whether the matrifocality in the Afro-American diaspora bears traces of Africa. What we do know is that current kinship patterns result at least in part from slavery having forced a certain matrifocal component upon Africans in bondage, if only because the paternity of slaves never received juridical recognition. It is likely that the current patterns evident in Bahia result from some combination of the effects of the recent history of slavery and cognitive or ideological West African influences.

however, the power advanced through violence is of the most precarious, unstable sort.

In broaching the connections between economic hardship, poverty and violence, the author does not wish to suggest that the insecurities and instabilities generated are exclusive to the poor. A ubiquitous insecurity exists for Brazilians of all classes and ethnic backgrounds, deriving directly from Brazil's ongoing economic crises. Most Brazilians feel that their world is perpetually spinning out of control. In some senses, the situation of the Brazilian middle class could be understood as even more unstable, or subject to dramatic and unforeseeable change, than that of the Brazilian poor, because the middle class has more to lose. Nonetheless, the crisis of the poor is certainly more existential, immediate and desperate.

Would men who were unable, or disinclined, to fulfill the role of primary breadwinner and authoritative head of household as prescribed in the dominant culture be more likely to resort to violence as a compensating 'resource' for power and control? Was Woortmann's "rooster" metaphor apt, with the added proviso that it is precisely when the "rooster" feels his masculine identity threatened or called into question, that he begins to "crow," strut and puff all the more? For some Bahian men, do crowing, strutting and puffing involve brawling at the bars, tumbling roughly during games of *futebol* (soccer), or responding with force to another man flirting with his woman? By all indications: yes. Do they involve physical aggression against a female partner? The author argues that, yes, in some cases, they do.

In this regard, it is significant that researchers are increasingly taking into consideration how men's confounded self-expectations relate to violent behaviours (Wade 1994, Lancaster 1992, and Gutmann 1996). Moore (1994) uses the word "thwarting" to describe an individual's "inability to sustain or properly take up a gendered subject position, resulting in a crisis, real or imagined, of self-representation and/or social evaluation."

Bahia's distinct combination of men's multiple unions *and* matrifocality creates a climate particularly ripe for conflict and contestation between men and women.⁸ Unlike those who assume

⁸ Salvador, Bahia is considered the most Afro-Brazilian locale in Brazil, both in terms of cultural aspects and in predominance of African-descended Brazilians, (São Luis, capital of Maranhão, is similar but less prominent; see Linger 1992). Salvador stands out within the northeastern region, which is already 71 per cent

that Bahian macho men are complemented by submissive, abused women, the author sets forth that the combination of foiled machismo and female power reflected in the ideology of Afro-Bahian *marianismo*⁹ points toward the importance of a contestatory model of violence, wherein violence is symptomatic of changing gender roles and/or power struggles between two 'contestants' (Hautzinger, *in press*). To assume that the more-familiar 'domination' pattern of violence (marked by an increasingly asymmetrical balance of power that favours the masculine abuser) is predominate in Bahia underestimates the status, autonomy, and authority exercised by so many Afro-Bahian women, despite their pervasive poverty and vulnerability as a social group.

The following analysis focuses primarily on two men's focus groups.¹⁰ They represented the opposite ends of the ideological spectrum: A group of older men elaborated upon their more 'traditional', *machista* values, while a younger group of men articulated significantly altered values regarding men's honour and self-image. These focus groups were held at a time when domestic assault itself was becoming increasingly criminalized and the discussions yielded examples of 'traditional' conceptions of men's honour still in force alongside emergent, alternative modes of "washing" or maintaining men's honour.

Men's Freedom, Men's Honour, and Men's Power

The police-station research and individual neighbourhood interviews made clear that the majority of severely violent domestic eruptions don't directly involve issues of female adultery *per se*. The fact, however, that nearly all of the focus-group discussions revolved around these themes is significant. Female adultery supplies a

Afro-Brazilian (sharply contrasting with the three southernmost states, where the Afro-Brazilian population is under 16 per cent [Schneider 1996:184]).

⁹ Marianismo is a discourse relating ideologies of selective female superiority to diverse Virgin Mary "cults" in Catholic history. Generally, these involve female covert control of domestic domains (while still allowing the man to feel sovereign), self-abnegation and self-sacrifice in the interests of offspring and other kin, and displays of moral fortitude and level-headedness that calm volatile men's temperaments (Stevens 1973). Elhers (1991) rejects such thinking as false consciousness. While little of this applies neatly to Afro-Brazilian context, the fact that many women do actively profess a form of moral superiority presents a parallel.

¹⁰ Group #2 (convened 4 September 1995) and group #7 (met 20 September 1995).

critical key scenario, revealing the place where violence is viewed as most probable, most readily defensible, and, from men's perspectives, as the situation in which it would be most *necessary* to avoid descending to the category of *corno* (cuckold). Being a *corno* was constantly contrasted with being a man: To be a *corno* is to be a non-man, to have one's masculinity neutralized.

What men's honour and female adultery tell us about the *ideals* surrounding 'being' or 'failing to be' a man helps to reveal the models of power operative in the real, more mundane, everyday conflicts where violence more commonly flares up. Specifically, the "injury" wrought by female adultery to men is paralleled by cases where women nag men about being inadequate providers, partners and fathers, as well as where women protest men's extra-marital affairs and unions, attempting to curtail activities men may see as part of their inherent masculine nature. The more common, mundane counterparts of the *homem traído* (man betrayed by his woman's infidelity) are the *homem caseiro* (the "house man"), or more pejoratively still, the *pica doméstica* (domestic[ated] penis), neither of whom are free enough from their women to "play" in the street in the to which ways men are entitled.

One focus group articulated the values of traditional *machista* entitlement quite plainly, spelling out what was involved with being a successful *mulherengo* (womanizer). Such a man, they said, had to "know how to err," to indulge in the vice of extra-marital sex with moderation to avoid getting caught, because duty required that "you leave everything at home in a good way". The topic turned to the *homem caseiro*, the domesticated man, who didn't "eat" (a common Brazilian metaphor for sex) in the "street" (away from home). One self-proclaimed womanizer declared, "A man, when he turns *caseiro*, it just means he got tired. ... Because really there's no such thing. ... Can it be that one *really* exists? Not here, I don't think." This aptly articulates the naturalized relationship, for many Brazilian men, between extra-marital sex and masculine drives, along with the expectation of entitlement and privilege to follow such pursuits.

Having established that a man bound by his wife's expectation of fidelity is in some ways less than a man, the group went on to eloquently qualify how a man's willingness to use violence revealed the strength of his masculinity. The conversation turned from men's adultery to female adultery, and two examples were offered. The first involved a case that occurred in the neighbourhood, which was

mentioned in several different focus groups. For the men in this group, the case exemplified negative or failed masculinity, as the cuckolded man in question was unable to act resolutely enough to prove his manhood. The second example was positive, involving a man who showed himself to be "more than a man," even in the face of his wife's adultery.

One participant, Jorginho, began by telling about how the neighbours were aware that the wife was sleeping with another man, but would not tell the man because he was the type that consistently taunted other men, calling them "cuckolds" or "faggots." One day, the man came home to find the other man "on top of" his wife. The man threw the other out of the neighbourhood at gunpoint.

Although one might expect that the betrayed husband proved himself capable of a "reaction", Jorginho later returned to the incident and made clear that whatever action the man had taken was inadequately resolute. Some men argued that he should have removed himself from the neighbourhood altogether - others disagreed. But there was a consensus over his need to do something to preserve his name, his honour. As one participant argued:

"Do something, so he wouldn't have doubted his own name! Even a shout, he needed to give, but he didn't do anything: He was paralysed."

Another participant chimed in, "He lacked the *machismo*," using the latter term in a positive sense. This consensus was frustrated, however, by the lack of an appropriate option, particularly in the face of violence becoming a decreasingly legitimate response.

In contrast to this example of failed manhood, Mário, the group's oldest participant, shared another tale that earned the respect of the group. In this instance, the betrayed man suspected foul play, and arranged to go home in the middle of the day, armed with a revolver that he made sure was visible when he entered the house. Sure enough, the other man was there, and hid under the bed. The story's hero set about making himself some coffee at a leisurely pace, refusing his wife's insistence that she make it for him. Mário says that the neighbours started to cluster at the front door, so the husband opened the door wide and called everyone in to the house, "to see this beautiful painting that just got here". Other focus group members express their admiration: "So he knows all about it, huh? What a head [on his shoulders], with the guy... [under the bed]" and "Boy [*rapaz*], this is a MAN!". With an audience gathered,

the husband politely called the offending man out from his hiding place.

Mário—*“Oh Fulano [generic man’s name], please do me the favour of coming out!” The guy says, “But the senhor [respectful for “you”] is going to kill me!”*

The husband responded, “No, it’s full of people here, full of witnesses. Do you think I’m going to kill you with everyone watching? You can leave, I’m not going to do anything to you.” After flushing his rival from his refuge, the husband turned his attention to his adulterous wife.

Mário—*“Now Fulana [the man calls to his wife], get yourself ready [to leave]!”*

Jorginho—*The guy is still naked?*

Mário—*He is!! [He said to his wife] “Get your bundle ready, because you’re going with him! And your punishment, my friend, is to take her. She is yours, and here will remain only my three children. Everything that’s hers she can take.”*

“What?” [The guy responded]. “That’s it,” the man said, “Either you’re leaving and taking her or you both stay here [dead from being shot; later in the discussion this is clarified]. You can choose. I’m waiting!” She was crying but went to get her bundle just the same.

You have to say, there are few men that have a head like this man’s. He wasn’t flustered [abafado], no: He acted. He was not a coward, no. He did the right thing.

Sarah—*Would you all say this man successfully washed his honour?*

Jorginho—*He had two personalities, two or three personalities. Can you imagine? Because in my case—one thing we know for sure, man is of the moment. There are things a man does and then he can’t even face what he’s done, the irresponsibility of what he’s done. You know? The guy shoots them and then he regrets it. ... But what this man did, he went beyond his own imagination, beyond his own body, beyond his own size. He was more than a man!*

Mário—*He acted like a man.*

The hero’s achievement of being “more than a man” came through his *willingness* to use violence, and the credibility of his threat, while at the same time displaying restraint and being able to hold back from actually *needing* to use violence. Had he shot his wife and her lover, he would have been a man, but he becomes “more than a man” because, as Jorginho suggests, he is able to listen to a cool-headed, reasonable voice and at the same time honour the “essential” male instinct to avenge himself. The balance he struck,

where he maintained total control of both the situation and himself, proves him to be even more powerful than if he had resorted to violence, the last-ditch, desperate play for power.

Participants were also clear that this 'triumph' of being "more than a man" must be seen in the context of men's vulnerability to women. There was consensus that women were unquestionably smarter and stronger than men, and that a woman could "dominate a man with a kiss." In fact, the men agreed, it was precisely because of women's resourcefulness and cunning that it was unwise to afford a woman too much freedom and power (such as allowing her to work away from home) if one wanted to hold on to her. They concurred that most women's interests in men were instrumental and doubted the sincerity or loyalty of women's love: "Patrimony; the man is the woman's patrimony and she has to be careful of him," one man put it, adding, "Women don't have jealousy, they have caution." They further agreed that a woman sexually betrayed by her husband should stay with him: "She should show her own prestige and value;" anyway, a "woman who knows how to captivate a man will never find him looking for another woman" in the first place. By contrast, a man with any self-respect would never stay with a woman who was unfaithful to him.

While these focus group participants were comparatively outspoken about their self-declared, *machista* perspectives, even the more "liberal" groups of men agreed with the notion that men whose wives' leashes were too long, whose wives could be found constantly "chatting in other people's doorways," or whose wives traveled alone without husbandly supervision, could be characterized as "*acomodados*" or "*conformados*". One man made the either/or option quite clear:

"You have the conformados, and then you have the perigosos (dangerous men)."

By conforming and accommodating to circumstances rather than dictating and directing them, by failing to pose a threat, such men suffered painful jokes and derision from their male peers. They were constantly referred to as "giving a big empty space (*vazão*)", or opportunity for being cuckolded. Being a *cornio* also played into underlying homophobia: the man whose honour was destroyed when his wife was unfaithful figuratively "got screwed" by the other man, losing irreparably in the hierarchy game. This transmutation, of course, rides on the premise of the woman being understood as a

mere extension of her husband's agency, sphere of influence or jurisdiction.

Changing Perspectives on Violence and Men's Honour

Another focus group was comprised of some of the youngest male participants (ages 19-34), three of whom had been raised in female-headed households.¹¹ These young men discussed the same case that had occurred in the neighbourhood, where a young man had been betrayed by his wife but did not "wash his honour with blood". The participants in this group maintained that in such a situation, they would not need to "react," or actively avenge their honour with violence. The unfaithful woman had already shown her morals to be beneath those of her man in the eyes of all, so he had already won. As Robi, one of the participants, put it:

"My honour stays right where it was."

In discussing this neighborhood case, Robi began by hypothetically placing himself in the betrayed man's place.

Robi —...*If she takes someone else: I accept it... I'm still going to have high morale, you know why? Because she's doing something that everyone will always criticize, and I'm not. When [the guys say], "Ah, but your woman made you a corno," I'll say, "She did not make me a corno, no: Do you think her actions were correct?" ... I'm going to continue with my head held high.*

If this happened with me, I'd break up with her. I'd say, "Go live your life with the person you're with." ... While they [the guys] are there thinking about making fun of me, I'm going to go about living my life. ... Because of the gozações [jests, mockeries], do you think I'm going to grab her, beat her; am I going to kill her? No: I want God to help her and not to abandon me. ... Let her live her life and let the guys talk, make gozações. If they think that to show them that I'm the maioral [the boss, the greatest], that I'm the machão [big macho], that I'm going to beat or kill her. No way I'm going to do this! And do you know why? That would have nothing to do with it [with me; with what happened].

Pablo—*[Nodding in agreement.] First, you're going to lose your freedom, so what's that going to resolve? You took away her life and also lose your freedom, and you can lose your life as well.*

¹¹ Robi, Pedro, Itamar, Raulino, and I sat down with Carlos and Flavio, who again acted as principal facilitators.

Robi— *If it got to the point where I killed her and her family afterward, what's going to happen? Maybe not with me, ... but if he doesn't avenge himself with me, he'll get my brother, an aunt of mine, even my own mother, and then what? ... I could stop, and analyse, and avoid all that, understand?... [They can call me corno] ... and of course I'm going to be hurt by that, inside, but I'm not going to show this to him, because he's there talking, "Ah, man, aren't you going to do anything? What about your honour?" No. My honour stays where it was!*

This exchange is related at length to emphasize how strikingly different these young men's view of the case is from that of the older men. The most important difference is that in the position of a man sexually betrayed by his wife, the young men stressed the need to see their own sense of honour and self as separated from their female partners' behaviour and subjectivity.

The shift seems to result, at least in part, from the effects of recent criminalization, as the risk of "losing my liberty" was always cited.¹² A second deterring factor, however, involved the threat of losing family members to local, vigilante acts of violence for revenge, as played out between families.

This assertion of "autonomous men's honour" is a relatively new and precarious form of resistance to inculcated norms and scripts, as is evident in the very insistence with which these scripts are still insinuated into Robi's thinking. The durability of the script encouraging Robi to "wash honour with blood" is evident in the very way it forces him to engage it, and to reconcile it with his commitment to look within for his sense of honour, to himself and his own behaviour. His vehement claim that his honour is immune to the aspersions of his circle of male friends and neighbours is qualified by his rather exhaustively articulated strategy about how he will respond to them. Indeed, he identifies the moment in which "the guys" were questioning his honour as precisely the juncture at which he would typically consider using physical violence.¹³

¹² Neither the older men nor middle-class men mentioned concerns about trouble with police over domestic violence, suggesting they felt less susceptible to its effects; indeed, for most of the adult lives of older men, they were witness to acquittals of wife-murderers highlighted by the media, and therefore had little reason to think mere domestic assault would expose them to criminal liability.

¹³ Knowing Robi's family well, as I did by the time of this group's discussion, I believe Robi's perspective is shaped by his experiences with his formidable grandmother (a widow and priestess of Candomblé, the principal Afro-Brazilian

The shift toward a sense of autonomous men's honour among younger men, while significant in potentially deterring violence, remained superficial. For example, in a "hypothetical" scenario one young man offered (but which closely mirrored the violent relationship of his own parents), a woman's desire to leave an abusive marriage is overridden by a mystified and inevitable destiny ascribed to the relationship itself. Despite multiple attempts at leaving and police involvement, the couple remain together, not because of economic dependence or other practical constraints, but because "that force still exists, that attracts one to the other". Thus, the speaker constructs a kind of romanticism that dictates that the relationship must continue, against the woman's own decisions, interests, and safety. In the absence of models of women able to enact plans for their own protection, this romanticism – which includes violence -- "explains" lives, like his mother's, where autonomous *female* subjecthood is not recognizable.

The most paradoxical feature of the younger men's focus groups, from this outsider's vantage point, was the degree to which signs of a changing, increasingly gender-egalitarian Brazil emerged, alongside starkly contrasting opinions reflecting the same entrenched, *machista* values held by their elders in the focus group analyzed earlier. Two examples along the lines of the latter will be examined: a conversation about the appropriateness of keeping women to their homes, and the one-up, one-down model of power, espoused in younger and older men's groups alike.

The Danger of "Women Talking in Others' Doors"

The younger men's focus group and research assistant Carlos got to talking about the problem of wives who too often called their husbands away from games of dominoes, cards or a shared litre of beer. Most agreed that these women to be told that this was unacceptable, that it embarrassed the man in front of his friends and led to gossip that he was "dominated by his woman". While these young men were in consensus that, in *brigas* (fights), intervention was appropriate to avoid a murder, they shared a sense that some violence toward a woman might simply be part of keeping a woman in line. Here again, the potential danger to the interloper

religion in this region), his indomitable, never-married mother, and his strong-willed sister (even though privately Robi expressed woe at feeling outcast by all three women at the time—principally due to his lack of employment and "sullen" behaviour).

was not worth the risk of interfering in the relatively minor violence of a man simply "alerting" his partner to act properly.

Pablo—...*The woman's in the door of the house, and a pan is burning on the stove and she's in her "ti-ti" (gossip, chatting)—the soap opera yesterday, and ti-ti-ti. Very well that I don't like violence, but there are people that [in this situation] would arrive with a hot head, and he lets go of a slap to her chest.*

Carlos—*In this type of briga, should you get involved?*

Pablo—*No, because he's just giving a reprimand (chega), in order to alert her.*

After a long spell of just listening, the author volunteered that participants in the women's focus groups frequently referred to feeling lonely, to feeling "prisoner of their homes". Carlos added that men's social lives were definitely more open and active than women's. The men assured that there was no discrimination there, and that this worked in everyone's favour. Statements supporting women's freedom of movement and association were continually qualified: as long as her interaction with a neighbour were deemed a "healthy chat," with "someone of her own level" that would not reveal compromising details about her life with her partner or put rebellious ideas in her head; or, providing the "house were in order" before she left it.

Often the language in which the men chose to express their feelings around these decisions smacked of the benign sovereign, legitimately vested with the duty to oversee the welfare of his subordinates: "I would go so far as letting her go and visit an aunt..." or "I prefer that she stays home, for her own good". The men were anxious not to mistake their judgement on these matters with machismo: "It's not a question of the woman being a prisoner, ... it's to avoid problems," one participant told us, adding after a moment's reflection, "Not for her, but for me. If you're my friend, and then, because of her, become my enemy..."¹⁴

Listening to these comments, one nearly forgets that often these young men have been unemployed during periods when their

¹⁴ Research Assistant Carlos asked if gossip among men can generate the same kinds of problems, and was told no, that rather a man's presence can prevent others from gossiping about his woman, whereas a woman is going to tell other women everything about her man, "Soon they know what we're eating at home and everything," said Robi, sparking off a round of laughter, due to the double meaning of "eating" as associated with sex.

female partners worked outside the home. The idealized division of space, with women in the home and men in the street, is so entrenched that it does not easily accommodate the complexities of gender roles where both men and women work in the remunerated labour force. Too, the face-saving and even dissimulating behaviours that were so often evident in the focus groups, as mentioned earlier, are relevant here. Despite the reality of relationships in which men and women explored unfamiliar territory where men were often economically dependent, men did not regard speaking together as an opportunity to acknowledge or analyze such experiences. More important to these young men, it seemed, was to use such conversations to assert narrations about roles they did not, in actuality, play -- as primary breadwinners and authoritative household heads.

Masculinity, Machismo, and Zero-Sum Power

While shifts in individual men's felt need to employ violence to preserve honour may be evident, particularly with younger men, a more deeply wrought characterization of how power is divided in relationships remained unchanged. Men (and many women), whether speaking in the police station interviews or in neighbourhood interviews or focus groups, ubiquitously subscribed to a one-up, one-down, zero-sum model of power. Indeed, informants explained the occurrence of domestic violence by saying that either the woman or the man "always needs to be on top", "doesn't want to be the one on the bottom", or "always wants to be in the right". Explicit in these accounts is that if one is right, the other is wrong; if one is on top, the other is on the bottom.

Carlos, who also acted as facilitator, asked the focus group with the younger men if it were possible to have a balanced relationship, where no one was in charge or commanded the other. He pointed out that the way they spoke about whether their wives should remain in their homes assumed that it was the man who would make the final decision. In response, the young men produced two lines of reasoning. First, women's efforts to escape from men's dominance were understood as, "Now the woman wants to dominate", and that "The woman wants to be more than the man." This, in turn, was held as a violation of a seemingly natural order that passed "from generation to generation". Examples of why this was problematic included that if a man had to rely on a woman for clothing or food, she would "throw it in his face", whereas a man

would never do this to a woman. Secondly, the men were of the opinion that deep down women neither wanted, nor were really capable of, dominance over *or* equality with men: "She herself won't allow it" for a man not to take the lead, one man said; another pointed out that "She's got money, but she doesn't know what to do with it."

Whether a Bahian woman is more likely to take advantage of a man's dependence upon her than he of hers is not a question this work can answer. However, the way men spoke about their dependency on, or interdependence with, women partners clearly betrayed feelings of humiliation and distress. That men associated a sense of fundamental "wrongness" with such experiences, no doubt contributed to their perception that power resting with women was power misplaced-- so illegitimate and unnatural that women themselves, deep down, would prefer to be dominated. The requirement that men exercise control in the home goes beyond merely having the final say in decisions. In Bahia, successful masculinity demands that a man maintain a position where he can enjoy simultaneous freedom (for himself) and control (over her), such that he can actualize the double standard for female versus male fidelity. Only in this way can he avoid the two damning labels of *pica doméstica*, the "domestic penis" that only "eats" at home, on the one hand, or the *cornio* (cuckold) on the other.

Thus, the balancing act enabling men to uphold their masculinity requires that the woman's position be perpetually insecure, off-balance, at risk. For women cohabiting with men, the difference between the kind of power she commands versus that which he commands lies in the fact that women's power is forcibly undermined relative to the "inevitability" of her partner's extra-conjugal sexual activities. Her task of negotiating power cannot be as absolute as "washing honour with blood," and tends to fall more into "weapons of the weak" resistance strategies (Scott 1985).

Conclusion: Criminalization and (the Limits of) Cultural Change

These testimonies reveal the acute limitations on shifts in men's attitudes relevant to issues surrounding cultural tolerance. The older men's conversations revealed how violence is still very much positively associated with successful masculinity, albeit more a "credible threat" of violence than having to resort to actually using it, which was seen as a weaker position. For the younger men, criminalization does appear to have contributed to some rethinking

of notions of men's honour toward a more autonomous, "decolonizing" form, where, at least with regard to the specter of female adultery, men might be less likely to treat a female partner as an extension of his sovereignty.

However, it should be stressed that this shift is reactive and defensive for these young men – a form of damage control. Moreover, the impact of criminalization appears to be especially profound for young, poor, under-employed Afro-Brazilian men of the social standing of those interviewed for this work. These are the very men most likely to suffer the consequences of criminalization, because they fit the "profile" for police and the general public alike, of persons thought to be capable of criminal behaviour.¹⁵ Thus, to the degree that any "good" or "progress" might be associated with this response to criminalization, it is also wrapped up with the discriminatory policing, and problematic in having disproportionate impact on only some, and these among the most vulnerable, sectors of Brazilian society.

To reduce men's violence against partners, institutional responses confined to punitive and other palliative measures are insufficient. Rather, we must discover the meanings and functions associated with men's partner violence – which are as multiple as the cultural contexts in which it occurs – and construct alternative models of masculine behaviour and identity. This relies, in turn, on transforming the lives of men, including the social formations that shape and enforce structural violence and relations of domination.

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¹⁵ Space does not allow me to review focus group conversations with middle-class men here, but the same response to criminalization was not evident; see also Hautzinger (1997a; 1997b; and 1998) for further discussion of police and general attitudes surrounding "marginality" in relation to criminality.

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Entering the Labyrinth: Coming to Grips With Gender War Zones – the Case of South Africa¹

Helen Moffett

Summary

South Africa has both one of the world's most progressive and humanitarian Constitutions, and the worst figures for gender-based and sexual violence for a country not at war. In fact, these figures suggest an unacknowledged gender-based civil war. This paper focuses on stories told about sexual violence and specifically rape in South African society that explain, endorse and perpetuate the problem. It looks particularly closely at the treatment of the rapist: how he is either erased from these stories, making rape a perpetrator-less crime, or how he is demonized and turned into a monster that no "normal" man could relate to or identify with. Far worse, this kind of demonizing draws on the worst kinds of racist stereotyping, reinforcing racial barriers, alienating black men, and silencing black women who experience sexual violence. These stories make it impossible to address by far the most common form of sexual violence: that which occurs within (and not across) communities.

Continuing, the paper examines how this problem is worsened by the current worldwide phenomenon of using rape as a story about "othering", about what "they" do to "us" - or "our" women. Also examined is what happens when women themselves become the "other", the unstable and potentially subversive subclass that needs to be kept in its place, and the particular relevance of this in the South

¹ This version of Helen Moffett's Working Paper has been edited for style.

African context is demonstrated. The paper suggests that it is essential to unravel these narratives if both women and men are to be engaged in the task of tackling sexual violence.

Context

This paper is part of a much larger project on which the author is presently working, with the support of the University of Cape Town's African Gender Institute, where she is a Research Fellow. In re-reading rape narratives in the post-apartheid context, tools from a background in literary studies were used to try to disentangle the stories, especially those believed and broadcast by men, that either overtly or covertly endorse sexual violence against women.

For purposes of this paper, sexual violence is understood to include a range of behaviours, including rape and attempted rape, sexual assault and any kind of sexual harassment that includes unwanted touching. This kind of violence takes place against cultural and social backdrops rife with other less direct and institutional forms of sexual aggression against women and other vulnerable groups, such as name-calling and intimidation. South Africa is a society rebuilding after decades of gross structural and social discrimination and violence that has left a legacy of traumatized citizens with a high propensity for, and exposure to, all kinds of violence.

In the broad spectrum of gender-based violence or conflict, the issue of rape was chosen because the specter of sexual violence is probably the single most disabling fear worldwide that impedes women from full social and economic participation no matter how enlightened their communities might be, or how equal their standing in the eyes of the law. For purposes of education (a key part of any long-term solution to the problem of sexual violence), the current narratives must be scrutinized and unraveled as a necessary part of engaging men's cooperation in solving what is, after all, a problem of their making. If this type of violence is not "natural" or inevitable, but a crucial part of overlapping socially-constructed discourses or "stories" of patriarchy, then it must be possible to unravel these stories, and to deconstruct the ways in which they endorse and perpetuate sexual violence.

A particular focus of this paper is on inverting the current South African understanding in which rape is considered almost ordinary, simply one of life's unpleasant realities, a stroke of fate or bad luck that women are prone to experiencing, while at the same time the rapist is either invisible or framed as a depraved monster.²

The rates of sexual violence against women and children in South Africa, as well as the woeful failure of the criminal justice and health systems to respond to the crisis, suggest an unacknowledged gender-based civil war. Research undertaken by the Medical Research Council and crisis organizations (See Abrahams et al 1999; Wood et al 1996, 1998) indicates (conservatively) that:

- one in three South African women will be raped in their lifetime (which can be read – controversially but fairly accurately -- as meaning that one in three South African men will rape in their lifetime);
- over 40% of men have beaten their domestic partners at least once;
- 40% of girls' first sexual experiences are non-consensual;
- less than one in 20 rapes is reported to the police;
- less than 1% of rapes are successfully prosecuted, making rape by far the safest crime to commit in South Africa;
- one in nine of those raped will become HIV-positive (the state is at present extremely reluctant to supply rape survivors with free prophylactic AZT³, and will absolutely not provide free treatment to those who do become infected);
- in 2001, rape overtook TB as the single greatest serious threat to women's health in the Western Cape – a region considered to have one of the world's worst rates of TB infection.

And for those who might assume that these are patterns that emerge in “poor”, “traditional”, “rural”, or “less-educated” communities, it must be noted that while poverty, ignorance, family

² To turn this on its head, I insist on the “normality”, the everyday ordinariness of the rapist, while recasting rape itself as an act of profound abnormality.

³ In fact, a much harder line has been taken recently, with medical personnel actively prohibited from administering prophylactic treatment to rape survivors presenting themselves at public health facilities in most parts of South Africa. This has led to extremely acrimonious exchanges between activists and health authorities, and many doctors now smuggle in the medication and administer it secretly.

history of violence, etc., are all exacerbating factors, the figures for more privileged social cohorts are also extraordinarily high. In South Africa, men of all colours, cultures, languages, ages,⁴ religions, educational levels, family histories, financial standing, professions, from the highest to the lowest, practice a level of gender-based violence that is extraordinarily high, for a number of complex reasons. The only common denominator they share is their biological sex.

There is a significant gap between the legal understanding of rape (itself a somewhat blurry and constantly revised area in South African law) and the social practice of sexual violence. Privately, there is no consensus about what constitutes rape, and the vast majority of rapists and abusers have no idea that what they are perpetrating is “wrong” or “abnormal”, much less a crime. What is intriguing is the extent to which men feel this is a pattern of behaviour that they are *obliged* to manifest – a typical example of this is discussed below.

This paper will not look so much at why men of every class, colour and caste in the specific South African community have such a marked propensity for sexual violence (partly because local scholars are currently researching exactly this question). Instead it will look at the stories that circulate, that are told in both domestic and public spheres -- in the media, in homes, churches, schools and government -- that propel the tide of violence, that collude, deny, explain, and mitigate.

Following the Threads into the Labyrinth

Images from the Greek legend of the Labyrinth are illuminating in navigating this tangled web of stories. In this tale, the hero Theseus volunteers to enter the labyrinth to slay the beast (known as the Minotaur) that lives deep within. However, even if he is successful, it is impossible to find his way back out the maze. So Ariadne, a clever and resourceful young woman, gives him a ball of thread to unravel as he traveled into the labyrinth. After defeating the monster, he is able to find his way back out of the darkness and reunite with Ariadne. While this is by no means an exact allegory, in

⁴ Thanks to a conversation with Alan Greig, I have been able to identify age as a possible “risk” factor. Research done by the MRC and other bodies, while in its early stages, suggests that young men (mid-teens to early twenties) might be slightly more likely to rape than men who are older than this.

the context of this paper men's sexual violence is envisaged as the Minotaur, while Theseus represents men trying to tackle their problem, and Ariadne the partnership and wisdom of women in the project. And the labyrinth itself suggests that it is a difficult and painful (even dangerous) journey into the "heart of darkness" to "confront the beast", and that support, guidance and lateral thinking are necessary for successful navigation.

By examining public and private discourses of sexual violence in South Africa, it is possible to identify the narratives of denial that are in operation. These consist largely of either masking or demonizing the sexually aggressive male. The vast majority of incidents of rape, for example, are rescripted as "sex without consent" often with neither victim nor perpetrator understanding that such actions are criminal. While it should be glaringly obvious that "sex without consent" is in fact rape, in the context of South African society, there is still a significant perceptual gap between the two, a false split that places these actions in different moral and legal categories. This gap needs to be investigated and closed. Moreover, "sex without consent" in the South African context does not necessarily mean "absence of consent"; victims often clearly refuse consent, which in many cases is not even seen to be necessary before so-called sex takes place. As explained below, what determines whether a rape has taken place depends largely on the social perception of the perpetrator, not the consent of the victim.

For the victims, rape is largely a private crisis, best dealt with by medical personnel and crisis organizations (if at all), rather than an outrage most appropriately dealt with by the criminal justice system. The result is that in most everyday public/media discussion of rape, it becomes a perpetrator-less crime, squarely categorized as part of the "burden of womanhood," one of the nastier but inevitable risks inherent in having a female body. This is the "breast cancer" model of rape: something, it is implied, that happens to women because they are either negligent or unlucky. This construction of rape should be understood in the context of South Africa's unique history of apartheid, which probably contributes to a deep-rooted sense that there is no legal recourse for most of the horrible things that happen to men and women on a daily basis; losing jobs, homes, possessions, freedom, bodily integrity and physical safety, even life itself. It is possible that South Africans still have a doubled sense of "justice", a sense of the kinds of "crimes" the criminal justice system

will or will not take seriously, heavily inflected by who experiences those crimes, and at the hands of whom.

Described elsewhere is how the “grammar” of rape underlines the phenomenon of “blaming the victim”;⁵ the way we speak about rape shifts responsibility to the violated, while the violator is removed entirely from the equation. In both public and private, it is said “a woman was raped this weekend” (passive voice, subject missing) instead of “a man raped a woman this weekend” (active voice, subject present). This is one reason for insisting on the configuration “one in three men in South Africa will commit rape”, instead of “one in three women will be raped” – a reconstruction of rapist rather than rape statistics that always evokes protest and, at times, outrage, even by those who accept the passive construction. Nevertheless it is an important restorative rhetorical strategy, in a country in which serial rapists are comparatively rare, but which has the worst rate of gang rape in the world.⁶ Activists elsewhere might find this inversion useful in confronting the question of just how many men do have a history of committing sexual violence. Even if the figure comes down to one in four, five, six, even ten, it is still unacceptably high.

Every now and then, however, the circumstances of a rape are such that the rapist becomes undeniably visible. On these rare occasions when the male perpetrator is publicly acknowledged and held responsible for rape, he is demonized as a sub-human monster -- discourses of madness, bestiality and demon possession are commonly invoked, as well as the worst kind of racial stereotyping. This means that sexual offences can only be acknowledged, reported and punished in certain extreme and narrowly defined cases, such as rape-homicides, the rape of very young children, rape of men, rape of white women by black men (one of the rarest but most frequently reported scenarios), and so on.

By resorting to this kind of stereotyping and demonizing, ordinary men are able to evade responsibility for sexual violence (after all, they are everyday, hard-working citizens and family men) and both men and women are able to remain in denial and can

⁵ See Moffett. “The Rhetoric of Rape”, occasional paper, African Gender Institute, University of Cape Town, forthcoming 2002.

⁶ Preliminary investigation suggests that it is probably statistically accurate, certainly in the Western Cape, where I live. However, it must be stated that this figure does not necessarily apply outside of South Africa – and that it does not fit as a blanket application to this entire country.

avoid engaging with the painful reality that the men they know, like, love, work with, and are related to, might be violent. It is obviously easier to cling to the notion of a psychotic serial rapist "out there" than to wonder what one's teenage sons are doing with their buddies on a weekend night.

This has several effects. First of all, the majority of the South African population cannot possibly come to grips with sexual violence if media rape stories still endorse the offensive and racist caricature of black men coveting forbidden white flesh (despite overwhelming evidence that rape -- like most crimes -- remains largely intra-communal). Furthermore, sexual violence is split into two categories: "normal" acts, which are covertly legitimized, and "abnormal" acts that are excessively violent, even homicidal, or perverted, and thus considered to be illegitimate. A lengthy discussion of the propensity for taking the rapist out of the rape equation, and of demonizing the rapist, as well as the consequences of these narratives, can be found in another working paper "Monsters and Masks: the problem of representing the rapist".⁷

In two of the most persuasive and endemic "rapist as monster narratives" described in the above paper -- rapist as Black Brute Barbarian, and Rapist as Thieving, Drug-Taking, Violent Criminal, the rapist is inscribed as black. The first script does so explicitly; the second is only marginally less overt.⁸ This presents a host of problems -- not least that white men and men who do not commit other crimes simply cannot see themselves as rapists. Meanwhile, young black men, who (as in other societies) are the most demonized group, have to resist the notion that they are all rapists by default. Given that men in all categories and at all levels of society rape, the denial might operate in the following ways: "I'm white/middle-class/educated/don't do drugs/mug old ladies, rob banks, break into houses, so when I force a woman to have sex with me, it can't be rape." Or, "When I make a woman have sex with me, they say because I'm black, it must be rape. They don't understand my culture!"

⁷ Available online at <http://www.uct.ac.za/org/agi/assoc/hmoffett.htm>.

⁸ Media reports of rape, which are usually gleaned from police reports, have come to be implicitly understood in these terms (see "The Rhetoric of Rape" *supra* note 4). However, sometimes the discourse is made explicit: a recent article in a widely read street newspaper on the horrendous and growing phenomenon of men raping babies was titled "Here Be Monsters".

The social understanding of rape is thus tied to the social and racial status of the perpetrator. Who he is and how he is perceived become the factors that determine whether or not his acts constitute rape, rather than whether or not his victim consents to those acts.⁹

Others and Othering: Slippage between Race and Gender

So rape has become a narrative about othering -- one of the most powerful and visceral stories about "us" versus "them" around the globe. (The process of othering is one that sets vigorous boundaries and clear distance between "us" and "them", with the latter category becoming strange, alien, different, exotic or frightening.) This story is increasingly being told when it fits a cross-racial, cultural, religious, political tale of conflict. Unfortunately, the long-awaited and recent recognition of rape as a war crime unwittingly plays into this narrative, as it underlines the historically or politically antagonistic status of the *dramatis personae*.

Rape scripts are told, heard, believed and recycled when they involve the "other" (for example, "blacks", "refugees", "Muslims", "Hindus", "immigrants", "Hutus", "Serbs", "skinheads" -- this list is obviously infinite and constantly changing) acting on either a member of a class that has some kind of hegemonic power (white, educated, middle-class) or someone recognized as belonging to a historically oppositional, victimized or "underdog" class. Reading of the rape of a white nursery-school teacher by a black crack addict evokes horror and indignation (and rightly so), as does the telling of the rape of Tibetan Buddhist nuns by occupying Chinese militia. These are familiar scripts and their interpretations are well known (even if the response is often woefully inadequate) and their authenticity is rarely doubted.

Yet the increasing predominance and reproduction of these scripts is smothering the story of the most common form of rape -- that which takes place within communities. It is the latter stories that immediately make us uncomfortable; we do not know how to read them, or evaluate them. They raise the terrifying possibility for women that they might unwittingly be eating lunch, co-teaching a course, sharing a work-shift or even a bed, with a rapist. And for millions of men, these stories must stir up profound discomfort as they remember the terrified girl dragged into the gang's initiation

⁹ And it goes without saying that, as in the most of the rest of the world, the social standing of the victim also determines whether or not she can be raped.

circle, that evening with a girlfriend when they would not take no for an answer, the peasant woman in the field they and their buddies took turns with on their way back to their unit.

In South Africa, the issue of race – historically, the primary category of othering -- muddies the waters when trying to grasp the nettle of intra-community sexual violence. Pumla (not her real name), a dynamic and enthusiastic graduate student in psychology at a Cape Town university, speaks (personal communication) of the terrible problems of loyalty faced by black women who report acts of violence perpetrated by their “brothers”. She talks about women who keep silent not only because they are suspect their attackers will face a judicial system still tainted with the vestiges of racism, but even more so because they are reluctant to add to the picture of black men as brutal, degraded monsters. They are often policed by hints and looks in a watchful community that puts out the message: “Stand together. Don’t tell tales. Don’t bring shame upon our community.” She encourages any attempt to take the race of the rapist out of the equation:

“If we could just get past race, and see this is a gender problem.”

Clearly by using monster narratives that literally “paint it black,” the standard stories of rape in South Africa confirm everyone’s worst fears. White women fear every man that does not belong within their community (perhaps more bearable than the alternative of fearing all men); white men buy guns to protect their families from the threat of the heart of darkness beyond the garden gate. Black men are outraged and humiliated at being categorized as violent, sex-crazed maniacs preying on white women; black women are kept from reporting the violence they experience for fear of being disloyal.

The irony is that as a result, the great majority of rapes (those between peer members of the same community) can never be addressed or discussed, and so the real problem of sexual violence flourishes in the dark. Meanwhile, the worst kind of racial stereotyping is kept alive, and barriers between communities harden. It would be an interesting parallel project to see how rape narratives have been and continue to be used to maintain and nurture sectarian hatred in traditionally divided communities in parts of the USA with a history of racial tensions, in the Asian subcontinent with regard to Hindus and Muslims, and so on.

But if rape is a narrative about othering, then this works on two different levels in South Africa, as most likely it does in many countries in transition. First, there is the othering discussed above and seen in that most compelling of all rape narratives, used as a justification for war and conflict since time immemorial – “They rape our women!” (just look at those pronouns). Post-colonial and post-apartheid narratives have taught us that women and their bodies represent valuable political and cultural capital that can be used in nationalist, religious, political and cultural uprisings and maneuverings. This means that socially sanctioned male violence is not always generic or necessarily endemic, but can be expressed in very specific places at very specific moments of historical and political crisis. At such times, women have extremely useful symbolic value -- they represent the domestic, the intimate, the home and hearth that men fight for and over. Their very physical capacity for experiencing violation and desecration, locates their bodies as the battleground over which hegemonic struggles are fought. On an axis between competing forces, they are erased as active agents, and become the axis itself. For an excellent exploration of the tangled nexus of race, gender, culture and violence in post-colonial scenarios, see Jayawardena and de Alwis (1996). But, whatever the complexity of the issues, the bottom line is that whenever societies undergo transformation, it is women who pay the highest price -- competing ethnic, cultural, religious and political patriarchies battle it out over women’s bodies.

Secondly, there is the problem that arises when women, instead of than being seen as the potential victims of a demonized Other, become the Other themselves. It seems that there is some kind of lethal slippage between the violently enforced hierarchical structures of apartheid and our current levels of gender violence. For over 50 years, our society has operated on the principle that the Other is unstable, potentially extremely powerful and therefore dangerous, and needs to be kept in its place by a regular and excessive show of force. This mindset has slid into gender structures, in a society where there is tremendous competition for scarce resources, and huge anxiety about power, which is seen as a finite entity, with not enough to go round. (For a far more extensive analysis of how late-apartheid South Africa created a “rape-positive” culture, see Lloyd Vogelmann 1990.)

Women -- the current subclass -- are seen as having significant agency (power and ability to act autonomously) and therefore pose a

threat to the uncertain status quo. This leads back to the initial sense that the hierarchical structures of apartheid and gender are theoretically linked. Today, as under apartheid, there is tremendous anxiety about a powerful, unstable subclass that *must be kept in its place*. In a notorious interview, a taxi-driver who was challenged about his habit of cruising around with his buddies looking for young girls to abduct and “gang-bang” said with real indignation:

“But these women force us to rape them!”

Like this taxi-driver, many sexually violent men in South Africa justify their behaviour on the grounds that women “ask for it” -- but unlike Western constructions, this is not read as a sexual script. Here, “asking for it” has nothing to do with provocative clothing or flirtatious behaviour, but with an unacceptable degree of autonomy. A pattern (admittedly one among many others) seems to be emerging in which rapists choose victims because they “dare to” practice freedom of movement, “hold their heads up”, make eye contact, are “cheeky”, and so on.

This rationale for rape -- as a handy shorthand means of teaching a “cheeky” woman a lesson -- is horribly familiar to anyone who grew up under apartheid. This is exactly the same script that was used for five decades to justify everyday white-on-black violence as a socially approved and necessary means of showing the “darkies their place”. This is not so much a script of flat-out racial or gender rejection, as one that is violently punitive towards those members of a subclass that reveal (through body language, visible signs of self-respect, freedom of movement) that they do not know or accept their subordinate status in society.¹⁰

All too often intimate violence becomes the tool that is used when the group believed to be inferior is absolutely necessary to the continued existence of those in power, and an integral part of the latter’s daily lives: when they are needed to provide not only conventional labour, but domestic chores and child-raising as well. The vast majority of white South Africans who enthusiastically

¹⁰ As a child growing up in a conservative white farming area, I heard over and over, “I love the blacks, I get along fine with my workers, I’m like a father to them -- but what I won’t tolerate is the cheeky ones, the troublemakers.” I also knew exactly how this “cheekiness” was shown -- very often in no more than a bold stare, an upright posture (“walking tall”), or a refusal to demonstrate sufficiently grovelling gratitude for the weekly tot of wine -- and how it was punished; usually with beatings, sometimes severe enough to result in death.

supported apartheid entrusted the cooking of their meals and the care of their children to black servants.¹¹

Local researchers investigating gender and the construction of identity (national, racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic) are beginning to point to the possibility that South African women are policed and immobilized by the fear of rape by the "Other" at the same time that they are punished for attempts to break out of subordinate roles and rigidly enforced cultural or ethnic communities by means of covertly "legitimized" sexual violence that takes place within recognized social structures: families, co-religionists, tribes, villages or neighbourhoods, and so on.¹² Acts of sexual violence are therefore seen as somehow necessary in order to keep the unstable subclass of women in their place.

Andrea Papen (personal communication) has noted that in societies with a history of political resistance, women actually build their capacity for action and activism. This is obviously true up to a point. However, one cannot help wondering whether the tradition of women as political activists has contributed to the brutality of the current informal efforts to keep women "in their places". The question of women's role and agency in the anti-apartheid struggle is an extremely important one, and one which has been thoroughly scrutinized by numerous scholars. Whether a relationship between the history of women's activism and current levels of sexual violence exists (and in the author's opinion, it does) the topic is too complex to deal with here, other than a few brief remarks.

The anti-apartheid alliance used women as a rich source of not only conventional political resistance -- armed struggle (men and women fought alongside one another in Umkhomte we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC), mass mobilization and demonstrations, but also for all the hidden support structures (nourishment, medical care, carrying messages, prayer, domestic chores) that women

¹¹ Something hard to convey to outsiders is the degree of practical helplessness of many white South Africans. There is a considerable nugget of truth at the heart of the urban legends of expatriates returning home from Perth or Toronto because they were unable to manage day-to-day living without their domestic workers or nannies. It is my hunch that a great many violent men in south Africa are genuinely unable to calculate a grocery budget, prepare a nourishing meal, or sort the laundry -- and therefore, are utterly dependent on female partners or relatives for these chores.

¹² The relationship between construction of identity and sexual violence is an area that requires closer scrutiny than is possible here.

contribute to most revolutions. But when freedom came, the movement now had a huge cohort of highly trained, strong, articulate and motivated women, accustomed to hardship, sacrifice and activism. This must have seemed enormously threatening not only to the new leadership, but also to ordinary men in the street. What if these newly empowered women were to start asking for more? More freedom, more autonomy, more education and jobs, more sharing of domestic responsibilities? What if, with their loud voices, they got more than the men? What if they started taking what men had?

None of this is new. The phenomenon of the post-democratic or post-peace backlash against women has been explored at length elsewhere, and the topic of male fear of female empowerment in the African context is extensively described in December Green's excellent book, *Gender Violence in Africa* (1999) – see particularly her chapter “Gender Violence and the Economic Relations of Power”. But today, the communal practice of policing women in societies in transition is becoming increasingly brutal. Because it is a subject that tends to be addressed by activists or social scientists, the issue of transposing hatred and fear to vulnerable populations is usually analyzed in political or historical terms, and the stories that “cross over” from one target group to another are not necessarily scrutinized.

Where to Next?

If we are to come to grips with the hydra-headed issue of men's violence, it is necessary to look closely at the recent political and historical circumstances within the relevant community. (This would be a valid exercise in many societies, not just South Africa – for example, Afghanistan or the West Bank.) This would also act as a check against demonizing or essentializing communities in which male violence is rife.

Nevertheless, until further theoretical work is done on the correlation between the apartheid mentality of violently enforced social hierarchies and gender-based violence, can South African men really be expected to come to terms with their participation, their conscription, even, into this system of social policing? Rape is, of course, about power and control. But it is even more about *loss* of power and control, and the terrible fear this loss engenders. (Efforts to explore this fear and anxiety will need to be carefully handled so that discussion of the reasons why South African men are so violent

does not become a form of excusing that behaviour, or allowing men's fears and needs to take centre stage.)

Until the problem of false categorization of sexual violence (into legitimate and illegitimate divisions) is addressed, mendacious and racist rape narratives are dispelled, and the underlying social anxieties about agency, power and hierarchies are investigated, men will remain defensive and closed to negotiation. In South Africa, the rare public education efforts that have directly confronted men about their propensity for violence have until recently caused such rage and discomfort as to be banned or shut down.

South Africa already has a strong and committed activist base for supporting and educating women survivors of gender-based violence. However, as education of both sexes (and particularly men) is such a crucial part of the long-term solution, it is also necessary for women and men to begin disentangling the myths discussed here together. This can be done by contextualizing gender violence, so that the slippage from apartheid narratives can be halted; by directly addressing men's anxieties; and by acknowledging the pain and fear that lead to acceptance and implicit endorsement of narratives that continue to mask the "rapist in our midst".

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Giving Men Choices: A Rozan Project With The Police Force In Pakistan

Maria Rashid

Summary

This working paper offers a comprehensive overview of an NGO-implemented project to sensitize the police force to gender roles and gender-based violence. It gives a detailed description of the project's methodology, its evaluation and lessons learned. The mission of Rozan, a local Islamabad-based (Pakistan) NGO created in December 1998, is to protect and promote the emotional health of its people, in particular women and children. Violence against women and children is seen as a major threat to emotional health, and, as such, is a special focus within the organization. Rozan believes that violence needs to be addressed in the broader context of emotional health, encompassing not only self-esteem but also concepts of gender and therefore of power.

Men have always been considered essential partners in Rozan's mission. For this reason, Rozan recently developed an innovative project working with policemen on the issue of violence against women and children. The project offers attitudinal change workshops to groups of 20-25 policemen, with the premise that sensitizing people to their own emotions and needs enables them to connect better with the needs of others, ultimately leading to a more humane society. The project has so far held 21 workshops with 480 policemen and 15 policewomen, focusing on self-awareness, communication and interpersonal skills, attitudes and tolerance (power, anger management, prejudice, etc.), coping techniques for stress and sensitization to gender issues and violence against women and children.

Generally, the workshops were well received and the response from the participants and the community has been positive. Informal contact with many of the police officers trained who have called in and/or visited the organization make us feel that the project was successful in initiating a change in attitudes. This has been further validated by the results of the small-scale evaluation study conducted at the end of the project which reveals that there is a change for the positive with regards to many life skills and attitudes especially with reference to enhanced sensitivity and understanding of the police officers to gender-based violence.

Setting up an atmosphere of genuine respect in small groups, emphasizing participation and working through a self-growth component before introducing issues of gender and violence, was key to the project's success. This methodology has implications for other initiatives that seek to involve men as partners.

Men as 'Essential Partners'

A serious and tragic manifestation of a gender-insensitive society is the abuse of power perpetuated by the more powerful against the less powerful. This imbalance of power 'allows' for violence to occur - it exists all around us in countless different contexts. Violence against women and children is a major threat to emotional health, and, as such, it has become a special focus for Rozan, a local Islamabad-based NGO, which was set up in December 1998 to protect and promote the emotional health of local communities, particularly that of women and children. It is Rozan's belief that violence needs to be addressed in the broader context of emotional health encompassing not only self-esteem but also concepts of gender and power. Services and interventions offered are preventive, consciousness and sensitivity raising, and supportive, in terms of direct victim support and referral.

While the majority of sufferers are women and girls, victims can also include men and boys. Yet despite this, such violence continues to be labeled as a women's problem -- almost as if women want to stake the claim on being victims. When a man beats a woman, his

wife for example, there are many victims in the room: mainly his wife and children, but in a different way the victims also include society and the man himself. All of these victims hurt in different ways, and so the necessary attention they need or deserve should vary accordingly, but this may blind us to the totality of the picture.

To present the man as victim is an idea that many feminists have difficulty swallowing, especially since the difference between the image of a female victim, the bleeding, raped woman and the image of a sneering and powerful male, is so pronounced. Sometimes the perpetrators of this violence seem as 'helpless' as the women they humiliate, kick, rape and beat, trapped as they are in a web of societal norms, culture and tradition. Victims not of a visible attacker, but victims of a society that restricts, restrains and molds them in ways that are destructive and powerful, of a society that breeds and rewards a culture of 'masculinity' where values such as aggressiveness, competitiveness, dominance, strength, courage and control rule supreme.

Western studies have confirmed that although boys 'benefit' from gender preference, in the long run, society's harsh and unrelenting demands and expectations often lead to unhealthy life styles and a detrimental impact on health. Where women's ill health has been linked traditionally with pregnancy, overwork, gender discrimination and violence, men's rising morbidity rate is more to do with 'life-style' factors such as road accidents, work injuries, sexually-transmitted diseases (such as HIV/AIDS) and cardiovascular illnesses. Today men make up 80 per cent of the six to seven million injecting drug users worldwide (Foreman 1999:128). These trends are mirrored in Pakistan, as is evident from Rozan's work with men.

This analysis is not the result of a sense of sympathy for men who use violence. It is difficult to sympathize with a batterer. But it is grounded in the understanding that so much is lost when all men are seen as enemies. When men are seen as enemies it is more about blaming and shaming them, than about giving them the insights and support to help them stop their abusive behaviour. This is a gender polarizing approach that only serves to perpetuate the "battle of the sexes". A strategy that sees men as the 'problem' is not only shortsighted but also destructive in the long run as it serves to make men defensive and resistant. Therefore, as part of Rozan's overall mission to "work for a society which is aware, confident and

accepting of it self and others” men have always been considered essential partners.

There is a clear need for interventions that seek to understand and address the underlying dynamics of men’s and women’s lives. This involves providing them with opportunities to reflect on their own problems, to challenge norms that are detrimental to their emotional health, to hear and understand each other’s perspectives, and to gain the confidence to take charge of their own lives. Sensitization to violence, its clear link to gender inequalities, and power structures must be approached in the context of our personal lives. Personalizing the issue is essential in order to accept that the responsibility for change rests with all of us in challenging these prescribed norms. Instead of just focusing on each case of violence or on individual men’s acts of violence against women, it is important that the entire culture that creates current male roles and identities, defined as ‘masculinities’, be analyzed and challenged. As United Nations Development Fund for Women - UNIFEM (2001:3) has noted:

“This means recognizing the various pressures placed upon men that may result in violent reactions, as well as the need for men to take responsibility for their actions.”

Men need to take responsibility for their role in bringing about change, otherwise this transformation will remain not only incomplete, but also unrealistic. In keeping with this approach a recent, innovative programme initiated by Rozan works with the Police Service on the issue of violence against women and children. This paper elaborates on the rationale of the approach to the sensitization of police officers and shares experiences and lessons from this project.

The Context of Pakistan

Numerous studies have confirmed that in Pakistan’s strongly patriarchal society, women and girls are considered less competent and less worthy than boys. In addition, their needs, whether in the field of education, nutrition, health, physical safety or any other are often not taken seriously nor met adequately. There is a strong ‘son preference’ in which a girl child is seen as a liability: dependent and incapable of looking after herself. She is seen as someone who must be ‘protected’, fed and clothed by a man, be it her father, brother or husband. Such perceived dependence leads to the devaluing of

women as well as creating resentment amongst men who feel they must shoulder the 'burden'. This view of women's dependence is clearly a subjective perception, as statistics show that a large number of women work in agriculture, livestock and the informal sector, all this in addition to their reproductive and domestic roles.

Violence against women is endemic and closely linked to society's prescribed gender roles and to the status of women, which is in clear subordination to men. In its 1998 report, "Pakistan, no progress on women's rights", Amnesty International (1998) wrote that rape and other forms of violence against women (in the custody of the state, or by private individuals in the domestic sphere or in the wider societal context) remained widespread but grossly under reported, either out of ignorance or fear of social stigma or retribution by the perpetrators. According to a UNIFEM Fact Sheet (2001), domestic violence occurs in every third household in Pakistan and almost 80 per cent of women are subject to some form of domestic violence in their lives.

*"Among the most lethal forces which impact [on] women's dignity and security are customary practices which aim at preserving female subjugation. Often defended and sanctified as cultural traditions, they are usually fiercely defended by those who practice them, shrugged off by society and condoned by law-enforcing agencies and the courts. As a result, most of these inhuman practices continue unabated."*¹

Take for example the case of 'honour killings', a special type of gender-based violence that has been increasingly highlighted for the last decade or so. Honour killings ostensibly take place to avenge family honour when a woman violates tribal or cultural norms. It is carried out by the males in the family when a woman is perceived to be having an illicit relationship. Far more women than men are victims of these honour killings, and there is very often little or no legal repercussion. According to Tahira Khan, a Pakistani activist (1999):

"Women are considered the property of the males in their family irrespective of their class, ethnic or religious groups. The owner of the property has the right to decide its fate. The concept of ownership has turned women into a commodity which can be exchanged, bought and sold."

Women's bodies are considered to be the "repository of family honour" as noted in the Report of the Commission of Inquiry for

¹ Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women, August 1997.

Women. Male control extends not only to a woman's body and her sexual behaviour, but to all of her behaviour, including her movements, her language and her actions. In any of these areas, defiance by women translates into undermining male honour, and, ultimately, family and community honour, and she pays for it by restricted mobility, early marriages, 'purdah', and limited access to education and other choices, and often she pays for it with her life. These values are perpetuated both by men and women through the sanction of culture, tradition and distorted religion.

The Current Police System

The general public considers the police system in Pakistan to be grossly inefficient, unskilled and corrupt. The police in Pakistan tend to be predominantly male, underpaid, understaffed and under trained. Domestic violence, including honour killings of girls and women, is often ignored by police officers and treated as a 'domestic' issue to be resolved within the family or community. Even when women are seriously injured by their husbands or families, police often discourage them from registering complaints and advise them to seek reconciliation with their husbands or families as any matrimonial or family dispute would bring 'dishonour' to them and their families if pursued.

Police training on such issues is also insufficient and clearly prejudicial. Police officers report how they have been taught to believe that women often falsify reports of rape. The police have also been accused of custodial rape -- the rape of female detainees in lock up. Similarly, bonded labour, and child labour and trafficking are frequently not dealt with by the law, either because of ignorance, or because of the fear of or collusion with the offenders. Other examples of police abuse of human rights, such as extra-judicial killings and custodial torture, have also risen steadily in number.

Project Rationale

Rozan's work with the Police Service focused on the prevalent attitudes and behaviour within the police force, in order to address not only address the abuse prevalent in the police system (in terms of the ineffectual and insensitive handling of victims of gender-based violence), but also the actual violence committed by the police against women and children. The causes of these attitudes and behaviours lie in such factors as childhood experiences, societal norms and expectations from men and women, high levels of job

stress, training which encourages the use of violence and punishment as a tool, ineffective life skills and poor coping mechanisms for anger.

A premise of the Rozan project was that, as products of a patriarchal society, everyone acts upon and actively propagates certain harmful attitudes, without understanding just how destructive they are for themselves and others. These attitudes can range from deeply personal issues such as how anger is expressed to societal issues such as indifference to crimes against women and cruelty to others. Moreover, such crimes are multifaceted and in a traditional society like Pakistan, woven so intricately into the fabric of the culture that it is hard and sometimes impossible to discern them through the deceptive haze of our prejudices. In order to bring about change we all need to acknowledge the biases that we carry with us, and be willing and able to take up the challenge of questioning and changing them. Only then can attitudinal change be achieved.

The pathway to attitudinal change, which involves an analysis of our socialization process and the development of healthy life skills is through self-awareness, or what Rozan calls “self development”. Each individual carries within him/herself, in varying degrees, the capacity to learn and grow, and this capacity needs to be exploited and worked with. Rozan believes that sensitizing people to their own emotions and needs allows individuals to connect better with the needs of others and paves the way for a more sensitized human being, and ultimately, a more humane society. This link between society and our personal lives is crucial if attitudinal change is to be sustainable. If men are to be sensitized to women’s issues, first they must learn to be sensitive to their emotional own needs. Any other approach will be undermined by the perception of these issues as the “other side’s agenda”.

One way of bringing about this change is through training workshops where a non-judgmental and supportive environment is created. An atmosphere of mutual trust and respect allows people to explore issues freely, to question attitudes that have been internalized, and to assess the individual and societal impact of these attitudes –and whether or not those impacts are healthy.

Project Parameters

The workshops with the police (the principal project activity) therefore focused on self-awareness, expression of feelings, anger management, power and stress management, along with raising awareness on gender and sensitizing them to issues of violence against women and children. Although work on gender and sensitization to violence against women and children were viewed as essential, and, in some ways, the final goal of this exercise, they were deliberately avoided in the initial brief pilot study due to its sensitive nature. The two pilot workshops (conducted with 40 police officers) focused more on testing the methodology rather than content, in the belief that if this methodology proved to be effective, then more sensitive issues like violence and gender could be built in more easily. The module on gender and violence against women and children was a challenging component to design and went through a number of modifications through a trial and error process as the project progressed.

The first phase of the police project trained 480 policemen and 15 policewomen in 21 workshops over eighteen months (Oct 1999 - March 2001.) Participants belonged to junior and mid-level ranks in the police force. Most of them were field workers (i.e., staff of police stations) and ranged in age from 25 to 50. Educational levels varied from a minimum of 10 years of schooling to college graduation. Each workshop entailed an intensive interaction between three facilitators (mostly trained psychologists) with groups of about 20-25 trainees and lasted for an average of five to six days each. The age of facilitators ranged from 25- 35 and the facilitators' team consisted of two males and one female. The six-day experiential workshop called the "Attitudinal Change Workshop", was sub-divided into two parts separated by a gap of 10-14 days.

1. Self Growth (4 days)	2. Gender and Violence Against Women and Children (2 days)
<p>Topics included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self awareness • Communication skills • Assertive behaviour • Anger management • Vision of an ideal society • Prejudice • Power • Stress Management 	<p>Topics included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding the social construct of gender • Implication of gender-stereotyping men and women in the society • Sensitization to issues of violence against women and children • Sensitization to the role of the police in working on these issues

Project Process

A. Setting the stage: Learning to work together

Setting the tone and context for an atmosphere of trust and confidentiality was crucial if the methodology was to work. Initial responses from the police trainees ranged from curiosity and interest, to cynicism and frank disbelief. A concern repeatedly shared by the participants in the first few sessions was the fact that this was a “spying” exercise to find out more about them or to assess them mentally! Some even said that they felt they had been chosen because they were seen as ‘bad’ or violent, and in need of psychiatric help.

Through a number of exercises carried out in the beginning of the workshop these concerns were either addressed either directly, or indirectly. These exercises included building norms for the workshop, explaining and encouraging questions on the objectives of the workshop, asking about participant’s hopes and fears from the workshop, and using various “ice breaking” strategies such as personal introductions. By the end of the first day most participants were visibly relaxed and seemed motivated and eager to continue.

B. Self-awareness: Knowing ourselves

A number of exercises in this module focused on beginning the process of self-awareness. This was done through first clarifying the meaning of self awareness and its link to behaviour, identifying the blocks that hindered the participants from becoming self aware, building motivation to do the same, and then finally providing participants with the tools to constructively work towards being self aware. Common constraints identified were lack of time, fear of being perceived as weak, fear of becoming weak, fear of knowing the truth, ego, peer pressure and a lack of skills leading to feelings of hopelessness.

An exercise on childhood memories was frequently a moving experience for participants, and for some even painful. Participants repeatedly shared how they had been given conflicting messages as boys, messages that they felt bewildered about but, nevertheless felt compelled to follow; messages about tears, about strength, about conflicts, about sexuality, about control and about the other sex. As one participant shared:

"You should not cry like girls, this was a message given to me in my childhood and was not healthy because even today I cannot express my sad feeling to anyone."

C. Communication: Improving relationships

The sessions on communication skills focused on the ways and dynamics of communication and emphasized the practice of various skills introduced i.e., reflective listening, assertive behaviour and feedback, etc. Not surprisingly, we found that for police officers, the difference between aggressive and assertive behaviour seemed hazy -- perhaps because of society's expectation that men are naturally aggressive and the fact that policemen, because of the nature of their work, must always be in control and in command. Facilitators were struck by how these trends were mirrored by the women with whom Rozan works, when it came to passiveness and assertiveness.

When it came to receiving affection or positive feedback, it was interesting to see how this was something that the police officers craved from their senior officers but were hesitant to give at home in their relationships with those 'weaker' than them, such as their wives. However, once this connection was made for them, especially with reference to the dynamics of power, they seemed to be struck by it and felt that they should be actively using this tool to improve relationships at home and reduce their perceived sense of 'distance' from their domestic life.

D. Prejudice: Overcoming barriers

The destructive impact of prejudice was shown through role-plays. This was a noisy, emotional and thought-provoking experience for the participating police officers. They felt that although they had been conscious of the prevalence of these prejudices in society, they had never really thought about their role in promoting and propagating these values until now. It seemed to be an issue close to their heart as many police officers shared stories of how they had been to scenes of hate crimes such as a Shia-Sunni feud (two sects in Islam). From here, once they were able to connect with the brutal impact of prejudice, it was fairly easy to lead them into a discussion of prejudices against women, especially women who dared to transcend the norms of society through actions such as cutting their hair short, working outside the home, or simply living independently. As one policeman very honestly shared, he

found it a “terrifying experience” to role-play a women in this society. Another shared that:

“Prejudices not only divide us into groups but also put us in a specific glass through which we can view only the group and not the individual.”

E. Anger Management: The right to let off steam - the right way!

It became clear that anger was viewed as a negative and destructive emotion that should be suppressed. But this suppression puts men under undue pressure to continuously hold back what is very natural. And, when it can no longer be controlled anger is expressed in unhealthy and often destructive ways. Anger is also one of the few emotions men are allowed to express. There seemed to be strong conflict when it came to the dynamics of this emotion, and we sought to clarify this, sometimes successfully and sometimes not, as we worked through the anger management exercises. At the end of the session one participant shared almost as a reaffirmation:

“We can express our feelings without hurting others.”

F. Power: Accepting our vulnerabilities and trusting our strengths

This component was seen as an essential link to understanding and acknowledging the dynamics of gender-based violence. However, in keeping with Rozan’s approach, the workshops first aimed to understand the role of power, its presence or lack of it in our lives and the feelings associated with it. The sessions never ceased to leave the facilitators with a sense of incredulity about the extent of powerlessness felt by the policemen about their role in society, about their ability to make a change for the better, and most of all, about their decisions in life.

Understanding the abstract concept of power, and connecting with our own powerlessness and the sources of power in our lives is crucial for the growth of any person. This importance, however, becomes two-fold for those professionals who come into contact with victims or people who are distressed. Denying our powerlessness, which is something many of us do, not only distances us from the powerlessness of others, but can also make us insensitive or worse still, cruel. Coming face to face with our own powerlessness is important also because it also allows us to explore

options and connect with our strengths to be able to overcome these feelings. But coming face to face with this powerlessness was not easy. The participants reported feeling “down” and “depressed” after this session. Many said that they had never allowed themselves to acknowledge this feeling as they felt they would be overwhelmed by it and did not have the skills to express it positively.

In the discussion on types of power, ‘power over’ and factors leading to it were discussed in detail. ‘Power over’ is the type of power that is most commonly seen as aggressive or dominating. It assumes that power is a finite quantity, which, if shared with others, would lead to a reduction in one’s own power. In ‘power over’, the strong use their power to dominate the weak. Facilitators were struck by how openly participants shared incidents of violence and abuse prevalent in the present police systems.

G. Gender: Looking beyond stereotypes

To work for a society free from gender-based violence would not be possible if the role of women was not taken into account or addressed – women not only as mothers, daughters, sisters and wives or as objects whose existence is defined by their relationship to men, but women as entities in their own right, human beings who have the right to live, breathe, work, contribute, earn, be acknowledged and be safe. This concept must be understood in the context of women’s roles as perceived in Pakistani society.

Addressing gender in a workshop with the police was indeed difficult, and often the intense yet smooth pace achieved in the self-growth process was unceremoniously shattered by conflicting opinions. It was interesting to see how the concept of gender and its difference from sex was a fairly easy construct for them to grasp. But accepting the implications of this construct in their personal lives, and later their professional lives, aroused a certain level of resistance. These were emotional sessions not only for the trainees, but also for the facilitators themselves.

In an exercise on what women and men do and how much of that is determined by society and how much by biology, most of the participants were very clear about the inherent ability of each sex to do all types of tasks. But there was some hesitation to accept this practically. It was interesting to note, however, that in the few workshops with women police officers, there was less resistance during the session. This exercise was easy for these participants

because, being policewomen, their jobs were unconventional for women to begin with.

Expectations from men and women were also discussed, and here the men were quite frank in sharing how some of the expectations and demands thrust upon men were unfair and damaging to their lives. Men openly shared the burden they felt at having to look after the financial needs of not only their own nuclear family, but, at times, their parents, unmarried sisters or younger siblings as well. Fathers spoke of the pressure of ensuring a good *jahez* (dowry) for their daughters. They talked about the “shame” of not fitting into the roles prescribed for men and how that pressured them into complying, and also left them feeling angry and resentful. Some of the men reported that they could not tell their wives that they missed them except in sexual ways, because it would seem that they were dependent. At the end of the session one participant shared a sentiment echoed by many:

“Today I realized women’s contribution to my duties and my home. She is a hard worker, but I have never considered her work at home as ‘work’. We must now acknowledge her contributions.”

One of the participants wrote to Rozan in the months following the workshop and said:

“Before this workshop I was a violent husband and police officer. Now I try my best not to abuse power at my home or office. Now I even help my spouse in domestic work.”

One lesson clearly appreciated by these men through this process has been to understand and accept their roles and responsibilities for bringing about a change for the better for both sexes, and that this change goes deeper than just sympathy for the less privileged.

H. Violence: Acknowledging the pain

These workshops attempted to bring about a change in thinking and attitudes by using a carefully designed module involving imagery, lectures on the effects of violence on women and children, and the sharing of case histories and experiential exercises. In one exercise, participants were asked to list the types of violence that men and women were exposed to in their lives. The participants concluded through this exercise that both men and women were subjected to social, economic, physical, emotional and sexual

violence, but women's vulnerability to certain types of violence was much higher than men's. It was also concluded that men faced less violence as they became older and gained more power, but in the lives of women there was no such change as they aged nor was there any corresponding increase in power. Another conclusion made by participants was that violence against men was often because of economic pressures, while the nature of violence against women was different. "Often it is due to her sex that she is subjected to violence" was a conclusion reached by many at the end session.

There was much said, debated and hotly argued, there were a few tears and some anger in the session on myths about violence against women and children. The purpose was to encourage all participants to share their views by taking stands on these topics in a way that allows for honest sharing of ideas rather than just intellectually debating the issues. Whilst there were some participants who argued that children and women encouraged abuse, there were many who were very sensitive to the needs of victims of sexual violence and even shared stories from their actual experiences at the police stations. This support went a long way in convincing the men from the 'other side' to listen and maybe even to understand. As one participant said at the end:

"I realized how violence and low wages affect women. When I 'saw' this from a woman's perspective, I was shocked. We must trust women and think about our biases against them so that we can strive for justice."

Project Evaluation

A limited evaluation study aimed at assessing the impact of the project and the modules was built in as part of the project design. The study relied on self-reporting on a pre, post and final workshop form (after six months) on knowledge, attitudes and practice on issues related to the workshop.

Roza's module was especially effective in the areas of communication, expression of feelings and self-awareness. The study found an increase (by 15 per cent) in the number of policemen who could express anger appropriately – a sign that the workshop was helpful to some extent in normalizing this feeling. Also, as a result of their being able to express anger before it intensified, and due to the various anger management techniques shared in the workshop, there was a 9 per cent decrease in the anger experienced by the participants. This was further reflected in the 18 per cent decrease in the number of people who lost control when angry.

Many participants reported an inability to express their feelings comfortably in the pre-workshop forms. The percentage of participants who shared that they were unable to express sadness and fear decreased by 15 and 13 per cent respectively after the workshop. The percentage of participants who were able to express worries and concerns went up by 25 per cent after the workshop. A heightened awareness about their perception in the community, and an enhanced sensitivity to stress and powerlessness that they feel as policewomen and policemen, are areas that appear to serve as an impetus in initiating a change for the better.

Attitudes towards gender and violence against women and children showed a marked improvement, ranging from 8 to 47 per cent on various items checking sensitivity to issues. Interestingly, there was a slight but distinct regression to earlier attitudes (in the final workshop forms) especially when it came to the issues involving women such as domestic violence and rape. It seems that attitudes towards these issues – in particular rape – have been internalized for so long that this change in thinking cannot be sustained if it is not reinforced regularly. This regression highlights the need for stronger modules and continual refreshers.

New Directions

Formal and informal feedback from participants and other sections of the community has been and continues to be extremely positive and has provided Rozan with the momentum to continue working with the police. In an effort to share our experiences and build interest and support for such initiatives, Rozan held a seminar in collaboration with the police in July 2001. Over 400 people - policewomen and policemen, NGO workers, government officials, the donor community, businesswomen and men and the general community attended the seminar. The Commandant of the National Police Academy in Islamabad chaired the seminar. Rozan also printed and disseminated a project report, which details the process, the evaluation study and recommendations for the future.

Nearly two years into the project, Rozan is in a position to assess its strengths and limitations and also to determine the need for, and explore the possibility of, the institutionalization of such initiatives. One thing learned has been that attitudes do not exist in a vacuum, and, thus, cannot be addressed in isolation. Throughout the workshops, policemen shared how they felt ridiculed and unappreciated by the community. They also shared how they felt

alienated from their families and their work conditions, which forced them to work under situations where their lives were threatened. These are the realities of their lives and they exact their toll on police attitudes and personalities. Phase two of the project aims to address some of these needs through encouraging community-police dialogue and their positive portrayal in the media in an effort to support and sustain this attitudinal change.

Linking issues of violence faced by women and children to broader development goals can also improve the module. Although we did address the issues at a macro level in terms of statistics, the emphasis was always to look at the dynamics from a societal and personal point of view. The module can be further improved to include more intensive work on violence and would need to be followed by a refresher to ensure that participants get a chance to debrief on how they have been able to apply their learning to their personal and professional lives. This is a need expressed by participants, some of whom have retained contact with Rozan, and it seems a logical follow up to this process.

Phase two of the project, ranging over three years, began in July 2001 and is aimed at three main areas: Ongoing training workshops (followed by refreshers wherever possible) with modified modules on Gender and violence; Advocacy for institutionalization in the police system and building capacity for the same; and Enhancing community-police collaboration.

Conclusion

A. Strengths and limitations

The methodology, with reference to creating up an atmosphere of respect, trust and safety as well as working in small groups emphasizing participation and experiential learning was especially effective. Furthermore, implementing the self-growth component before the introduction of gender and violence helped for three main reasons:

- i. It provided men with the space to connect with their own needs, to identify and express their feelings, and to identify their areas of powerlessness and the feelings associated with these areas.
- ii. It allowed men to learn about and practice healthy life skills i.e., communication skills, stress and anger management, and

assertive behaviour. This empowering process in turn provided the motivation and impetus to change.

- iii. It built a strong sense of trust and alliance between the facilitators and the participants and laid the foundation for the rest of the more sensitive and even volatile work to proceed.

It is clear that had the issue been approached from an objective, rights-based approach only, there would not have been the kind of intense sharing that there was. Moreover, there would have been much more covert resistance.

Looking back, the limitations of this kind of approach are also evident in terms of the specialized and slow nature of work as well as its underlying assumption that all men can be allies, and that once they become aware of the unfairness of the system and how it detrimentally affects their lives and the lives of others, they will want to change. Values and identities are deeply ingrained and for some, change may be too great a challenge. Others may deliberately 'choose' to opt for an unequal society in which power is not balanced. There were many examples in the workshops of men who sat silently through the process, clearly finding it too difficult to open up and share. Some men may be seriously hampered by deeply ingrained personality disorders or problems with substance abuse and therefore have limited capacity to change. These men cannot be accessed through such work.

B. A shift in ownership

Rozan continues to seek innovative and more effective ways to deal with the difficult and sensitive issues on which we work. A very exciting lesson has been to see the impact of our work with the police, and how it effectively complements our work with women. We are now moving towards initiatives that involve, in sensitive and non threatening ways, both men and women as active partners in working for a change in society that will benefit both. To summarize what has been said above, we see working with both men and women as important because:

- i. Targeting women alone, on issues that clearly affect men as well as women, can only serve half the purpose and can even be destructive. We feel that men's exclusion from gender initiatives can significantly jeopardize success. It also overloads women with the responsibility of change. Any intervention that addresses the issues of women without

acknowledging or addressing the concerns of men can sometimes even be dangerous as studies have confirmed that individual and collective anxiety over the perceived loss of male power can provoke violence and psychological abuse by men (Castells 1997:136; UNESCO 1997:6).

- ii. Men and women both pay a heavy price for gender stereotyping and, as a result, both are limited in the growth of vital human dimensions of their being.
- iii. As changes come about in the fabric of gender relations due to the spread of development work, both men and women have to come to terms with their changing gender roles where masculine and feminine values are being analyzed or questioned. We feel strongly that men, like women, also need the space and opportunity to explore and discuss their feelings in this context and that it is crucial that both sexes be able to have opportunities to share their concerns and perspectives with each other in ways which are non-confrontational and based on mutual trust. Research has also revealed that men are confused about their changing gender roles and are seeking opportunities in which to discuss these changes, (Barker 1997:4).

Rozan's work with the policemen (and women) has reaffirmed the belief that allowing men the space to express their own feelings and fears, to deconstruct their social conditioning and to 'tell their stories' is critical. Men need to talk to themselves, amongst themselves and to women - only then can the bridges be built. As one participant shared:

"Before this workshop these issues were Rozan's issues, but now these are our issues; men's and women's."

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**Men Reinventing Themselves:
Resisting Dominant Masculinities**
*Non-Violent Pathways of Change for Men Who Use Violent,
Abusive or Controlling Behaviours in Their Family
Relationships*

Bernard Tonkin

Summary

This paper proposes that we can usefully conceive the change process for men who use violence in their family relationships as one of resisting dominant forms of masculinity. This research, which entailed a qualitative study of eleven men in a family violence programme in South-East Australia, builds on the developmental model of change proposed by Gondolf in 1987.

It proposes that as men progress through stages of moral development by embracing the principle of responsibility for their behaviour, they simultaneously reinvent themselves along a series of holistic, integrated comprehensive and parallel “non-violent pathways of change”. The pathways which emerged in the context of an overarching theme of reconnection with both self and others included: masculine identity; attitudes to women; dealing with feelings; ability to recreate; reconception of work life and the development of a personal philosophy or spirituality. These journeys took place in a programme supported by a public policy context, which funds mainly voluntary programmes in the community sector based on accountability for the safety of women and children.

Introduction

Tom's endeavour is to engage in a lifelong struggle against a culture embracing war, machismo and violence. With a background in street violence and drug culture he has developed his own incisive analysis of dominant masculinities:

"This man, hard as nails, bullsh.. thing took me away from being able to feel; the more I can't let go of that, the more of a hold up it is for me to grow spiritually, to grow, to grow up, to mature ... I suppose to encourage us to fight wars, I suppose they encouraged us to do this manly thing and it's not working anymore.."

Governments and societies pumped men up to be like this, now it's got to the stage where it's a problem in society. I just think that's pretty obvious, it sticks out like dog's balls. It's not that I'm blaming authority, I think that men have the ability to change if they want to, the key is "want to". I've had my own private war and a lot of that is self inflicted. Men are starting to look at themselves and what that macho thing is doing to them – it'll take years to turn it around. My endeavour, my life, is to get as much sh.. like that out of my life and try for it not to carry on through my son...

It's been hard to let go of them [violent practices] because they've been such good survival skills over the years. Am I really benefiting from those survival skills or are they holding me back? Fear, yeah. I suppose that's it in a word, I'm scared of letting go of some things. That's a hard thing to deal with. What I do is talk about it, bring it out in the open so I'm aware of it – the more I'm aware of it, the more I can overcome it. There's not many men you can talk to about these things except counsellors who have to do it – it's their job."

In 1997 two final year social work students (Helen Kelly and the author) conducted a research project in a male family violence prevention programme in outer suburban Melbourne. The aim of the research was to inform the development of training modules for working with men who use violence, after the basic issue of stopping their violence has been addressed-- in this case a module on stress management. After ten years of work with hundreds of men, Dale Hurst, founder of the programme and research supervisor, had concluded that:

"We must pay the greatest attention to the violence and neglect men subject themselves to as a gender. This is absolutely critical in enhancing the safety of women and children ... addressing their self abuse and neglect, as part of a process of developing a sustainable non

violent lifestyle ... If men who are violent do not become engaged in a change process, they...go on to form other abusive relationships ... to traumatise and neglect another generation of children.” (1998:2-3)

The programme modules referred to above were part of Hurst's notion of creating “pathways” for men as part of a comprehensive change process. After analyzing the data from the eleven in-depth interviews which comprised the research, Hurst concluded that the men who embraced the foundational and morally grounding principle of the programme - that of accepting full responsibility for one's behaviour - had made significant advances on their own comprehensive pathways of change which resulted in a non-violent lifestyle. In contrast, those who still blamed others for their behaviour or had just begun to struggle with notions of responsibility, were at a corresponding level of nil or limited change on these pathways.

This research describes and envisions a process for men of reinventing themselves. It examines the ways in which men can move away from violent and dominant masculinities, based on a ‘power over’, patriarchal paradigm that is reflected in the “global dominance of men over women” (Connell 1995:123), to a ‘power with’ and ‘power within’ (Starhawk 1987:9) non-violence paradigm.

1

This paper begins with a description of the broader practice and public policy contexts within which the programme operates, the conceptual frameworks, which underpin this research and the process of the research itself. This is followed by the findings, which include a “continuum of change” – an adaptation of Gondolf's model (1987) ² - that sets out the various “pathways”. Some practice and policy implications are drawn out before concluding.

¹ “Power-over is linked to domination and control; power-from-within is linked to the mysteries that awaken our deepest abilities and potential. Power with is social power, the influence we wield among equals.” (Starhawk 1987:9).

² Gondolf proposes that the behaviour of men who use violence and their readiness to change it is informed by their level of moral development. This begins from the men responding only to criminal sanctions, to developing empathy for partners and progressing to advocating for social change. Intervention modalities need to be suited to where the men are located on this continuum.

Public Policy Context

In 2000, the Men's Family Violence Prevention Programme in Victoria (Australia) formed one part of an overall State Government "Strategy to End Violence Against Women". This strategy is the result of a grassroots public policy process, driven over a ten to fifteen-year period by service providers, and men and women in the community. They created their own body in 1990, now named "No To Violence – the Male Family Violence Prevention Association" (NTV), which created a set of standards for men's programmes based on men's accountability for creating safety for women and children. They define family violence as "the use of power and control in the context of male dominance" (Younger 1995:7). The State Government now only funds programmes that adhere to these guidelines. NTV strategies reflect a gender alliance comprising programmes with male and female co-facilitators, a telephone 'help line' and referral service for men, a self-help book for men (Frances 1994), and accredited training courses for counsellors and facilitators.

It is worth noting, particularly in the context of this paper, that the standards also consciously use the phrase "men who use violence" as opposed to "perpetrators" or "violent men". This avoids the problems of labeling which tend to negate possibilities for change by implying that violent behaviours are a fixed characteristic - and indeed a person's main characteristic - rather than a matter of choice and thus a personal responsibility.

Conceptual Frameworks

Starhawk (1987:9) sees patriarchy as the primary foundation of the 'power over' paradigm in our culture in contrast with the 'power with' and 'power within' paradigms. Under the broad umbrella of the philosophy of nonviolence, these reflect non-violent life-affirming practices of collective social action and spiritual connectedness.

The researchers were inspired by and interested in how notions of masculinity - in particular for the working class men who constituted 80 per cent of the programme (Hurst 1998:4) - impacted on their experience, especially in the light of Connell's (1995) work on masculinities. They embraced the contradictions

observed by Hurst and Connell that these working class men “have lost most of the patriarchal dividend”³ (Connell 1995:116).

The research uses Alan Jenkins’ (1993) approach of working with men who use violence. Jenkins resolves the conundrum between personal responsibility for behaviour and the shaping of behaviour by social and cultural influences by proposing a theory of restraint. In this process, responsibility for the abuse is placed firmly on the men by inviting them to consider the traditions, habits and beliefs internalized from culture and society that are restraining them from relating respectfully to women and children.

Jenkins’ approach can be augmented by Gondolf’s notion that men who use violence can be located along a continuum of change according to their level of moral development. This begins from self-centeredness, with the motivation to change deriving only from fear of criminal justice system intervention, progressing to empathy for partners and children and culminating in a desire to work for social change.

Methodology

The participants for this research were selected by calling for volunteers within a male family violence programme to be interviewed for a research project. The purpose was to ask the men about their experience of stress with a view to enhancing the programme through the development of a stress management training module. The researchers chose to use unstructured in-depth interviews, beginning by asking the men to tell stories about stressful experiences. Their aim was to discover the meaning the men themselves placed on their experiences and behaviour. A list of questions addressing a variety of topics was also used to draw out men’s views and experiences. These included how stress was handled in their family of origin; experiences of trauma and anxiety; positive and negative ways they dealt with stress; the changing roles of men in society; and as a later addition to the list, the role of a sense of meaning in their lives. The duration of the interviews ranged from 75 to 150 minutes and they were conducted over 10 weeks during a student placement in the programme.

³ Connell observes that not all men in a male-dominated culture benefit equally from the privileges accorded them by patriarchy – upper-class men benefit far more greatly than working-class men whose disadvantaged social status erodes many of the privileges they might otherwise have been accorded.

Research Findings: Overarching Themes

The researchers found that the men in the survey experienced “stress” in relation to two main contexts - work and relationships. Given the researchers’ interest in the meanings the men placed on their experiences, “stress” was not defined but rather the participants were asked to tell stories about their experience of it - Hurst’s intention was that the research inform the development of a stress management module. From the men’s stories an overarching theme emerged which was named as lack of “connection” - connection to self (body, mind, feelings, spirit) and connection to others (partners, children, family of origin, and other men).

These notions of connection correspond to Starhawk’s (1987) conceptions of non-violent empowerment; “power within” (connection to self) and “power with” (connection to others) - absent in the lives of men at earlier stages on the “continuum of change”. Violent, abusive or controlling, “disconnected” forms of “power over” were their ways of being in relation to both others and self. The patriarchal social structure of gender internalized as a tough, hard working, “blokey” (i.e., common notion of manly - being a bloke), with invulnerable masculinity and the realities of workplace oppression of blue collar men in the capitalist system, seemed to collude neatly to give these men a life of hard work and lost and broken family relationships (Hurst 1998:10).

Talking to these men about their lives was like looking into ‘the belly of the beast’ of an ugly system. This image seems uncannily illustrated in a story told by Adrian who worked distributing refinery products for a multinational oil company. A work-mate, who had climbed down the ladder into one of the big empty storage tanks to perform a task, became overwhelmed by fumes in the cavernous tank and died. Official denial surrounded this fact: “one or two a year get killed, but technically these don’t get into the statistics, it’s a sham.”

Table 1 incorporates the overarching themes that emerged and the specific findings of this research into a conceptual framework that develops and builds on existing theory. Basically, this table is inspired by, and builds on, Gondolf’s (1987) developmental model but incorporates Starhawk’s (1987) notions of power and the related overarching theme of “Connectedness”. The broader theme of “Responsibility / Self-Esteem” was added, in order to clarify the connection between these two themes which emerged from the

research. Men who took responsibility for their violent behaviour indeed built their own self-esteem and sense of self in the process of embracing what became a liberating journey towards non-violence. *Table 3* (see page 98) further illustrates this by connecting self-esteem to men's reinvention of their own masculine identity.

Table 1: Pathways of change towards a non-violent lifestyle for men who use violent, abusive or controlling behaviours in their family relationships

Moral Development ⁴	Denial		2 Behavioural Change (crisis)		3 Personal Transformation	
	Change Stage	Self Justification	Self Change	Relationship Building	Community Service	Social Action
Power Paradigm ⁵	Power over				Power with and power within	
Connectedness	Disconnection from self and others				Connected to self and others	
Self Esteem / Responsibility	Blame others		Blame self		Affirm self	
Masculine Identity	Defend masculinity		Doubt masculinity	Struggle with masculinity	Masculinity reconceived	
<i>Attitudes to Women</i>	<i>Women as danger</i>	<i>Resentment</i>		<i>Empathy</i>	<i>Active partnership</i>	
Dealing with Feelings	Impulsive behaviour		Push feelings away	Manage anger well and express creatively	Can sit with and express creatively	
Ability to Recreate	"Can't relax" - blame external factors for not having leisure		Some self care		Range of recreational activities	
Work Life	Excessive over work		Disillusionment with work life		Work life reconceived	
Meaning in Life	Expressed as material goals				Has a personal philosophy or spirituality	

⁴ See Gondolf (1987) for a discussion of his model of Moral Development and its Continuum of Change.

⁵ See Starhawk (1987) for a discussion of different paradigms of power.

The bottom half of *Table 1* relates to the more specific findings of this research that identified pathways of change towards non-violence which are discussed in detail in the next section. Each pathway progresses from left to right and parallels the other pathways as part of an integrated non-violent change process. This progression illustrates the single most important finding of this research - that men who embrace responsibility for their use of violent and controlling behaviours actually take responsibility for personal change across the range of non-violent pathways set out in the table.

Please note that the pathway “Attitudes to Women” which progresses to “Active Partnership” is in italics because the men who had reached advanced stages of change said little of their relationships with their partners. Unfortunately the researchers did not explore this with them, nor did they contact the partners necessary to confirm this. This could be an important avenue for further research.

Research Findings: Non-violent Pathways of Change

This section presents the specific findings of the research on the non-violent pathways that emerged, as set out in *Table 1*. Below, *Table 2* indicates where the various men in the research could be located according to the developmental model proposed by Gondolf that forms the basis of *Table 1*.

Table 2: Developmental stages of change of the men in this study

Moral Development	1 Denial		2 Behavioural Change (crisis)		3 Personal Transformation		
	Change Stage	Defiance	Self Justification	Self Change	Relationship Building	Community Service	Social Action
	<i>Julian</i>	<i>Gavan</i> <i>Jamie</i> <i>George</i>	<i>Mark</i> <i>Dominic</i> <i>David</i>	<i>Rob</i> <i>Steve</i>	<i>Tom</i> <i>Adrian</i> <i>Hal</i>		

A. Ability to recreate - having one's own space and leisure activities

Two of the men at more advanced stages of change, Adrian and Rob, had similar recreational practices of creating their own space

or solitude. Like most men, Adrian and Rob have to struggle with whether or not their personal practices conform to the yardstick defined by dominant notions of manhood in their culture. Both men seemed aware though that their practices of “connecting to self” placed them at risk of not conforming to dominant models of masculinity, despite sneaking doubts about the legitimacy of these masculinities. Adrian appeared to be defending his blokey self-image, while Rob struggled with the fact that owning his “feminine qualities” and sensitive personal style placed him in defiance of traditional notions of manhood. Adrian could be described as a traditional, working class blue collar “bloke” – for example, he reports his sense of maleness is discomfited by expressions of warmth and sensitivity when, for example, group leader Dale Hurst congratulates a man in the group on an improvement. This is what he told us about his practice:

“I go into the lounge room, I just sit there and think about nothing ... I learnt that fishing up in the bush one day – I just sat down on a tuft of grass...twenty minutes went by ... I was really relaxed. I looked at stuff I hadn't looked at for twenty five years... no noise, no pressure ... me and nature, I reveled in it ... I'll never forget this twenty minutes as long as I live.”

Despite practicing this form of meditation or contemplation, Adrian has to deny that it defies dominant masculinities, even stating that he is not into “sitting in a chair, listening to music and all that stuff”. However elsewhere in the interview he acknowledges how fear of “the poofta stuff” (a reference to ‘homosexuality’) stops men from talking to each other. Similarly, Rob practices meditation, yet in contrast he struggles openly with his sense that this aspect of his personal style is in inherent defiance of hegemonic models of masculinity. He reports rainforest music and fragrant candles as being good for “meditation”. Obviously dominant masculinities have become a hurdle for men in developing connection to self or “power within”.

For men at earlier stages of change, having one's own space reflected themes of their disconnection from, and dependency on, partners, rather than connection with self. A period of separation from his partner was, for Dominic, enforced solitude - an “expensive exercise” and a source of anxiety – “a time to worry, read and sleep”. Similarly, time in his shed for David occurs after a fight with his partner while Mark used to “live in his shed”. For George, time away at the men's programme became partly defined by the resentment

he felt towards his partner – it was a place that was just his and not hers.

Men at earlier stages of change contrasted with the more advanced men in their inability to engage in a range of leisure activities. Jamie, George and Dominic all reported being unable to “relax”. Jamie sometimes drove his car massive distances to relieve stress while George plans to simply get in his car and “drive” if his partner asks him to leave. Julian reported having no leisure activities at all and never dealing with the issue (“it’s always been a problem”) while Gavan blamed external circumstances for preventing him from recreating. These responses to difficult situations seem to reflect a common theme of escape, resentment and blame as opposed to responsibility.

In contrast, the more advanced men have a range of leisure activities. Hal does oil painting and creative writing; Tom tends his animals, reads, goes fishing and plays chess and scrabble with friends; Adrian enjoys fishing, guitar playing and meditating; and Rob enjoys music and meditation.

B. Dealing with feelings

“To feel is to leave yourself open.” Tom

Connecting with oneself or with others by acknowledging feelings or emotions is another point at which men experience a risk to their masculinity, to the manly identification with being in control, and with maintaining power over others. Tom’s story illustrates how coming to terms with the world of one’s feelings is integral to the process of letting go of power over others as his quote above indicates. To undertake such a process of vulnerability involves stripping off the dominant image of masculinity; his “manly self talk”, “my bullsh.. mask”, “this man hard as nails bullsh.. thing” that “took me away from being able to feel”. A further aspect of the problematic nature of this process for men, as Connell reminds us, is that men have traditionally defined themselves as “not women” and, of course, women are defined as emotional, and men rational (Connell 1995:164). Tom can now tell his son that “it’s OK to cry”. In contrast, George reports saying to his crying son “don’t cry, be a man about it”, although he acknowledges that “it’s wrong” to say this.

Men’s use of violent and controlling behaviour can indicate a lack of empathy for the feelings of others and, as this study

highlights, they often have a disconnection from their own emotional processes. As the men in the programme are challenged to make a distinction between feelings of anger, resentment, etc. and the behavioural choice to engage in violence and abuse, they start to control their often impulsive behaviour. At this point they seem to develop a variety of rationalizations for the difficult emotions they continue to experience but cannot justify through physical violence. It is common knowledge that men often move to non-physical forms of emotional or psychological abuse at this point. Going into this "headspace" as opposed to learning to negotiate the world of their feelings leads to a lot of confused thinking for them and reflects the prevailing themes of disconnectedness and power over others.

David reports a first step of having overcome impulsiveness ("I get angry but I don't fire back") but also states that he is "not sure which way to go now, everything is strange, I'm unsure at times." Feelings still would not appear to be a key to understanding self or partner but are understood via a kind of container theory, a filling and emptying process. In relation to his partner's anger, he states patronizingly "once she gets it all out she'll be right". It's obvious who is still in control, indicating David remains at Gondolf's second Change Stage of "Self-Justification".

In relation to his family's anger towards him, Mark appears to be developing some empathy – "I'm getting my own back." Like David, Mark has made progress in controlling his impulsive behaviour, but now tries to deal with family problems via a process of emotional distancing – "I'm trying to distance myself from all the problems." However this is a very uncomfortable place for him to be. He is losing control over his family, which is a difficult reality to face for a traditional man - but at the same time his sentiment contains the seed of a desire to embrace further responsibility in his family life – "I should be able to deal with family conflicts in a firm and constructive way." This suggests that Mark is at the level of "Behaviour Change – Crisis" in terms of moral development (see *Table 1*) unlike Gavan who simply walks away from arguments, which further enrages his partner and allows him to continue his justification and denial of all responsibility. Pointing to one's partner's feelings of anger, as opposed to acknowledging one's own, places Gavan firmly at Gondolf's first level of moral development – "Denial".

In contrast, Tom, as part of his pathway of personal change, reports two key ways he has found to deal with his feelings. Firstly, he has developed his capacity for self-disclosure and talking about his feelings, in particular his feelings of fear, through the counselling associated with the programme. Secondly he has learned, as part of this process, to be able to “sit with his feelings” and thus accept and acknowledge them rather than be driven by them.

C. Masculine identity – sense of manhood or self-image as a man

Interestingly, the men’s capacity to successfully negotiate the world of their feelings parallels the degree to which they have developed a positive, affirming self-image as a man. Tom, Hal, Rob and Adrian (all at more advanced stages of accepting responsibility – see *Table 2*), were able to self-affirm as men. This was in stark contrast to a defensive “fortress mentality” found with men in less advanced stages of change. George’s statement as follows, like Julian’s quote in *Table 3* below, generated the image of men needing to protect their fortress – “women are eroding the bastion”. Statements by George (“who knows these days”) and Gavan (“Men don’t understand what their position is today”) reflect the crisis of legitimacy faced by patriarchy observed by Connell and also earlier by researchers (Connell 1995:225).

Table 3: Masculine Identity (in response to the question “What is a real man?”)

Denial	² Behavioural Change (crisis)	Personal Transformation
“We are going to be dominated by women ... we are going to lose our roles our identities” Julian	“Who knows <u>these</u> days” George & Gavan	“A real man has feelings and is able to express them, especially love; has stability ... deals with hardships in a responsible way ... I’m a man like that” Tom

Hal and Steve’s stories mirrored Tom’s ability to affirm himself as a man (see Tom’s quote *Table 3*), although Rob still felt the pressure of a personal struggle against cultural oppression in this

regard. None of these men needed to define themselves in opposition to women (Goldner 1990:348).

Tom's story of being in the grip of an all encompassing, tough, invulnerable, dominant masculinity is a classic portrayal of the way in which social structures (such as gender) become internalized as part of our psychological makeup (Fook 1993:22), and further illustrate the role which gender plays in disconnecting or splitting men from themselves:

"I even had to keep the act up for me, it became me... in the end I was only what was expected of me, in the end I lost me."

Like Tom, Adrian has relied heavily in the past on projecting an image consistent with "dominant masculinities". Or as Connell would put it - using the notion of "project" after Sartre - (Connell 1995:39), Adrian has heavily engaged in the "project" of dominant masculinities. However, both now appear to be engaged in a project of community service - in other words, to be at the fifth Change Stage in Gondolf's proposed "Continuum of Change". One is a community leader in the men's programme and another plays a leadership role in Alcoholics Anonymous. Both come from a 'training ground' in street violence, both were trained to fight by their fathers and both report having deliberately induced much fear in others. However it would appear that for Adrian the process of personal transformation is less complete. His doubts about conventional masculine ways of operating and his growing self-awareness are clear (as was evident in Section A), but he has yet to make his way through the 'jungle'. He fears simply "letting someone know I'm vulnerable" and says that this is the main reason why "I don't communicate". The image which he projects as a man remains a source of confusion for him. He believes that he continues to project his old tough bloke image, which disconcerts him because this is the person he was but with whom he no longer identifies:

"If we just had a light chat you could get the wrong impression...people get the wrong image of me."

Rob is likewise engaged in a project of reinventing himself, struggling with the same oppressions of dominant masculinities. Rob was in his early 20s unlike our other respondents whose ages were between 35 and 55. In comparing Rob's story with Adrian and Tom's, one is reminded that these masculinities are not just an influence within a violent subculture, but rather a global expectation of all men in the culture regardless of their background. This

assertion reflects a theme from feminist analysis discussed by Connell (1995:41), that violent ways of being for men are not an aberration within the society but simply consistent with the reality of patriarchy.

Rob's struggle is different but still problematic because his self-image is "feminine" and "sensitive" (the opposite of Adrian's self image). Rob's work life is different. He has studied hospitality work in the service sector, and his family background is different with strong expectations that he will marry within his ethnic milieu. He says of his sensitive quality that at times "I hate it within myself" because "too much sensitivity can hurt you". Fortunately he does not go as far as Tom went, splitting from himself. Rather, he defends his qualities, defiant in the face of the pressures of dominant masculinities - "if people don't like the way I am then bugger 'em." Steve's story also illustrates how transformation of masculinities 'trickles' upwards not just down through the generations. He reports that his (very traditional) father now accepts the idea of men performing non-traditional roles.

D. Meaning in life - direction, vision, spirituality

As part of the 'reflexive' process of research with earlier data influencing themes to be explored in latter work, the "what's it all about?" question was introduced for the last five interviews. This was because the researchers began to wonder what role a sense of meaning in life might play for the men as a pathway of change towards non-violence. George never embraced responsibility for nurturing his family relationships. On the contrary, as part of the dominant masculinities project of excessive overwork typical of the respondents (see Section E) which dovetailed neatly with the capitalist project of over-consumption, he expressed his meaning in life as a materialistic goal - "to a pay off my mortgage by the age of 36". This is what he made sacred; this was thus the altar on which he sacrificed his family. In an expression of profound disillusionment, reflecting the patriarchal notion of ownership of wife and children, he groups his wife and relationship along with his other chattels, commodifying them by employing the commonly used commercial metaphor of the package deal. The attractiveness they had brings to mind the perfect family life image of a colour television finance advertisement. However, it has all disintegrated:

"The whole 'package' is shot to pieces...house, cars, wife, relationship."

Mark falters at the “meaning of life” question, responding that he has “no idea”. He is now “sort of driven by his family,” which, like George, he is about to lose. He says that “never let a chance go by” has been his guiding philosophy, which we can see also informs his excessive overwork. George seems on the verge of entering Gondolf’s second level of moral development or “Crisis” – Mark is already there.

In stark contrast Adrian, Hal and Tom (at “Level 3: Personal Transformation”), all responded positively to the “What’s it all about?” question as part of their forging a pathway of non-violent change. For Adrian the question poses no problem - he is content to have come up with no answer. He says that “what’s happening at the moment” is important. This view seems consistent with his self-taught style of meditation discussed earlier - interestingly in the context of this discussion he refers to the role the anti-depressant Prozac played in ending his panic attacks which regularly inspired fear of illness and death.

For Hal, taking responsibility itself is what life is all about (see point three in the next section on “Work”). He has let go of his addiction to excessive overwork and material possessions (see the point one below). Subsequent to his father’s death, which forced him to “face my stuff”, he developed his own philosophy. Happiness for him is three things - “Be happy with what you’ve got; happiness is under your nose; you have choices in life.” Tom was the only respondent who used the word “spirituality”. He says being bankrupt of it helped him “go off the rails” into a culture of violence and drug abuse. He appears to have been influenced by the Alcoholics Anonymous spirituality. For him it is “not religion”, it is “the good in someone”, the “conscientious part of you”, a “fellowship” based on thoughtfulness and acknowledging a “higher power type of thing”. He reports having peace of mind now without drugs and alcohol – Adrian also said “I’m at peace now.” As can be seen in the quote from Tom that begins this paper, dispensing with dominant forms of masculinity has been integral to his pathway towards non-violence and developing meaning in life.

E. Work

Three themes emerged from the work and stress stories of the respondents:

- Men choosing excessive overwork by prioritizing involvement with the over-consumption/production project of dominant masculinities above the project of connecting with, and being able to share power with, women and children;
- The oppressive nature of workplaces for working class men particularly in a climate of labour market deregulation; and
- Men's bodies injured and broken on the twin altars of dominant masculinities and capitalism by their failure to take personal responsibility and/or their structural inability to make more responsible or healthy choices (Connell 1995:36).

Julian starkly states how men's choice to prioritize involvement in the workplace can be directly connected to maintaining power over women. As he says, if more women worked,

"[they] would get together and hammer the nails in deeper."

George and Mark are both experiencing periods of unemployment and the tensions of being at home more with embittered partners – Julian and George both report having used work to avoid family problems. Rather than take responsibility for his overwork of past years George prefers to blame his partner for not sharing the burden:

"I've had the misconception over the years that I had to earn the money... women don't know about the stresses of work, it's a burden that should be shared."

However when his partner did work he saw it not as an opportunity for her but rather as a dint in his earning capacity: "I had a huge income – what she earned I'd lose" (i.e., the increased tax burden cancelled her additional earnings). Similar themes of resentment and blame characterize Mark, also yet to develop the empathy of Level 2, whose partner is demanding he pull his weight at home now. He makes an odious comparison, illustrating how men can expect their wives to do for them what their mothers did. He complains: "My mother was a giver and a doer".

In contrast, Hal and Adrian have given up their alcoholism and the addiction to overwork by responsibly choosing to leave stressful workplaces. Adrian needs to remain a bit longer with his oppressive employer to qualify for a pay-out but, unlike men at earlier change stages, he is aware of the impact of this. His behaviour change process is playing a key role in helping him cope non-violently at work.

Conclusion

These research findings raise a number of implications for public policy, including:

- i. An approach to men's family relationship issues (e.g., family court child access and residency issues) founded on principles of responsibility and accountability (as opposed to men's rights or 'treating' men separately from women) empowers men while at the same time empowering women.
- ii. Responsibility (rather than rights) approaches also create potential for a constructive conception of men's issues (e.g. men's health and men's family relationships) which are not defined as oppositional to women's, but rather as central to building alliances with women in questioning the role played by social structures of patriarchy and dominant masculinities in preventing women and men, as its' primary victims, from experiencing peaceful lives.
- iii. It is critical to recognize the importance of voluntary, as opposed to mandated, men's violence prevention programmes as facilitating leading-edge, comprehensive and sustainable, non-violent social change for men. It is also essential to focus on the importance of long-term safety for women and children - as opposed to very necessary but short-term, punitive, criminal justice system based interventions.
- iv. Education and training courses that prepare community sector undergraduates to work with men seeking help, need to be informed by a gender-aware empowerment approach that is based on responsibility and accountability to women.

In theorizing the change process for men who use violence, Gondolf (1987) employs the notion of moral development, and Jenkins (1993) makes use of the notion of overcoming gender-based restraints. This paper proposes that the process also be conceived as one of resistance to dominant masculinities, a term developed by Connell (1995). Men who work to develop relationships with women and children based on notions of accepting full responsibility and being accountable for behaviour, reinvent themselves via non-violent pathways of change. Each reflects a life affirming, non-violent paradigm of empowerment and connection with others ("power with"), and oneself ("power within"), as opposed to the disconnection of "power over" based on controlling others. In this process, men reclaim their lives from the dominant masculinities

through which they have previously defined their sense of self, both in terms of opposition to women and the capitalist project of over production/consumption.

This capitalist project translates into: abuse and neglect of women and children; overwork; and meaning in life either ignored or defined by material goals. Thus, men's denial of their responsibility not only relates to abusive behaviour, but also to being aware of one's feelings and recreating oneself. It was clear from the research that men who have progressed towards responsibility have also redefined their masculinity. This has included: developing a life-affirming sense of meaning; reinventing their attitudes to women and their conception of work; and developing the ability to recreate and to deal with their feelings. Finally, the addiction to dominant masculinities for over-production/consumption emerged, pointing to the positive links between environmental sustainability and a future where men define themselves by peaceful relationships based on gender justice. More research is needed to describe such relationships and how they are achieved.

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A Coordinated Collaborative Approach to Address and Combat Teen Dating Abuse

Rus Ervin Funk

Summary

According to recent research, teenagers are frequently abused in their dating relationships, but are not adequately served by the current services and resources as developed by the movement to end domestic violence. Laws that are in place are not written with teenagers in mind and thus, do not apply to their experiences and realities; domestic violence service providers cannot (or do not) serve teenagers who are abused by their boyfriends; and batterer intervention programmes do not provide services for teenage abusers. As with adults, whenever a teenage “woman is abused, it is the failure of the community” (Hart 2000:1). In order to best provide for teenagers who are being abused, the model of a collaborative community response (as currently being developed in many jurisdictions for adults) needs to be applied to this population, and adjusted accordingly.

This paper examines the process used by the author in collaboration with several community-based organizations to develop a coordinated community response to teenage dating abuse in Washington, D.C. Beginning with an examination of the domestic violence movement and the ways that it has not, as yet, met the needs of teenagers, this paper examines the coordinated community response movement, explores the relationship of teenage males to hegemonic masculinity (in the United States of America)

and examines implications for the development of an array of services combined with social change efforts. Along the way, this paper also distinguishes between the concepts of cooperation, coordination and collaboration, and the implications for community development depending upon which of these concepts a community engages.

Introduction

Men perpetrate violence against women. Violence against women (in the forms of rape, sexual harassment, dating abuse, domestic violence, pornography and prostitution, stalking, trafficking, and murder) does not simply occur, it is done – and the people who perpetrate violence against women are men, most often the men in their lives. The initial efforts to address these issues in most countries have focused on developing resources and services for the women who have been victimized. These feminist-led efforts have resulted in hotlines, rape crisis centres, battered women's shelters, and more. Following -- and perhaps simultaneous to -- these initial efforts to provide services for women who are victimized, was the development of initiatives to raise the awareness of the general public (as well as targeted efforts to reach particular audiences such as police officers, judges, educators, social workers, etc.) about the forms of victimization that women face, the consequences of this victimization, and what can be done to better support women who have been victimized.

Throughout these efforts – to provide services to women who have been victimized, and to raise the awareness and sensitivity of the general public about men's violence against women – were parallel social change efforts to challenge sexist structures and institutions. Men's violence against women was seen as resulting not only from the choices and actions of individual men, but also resulting from a sexist society that devalues women while overvaluing men. The analysis offered by the early feminist movement understood violence and abuse to be choices that individual men make in a society that systematically does not take women's lives or women's pain seriously. As such, social change was seen as a crucial aspect of direct services. The focus of such social change efforts was to target the institutional sexism as well as draw linkages between institutionalized sexism, homophobia and racism

with men's violence against women. For example, the early Take Back the Night events were organized by women to not only draw attention to the issues of men's violence and the women who are harmed, but also to draw attention to how men's violence against women is a social issue that requires a social response.

In the USA, the various forms of men's violence against women have organized in parallel ways. Although there exists much overlap between these different forms of men's violence that women experience, as well as in the analysis and understanding about these forms of men's violence and the delivery of services, there are also important distinctions. As a result of these distinctions, the efforts to combat the specific forms of men's violence have become organized along distinct lines – rape crisis, domestic violence, anti-stalking, sexual harassment, and pornography/prostitution/trafficking. While these are distinct movement efforts, there is much cross-fertilization and inter-effort communication. There are also many women, some men, and dozens of programmes that address more than one of these forms of men's violence.

However, as a result of these distinctions, there are some advances in some areas that are not yet realized in others. This paper focuses on the efforts to combat teen dating abuse, which can be viewed as a sub-category of the domestic violence movement. The author understands that when teenagers are abused (often by other teenagers, but also by adults in dating relationship) they are victimized in a variety of ways including all of these forms of abuse and violence (rape, harassment, stalking, physical and emotional abuse, pornography, prostitution and trafficking). The comprehensive coordinated community response model described below focuses on dating abuse amongst teenagers. Because dating abuse of teenagers incorporates a number of the forms of men's violence described above (in addition, abuse by parents and other adults), this model has implications for working across the various forms of men's violence and abuse that teenagers experience.

A Comprehensive Coordinated Community Response

One of the more recent models in these efforts to combat men's domestic violence against women is the comprehensive coordinated community response. This model (at least as realized in the United States) combines social and political activism, community organizing and service delivery (Pence and Shephard 2000), and demonstrates how these three planks must necessarily be integrated

into a successful effort to reduce and eliminate men's violence against women. As communities, we need to develop a comprehensive array of quality services for women who are victimized, as well as resources to hold men accountable for their violence and offer men opportunities to change their behaviour. But this alone (according to the comprehensive coordinated community approach) is not sufficient. These efforts must be offered strategically along with efforts to change laws and policies, as well as social change tactics to confront and address the institutional sexism that keeps men's violence in place, silences women and men who are victimized and refuses to hold men who abuse accountable. As in most of the efforts to address domestic violence, teenagers have not been included in the development and practice of this model. The needs of teenagers who are in a relationship with an abusive person are rarely reflected in the services and responses developed, nor are they included in the analysis behind the efforts to create a comprehensive coordinated response. This is surprising given that recent research in the United States indicates that as many as one in five teenage women are involved in a relationship with an abusive person (Silverman et al 2001).

For example, most domestic violence laws are not written with youth (under 18 or 21 depending on the jurisdiction) in mind and as such, cannot be used as tools for protection. Youth are unable to get a protection order on their own, nor can youth be served. In addition, most domestic violence shelters do not accept "minors" (in the USA this refers to persons under 18 years of age) who may be fleeing abusers, and youth shelters are not prepared to address issues of dating abuse, and intervention programmes for abusers are not prepared (nor are they appropriate) for young abusers. For these reasons (and others to be addressed in more detail in this paper), teenagers and young adults have limited access to appropriate resources; rarely identify the domestic violence services that do exist as accessible for them; experience additional barriers as they seek redress when abused; and do not know what to do when they are involved in an abusive relationship. Thus, like adult women twenty years ago in the USA, teenage women today who are abused are left to their own devices to define dating abuse, recognize when it occurs, and protect themselves from the violence.

In addition, social change efforts have been focused on those forms of sexism that impact on adult women, and rarely explore the ways that sexism and adult-ism (the institutionalized oppression of

children and youth by adults) intersect to leave young women particularly vulnerable.

In Washington, D.C., a community that is blessed with a wealth of services and resources for battered women (including a variety of culturally-specific resources for various communities of women such as Latina, Southeast Asian, Mid-Eastern, etc.), advocates came together to explore the availability of services and resources for youth, assess the policies and laws as they relate (or not) to teenagers who are abused, examine the social structures that allow teenagers to be abused and plan for social change efforts. The goal, ultimately, was to develop a collaborative community response for teenagers in Washington, D.C. This paper explores the efforts thus far in Washington D.C., including what has been done, the difficulties experienced, lessons learned, recommendations for other communities who are similarly interested, and an overview of the plans for the continued development and expansion of this effort. For the purposes of this paper, and the organizing efforts in Washington D.C., "youth" refers to persons 21 years of age and under.

History of the Coordinated Community Response

The model of a coordinated community response to domestic violence was established by Ellen Pence in the early 1980s in Duluth, Minnesota (USA). It was a community-based programme developed to work with battered women and their children. Her efforts initially targeted the police in order to increase their accountability and responsiveness to battered women, and improve the police-based resources for women who are being battered and their children. But Ms. Pence came to realize that the community as a whole is responsible for protecting women and for holding men who abuse accountable. In light of this, Ms. Pence focused her work on creating collaborative efforts between all systems within a community that have an impact on battered women or who interact with domestic violence, including health care, social services, legal, education, religious, etc.

The goal of any comprehensive coordinated community response is to identify all the partners that respond to domestic violence issues and bring those partners together to recognize their particular role in a coordinated response effort. For example, shelters for battered women often require the protection offered by police and thus, require that police agencies understand the

dynamics of domestic violence and are sensitive to the plight of battered women. The police, in their efforts to gather evidence, are often dependent (at least in part) upon medical services to assist in documenting injuries related to the abuse and thus, medical personnel need to understand the dynamic of domestic violence and know how to identify those types of injuries. As Rose Thelen (undated) states, the goals of a coordinated community response are to:

- Provide for the safety of the victim;
- Hold the offender accountable - creating a specific deterrent against his repeated use of violence; and
- Change the climate in the community - creating a general deterrent against the use of violence as an acceptable practice in the home.

The third of these three aspects – to “change the climate of the community” – suggests an array of social change activities and deserves particular attention. Generally it is this aspect that is least likely to be developed in the coordinated community response models thus far developed in the USA and the one that is, arguably, the most important. Keeping individual women safe and holding men accountable are certainly crucial efforts, but in order to truly eliminate men’s violence (and thus, make all women safe), a change in social attitudes and the social structures that reinforce and maintain these attitudes is needed - attitudes that allow individual men to see violence against women as an option. As such, a social goal of gender equity is called for.

Theoretical Underpinnings

Any attempt to understand men’s abusiveness against women must have a theoretical foundation. It is from this theoretical foundation that an analysis can be developed from which, in turn, specific efforts to address and combat men’s abusiveness can be designed and initiated. The comprehensive coordinated response model is based on a feminist theoretical understanding of men’s violence against women. Feminist theories recognize that men’s violence is a result of a power imbalance between individual women and men that, in part, results from a power imbalance in society (Schechter 1982). Accordingly, men are granted more power vis-à-vis women, are offered privileges resulting from this power, and learn to feel entitled to the benefits that result from these privileges.

For example, boys and men often feel entitled to have women respond when they flirt. When women do not respond in the way that boys and men feel that they should (e.g. ignore them), then these same boys or men justify to themselves being angry at the women's lack of response. Both the expectation of women's response, and getting angry for not receiving a response, are symptoms of entitlement.

It is from this dynamic that individual men choose to abuse the women in their lives. Violence and abuse become normalized and justified as weapons to enforce the privilege resulting from this power imbalance. In order to combat men's abuse of women, efforts must address the various forms of this power imbalance – as realized in individual relationships as well as in the society as a whole. For example, not only do community efforts to combat men's violence include support services for women who are abused and their children, consistent ways to hold men accountable for their abusiveness, and educational efforts to raise awareness about the issue and dynamics; but also include addressing gender-based economic imbalances which result in women earning only a percentage of male earnings. From a feminist analysis, we understand that part of what keeps women vulnerable to men's violence is the lack of equity in the economic realm and the fact that they may have to choose to stay in an abusive relationship for their children's or their own sake, or become homeless. A coordinated community response, reflecting this analysis, takes this kind of reality into consideration when developing the response. It also develops programming, services and resources in such a way that women are protected as they address the myriad of issues that keep them vulnerable.

A more recent development in feminist analysis is exploring the ways that masculinities are constructed and maintained and how these constructions of masculinity are related to how men choose to abuse women (see, for example, Connell, 1995.) This theoretical development recognizes that individual men not only have relationships with women and images of femininity, but also have relationships with other men and the images of masculinity. Men learn to be men as noted by John Stoltenberg (1989). How men learn to be men is based on a variety of factors including ethnicity, socio-economic status, country of origin (and region within that country), religion, etc. Most importantly, men learn to be men by distinguishing themselves from women. A feminist theoretical base

allows the development of a coordinated community response that takes this into account, and becomes the foundation for the development of aspects within a coordinated community response which addresses these issues as well (in addition to addressing the social structures that create and maintain the ideals of masculinity).

Of particular interest is men's contextual views of masculinity and the degree to which they see themselves as "measuring up" to this view. As Michael Kaufman writes: (2000:136)

"The very way that men have constructed social and individual power is the source of enormous fear, isolation, and pain for men ... And on top of that, the internalised expectations of masculinity are themselves impossible to satisfy or attain."

Most men (if not all) are concerned with being "real men" and as such feel the need to constantly prove the degree to which they achieve attributes of dominant models of masculinity. Bob Pease sees this struggle this way, "...the more he felt the need to prove himself as a man, the more alienated he felt from the culture of manhood" (Pease 2000:14). This results in a hegemonic model of masculinity that is at once idealized, unattainable and which is experienced as external to men.

Violence and abuse (which are very much gendered behaviours) are tools that men use not only to address the dilemma of needing to prove oneself, but also work well to distinguish themselves from women and that which is feminine. One aspect of hegemonic masculinity is for men to be in control of their lives. But most men do not feel in control - particularly in relation to situations or relationships outside the home (in school, at work, in the market, etc.), which is a direct contradiction to what men are taught that they are entitled to. Men may carry home this feeling of being "out of control," and in an effort to re-assert their perceived masculinity, attempt to enforce their control in order to "be a man" against the "un-men" with whom they share their lives. Violence then is the main tool for both proving and enforcing one's control, and being distinguished from women.

Teenage "boys-becoming-men" are at a developmental stage within these constructs that makes it exceedingly difficult to manage. Boys-becoming-men have a shifting and dynamic relationship with the pressures of hegemonic models of masculinities that they face. They are taught to expect the benefits (entitlements) of being a man whilst simultaneously being kept

from experiencing these benefits. Their relationships with other boys and men are changing, as are their relationships with girls-becoming-women. In addition, their views of themselves as soon-to-be-men are shifting, as is their view of and comfort with hegemonic masculinity. They often struggle with their main image of masculinity – their father. While still striving to be like him, and for his approval, they are also developmentally (at least in the western model of development) attempting to separate and distinguish themselves from him. This may (and in the author's opinion it often does) include rebelling against their father's views and ideals of masculinity, but they are then left with the dilemma of which vision of masculinity to emulate. Throughout all of this tumult, however, is the constant of masculinity – they are different than the teenage girls-becoming-women.

A collaborative community response addressing teen dating abuse must therefore include opportunities for younger men to explore their ideas and understandings of masculinity while challenging notions of masculinity that support men's violence. This exploration will provide them with an opportunity to explore different definitions and expressions of masculinity – including different manifestations of power and privilege as well as different kinds of relationships with each other and with teenage women. One example of such an effort is the “men of strength” clubs developed by Men Can Stop Rape, Inc. (in Washington, D.C.). Although focused primarily on addressing issues of sexual violence, these sixteen-week groups give teenage men the opportunity to explore concepts of masculinity and strength. But to be effective, efforts to support younger men to critically explore masculinity such as this need to be incorporated into the other comprehensive coordinated community responses – in isolation they will not prove effective in combating teen dating abuse. For example, the “men of strength” clubs would be enhanced dramatically if offered in conjunction with young women's empowerment programmes - young men and women could meet together to discuss what they have learned and address these issues. Boys do not become men in isolation from girls, and as such, programmes working with boys should not be offered in isolation from similar programmes working with girls. In addition, efforts such as these “men of strength” clubs need to also empower younger men to challenge institutionalized sexism. Otherwise, men's violence remains seen and understood as solely a personal problem.

Another aspect of a comprehensive collaborative response involves the ways to hold the men who abuse teenage women accountable for their abusiveness. Such processes should also be connected to services for teenage women who are abused (see, for example, Funk 2001), and will likely require changes in laws and agency policy to allow services for teenagers. Developing programmes and services to hold youthful men accountable for their abusiveness needs to occur in concert with developing appropriate services for young women who are abused, as well as the prevention and education efforts that are offered. But teenage women are not only abused by teenage men – many are, in fact, in relationships with and abused by older men. As a result, some of the effort of a collaborative community response include changing the culture in which adult men consider getting into relationships with adolescent women.

There is a grave dearth of services for youth who are abused within their relationships (as well as for youth who are exposed to the domestic violence – but this issue is beyond the scope of this paper). As a result, efforts to combat dating abuse require a multi-tiered approach - local efforts need to focus on front line work, policy and legal changes and prevention. These efforts, which are more focused on the immediacy of developing services to address an unmet need, must also be tied to developing social change tactics that address the images of masculinity and femininity that youth confront, as well as the lack of power and voice that teenagers are granted in large urban areas in the United States.

An Overview of Efforts in Washington, D.C.

In late 1999, Karen Cunningham (a law student) and the author began exploring the services available for teenagers who are in relationships with abusive people. Cunningham and the author, neither of whom was officially connected to an organization, initiated the outreach to form a working group to begin examining the issues and needs of youth who are abused by the men they are dating. The initial partners included a variety of social services, direct action, and legal services in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. After the initial meetings, it was apparent that additional outreach was needed to engage specific populations that were not initially represented – specifically gay and lesbian youth, and Latino/a youth.

The initial activities focused on conducting a comprehensive assessment of the services, laws, and policies that impact on youth who are abused in their dating relationships. Specific activities included: examining the domestic violence laws in Washington, D.C. to identify how they can be applied to youth; speaking to people who work in youth services for their knowledge, expertise and skills about dating abuse; assessing domestic violence programmes to examine their accessibility to youth; identifying barriers to services for youth involved in dating abuse (abusers and victims); and identifying educational programmes that deal with dating abuse issues.

As the local group continued with this assessment, a series of focus groups to examine the understanding among key groups about the issues and realities of teen dating abuse were also initiated. This series of focus group targeted youth-serving providers, domestic violence service providers, and youth. The goal was to determine what they understood about the problems of teen dating abuse, how they defined, saw, and experienced the problem, the services that they identified, and the resources they saw as needing to be put into place to adequately address these issues.

Once these focus group were completed, the data collected from the needs assessment and the focus groups was used to determine the next steps, and the ongoing strategic plan of action.

As a result of the initial assessment and the responses from the initial focus groups, several barriers were identified that make it difficult for adolescent women to receive the support they need. Some of the specific barriers that have been identified to address teen dating abuse include:

Legal

- Lack of protective or restraining orders for youth (or even any understanding of the degree to which those orders could be used by and for youth who are abused by other youth)
- Inability to enforce protective orders against a perpetrator who is a minor
- Traditional legal remedies are ineffective with teenagers (stay-away orders are insufficient with youth who ride the same bus, attend the same school, live in the same group home, etc.)

- Lack of legal representation for youth
- Lack of clear definitions of dating abuse
- Current laws are not applicable to youth
- Lack of clear lines of legal responsibility as to who should respond to youth
- No dating abuse training for probation officers to address youth offenders

Service Delivery

- No authority to provide services in the absence of parental consent or at least notification
- No designated shelter space for youth who need to escape a relationship with an abusive person
- Lack of legal advocates
- No clear access to services for youth
- Lack of training of youth service agencies and personnel
- Limited culturally- sensitive programmes for youth

Intervention for Adolescents who Abuse

- There are none

Education & Prevention Efforts

- Lack of a coordinated effort to educate youth
- Too few resources for any meaningful educational efforts
- Lack of specific educational programmes for young women and young men
- Limited programming that is sensitive and specific to issues of gay, bisexual, and lesbian youth
- Limited culturally-competent educational programming
- No mass media/public awareness efforts

It needs to be noted that at the same time as this effort began, Men Can Stop Rape, Inc. launched a public-awareness effort entitled “My strength is not for hurting” which was a sexual assault prevention public awareness campaign targeting men and male youth. This effort was and is a powerful message re-dressing the

images of masculinity that teenage men see, and in particular the intersection of men's power and strength. However, as powerful as this effort is, it does not address non-sexual dating abuse. In addition, this effort was offered in isolation and was not coordinated with other efforts or agencies addressing these issues. How much more powerful, for example, would this media campaign have been if offered in cooperation with a media campaign aimed at young women about dating abuse and their right to have strength in relationships?

In addition to these structural barriers to effective work on teen dating abuse, there are also barriers related to youth themselves. Developmental issues and issues related to identity (race, class, gender, immigration status, sexual orientation, etc.) are also of concern and have an impact on experience and understanding of dating abuse and available resources. Gay or lesbian youth may have additional concerns about reaching out to mainstream domestic violence organizations, police or other formal helping systems due to common perceptions of these systems and agencies as being homophobic. They may also have their own relative discomfort with being "out" as homosexual.

One of the main barriers to developing resources and services for youth is their own lack of awareness about what constitutes an abusive relationship, leaving many of them ill-prepared, and often unwilling (and unable), to label abuse as such even when they experience it. This dynamic mirrors that of many adult battered women who also do not define their experience as abusive. As with adults, this is largely due to limited educational programmes for teens that define the different kinds of abuse that take place. With limited information, youth tend to look to each other or the mass media for answers as to what constitutes a healthy, unhealthy, or abusive relationship. Given the general confusion about the issues of domestic violence and the ways that subtle forms of abusive behaviours are often characterized in the media (music, music video, music magazine, teen movies, etc.) as romantic and expressions of devotion, it is not surprising that youth are hesitant to define their experiences as abusive.

Another complication in teenagers' attempts to define unhealthy and healthy relationships is how they view and relate to the hegemonic masculinities and feminities they confront. Teenagers are aware of multitudes of images of what it means to be men and women. In addition, they are also striving to both "fit in" to their

cultural views of masculinity and femininity, and desiring to “stand out” as achieving the “ultimate” expression of hegemonic masculinity and femininity - young men act “manly” and young women act “womanly” (as they understand those behaviours to be) in relation with each other. These attempts to act out various images of masculinity and femininity – often to the “nth degree” -- result in inter-gender relations that can be described as “hyper heterosexual” and which could, in some cases, (and probably do in most cases) verge on becoming abusive (whether or not the individuals involved are dating). One can see this expressed when walking through a mall or down a high school hallway. These attempts to prove either masculinity or femininity, coupled with desires to “fit in” with their peer groups and be independent of adults, often serve to obscure recognition that behaviours are abusive, and are even more unlikely to call for help if they do, in fact, recognize abusive dynamics.

Another barrier related to the youth themselves is developmental. As mentioned above, youth are at a stage (according to Western models of development and maturation) of “individuation” and separation from adult caregivers. The teenage years are exactly the time when most U.S. youth attempt to distinguish themselves from their parents and other adults. In the process of developing their individual sense of self as separate from their identity as “child of...”, U.S. adolescents turn to their peers as their primary relationships and look to these relationships to define what is “normal”, “acceptable” and “appropriate”. As a result, they are less likely to look to adults for assistance and support when troubled or confused, and often reject the patterns of behaviour of those adults who are closest to them.

For male youth, this developmental stage forces them to confront the hegemonic model of masculinity as manifest in their particular culture, as well as how it is depicted by the dominant culture. The role of men as powerful, in control and dominant is a model for which they strive, to varying degrees achieve and fail to reach (and perhaps reject), and to varying degrees are kept from achieving. Male youth are simultaneously expected in U.S. culture to “be men”; and to be “men in training”. This “boys-becoming-men” status is impacted on male youth from a number of additional angles -- their sexual orientation, race, economic status, and other dynamics over which they have no control. The impact on individual youth, however, varies. Adolescent males are in a position of being stuck between what they feel they should and need to be in order to

achieve proper identity status ("manhood"), and what they are allowed to express due to limitations placed on them.

Thus, teenage men receive gender privileges and are in a relative power (over) relationship vis-à-vis teenage women on both the personal level and socially. The sports they play receive more funding and greater attention. They are called upon more in class, and are expected to (and the author would argue, supported to) achieve more than teenage women. However, vis-à-vis adults - both male and female - these same boys-becoming-men are in a relatively powerless position. This relative powerlessness is emphasized for youth of colour, gay or bisexual youth, working class youth, or youth who come from other marginalized populations particularly in relation to European American, heterosexual, or middle- or owning-class adults. Male youth's experience of power and masculinity is one in which they both have it, and do not have it; one in which they have "the promise of power and entitlement"¹ as well as experiencing only some forms of the promise fulfilled.

Services addressing teen dating abuse must, then, take this into account. Not only is it important for them to address the issues of power, control and violence within the relationship, but also on the issues of the dis-empowerment that young men and women face in their daily lives. This means, for example, that teenage boys who are abusive not only need to be held accountable for their abusiveness and sexism in a way that offers them opportunities and skills to change, but they also need to be offered an opportunity to analyze and understand how they resist the dis-empowerment they feel and experience at the hands of adults.

Currently, services, programmes, and efforts to address domestic violence are based on adult models of relationship with an abusive person, as well as adult-based models of power. While it is likely that the dynamics of adult domestic violence and teen dating abuse could be similar in many ways, there are also ways that clearly distinguish these two forms of relationship with an abusive person. There are major differences between adult experiences of power and powerlessness and those of youth. More research needs to be done to better understand the dynamics of teen-dating abuse, but clearly teen men who abuse their partners do not have access to the same forms of control that adult men who abuse have (i.e., power to isolate, control of the money, controlling the household, etc.). As

¹ Personal communication with James Lang.

such, intervention efforts for youth who abuse, and support services for youth who are abused, need to recognize these distinctions and the “subtle” forms of control that adolescent men use in their relationships.

Given that the vast majority of services, policies and programmes addressing domestic violence are geared towards adults, meaning that adults provide the service and that adults will surround youth who attempt to access services, this developmental barrier cannot be overlooked. For teenage women, this means that the very attempts to empower (a basic foundation of work with battered women) will be in the context of a service that will most likely feel very dis-empowering.

What Needs to be Done

As a result of the lessons learned thus far in developing this effort, coupled with the research available from the adult domestic violence coordinated community response efforts, there are several principles that have emerged for communities that wish to develop a comprehensive effort to protect their teenagers.

Defining a “comprehensive collaborative response” is a community process, which also requires the identification of partners that should be involved in the process. In an attempt to offer definitions, the work of the U.S.-based National Training Centre on Domestic and Sexual Violence is particularly useful in understanding what is involved in a “comprehensive collaborative response” :²

Cooperation:

- Relationships usually formed around one area of information exchange
- Resources and organizations kept separate
- May be short-term or project-oriented
- Little planning or evaluation - but there is some problem solving

² The National Training Centre on Domestic and Sexual Violence offers professional training, technical assistance, and support to organizations, states, and other locales on issues of domestic and sexual violence. For more information, contact www.ntcdsv.org, or 2300 Pasadena Dr., Austin, TX 78757.

Coordination:

- Relationships are likely broader in scope
- More in depth communications occur
- Resources are specifically allocated by partnering organizations
- Usually longer in duration – seen as a programme rather than a project
- Involves some planning and evaluation

Collaboration:

- Relationships are intertwined with open communication systems
- Resources are avidly shared and may be sought jointly
- Responsibilities and roles are clearly defined with leadership coming from various sources
- The venture has an articulated vision and is planned with evaluation and redesign efforts based on performance

In preparing for outreach, a careful balance should be struck between over-defining the issues (in such a way that new partners feel like their perspective will not be welcomed, appreciated or acknowledged) and under-defining the issues (in such a way that the new partners have an unclear idea of why they are joining the effort). Once this is started - and it is often an ongoing process - then the work of defining what is to be done can begin. Here, following the definition offered above, the goals, objectives and barriers to the success need to be defined, as well as some efforts made to prioritize.

In Washington, D.C., it was at this point that the need to bring youth more into the process was recognized. If adults keep defining the issues (as we understand them) for youth who are abused, then such efforts will not only likely miss issues that youth truly face, but will also continue to dis-empower youth by these kinds of exclusionary practices. In order to be empowered, people need to be involved in the process of defining and naming their own experiences, and creating the solutions to those experiences they find problematic.

With this in mind, focus groups were organized with youth, youth serving professionals, and domestic violence service providers. The idea was to explore how these different groups of people define, understand, respond to and identify resources for

dating abuse. The focus group model allows for a small group of individuals (usually between eight and ten) to come together in order to explore an issue in some depth. A broad outline is used to guide the conversation initially but the process allows for more in-depth questioning into areas identified by the group as being important. At each focus group session, there is also an opportunity to begin identifying individuals who may be invited to participate in the collaborative effort.

Part of the process of identifying goals and priorities also involves defining processes and structures of accountability – to each other, to the goals, and to the girls/women who are being abused. To again refer to the definitions offered above, a collaborative effort requires that people and organizations have a clear understanding of their responsibilities in the overall effort. For this reason, a collaborative community response needs to identify the roles of each participant, and the responsibilities thereof. Some of the partners include:

- The local police ³
- Probation officers
- Youth service providers (including juvenile delinquency programmes)
- Domestic violence advocates
- Private practitioners
- Legal advocates and lawyers
- Judges
- Child protection services personnel
- Clergy (specifically youth ministers or the like)
- Local schools (the school board as well as individual schools)
- Crisis lines
- Anti violence educators

After responsibilities are defined for each partner (these will likely change over time), the collaboration moves to prioritizing and finding ways to sustain the efforts. These two tasks need to happen simultaneously. Prioritizing involves examining all the needs listed

³ As in many jurisdictions, Washington, D.C. has more than one police force that may come into contact with youth. As such, it is important to bring in partners from each police force, and identify the particular responsibilities for that police force, as well as for the police in general.

and identifying those that need to be addressed first. A part of this effort requires the coordinating body to identify what resources, skills and interests there are as well as what is seen as most urgent from the standpoint of the youth who are affected.

Sustaining the efforts requires that the coordinating body (or usually, a small sub-group of the coordinating body) makes sure that progress continues to occur in such a way that members of the coordinating body see their involvement as important and worthwhile. In other words, create and build on successes.

For example, it may be that changing the laws is crucial for any impact on the ability of youth in relationships with an abusive person to be served, but recognizing that changing laws generally requires an enormous expenditure of resources and is very time-consuming, the coordinating body may choose to work on this, while simultaneously working to train staff to better identify teens who are in relationships with an abusive person so that there is a better understanding of the extent of the problem in the local community. As the local community - including policy makers - become more aware of the problems and issues of teen dating abuse on the local level, there will be a greater chance of changing the laws. Encouraged by this success, there will also be a greater chance of keeping the coordinating group members engaged, interested and involved.

In order to address teenage dating abuse we need to develop and expand the availability of peer education, training or outreach efforts. By training teenagers to educate other teenagers, not only will communities increase the number of "eyes and ears" who can identify when abuse is going on and support women who are being abused, but also educational efforts will be much more effective. Teenagers (like most of us) tend to listen better to people they perceive as peers than those they perceive as "other". Finally, developing peer educators is an effective process of developing the leadership skills of younger people - younger people who will some day be adults and thus in positions to take on the next generation of work to stop men's violence against women.

Lessons Learned and Recommendations

Perhaps the most important lesson learned in the Washington, D.C. effort was the need to select a facilitator. A facilitator - either a person, sub-set of people, or organizational partner - needs to be

appointed who will be responsible for ensuring that meetings are scheduled, meeting notices are sent out, minutes are kept and disseminated, that follow up is done with people who miss meetings or with assignments that are accepted - all of the administrative and logistical tasks necessary for this kind of effort. This person (or group of people) acts not only as the administration, but also as the cheerleader – keeping the momentum of the coordinating body moving and continuing to seek out new partners. Since the local effort was made up largely of domestic violence advocates, there appeared to be a bias to the efforts we made and the underlying philosophy of these efforts. However, there is a need to have discussions about the philosophies and perspectives that people and organizations have regarding domestic violence, dating abuse, and acquaintance rape with a view towards arriving at a common perspective (recognizing that there may be no common ground on certain issues and allowing room to disagree). Without a common perspective and space to have these conversations, the effort is likely to be undermined by philosophical differences. For example, there are two main perspectives in the USA related to domestic violence. One sees domestic violence from a system's perspective which defines domestic violence as a problem between couples and how they relate and communicate with one another. The other perspective sees domestic violence as primarily based on power and control and therefore in order to find solutions the need for power and control and entitlement of the abuser needs to be addressed. Clearly if these two perspectives are represented in the same working group, and no opportunity is provided for dialogue about these differences, then the working group is likely to develop into two "camps" working towards the same goals but at cross purposes.

Working with, and for, youth about issues of dating abuse involves working in contexts of youth oppression. As adults working with and for youth, it is incumbent upon us to find and create ways to work with them to address these issues through processes and structures that do not reinforce the power structures (either adult-centric or the male-centric) that they face every day. Any time a group of people who are in positions of power or authority in relation to other groups of people begin to address the problems faced by the group with relatively less power, there is a danger of inadequate decisions would be made. This is certainly true of adults working on issues of teen dating abuse.

It is worth including a college or university as a partner in the effort, not only because they also work with youth who may be in abusive relationships, but also because of the resources - especially resources in terms of research - that they offer. There is a desperate need for further research in this area. There is very little known about the dynamics, impact, or effects of teen dating abuse on youth, much less known about successful intervention strategies, support systems or accountability practices. If we base our work with youth on the models developed for adults, we are likely to miss some important differences.

Conclusion

Teen dating abuse is a community problem and, as such, it requires a community solution. As with adult relationships, whenever someone abuses a teenage woman, the community has failed to protect her (Hart 2000). Our obligation, as a movement and as a society, to keep women safe from domestic violence does not begin when they become adults. Our obligation is to create societies where all women are treated in just, kind and respectful ways - and this includes youth.

Many adult women who are abused report that their first experiences of abuse in relationships occurred while they were teenagers. This reinforces the need to develop intervention services and comprehensive approaches to interrupt the process of relationships with abusive people early to prevent further victimization.

Adults who abuse do not suddenly become abusive once they turn 21 - the patterns, attitudes, assumptions and behaviours are already well established and entrenched (supported by community standards and societal norms) well before this time. Men learn early in life that abuse, control, dominance, coercion, manipulation and violence are acceptable in relationships. In order to stop men's violence against women and create gender justice, local communities must create and hold up positive images of gender justice, and develop processes to educate younger men about bringing justice into their interpersonal relationships by redefining masculinities to be more about compassion and caring. Today they are currently constructed as being primarily about power, control and dominance.

Recognizing that youth are not a monolithic population, efforts to create a comprehensive coordinated community response must also address the complex nature of the youth population in a local community. This means recognizing that youth of colour, poor youth, rich youth, gay and lesbian youth may all have different kinds of issues related to dating abuse, but also that they will likely have different relationships with the support and legal services that are involved in addressing these issues. If we are to be successful and comprehensive, then these differences must be accounted for in our organizing efforts.

And finally, these efforts need to be organized in a strategic, collaborative and comprehensive manner. Each strategy - changing laws, improving policies, developing and strengthening services, institutionalizing processes of accountability, and organizing for social change - are all equally important; each one insufficient in isolation. Our obligation, as a movement, is to create communities in which all girls and women are valued as much as all boys and men. It is in just such communities that there is no longer the option to hit, abuse, disrespect, rape, harass, put down, threaten, or kill.

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Annex: List of Partners

Men for Gender Justice

A direct action and organizing profeminist men's group that raises funding for local feminist agencies and services, participates in lobbying efforts, organizes demonstrations and actions to raise awareness, and offers educational programmes for men.

My Sister's Place

A service for battered women and their children that provides shelter, counselling services, advocacy, community education, and additional services as needed.

Catholic University of America Law School (which houses a Domestic Violence Legal Clinic)

Provides free legal services to battered women and their children.

Covenant House of Washington

A comprehensive youth service agency in Washington, D.C.

Sasha Bruce Youthwork

Youth service agency and operator of the only youth shelter.

Women Empowered Against Violence (WEAVE)

Provides holistic services for battered women including legal support, counselling and additional services.

Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League (SMYAL)

Offers an array of support, advocacy and counselling services to gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered and questioning youth.

Latin American Youth Centre (LAYC)

Provides counselling, advocacy and support services to latina/o youth and their families.

Men Can Stop Rape, Inc.

Provides educational programming for men on stopping rape.

Conclusion

Alan Greig

The papers that comprise this volume have been 'birthed' by an unusual diversity of partners. Women and men, from countries of the economic South and North, in a range of settings (programmatically, policy-making, academic, activist) came together in 2001 in a 'virtual' community to debate men's roles and responsibilities in ending gender-based violence. That debate generated this book.

Much of this book is concerned with the different ways in which men can become "partners in change" in order to end gender-based violence. The contributors to this volume have explored the different kinds of partnering and partnerships that ending gender-based violence requires, and men's roles and responsibilities within these. These roles and responsibilities for change range across the spectrum, from men changing their relationships with their intimate partners to male-dominated institutions changing the way they function in order to better confront issues of gender and violence. That these changes are connected is evident from the diverse experiences documented in this book. A police officer attending a Rozan workshop in Pakistan makes the connection between gender roles in his own family and the police force's failure to effectively address men's violence against women. Connecting issues and experiences in this way is critical if men are to become more effective partners in changing the attitudes, behaviours and conditions that create gender-based violence.

Many of the papers in this book have emphasized men's need for safe spaces in which to articulate and begin to act on these connections. For example, the gender sensitization workshops developed by Rozan for the Pakistan Police Force. The training modules for working with men who use violence, referred to by Tonkin in his paper on men's experiences in a family violence prevention programme in Australia, is another example. These are spaces in which men can begin to make sense of gender in their own lives. They are opportunities for men to become more conscious of issues of power and privilege, to reflect on the violence in which

they are directly or indirectly implicated, and to discuss the kinds of violence that they experience as a result of a hierarchical gender order.

But creating and using these spaces requires that attention be paid both to their analytical and emotional dimensions. That gender is not solely a “women’s issue” is manifest throughout this volume. Some of the contributors note the entry of a discourse of ‘masculinities’ into gender analysis and programming, and its value in both deepening the analysis and mobilizing men’s involvement in responding to the problems of gender. Paying attention to ‘masculinities’ has helped men to pay attention to their own gender, to the ways in which they have been ‘made’ into men. But this attention is not merely a matter of analysis – it has an emotional quality, too. As this book reminds us, this emotion often surfaces around questions of blame and victim-hood. Safe spaces for men to become more conscious of issues of masculinity and violence are places where it is possible to move beyond merely blaming men for gender-based violence. But they can also become places where men simply blame ‘masculinity’ for the violence men do to women – places in which men claim that “we are victims too!”

It is important to acknowledge this danger, and the discomfort that many men feel as they think through issues of gender and violence, and their personal and collective responsibilities. As some of the contributors to this volume emphasize, it is essential for men to stay connected to questions of accountability. This means framing the rationale for safe spaces in which men can take on issues of gender and violence in terms of the safety of women – that in using these spaces, men must remain accountable to women, who continue to be the primary ‘victims’ of gender-based violence in overwhelming numbers. It is evident, however, that holding accountability in this way will meet with resistance. The valuable role that an external facilitator can play in challenging this resistance is suggested by Hautzinger’s account of men in Bahia, Brazil. Faced with the language of the “benign sovereign”, as she characterizes the way that the men in the focus groups described their relationships with their wives and girlfriends, Hautzinger’s account points to the importance of a male facilitator who can challenge such sexism.

But the role of such facilitators, also alluded to in the pieces by Rashid and Tonkin on work with men in Pakistan and Australia respectively, is not so much to act as an external 'authority' but to serve as an internal and yet alternative voice. Reading the alternative voices recorded by Tonkin is a reminder of how important it is to illustrate for men the different ways that they can be in the world that challenge rather than collude with violence. He usefully identifies a set of alternative non-violent 'pathways of change' that men can take toward confronting gender-based violence in all its forms. These pathways of change merit further exploration which, it is hoped, this book will help to stimulate. There are many voices not heard, or not heard sufficiently in this volume, which could contribute to this exploration. These include the voices of men who have experienced violence because their sexual desires, practices and identities betray their 'gender', and the voices of men who have different experiences of power and privilege because of their race, ethnicity, class position or social status.

Contributors to the book make clear that we need alternative voices from and for men, because we need a new language for talking about the connections between men, gender and violence. Helen Moffett's account of rape and rape 'narratives' in South Africa bears testimony to this need. Moffett highlights the ways in which the very language that is used to discuss and report rape serves to distance us all, and men in particular, from the reality of and responsibility for rape and the damage it causes. Either by trivializing the event or demonizing the perpetrator, the stories that are told about rape mask both its violence and its normalcy. In doing so, these stories enable most men to distance themselves from rape, as having nothing to do with them. But, as Moffett makes clear, this claiming of distance is, more fundamentally, about men's resistance to confronting the gender inequalities in power that rape, and gender-based violence as a whole, both expresses and maintains.

The connections between power, inequality and violence recur throughout this volume. Hautzinger's notion of a "contestatory" model of power is useful in allowing for a more complex understanding of the relationship between gender-based inequalities and gender-based violence. Based on her research with the predominantly Afro-Brazilian communities of Bahia, she notes that men's violence against women is not so much about their domination of women, but rather their 'contests' over power with

women. These 'contests' are produced by the contradictions between men's gender expectations of authority and autonomy, and the reality of their economic disempowerment vis-à-vis the women in their lives as well as other groups of men.

This "contestatory" model is thus useful for untangling the tensions between different types of power in both men's and women's lives. It also suggests that more attention be paid to different levels and modes of violence and the connections between them. In this example, men's interpersonal violence against women is connected to the structural violence of economic and cultural marginalization (itself linked to racism) inflicted on Afro-Brazilian communities. As Greig suggests in his paper, making these connections between inequality and violence, between the personal and the structural, is important not only to better understand the contexts of gender-based violence but to help mobilize men against such violence, and the inequality from which it comes, when it is understood as integrally linked to the violence and inequalities that most men experience in their own lives.

To make these connections beyond theory and in practice, there is a need to reach out beyond difference to find common ground and articulate common goals. Social justice may be too broad a term around which to mobilize people, across differences of gender, race, class and sexuality, against violence, but there will often be specific issues of social injustice that can also serve as entry points into a consideration of gender and violence. Alternative versions of power, such as Starhawk's notions of "power with" and "power within" discussed by Tonkin, have an essential part to play in energizing the coalitions and partnerships that are necessary to end gender-based violence as part of their broader struggle to end the violence of inequality and oppression. Organizing such coalitions and partnerships, however, poses many challenges, which are explored by Funk in his account of the efforts to coordinate a collaborative response to teen dating abuse in Washington, D.C.

The challenges facing a community committed to ending gender-based violence are immense. While men's violence against women is now being recognized, there remains a silence, largely echoed in this volume, about other forms of violence that are also based, in part, in gender – for example, child sexual abuse and violence within same-sex relationships. If the scope of the discussion of gender-based violence needs to be broadened, the

scale of the transformations required must also be appreciated. Some of the individual, institutional and structural changes that are required have been discussed in this volume, as have the ways in which can become partners, with each other and with women, in making these changes. Maintaining the momentum of this movement is the task ahead.

About the Contributors

Rus Ervin Funk, MSW, has been working to end men's violence since 1982. He has worked with people who have been sexually assaulted or domestically abused; as well as with adolescents and adults who have been abusive. In 1995, he helped to establish the Baltimore Sexual Abuse Treatment Center – a model comprehensive sexual abuse intervention programme that combines support services for children who have been abused and non-offending caregivers with intervention services for adolescent and adult sex offenders and community change efforts. He is also a community organizer and activist, and has co-founded community organizations such as DC Men Against Rape, the People's Coalition for Justice, the Baltimore Alliance Against Child Sexual Abuse, and is founder of Men for Gender Justice. He is the author of *Stopping Rape: A Challenge for Men, A Beginning of a Beginning: Cultural Competence in Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence Work*, and *What to do with Men: A Manual for Rape Crisis Centers*. He is currently completing *GenderPeace: What men can do to end the War Against Women (and other Men)*.

Alan Greig is an independent consultant, working on the intersections of HIV/AIDS prevention, harm reduction and gender equality. For the past 10 years, he has worked with non-governmental and community-based organizations in countries of Africa, Asia, North America and Western and Eastern Europe, to locate HIV prevention and harm-reduction programmes within a broader agenda of social justice. As a white, straight, northern European middle-class male, he is confronted with the tensions between privilege and justice, identity and community, and the margin and the center. He draws inspiration from the writings of Gilles Deleuze, Gayatri Spivak and Adam Phillips, and from the struggle against all those who seek “to again take the world from us”.