WORKING WITH MEN TO PREVENT AND ADDRESS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES

by

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ABSTRACT

With one of the highest prevalence rates in the world, violence against women is a critical issue in South Africa. Though efforts to respond to violence against women have traditionally focused on women's behaviour, rights and empowerment, there is growing recognition of the importance of working with men and boys. This trend can be observed in South Africa, where efforts to engage men and boys in preventing and addressing violence against women are increasingly prevalent. Based on field research, this thesis explores the perspectives of members of South Africa's gender-based violence sector on efforts to engage men. Though specific to the South African context, this case study speaks to the broader debates in gender and development around 'bringing men in' and may provide relevant insight for other contexts.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

ADAPT	Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
AWID	Association for Women's Rights in Development
CATs	Community Action Teams
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
CJCP	Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention
CSM	Critical Studies on Men
FAMSA	The Family and Marriage Society of South Africa
GAD	Gender and Development
GHJRU	Gender, Health and Justice Research Unit
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
NSP	National Strategic Plan on HIV, STIs and TB
RAPCAN	Resources Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
SAFFI	South African Faith & Family Institute
SANAC	South African National AIDS Council
SAPS	South African Police Service
Sonke	Sonke Gender Justice Network
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
SWEAT	Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce
TLAC	Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre
TB	Tuberculosis
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNAIDS	The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
WID	Women In Development

WISER	WITS Institute for Social and Economic Research
WITS	University of the Witswatersrand

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Violence against women and girls must be considered one of the most pressing contemporary development issues. According to available country data, up to 70 percent of women experience sexual or physical violence in their lifetime (UNWomen, n.d.). The innumerable impacts of violence against women are both immediate and long-term. Women who experience violence may suffer serious mental and physical trauma or death. Violence against women can also have intergenerational impacts; witnessing domestic violence may be emotionally or psychologically damaging to children and may increase the likelihood that they will become violent perpetrators. Beyond these grave impacts, violence against women also affects development. For those who view development primarily in terms of economic growth, the loss of productivity and the costs associated with violence against women are of concern. For those who take a rights-based or human-centric approach, gender equity has intrinsic value and is considered a measure of development, rather than simply a means. Thus as a manifestation of gender inequity and a violation of human rights, violence against women must be considered a marker of underdevelopment.

Though the United Nations Population Fund (2005) suggests that violence against women is "perhaps the most widespread and socially tolerated of human rights violations" (p. 65), the prevalence and severity vary worldwide. South Africa is recognised for having especially high levels of violence against women and of sexual violence in particular, prompting some to describe it as 'the rape capital of the world'. According to the South African Police Service (SAPS), the rate of reported rape in 2012-2013 was 94.5 per 100,000 population (SAPS, 2013). This statistic does not accurately represent the true prevalence of rape in South Africa as studies have found that as few as 1 in 25 women who have been raped reported the crime to the police (Machisa, Jewkes, Lowe Morna & Rama, 2011). Not only is the prevalence of rape in South Africa concerning, but so too is the nature of these crimes. Studies in South Africa have shown that between 7 percent and 14 percent of rapes were committed by two or more perpetrators (Machisa et al., 2011; Jewkes et al., 2006). Moreover, two community-based

surveys respectively found that 28 and 37 percent of men aged 18 to 49 admitted to having perpetrated a completed act of rape (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2011; Jewkes et al., 2006). There is also an alarming trend of raping infants and young children, as well as using rape as a means to 'correct' suspected lesbians.

Aside from rape, according to data from a national mortuary-based sample, in 2009 5.6 per 100,000 women ages 14 and older were murdered by intimate partners—this amounts to one woman killed every eight hours (Abrahams, Mathews, Jewkes, Martin & Lombard, 2012). According to this data, intimate partner violence is the leading cause of death for female homicide victims. The authors argue that this figure is likely an underestimation as no perpetrator was identified in over 20 percent of murders (Abrahams et al., 2012). Moreover, the study found that in 2009, 11 percent of intimate femicides and 28.5 percent of non-intimate femicides were suspected rape homicides (Abrahams et al., 2012). A recent study of South African provinces revealed that 77 percent of women in Limpopo, 51 percent of women in Gauteng, 45 percent of women in the Western Cape and 36 percent of women in KwaZulu Natal reported experiencing violence at least once in their lifetime. The same study found that in Gauteng, 78 percent of men admitted to having perpetrated violence against women in their lifetime (Gender Links, 2012). As these statistics demonstrate, the prevalence and severity of violence against women in South Africa is very concerning.

While violence against women has traditionally been framed as a women's issue, there have been recent efforts to reframe it as a societal issue and as a men's issue. In conjunction with this reframing, diverse initiatives to work with men and boys to prevent and address violence against women have emerged. In keeping with this trend, there are significant efforts to engage men and boys around this issue in South Africa. This relatively new approach to preventing and addressing violence against women has been somewhat controversial and the subject of debate.

1.2 STUDY PURPOSE

The theoretical transition from Women In Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD) created the space to examine power relations between men and women within the context of development studies. However, the place of men in gender

and development has been the subject of on-going debate. Many have pointed out that the majority of 'gender and development' initiatives, while employing the language of gender and gender relations, continue to focus almost exclusively on women. Some argue that this effectively limits the overall transformative potential of these initiatives. Others claim that there are risks to 'bringing men in' and raise concerns related to funding, power, interests, and theoretical or conceptual issues. Because of these concerns (which will be explored in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 7) some fear that working with men in gender and development will detract from important work on women's rights and empowerment. In the midst of this on-going debate, the gender-based violence sector has witnessed increasing efforts to engage men.

The purpose of this study is to explore the tensions and debates around working with men to prevent and address violence against women in South Africa. South Africa is an interesting case study not only because of the high levels of violence against women but also because there are significant efforts to work with men and boys and a relatively robust body of literature on South African masculinities. This research analyses South African perspectives on the impact of existing efforts to engage men, reasons for engaging men and challenges and concerns around this work. As such, this research serves as a context-specific case study on the realities of working with men to prevent and address violence against women and speaks to broader debates around men and their place in gender and development.

In the context of this debate, this study seeks to answer the following overarching research question: 'how are efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women in South Africa perceived by members of the South African gender-based violence sector?' This overarching research question is supported by the following sub-questions:

1) What is the impact of existing efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women?

2) What kind of work with men should be done to prevent and address violence against women?

3) Who should be responsible for working with men to prevent and address violence against women?

4) Is working with men an important part of preventing and addressing violence against women? Why or why not?
5) What are the challenges and concerns regarding working with men to prevent and address violence against women?

1.3 IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Firstly, this research is of great personal importance as it has allowed me to explore what I have, through this research, come to see as a necessary, albeit extremely complex, means of ending violence against women. It is my hope that this research will provide a nuanced case study on working with men and boys to prevent and address violence against women. Though my findings are specific to the South African context, as work with men and boys becomes increasingly popular internationally, this research may provide insight into some of the challenges that one might expect to arise in other contexts. By speaking to the broader debates on 'bringing men in', I also hope that this research will contribute to the growing body of literature on men in gender and development.

1.4 SITUATING THE RESEARCHER

My interest in this research stems from my studies in the field of gender and development. Though both my undergraduate and Master of Arts degrees are in the field of international development, I also possess a Minor in Women's Studies. Throughout both of my degrees, the majority of my research has focused on gender and women's issues. I developed a more comprehensive understanding of violence against women in the Canadian context while conducting research on the topic under the supervision of Dr. Holly Johnson. I had the opportunity to learn more about violence against women in the South African context while interning at a women's shelter in Cape Town in 2011. This experience not only informed my current research but also allowed me to become familiar with Cape Town and with the broader South African context, which facilitated my fieldwork. I approach this research with an understanding not only of gender and

development literature but also of literature on men and masculinities from the field of Critical Studies on Men.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY AND LIMITATIONS

Although the findings of this study speak to broader debates in the field of gender and development and may offer insight into potential challenges and concerns that one might expect to arise in other contexts, the scope of the study is limited to the South African context. In addition, the study should not be considered representative of the entirety of the gender-based violence sector in South Africa. The findings of the study are based on in-depth interviews with eighteen academics and practitioners whose work relates to violence against women. However, there are many others who were invited to participate but were uninterested or unable. Moreover, as I conducted my research, new potential participants were identified. Unfortunately, I was not able to interview all of the potential participants that were identified due to the relatively short time frame of my field research period.

While I sought to include a wide range of diverse participants, I feel that my research does not necessarily include some of the more marginalised actors in the sector. For example, though I persistently contacted a couple small, grassroots organisations based in the townships around Cape Town, I did not receive a response. There are likely a variety of reasons for this, which may include language barriers and the smaller size and capacity of some of these organisations. As a result, many of the organisations whose members participated in the study tended to be larger and better known. In addition, because of time and budgetary constraints, the majority of the study participants were based in the Western Cape province. Though I contacted potential participants based in the Eastern Cape and in Gauteng, in the end there was only one participant based in Gauteng included in the study. For these reasons, and because of the snowball sampling technique that I used to identify potential participants, my study population is not as cross-sectional as I had hoped. Though the participants in this study range in age, the diversity of the study population is perhaps limited in terms of class, race and sex. The number of men in comparison to the number of women in my study population may be owing to the fact that there are generally still more women working in the gender-based

violence sector. One of the participants in this study also commented that women's rights organisations, particularly in the Western Cape, continue to be staffed predominantly by white women. This perception could also serve as a possible partial explanation for the overrepresentation of white participants in my study. For these reasons, this study should by no means be considered a complete or representative account of the South African gender-based violence sector's perspectives on working with men to prevent and address violence against women.

Whilst I fully acknowledge that men are also the victims of violence and of sexual violence and that women also perpetrate violence against women and men, for the purposes of clarity and specificity, I limited the focus of this study to acts of violence against women perpetrated by men. A key member of the sector raised concerns that the term gender-based violence has a depoliticising effect and distracts from acts of violence against women and girls, who represent the majority of the victims of gender-based violence. Because many of the represented organisations use the language of gender-based violence in their work, I refer to them as members of the broad South African gender-based violence sector. However, for the reasons mentioned above, my research questions focus specifically on violence against women. According to the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, adopted in 1993, violence against women can be defined as

> any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life. (U.N., 1993, article 2)

The declaration goes on to expand this definition by including violence that occurs within the family and the household, in the community in general and state condoned violence against women (U.N., 1993, article 3).

In addition, the terms that I have used in describing efforts to work with men and boys are deliberately broad (i.e. working with men and boys or engaging men and boys in preventing and addressing violence). Though it is a relatively new approach to preventing and addressing violence against women, efforts to work with men and boys are diverse and range, for example, from counselling for perpetrators, to community education, to

policy advocacy, to raising awareness (see Appendix III). There are also various actors involved in this work, including traditional women's rights organisations, organisations established with a focus on working with men, offender reintegration services and organisations focused on engaging religious leaders, for example. Because the purpose of the study was to explore perspectives on working with men and boys to prevent and address violence against women in general, I have elected to use broad terms so as to account for the diversity of the work being done and of the actors involved.

In certain instances, 'working with men and boys' refers not only to the men and boys who are targeted for intervention but also to the growing number of men who are working in the sector. For example, in discussing concerns around working with men and boys, the issue of leadership was raised (see Chapter 7). This issue can be understood as less of a concern with engaging men and boys as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women and more of an issue about power and agenda setting with regards to the men who are, in some cases, leading these initiatives. Though the use of these broad terms limits the specificity of the findings of this study, the discussion in Chapter 5 on the impact of existing efforts to work with men and boys and on which types of work with men and boys should be done allows for greater exploration of the different kinds of work in this area.

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This study is organised into several chapters and each chapter into subsections. The following chapter details the research methods employed in the study, ethical considerations and the challenges encountered by the researcher. The third chapter establishes the theoretical framework for the study and briefly reviews the relevant literature. The fourth chapter provides an overview of the South African context with reference to the history of violence and the development of violent masculinities. It also provides a brief introduction to some of the organisations that work with men and boys around violence against women in South Africa. Chapters 5-7 engage with the findings of this study and correspond to the five sub-questions identified in section 1.2. The fifth chapter explores perspectives on the impact of efforts to work with men, what kind of work should be done and who should be responsible for doing it. The sixth chapter

engages with perspectives on the reasons why working with men is an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women. The challenges and concerns identified by research participants around working with men to prevent and address violence against women are highlighted in the seventh chapter. The seventh chapter also examines the participants' perspectives on the ways in which these concerns can be addressed. The final chapter acts as a conclusion by summarising the research findings and commenting on their significance.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODS, CHALLENGES AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the methods used in this research and the appropriateness of these methods, as well as ethical considerations. While conducting my field work in South Africa, I was hosted by the Gender, Health and Justice Research Unit (GHJRU) at the University of Cape Town (UCT). In discussing my research topic with colleagues at the GHJRU, I realised that in practice, working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women is perhaps more controversial than I had initially thought. This realisation led me to connect this topic to feminist concerns regarding 'bringing men in' in general in gender and development practice (see Chapter 3). Recognising that working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women is the subject of debate among feminists and within the gender-based violence sector, I sought to make this debate the central focus of my research. I approach this research from a feminist perspective, as reflected in my theoretical framework, which is based on Gender and Development Theory (see Chapter 3). This approach also shaped my research methods, as the following sections discuss.

2.2 RESEARCH METHODS

I conducted my research using a few different qualitative research methods. First, I read documents published about efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women in the South African context (see for example, Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher & Peacock, 2012; Dworkin, Hatcher, Colvin & Peacock, 2013; Jewkes et al. 2007). I also read reports evaluating past and existing efforts to work with men to those ends. Reading and analysing these documents informed the design of my interview schedule. Second, I made general observations while attending conferences and meetings with members of South Africa's gender-based violence sector (for example, UCT: Conference on Masculinities and HIV/AIDS in South African Universities, 18-19 September 2013; Heinrich Boll Foundation: Dialogue on Sexual Violence, 14 November

2013). Finally, the bulk of my study findings are from the interviews that I conducted with research participants.

2.3 IDENTIFYING RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

My colleagues at the GHJRU were very helpful throughout my field research. They provided critical support by suggesting an initial list of potential research participants among their colleagues in the gender-based violence sector. I also identified a few potential participants based on research that I had conducted to familiarise myself with the sector prior to my arrival. Because of my affiliation with the GHJRU, I was able to attend relevant conferences and meetings while in Cape Town, where I identified additional potential participants. Finally, I employed a snowball sampling technique whereby the participants in this study often suggested other potential participants who I then contacted to request their participation.

2.4 PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

Once identified, research participants were initially contacted via email. I used a standard email format to contact potential participants (see Appendix I) and personalised the email for each individual based on the reasons why I thought that he or she would be a valuable participant. The majority of those who agreed to participate in my research communicated with me via email to ask questions and arrange an interview time and location. For those who did not respond to the initial email, I sent a few appropriately timed follow up emails and attempted to reach them by telephone. I felt that email was the most effective method of contacting the participants in this study because they were academics and practitioners who were frequently away from their offices. Therefore, it was easier to reach them via email. In addition, by sending an email, I felt that I was able to explain the project more clearly and in greater detail than I may have been able to over the telephone.

The following table provides the names of the participants in this study as well as a very brief description of their work in the gender-based violence sector or the reason why they were identified as valuable informants. All of the participants identified in this

study provided informed consent regarding their identification. Note that this information was gathered during the research period and may not be up to date.

Table 1: *List of Participants and Descriptions*

Participant	Description
Robert Morrell	Coordinator of the Programme for the Enhancement of Research Capacity at UCT; published extensively on South African men and masculinities
Chris Colvin	Co-author of multiple evaluations of Sonke Gender Justice Network (Sonke); Senior Research Officer at the Centre for Infectious Disease Epidemiology Research at UCT
Sam Waterhouse	Parliamentary Programme Coordinator at the Community Law Centre, University of the Western Cape; long history in the gender-based violence sector, having previously worked as the Advocacy Coordinator at Rape Crisis and as the Advocacy Manager at Resources Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (RAPCAN).
Patrick Burton	Executive Director at the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP)
Leon Holtzhausen	Department of Social Development at UCT; researches violentisation (the process through which individuals become violent perpetrators)
Elizabeth Petersen	Founder and Executive Director of the South African Faith & Family Institute (SAFFI)
Sean Kaliski	Forensic psychiatrist with 23 years of experience; head of the Forensic Psychiatry division at UCT
Shanaaz Mathews	Director of the Children's Institute; co-author of a number of studies on violence against women and femicide
Lisa Vetten	Former Director of Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre (TLAC); currently a research associate at the University of Witwatersrand's (WITS) WITS Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER)
Dean Peacock	Co-founder and Executive Director of Sonke Gender Justice Network

Participant	Description
Cherith Sanger	Formerly worked at the Women's Legal Centre; manager of Sonke's Policy Development and Advocacy Unit at the time of research; currently an independent consultant and acting advocacy manager at Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT)
Venessa Padayachee	National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO); involved in the development of NICRO's Intimate Partner Violence Programme
Erin Stern	Research and Advocacy Associate at AIDS Free World; Researcher & Lecturer at Women's Health Research Unit at UCT; voluntary counselor at Rape Crisis; has published a number of papers on South African masculinities
Melissa Groenewald	Programme Manager at MOSAIC; responsible for MOSAIC's MenCare+ Programme at the time of research
Benita Moolman	Research Specialist in the Human and Social Development Unit at the Human Science Research Council; research interests include engaging men and boys as a gender-based violence prevention strategy
Morna Cornell	Project Manager of the Southern African International Epidemiological Databases to Evaluate AIDS; research focuses on gender and HIV/AIDS with a particular emphasis on men
Richard Kloosman	Hearts of Men, a South African organisation that works with men to encourage positive engagement in their families and communities
Anonymous participant	Academic whose research focuses on rape

2.5 INTERVIEWS

The interviews that I conducted with participants are the core component of my research. Before beginning each interview, participants were given a detailed information sheet and were required to provide consent prior to their participation (explained in

greater detail in section 2.9). I conducted semi-structured interviews to allow the participants, who possess expert knowledge on the subject, to contribute information that I may not have anticipated.

The staff at the GHJRU assisted me in designing a general interview schedule (see Appendix II). This interview schedule contains questions that speak to the feminist nature of this research. For example, question eight specifically explores the challenges of working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women with respect to power, interests, resources and theoretical issues, all of which have been raised as concerns by feminists with regards to 'bringing men in' in gender and development more broadly (see Chapter 3). I used this general schedule for all of my interviews, tailoring it to particular participants when necessary. For example, I followed the natural flow of the interview and not necessarily the order of the questions in the interview schedule. I was also reflexive with my interview schedule and modified it slightly where necessary. For instance, after my first few interviews, I found question nine in the interview schedule ('what do you see as the way forward in relation to preventing and addressing violence against women?') to be too broad and slightly repetitive of question two ('how should violence against women be addressed, in your opinion?'). Therefore, in subsequent interviews I tended to ask something along the lines of 'how can the concerns expressed by feminists and women's organisations regarding working with men to prevent and address violence against women be addressed without forgoing work with men?' instead of question nine. Using the same general interview schedule for all of my interviews allowed me to gather a range of data while still being able to compare the content.

I conducted all of the interviews in person except for two, which had to be conducted via Skype because of the location of the participants. All of the participants in this study consented to being audio recorded, which allowed me to transcribe the interviews with clarity. All of the interviews were conducted in English. Though English was not necessarily the participants' first language, they work in English on a regular basis. For this reason, I did not hire a research assistant and I personally conducted and transcribed all of the interviews. In total, I conducted eighteen interviews, ranging from approximately thirty minutes to an hour in length. All of the interviews that were

conducted in person were held at the participants' offices with the exception of one, which was held in my office at the GHJRU.

2.6 ANALYSIS

In analysing my data, I employed an inductive qualitative content analysis method. As Creswell (2008) explains, qualitative analysis "is an ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data…and collecting open-ended data, based on asking general questions and developing an analysis from the information supplied by participants" (p. 184). As such, rather than approach this research with a pre-formed hypothesis to test, I designed the study to be exploratory in nature. I initially analysed my data during its transcription, which I did in between interviews. Therefore, though I maintained the general interview schedule throughout the interview process, as I analysed the data after each interview, my understanding of the topic was enriched and this affected the way that I approached the questions in subsequent interviews (as discussed in the previous section). Once I completed the transcription process, I went through the interviews to analyse them in greater depth and code them for themes. I began the coding process of the interview transcripts by categorising responses in accordance with the questions in the interview schedule. As I identified emerging themes, I began to explore how they were interrelated and/or opposed. From there I determined how I wanted to organise the data. I then grouped the data by chapter, by chapter subsections and within subsections. This process of organising and reorganising took place before and throughout the process of writing my thesis. In this sense, the data analysis was truly ongoing throughout the entire research process.

2.7 APPROPRIATENESS OF THE METHODS USED

As noted above, I approached this research from a feminist perspective. The methods and methodology that I have employed in this research are common across many disciplines in the social sciences, including feminist research methodology. Feminist scholars and researchers have interrogated the traditional "positivist assumptions of the value-free researcher, the actuality of an objective reality, and the

realisability of universal, fixed, and objective truth" (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 14). As such, feminist research involves a great deal of reflexivity, which is why I employed exploratory and qualitative research and analysis methods. This reflexivity began with the initial design of the research. I recognise that my interest in this research topic relates directly to my academic background, my personal experiences and my identification as a feminist. This affects the way that I approach the topic and the way that I designed my study. For example, because of my background in gender and development studies, I framed this research with GAD theory and drew on gender and development literature on 'bringing men in'.

I was also cognisant throughout the research process of how my positionality as a young, white, Western, middle-class woman affected my research, particularly given that the research was conducted in the post-colonial, post-apartheid context of South Africa. In this sense, I was an outsider looking in. This positionality undoubtedly affected my understanding and engagement with the topic and potentially affected the way in which the participants in this study perceived, and interacted with, me. Traditionally, feminist research tends to recognise the power of the researcher (Hesse-Biber, 2007); however, research is often more complex. In this study, while I had power in terms of creating the interview questions and guiding the interview, the participants in this study are experts in the field and possess far greater knowledge of the subject than I do. Many of them are also in positions of power as leaders of organisations and established scholars.

Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber (2007) argues that "a feminist perspective regarding in-depth interviewing would see the interview process as a co-creation of meaning" (p.133). I sought to approximate this approach in my research by conducting semi-structured interviews to allow participants to share their expertise and include information that I may not have anticipated. I was also relatively flexible with my interview schedule and followed the flow of the interview, asking follow-up questions and allowing the participant to steer the direction of the conversation while ensuring that we covered the topics in the interview schedule. In addition, I sought to further involve the participants in the co-production of meaning by sending them their full interview transcripts and allowing them to make revisions or withdraw information. To avoid misinterpreting the data and misrepresenting the participants or 'speaking for' them, I

have used direct quotes as much as possible. I also sought to respect the participants' requests for anonymity regarding particular sensitive information that they provided.

In general, I am satisfied that the methods that I selected for my research were appropriate. My decision to use qualitative methods was based on the fact that my research is primarily focused on exploring various perceptions and opinions, rather than on gathering quantifiable data. Hesse-Bieber (2007) asserts that "interviewing is a particularly valuable research method feminist researchers can use to gain insight into the world of their respondents" (p.114). As Creswell (2008) notes, qualitative methods are also well-suited for developing a nuanced, complex account, which is what I hoped to accomplish through my research. Finally, qualitative methods are effective for research that explores multiple sources of data, as mine does (Creswell, 2008).

2.8 RESEARCH CHALLENGES

Because I was in South Africa on a 90 day visa, time constraints presented a challenge. I spent the first several weeks working with my colleagues at the GHJRU to create an interview schedule and identify potential participants. I underestimated the time that it would take for some of the participants in this study to respond to my recruitment email and to find a time to meet. The participants have extremely busy schedules, given their respective positions in leadership; therefore, some scheduled interviews for three weeks or a month later. Several potential participants who were identified near the end of my field research were unable to meet with me on short notice.

Another challenge was conducting interviews via Skype. Two of the final interview participants in this study were located outside of the Cape Town area. I was open to travelling to conduct interviews around the country but because these interviews were scheduled for the final days that I was in South Africa, this was not possible. Conducting interviews via Skype presented challenges because of issues with the Internet connection and the clarity of the audio recording. I was still able to transcribe the interviews accurately and made notes where the audio was unclear, which only occurred a couple of times. Anything that was unclear during the transcription was left out of the analysis.

2.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Because of my affiliation with the GHJRU, the ethics boards at Dalhousie University and an internal review team at the University of Cape Town reviewed my research proposal. All participants were given a detailed information sheet which explained the purpose of the study, what they would be asked to do, the potential risks and benefits, confidentiality and who to contact should they have concerns about their participation in the study. Participants were given a signature page and were required to provide consent prior to their participation. I obtained permission to audio record the interviews and gave the participants the option of deciding whether they were willing to be quoted directly and whether they wanted to be identified or participate anonymously. Finally, participants were offered a copy of the information sheet and the consent form. This process took place in person with all participants except for two, whom I interviewed via Skype. The participants interviewed via Skype were sent the information sheet and signature page via email. One participant provided oral consent to participate and to be audio-recorded, quoted and identified at the beginning of the Skype call. The other participant consented to participate and to be audio-recorded orally during the Skype call but preferred to wait until after the interview to decide whether to consent to being quoted and identified. The participant then provided written consent via email following the interview. All of the participants in this study agreed to be audio-recorded. All but one participant agreed to be quoted directly. All but one participant agreed to be identified in the research though some specified certain sensitive parts of their interviews that they preferred to keep anonymous. Participants also had the option of requesting the transcript of their interviews. I provided the interview transcripts for those who requested them in a timely fashion and gave the participants the opportunity to make any changes or withdraw any information that they had provided. A couple of participants made minor changes to their transcripts, which I have honoured in this thesis.

My position as the researcher was another ethical consideration (see section 2.7). As a foreigner, I am keenly aware that I am not an expert on the South African context. I hope that by including the founding director of the GHJRU as a member of my thesis committee, my representations and understandings will be sensitive and accurate.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores Gender and Development (GAD) theory and concepts from the field of Critical Studies on Men (CSM), which form my theoretical framework. As the following section demonstrates, by taking up gender and gender relations as the units of analysis, GAD creates space for the exploration of the place of men in gender and development. Moreover, by taking a multidimensional approach, GAD presents a useful framework for understanding the causes of violence against women, and gender inequity more broadly, as well as how it should be addressed. CSM, which is the subject of section 3.3, adds to my theoretical framework by providing an analysis of the interactions between individual men, constructions of masculinity and power. This analysis is useful because it demonstrates that not all men benefit from patriarchy equally and that inequitable gender relations have negative implications for men as well as women. Therefore, these concepts emerging from CSM demonstrate that men have an interest in gender equity and addressing violence against women. CSM also provides a nuanced view of men whereby it is conceivable that men can be pro-feminist allies in anti-violence efforts. This chapter will also include a brief overview of the debate on 'bringing men in' that exists in gender and development literature, highlighting some of the arguments for 'bringing men in' as well as concerns and challenges. The theoretical framework provides the foundation for understanding the debate that exists in the literature as well as how this debate has played out in reality in the context of working with men to prevent and address violence against women in South Africa.

3.2 FROM WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

To better understand GAD and its relevance to working with men to prevent and address violence against women, it is useful to briefly explore its emergence. Traditionally, development policy and practice focused on men. As Eva Rathgeber (1990) explains, from the 1950s to the 1970s, when the modernisation paradigm dominated the mainstream development agenda, "women rarely, if ever, were considered

as a separate unit of analysis…It was assumed that the norm of the male experience was generalizable to females and that all would benefit equally as societies became modernized" (p. 491). When women were explicitly targeted in development policy and practice during this period, it was from a welfare approach, which focused on women's reproductive roles as mothers and caregivers. As such, the resulting development interventions pertaining to women related primarily to food aid, malnutrition and family planning (Moser, 1989). A greater interest in women in relation to development emerged when research on women's roles with regards to food and population fostered the recognition that 'women's issues' had implications for modernisation and economic development (Kabeer, 1994). Ester Boserup's *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (1970), which is widely cited as one of the most seminal works in the rise of Women in Development (WID) theory, highlighted how women's productive roles had been overlooked by mainstream development. This recognition led to the emergence of WID. WID employs an instrumentalist approach and argues for women's inclusion in development on the basis that their productive potential was underutilised under the welfare approach, thereby limiting overall development (Kabeer, 1994).

Theoretically, WID is concerned with the issue of gender equality, which stems from a liberal feminist perspective. This approach translates into a concern with equality of opportunity for women and men. When applied to development, this approach led to efforts to integrate women in the development process through education and training (Kabeer, 1994). By contrast with the welfare approach, WID focused almost exclusively on women's productive roles, largely ignoring their reproductive roles (Rathgeber, 1990). As a result, under WID, women's reproductive roles were excluded from development policy and practice (Kabeer, 1994). This exclusion contributed to the 'double burden' (productive and reproductive) that women face and has generated substantial criticism.

WID has also been criticised for seeking to integrate women into the existing structures of development without questioning the structures themselves (Rathgeber, 1990). This is particularly problematic because these structures and institutions are inherently gendered. This is perhaps the most widely recognised critique of WID, earning it the title of the 'add women and stir' approach (Chant & Gutmann, 2000). Therefore, though WID made important contributions by drawing attention to women in

development policy and practice, it has also been the subject of criticism. Several theories emerged in response to WID's shortcomings, including GAD, which forms the basis of the theoretical framework for this study.

Whereas WID focuses exclusively on women, GAD's unit of analysis is gender. Not to be confused with sex, which refers to biological difference, in GAD theory gender is defined as the "socially acquired norms of masculinity and femininity by which men and women are identified" (Henshall Momsen, 2004, p. 2).[1] GAD is particularly concerned with the socially constructed power relations between men and women known as gender relations (Henshall Momsen, 2004). The emphasis that GAD places on gender relations reflects its theoretical roots in socialist feminism. Socialist feminists argue that women's socially constructed productive and reproductive roles are the basis of their oppression, which is why it is important to examine gender relations rather than women in isolation (Rathgeber, 1990). The recognition of women's multiple roles, including productive and reproductive roles, responds to one of WID's most significant shortcomings. Moreover, the examination of gender and gender relations creates a space for exploring men's place in gender and development.

While WID has been criticised by Third World Feminists for homogenising women, GAD goes beyond recognising differences between men and women by also acknowledging differences among women. This is explained through the concept of intersectionality, whereby people are differently socially situated as gender interacts with race, class, sexuality, religion, culture, ethnicity, marital status, age, etc. (Henshall Momsen, 2004; Sweetman & Porter, 2006). Though GAD recognises difference, it also recognises that patriarchy operates across all of these differences, affecting all women, though not necessarily in the same way (Rathgeber, 1990). This is significant because it balances recognition of difference with a commonality that serves as a rallying point for discussion and action.

GAD's emphasis on difference is also reflected in its definition of gender equity. While WID advocated for equality of opportunity for women and men, GAD's definition of gender equity "denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men,

[1] Under GAD, the definitions of 'gender' and 'gender relations' view gender as a binary concept (male and female). Many other areas of gender studies, including queer theory, for example, have challenged this definition.

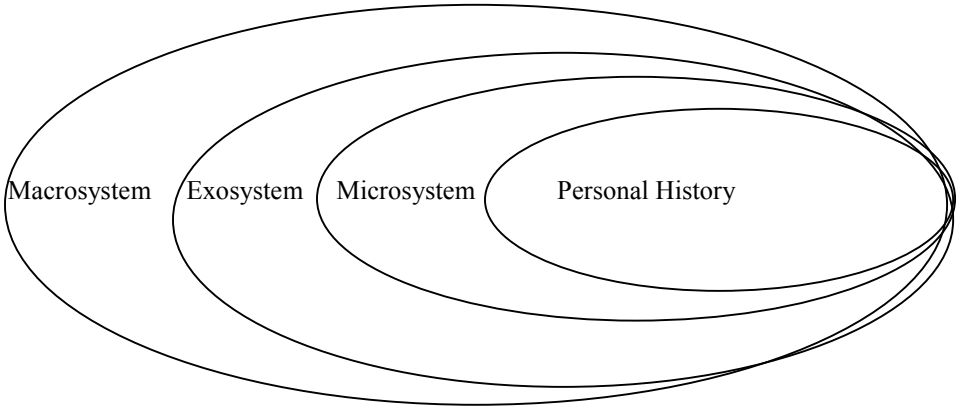
recognising their different needs and interests, and requiring a redistribution of power and resources" (BRIDGE, 2000, p. 10). According to this definition, a transformation of gender relations is necessary to equalise the balance of power between women and men (BRIDGE, 2000). This is a direct response to WID's focus on integrating women into existing gendered structures rather than challenging them. As Naila Kabeer (1994) explains, through GAD, gender training became a "means by which feminist advocates and practitioners [sought] to de-institutionalize male privilege within development policy and planning" (p. 264). Furthermore, as a society-wide project, transforming gender relations necessitates engaging men and women, thereby underscoring the importance of including men in gender and development.

GAD is considered to be a relatively holistic approach, viewing the causes and responses to gender inequity as multidimensional (Rathgeber, 1990). Thus according to GAD, while change at the individual level is important, the broader structural relations of power must be addressed because they shape and influence individual behaviour. In addition, from a GAD perspective, development initiatives must seek to address both practical and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs refer to immediate needs that are gender-specific and are formulated from the concrete conditions that individuals experience, such as access to shelter, water or job skills training (Moser, 1989). By contrast, strategic gender needs refer to gender-specific needs that relate to broader gender relations, structures and power like removing institutionalised forms of gender discrimination in law and other institutions (Moser, 1989). While WID tended to focus on addressing practical gender needs, both are important according to GAD. For example, the transformative potential of providing women with job skills training (practical need) is limited if the sexual division of labour (strategic need) is not challenged. Rather than simply providing women with job skills, training women to perform jobs that are traditionally reserved for men has the potential to transform existing gender relations (Moser, 1989).

Because of its multidimensional approach, GAD is a well-suited theoretical lens for understanding and addressing violence against women. Through a GAD lens, violence against women, which can be understood as a manifestation of gender inequity, has multidimensional causes, ranging from individual level factors to broad structural

factors. The following integrated ecological model adapted from Lori Heise (1998, p. 265) illustrates a multidimensional approach to the factors that contribute to a man perpetrating an act of violence against a woman or girl.

Figure 1: *Ecological model of factors contributing to the perpetration of violence against women*



Factors that are generally placed in the realm of personal history include witnessing intimate partner violence as a child, being abused as a child and having absent or poor parenting (Heise, 1998). The microsystemic realm is generally associated with factors like "male dominance in the family, male control of wealth in the family", substance abuse and conflict with an intimate partner (Heise, 1998, p. 265). Exosystemic factors that contribute to violence against women include "low socioeconomic status/unemployment, [social] isolation of the woman and family and delinquent peer associations" (Heise, 1998, p. 265). Finally, at the societal level "male entitlement/ownership of women"; dominant discourses of masculinity associated with aggression, dominance and honour; "rigid gender roles; acceptance of interpersonal violence; acceptance of physical chastisement"(Heise, 1998, p. 265); and gender inequality in law are examples of macrosystemic factors. The divisions between these spheres are not rigid and many of the factors are interrelated and interdependent. While this is by no means an exhaustive list of the factors that contribute to violence against women, the integrated ecological model provides a useful illustration of the multidimensional approach to violence against women that corresponds with GAD thinking.

This model also demonstrates the importance of applying a multidimensional approach to preventing and addressing violence against women. For example, Sonke Gender Justice Network's (Sonke) Spectrum of Change model, which is adapted from the Prevention Institute, demonstrates the importance of taking all levels, from the individual to the structural, into account to address gender-based violence and prevent HIV. The Spectrum of Change model includes "working with government to promote change in policy and practice; community mobilisation; building effective networks and coalitions; strengthening organisational capacity; communications for social change strategies; community education; and building individual knowledge and skills" (Peacock, 2013). These ecological models serve to illustrate that addressing gender-based violence is a society-wide project that necessitates engaging men, not just at the level of individual behaviour but also at the structural level.

Understanding violence against women in this way allows for the conceptualisation of how preventing and addressing it can involve men, not only as perpetrators but also as pro-feminist anti-violence allies. This approach to violence against women also shifts the discourse by demonstrating that it is not merely a women's issue but rather a societal issue with deeply rooted structural causes. This, in turn, creates the space to shift responses away from an exclusive focus on women's behaviour and women's empowerment (the latter is obviously still an important part of the response) to a more holistic approach that shifts attention to the underlying causes of violence against women and to the perpetrators.

GAD creates the space for examining men's roles in gender and development by taking up gender and gender relations as its units of analysis, therefore by definition involving both men and women. GAD's multidimensional approach to violence against women, and gender inequity more broadly, demonstrates the necessity of involving men in prevention and response at all levels. At its core, GAD espouses the idea that addressing gender inequity, of which violence against women is a manifestation, requires a transformation of gender relations. This is a society-wide project that necessitates engagement from men and women. For these reasons, it is a useful framework for engaging with the subject of working with men to prevent and address violence against women.

However, as with any theory, there are several critiques of GAD (though an in depth discussion of these is beyond the scope of this thesis). For example, Andrea Cornwall (1997) notes that by prioritising relationships between men and women, GAD loses sight of relationships among women and among men. Because it necessitates structural change and redistribution of power, many have suggested that GAD is difficult to translate into development practice (Rathgeber, 1990). This may serve to explain why the language of 'gender' and 'gender relations' has widely been adopted by development actors while 'gender and development' practice has generally failed to reflect a GAD approach. As such, the language of GAD has been depoliticised and rendered into a technocratic discourse. As Sally Baden and Anne Marie Goetz (1998) explain,

> although the gender discourse has filtered through to policy-making institutions, in the process actors have re-interpreted the concept of gender to suit their institutional needs. In some instances, 'gender' has been used to side-step a focus on 'women' and on the radical policy implications of overcoming their disprivilege. (p. 21)

The notion that the language of GAD has been diluted and depoliticised is widespread. For example, because of this depoliticisation, one of the participants in this study expressed discomfort using the term 'gender analysis' and preferred to use the term 'feminist power analysis'.

Another way in which GAD theory has been diluted is that, despite all of the ways in which men are central to GAD as discussed above, in practice, gender and development has continued to focus predominantly on women. Cornwall, writing in 2000, notes that although GAD emerged in the late 1980s, exploring the place of men in gender and development only recently became part of the GAD agenda. She suggests that while men are inherently part of gender relations, GAD initially focused on women in relation to men without a parallel focus on men's relations. Similarly, Rathgeber (2005) asserts:

> the use of 'gender' terminology has made it less acceptable to focus on the situation of women separate from that of men, but analysis is almost always undertaken exclusively from the point of view of women. This is not necessarily wholly undesirable, since it is obvious that women continue to be disadvantaged

> and need additional support, however, it undermines the possibility of undertaking real gender analysis. (p. 589)

There are many reasons for the hesitancy to 'bring men in' which will be discussed in greater detail in section 3.4. However, to better understand the theoretical arguments for engaging men to prevent and address violence against women, it is useful to draw on concepts from the field of CSM.

3.3 CONCEPTS FROM CRITICAL STUDIES ON MEN

Before delving into a deeper exploration of CSM, it is important to differentiate it from broader scholarship on men and masculinities. Scholarship on men and masculinities has grown in popularity since the 1970s and has prompted significant criticism from feminists (see McCarry 2007; Robinson 2003). One of the major sources of concern is that some of this work has lent itself to anti-feminist backlash. As Melissa Blais and Francis Dupuis-Deri (2012) explain,

> since the 1980s a new form of anti-feminism has emerged... Masculinism asserts that since men are in crisis and suffering because of women in general and feminists in particular, the solution to their problems involves curbing the influence of feminism and revalorising masculinity. (p. 22)

As such, some of the literature about men and masculinities serves to justify, rather than critique, men's violence (McCarry, 2007). Men and masculinities scholarship has also been criticised for failing to adequately engage with feminism generally, and with radical feminism in particular (Robinson, 2003). In addition, it has been argued that some of this work loses sight of inequitable gendered power relations, as evidenced by the existence of those who want to institutionalise Men's Studies as a discipline to complement Women's Studies (Robinson, 2003).

It is not to say that some of these critiques do not apply to CSM but it is important to make a distinction between scholarship on men and masculinities in general and CSM. As CSM scholar Jeff Hearn (2004) explains,

> Critical Studies on Men (CSM) arise from a number of critiques—primarily from feminism, but also from gay and queer scholarship, and from men's responses, particularly men's pro-feminist responses, to feminism and debates on gender

> relations. CSM thus refers to that range of studies that critically address men in the context of gendered power relations. (p. 50)

CSM scholars have also recognised the ways in which scholarship on men and masculinities has contributed to anti-feminist backlash (see Pease, 2008; Flood, 2005; Connell, 2005). Because of its emphasis on exploring men and masculinities in the context of gendered power relations, concepts from CSM are useful additions to my theoretical framework for this study.

Considered one of the most influential CSM scholars, Raewyn Connell's work on masculinities and power is particularly relevant to my research. Connell (1995) explores these dynamics through the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which she defines as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (p. 77). Connell (1995) argues that masculinities become hegemonic when the cultural ideal aligns with power. As Robert Morrell (1998) maintains,

> in addition to oppressing women, hegemonic masculinity silences or subordinates other masculinities, positioning these in relation to itself such that the values expressed by these other masculinities are not those that have currency or legitimacy. In turn, it presents its own version of masculinity, of how men should behave and how putative 'real men' do behave, as the cultural ideal. The concept of hegemonic masculinity provides a way of explaining that though a number of masculinities coexist, a particular version of masculinity holds sway, bestowing power and privilege on men who espouse it and claim it as their own. (p. 608)

In other words, hegemonic masculinity is the discourse of masculinity that is widely upheld as what it means to be a 'real man' in a particular context. Discourses of hegemonic masculinity are, therefore, the ideal to which the majority of men aspire. Connell (1995) also asserts that although the majority of men fall short of the ideal represented by hegemonic masculinity, they are complicit with it because they benefit from patriarchy. In addition, Michael Kimmel (2002) reasons that "the processes that confer privilege on one group and not another group are often invisible to those upon whom that privilege is conferred…not having to think about gender is one of the

patriarchal dividends of gender inequality" (p. xii). Therefore, men may also be complicit in patriarchy supported by hegemonic masculinity because they do not recognise the privilege that it confers.

Isak Niehaus (2005) claims that violence against women, and sexual violence in particular, occurs in contexts where "male control of women and sexual entitlement feature strongly in constructions of masculinity" (p.65). However, Niehaus warns that it is not necessarily only powerful men who approximate the ideals of hegemonic masculinity that perpetrate violence. He and other scholars (see Freedman & Jacobson, 2012; O'Toole, Schiffman & Kitter Edwards, 2007) argue that the discrepancy between ideal masculinity and men's lived and embodied realities can lead to violence against women. As Freedman and Jacobson (2012) reason,

> sexual and gender-based violence can thus be understood not only as a result of the patriarchal structures and of persistent gender inequalities but also as the consequence of the inability of many men to live up to the ideals of masculinity. Trauma as a result of experiences of violence, feelings of inadequacy and the inability to fulfill traditional roles as 'providers' and 'protectors' all contribute to these feelings of a gap between ideal and lived masculinities, a gap that in turn may fuel violence against women as a means of reinforcing masculine identities. (p.11)

The notion that violence can result from anxiety over instable masculine identity at the individual level corresponds to Connell's (1995) assertion that when hegemonic masculinity is contested at the societal level, violence is often used as a means to reassert male dominance. Hegemonic masculinity, therefore, must be addressed in order to prevent, and address violence against women. Moreover, addressing hegemonic masculinity and the ways in which it contributes to violence against women requires engaging men.

One of the major critiques of masculinities scholarship is that "it does not adequately or systematically deal with men's violence" against women (McCarry, 2007, p. 406). However, several CSM scholars engage with the issue of violence against women. For example, Hearn's work is cited as an exception as he draws on radical feminist research on violence against women (Robinson, 2003). He notes that "men's

violence to women remains a key difficulty for men's theorizing and men's theorizing of men since men's gendered practices, particularly those of hegemonic masculinities, are so deeply implicated in the use, generation, threat and reproduction of violence" (Hearn, 1998, p. 782). He argues that it is difficult to problematise men's violence without problematising the rest of men's normative behaviour, which may serve to clarify why masculinities scholars have skirted around it. As he explains,

> to focus on men, and particularly men's violence to women, unsettles and makes problematic the way men are, not just in the doing of these particular actions of violence, but also more generally. It raises question marks against men's behaviour in general. (Hearn, 1996, p. 100)

Other CSM scholars like Bob Pease (2008) and Michael Flood (2005) also engage with the issue of men's violence against women and particularly with efforts to work with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women. Flood (2005) argues that "men are the overwhelming perpetrators of violence against women…Profound changes in men's lives, gendered power relations and the social construction of masculinity are necessary if violence against women is to be eliminated" (p. 462). Thus while men and masculinities studies in general have perhaps not adequately engaged with the issue of violence against women, this is a subject with which several CSM scholars have engaged. Moreover, the ways in which violence is embedded in current configurations of hegemonic masculinity and the way in which violence may be used to validate masculinity demonstrate the usefulness of CSM concepts in this theoretical framework.

Beyond maintaining the subordination of women and contributing to violence against women, hegemonic masculinity also has negative consequences for men. For example, men's roles in childrearing, nurturing and caregiving are often constrained by the ideals presented by hegemonic masculinity. Where virility is seen as a marker of masculinity, men may engage in risky sexual behaviour, increasing their likelihood of contracting and transmitting HIV and other infections and diseases (Chant & Gutmann, 2000). The negative consequences that result from the discrepancy between hegemonic masculinity and men's lived and embodied realities presents an incentive for men to engage in efforts to transform gender relations and address gender inequity. Moreover,

CSM scholars have argued that men do not access power equally. As Morrell (2001) asserts, "race and class are of major importance in determining how men understand their masculinity, how they deploy it, and in what form the patriarchal dividend comes to them" (p. 10). Other factors such as sexuality, age, ethnicity and religion also have an impact. This poses a challenge to the portrayal of men as perpetrators and as beneficiaries of gender inequity and presents a more nuanced understanding of men whereby it is conceivable that they may also be vulnerable and/or pro-feminist anti-violence allies.

Though they are suppressed by hegemonic masculinity, alternative masculinities exist. Going back to Connell's (1995) definition, hegemonic masculinity must be understood as a "configuration of gender practice" (p. 77) rather than a static identity. Therefore, because hegemonic masculinity is socially, historically and culturally constructed, it is intrinsically fluid and has the potential to change (Connell, 1995; Morrell, 2001). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) revisited the concept of hegemonic masculinity ten years after its original conception and discussed the possibility of a hegemonic masculinity that does not involve the oppression of women. They reason:

> the conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity should explicitly acknowledge the possibility of democratising gender relations, of abolishing power differentials, not just of reproducing hierarchy. A transitional move in this direction requires an attempt to establish as hegemonic among men a version of masculinity open to equality with women. (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 853)

Because discourses of masculinity are fluid and subject to change and disruption, the possibility for engaging with discourses of masculinity in ways that will effectively prevent and address violence against women exists.

In sum, concepts from CSM scholarship enrich my theoretical framework by providing a more nuanced view of men, masculinities and power. These concepts can be applied to violence against women, as illustrated by the example of the connection between violence against women and the anxiety caused by the unrealistic ideals established by hegemonic masculinity. This example not only demonstrates that engaging with men is important but also that this engagement must go beyond merely soliciting men to change their individual behaviour to addressing discourses of masculinity as

structural factors which shape and inform behaviour. In addition, CSM provides a more nuanced view of men whereby the ways in which men may be negatively affected by current configurations of gender relations and by hegemonic masculinity suggest that men have an interest in gender equity.

There are many ways in which GAD and the concepts from CSM work well together to form my theoretical framework. Perhaps most importantly, they are both concerned with gendered power relations. At a theoretical level, by taking gender and gender relations as its units of analysis, GAD necessitates considering men and masculinities. Moreover, GAD's political project of achieving gender equity necessitates a transformation of gendered power relations. The concept of hegemonic masculinity provides useful insight on the relationship between constructions of masculinity, men and power. By demonstrating the importance of engaging with hegemonic masculinity in addition to men's individual behaviour to prevent and address violence against women, CSM reinforce GAD's multidimensional approach. By highlighting the ways in which individual men benefit differently from patriarchy and how hegemonic masculinity can have negative consequences for men as well as women, CSM suggest that men have an incentive in preventing and addressing violence against women and transforming gender relations. Finally, though realising gender equity is not necessarily the central purpose of CSM in the same way that it is for GAD, CSM scholars (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) have envisioned alternative gender equitable discourses of masculinity becoming hegemonic.

Though GAD and select concepts from CSM work well together as a theoretical framework, undoubtedly there are also tensions between these fields. Perhaps one of the most significant tensions is that although men and masculinities are central to GAD by definition, some gender and development scholars have been resistant to 'bringing men in', particularly in practice. This debate is the subject of the following section.

3.4 'BRINGING MEN IN': GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES

As discussed above, though many contemporary development actors use the language of 'gender' and 'gender relations', a significant proportion gender and development work still focuses on including women in development and empowering

them, prompting some scholars to claim that the term 'gender' has essentially replaced 'women' (Rathgeber, 2005). In other words, many mainstream development actors have continued to pursue policies and practices consistent with a WID approach while deploying the language of GAD, effectively rendering it empty rhetoric. While providing women with skills and tools for development is important, focusing exclusively on women limits the potential for a transformation of gender relations. One of the potential explanatory factors for this phenomenon is the lack of consensus around 'bringing men in'. This debate will be elaborated in relation to the specific debate around working with men to prevent and address violence against women in the South African context. However, it is worth highlighting the key arguments in the literature to preface the findings of my research.

Beyond the fact that men are inherently part of gender relations and that the project of transforming gender relations requires society-wide engagement, thereby necessitating the involvement of men, there are many reasons for 'bringing men in'. Both gender and development and CSM scholars articulate reasons for 'bringing men in'. As CSM highlights, many men are adversely affected by hegemonic masculinity in its current construction and therefore have an interest in realising gender equity. Furthermore, leaving hegemonic masculinity intact not only prevents a transformation of gender relations but also has the potential to contribute to violence against women.

Women rarely live in isolation from men and as such, development interventions seeking to address gender inequity are more likely to be relevant and effective if they engage men at the household and community levels (Chant, 2000; Flood, 2007). Flood (2007) also notes that "male inclusion increases men's responsibility for change and their belief that they too will gain from gender equality, and can address many men's sense of anxiety and fear as traditional masculinities are undermined" (p.11). There are also examples of men acting as spoilers to gender and development projects that have excluded them (Chant, 2000). Connell (2003) suggests that men who benefit relatively little from the patriarchal dividend may resent programmes that promote women's rights based on the fact that they feel relatively powerless and do not have access to similar programmes. Sylvia Chant (2000) argues that if women are the only ones working to address gender inequity, it adds to the existing reproductive and productive double

burden that women face. Focusing gender equity work exclusively on women may also create unrealistic expectations and problematic policies and programmes. For example, empowering women to control their own fertility through contraception use without exploring gendered power relations ignores the question of whether or not women have the power to control their own bodies and negotiate their sexual relationships (Chant & Gutmann, 2000).

Furthermore, at a practical and strategic level, some have argued that it is important to 'bring men in' because systems of government and policymaking continue to be dominated by men. The same is generally true of development bureaucracies and donor organisations (Chant & Gutmann, 2000). While GAD seeks to change this reality, doing so requires the cooperation of men in positions of power (Hearn, 2011). As Connell (2003) explains, "the existing pattern of gender inequality—men's predominant control of economic assets, political power, cultural authority, and armed force—means that men (often specific groups of men) control most of the resources required to implement women's claims for justice" (p. 3). In this sense, men can be considered the 'gatekeepers' of transforming gender relations and achieving gender equity. This is by no means an exhaustive account of all of the arguments made to justify 'bringing men in' but it serves to highlight a few of the most basic practical and strategic arguments. Reasons for 'bringing men in' will be explored in greater detail with reference to the debate on working with men to prevent and address violence against women in the South African context.

Despite these arguments, feminists have raised several important questions and concerns about 'bringing men in'. Andrea Cornwall and Sarah White (2000) highlight some of the most basic questions:

> is a focus on men a legitimate part of the wider project of GAD? And is it an appropriate focus for allocation of resources, either in terms of time and money? Where might the trade-offs and benefits lie? And what risks might this entail?...Do women have the responsibility for 'bringing men in', and if so, who sets the terms for engagement? Or does extending GAD to men imply enabling men to take a more active role in shaping interventions, thereby assuming greater

> responsibility for efforts to change gender relations? In each scenario, who sets the agenda—and what is at stake? (p. 2)

These questions highlight several key concerns, such as the diversion of scarce resources away from efforts to empower women as development actors (Morrell, R. & Morrell, P., 2011). The question of agenda setting is also important. Many feminists have articulated concerns that men will replace women in positions of power and decision-making in spaces that have traditionally been led by women (Morrell, R. & Morrell, P., 2011). Moreover, many scholars have expressed a basic fear that 'bringing men in' will erode feminists' hard-won gains and that creating a space for men will effectively strengthen patriarchy (White, 2009). Some, like Nighat Khan, have gone as far as to assert that "the focus on gender, rather than women, ha[s] become counter-productive in that it…allow[s] the discussion to shift from a focus on women, to women and men, and, finally, back to men" (as quoted in Baden & Goetz, 1998, p. 21). Other versions of this argument have suggested that the issues of women in development must be addressed before questions raised by GAD can be examined (Baden & Goetz, 1998).

There is also a much deeper concern that 'bringing men in' might further depoliticise gender and development. As discussed above, though many development actors have adopted the language of GAD, using terms like 'gender' and 'gender relations', the bulk of so-called gender and development interventions continue to focus on women's rights and empowerment (both of which are important). Thus in a sense, the language of 'gender relations' has already been depoliticised. However, this is a major concern in terms of 'bringing men in'. Cornwall (2000) writes that 'men as men' have been excluded from GAD and warns that this exclusion is a 'missed opportunity'. Yet elsewhere she cautions that when men appropriate the 'personal', it has the reverse effect that it had during the women's rights movement (the personal is political) in that "in appropriating the personal, there has been a tendency to forget the political and ignore the vested interest many men have in resisting change" (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994, p. 34).

As an illustration, some have argued that male violence against other men should be considered gender-based violence because "much of the violence carried out by men against other men serves as a way to assert male dominance" (Peacock, Khumalo &

McNab, 2006, p. 74). Some have even gone as far as to suggest that the perpetration of domestic violence between the sexes is symmetrical in that men are the victims of domestic violence perpetrated by women as often as the reverse is true (Blais & Depuis-Deri, 2012). The inclusion of male on male violence in the definition of gender-based violence may have positive implications. As Dean Peacock, Bafana Khumalo and Eleanor McNab (2011) suggest, "naming this as gendered violence makes the costs to men of violent masculinities clearer and should provide men with an urgent incentive to explore alternative, more peaceful masculinities" (p. 74). However, it also has the potential to devolve into comparisons of individual disprivilege and victimisation, ultimately drawing attention away from the gendered power relations and structural factors that form the basis of women's vulnerability to violence. As Flood (2007) notes, "emphasising men's roles can also communicate a false sense of symmetry between women's and men's social positions" (p.11). In this sense, 'bringing men in' and creating a space in gender and development for men to discuss the personal may in fact serve to further depoliticise GAD. Connell (2003) most accurately describes this tension:

> if large numbers of men are to support and implement gender equality policy, it will be necessary for that policy to speak, in concrete and positive ways, to their concerns, interests, hopes and problems. The political task is to do this without weakening the drive for justice for women and girls that animates current gender equality policy. (p. 11)

Thus while there are many important arguments that justify 'bringing men in', there are also many significant concerns and questions that have to be addressed.

Finally, beyond questions and concerns raised by feminists, resistance by men to engage in efforts to realise gender equity further complicates 'bringing men in'. The most obvious reasons for men's resistance to gender equity is the patriarchal dividend or benefits they accrue from gender inequity (Connell, 2003). Connell (2003) also notes that in many parts of the world, there is ideological support for male supremacy "on the grounds of religion, biology, cultural tradition or organisational mission (e.g. in the military). It is a mistake to regard these ideas as simply outmoded, because they may be actively modernised and renewed" (p. 10). Moreover, men may perceive gender equity efforts as anti-male or as blaming men (Casey et al., 2013). Gender equity may be viewed

as a women's issue and therefore not of concern to men (Casey et al., 2013). Men who participate in visible efforts to address gender inequity may also experience negative backlash from their male peers (Casey et al., 2013). Male resistance not only has negative implications for the realisation of gender equity but it also lends support to arguments against diverting resources to 'bringing men in'.

3.5 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter provides a comprehensive framework of analysis for the case study on the debate around working with men to prevent and address violence against women in the South African context. GAD is a useful theory for understanding the complexity of the causes of, and required responses to, violence against women, which is a manifestation of gender inequity. GAD goes beyond previous theories on women and development by drawing attention to the unequal power relations and structural factors that underlie gender inequity. Moreover, by virtue of engaging with gender and gender relations, GAD creates the space for considering men's roles and place in gender and development.

CSM provides a much deeper exploration of men and masculinities that allows for a better sense of the importance of working with men to realise gender equity. It demonstrates that constructions of masculinity and the ways in which they interact with power is an important structural factor that must be addressed to achieve gender equity. Moreover, it challenges the notion that men do not have an interest in gender equity and provides a more nuanced view of men that extends beyond the simplistic portrayal as men as perpetrators and beneficiaries of inequity to suggest that men can also be vulnerable and/or pro-feminist allies. In combination with GAD, CSM highlights the significance and the possibility of engaging men in efforts to achieve gender equity.

The theoretical arguments for working with men reflected in GAD, and in CSM in particular, are quite convincing. However, while working with men to prevent and address violence against women may seem straightforward; in practice it is far more complicated. This realisation led me to explore the broader gender and development literature around 'bringing men in'. As such, the literature around the debate on 'bringing men in' serves as a background for understanding the South African case study. This

broader debate informed my research and the interview questions that I asked participants. By highlighting a few of the key arguments from the literature in this chapter, it is possible to explore the salience of these arguments in the gender-based violence sector in South Africa based on my research findings. Finally, this brief review of the literature allows for the exploration of how the findings of my research speak to the broader debate.

CHAPTER 4: THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The high levels of violence against women in South Africa must be contextualised within the high levels of violent crime in general. South Africa is known for having some of the highest rates of violent crime in the world. For example, according to the SAPS, there were 16, 259 reported homicides in 2012-2013, or 31.1 homicides per 100, 000 population (SAPS, 2013). This number is shockingly high when the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013) reported a global average homicide rate of 6.2 per 100, 000 population, making the South African homicide rate five times higher than the global average.

This chapter seeks to provide a brief overview of the South African context to frame my research findings. It serves to contextualise the violence by briefly discussing the roots of violence and the development of violent masculinities in recent South African history. This chapter is by no means a comprehensive review of the literature or the history of violence in South Africa. Rather, it should serve merely to provide background for the research findings presented in the following chapters.

4.2 SITUATING VIOLENCE AND MASCULINITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA: COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND THE PRESENT

Just as the population of South Africa is extremely diverse, so too are the discourses of masculinity present. Though countless discourses of masculinity exist, as Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity highlights, not all are equal in terms of how they interact with power. Morrell applies the concept of hegemonic masculinity to the South African context. He argues that there are currently at least three forms of hegemonic masculinity in South Africa:

> a 'white' masculinity (represented in the political and economic dominance of the white ruling class); an 'African,' rurally based masculinity that resided in and was perpetuated through indigenous institutions (such as chiefship, communal land tenure, and customary law) and finally a 'black' masculinity that had emerged in

> the context of urbanisation and the development of geographically separate and culturally distinct African townships. (Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger 2012, p. 12-13) [2]

These hegemonic discourses of masculinity, like all discourses of masculinity, are not fixed and are socially constructed. Understanding how these discourses of masculinity have been constructed through the processes of colonialism and apartheid and in the present context allows for an exploration of how violence has become a feature of many South African discourses of masculinity and has been embedded in South African society in general.

Though discourses of masculinity undoubtedly existed in South African societies prior to colonialism, discourses of masculinity based on race were mutually constructed through colonialism. As Kopano Ratele (1998) asserts,

> there are no black men before white society, the discourse of whiteness and the rule of white people. Indeed, all black people got their colour when white colonialists conquered and defined them…As an oppressed man, the black man was created by others. (p. 63)

South Africa was originally colonised by the Dutch in the seventeenth century with the British following later. One of the participants in this study interrogated the current predominant constructions of 'traditional African culture' presented in South Africa and suggested that it is, at least in part, a product of the colonial era. The participant asserted that "the colonial system strengthened the patriarchal tendencies in African culture and solidified them and wrote them up in customary law" (anonymous participant). Similarly, Elizabeth Schmidt (1992) maintains that "indigenous and European structures of patriarchal control reinforced and transformed one another, evolving into new structures and forms of domination" (p.1-2) (see also Costa, 2000). The ways in which colonisers viewed indigenous cultures and political structures were undoubtedly influenced by their own patriarchal cultures. Moreover, in many ways, the patriarchal structures and identities constructed or supported by the colonisers served explicit political purposes. For instance, there are many examples wherein colonisers strengthened patriarchal

[2]For more on these and other South African masculinities see Breckenridge (1998), Campbell (1992), Glaser (1998), Mager (1998), Mooney (1998), Hemson (2001), Xaba (2001), Louw (2001), Bhana (2006) and Vahed (2006).

structures like chieftaincies but bribed chiefs or gave power to someone with whom they could form an alliance, thus allowing for indirect colonial rule (anonymous participant; Maloka & Gordon, 1996).

The colonial period in South Africa was characterised by violence. For example, as the Dutch settled, they encroached on the grazing lands and water resources of the Khoikhoi. This encroachment was not met with passivity; as Nigel Worden (2007) explains, "in the late 1730s there was a protracted period of guerilla resistance by the Khoikhoi and San against settler farmers" (p. 11). The Dutch East India Company responded by condoning settler theft of Khoikhoi cattle and sending a major armed commando to the area (Worden, 2007). Some Khoikhoi and San were captured and forced to work as indentured labourers on settler farms and launched a major rebellion from 1799-1803 (Worden, 2007). The colonisers also engaged in bloody wars with the Xhosa and the Zulu and dispossessed them of their land (Terreblanch, 2002). In addition, there is a history of slavery in South Africa. The Dutch imported slaves from Angola, Indonesia, the Indian subcontinent, Mozambique and Madagascar and the British later imported indentured labourers from India (Terreblanch 2002).

The Dutch and the British also engaged in violent conflict with each other during the Boer Wars, which had an impact on white masculine identities in South Africa. For example, the wars served to solidify the discourse of deeply conservative Afrikaner masculinity rooted in the Calvinist religion as a political identity and fuelled Afrikaner nationalism (Morrell, 2001). It was also during the Boer Wars that the image of the soldier became associated with Afrikaner masculinity (du Pisani, 2001). This image became salient again during the height of apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s when mandatory military service for fit, white South Africans was put in place (du Pisani, 2001). The dominant construction of Afrikaner masculinity rose to greater prominence during the apartheid era (Swart, 2001), which began when the Afrikaner nationalist party, the National Party, came into power in 1948, making racial segregation official government policy.

Morrell (2001) argues that the dominant constructions of masculinity that emerged in the twentieth century were shaped by the migrant labour system, particularly with respect to the mining industry. Violence was rampant in the mining industry as

Afrikaans supervisors asserted their authority through violence, which was legitimised by racist discourse (Morrell, 2001). Black mine workers, in turn, resorted to violence as a means of resistance, thereby legitimising violence as a means of addressing power imbalances (Morrell, 2001). Morrell (2001) contends:

> for black men, the harshness of life on the edge of poverty and the emasculation of political powerlessness gave their masculinity a dangerous edge. Honour and respect were rare, and getting it and retaining it was often a violent process. (p. 18)

Scholars (see, for example, Lesejane, 2006; Ramphele & Richter, 2006) have also noted that the migrant labour system effectively meant that many children grew up with absent fathers, which some studies (see Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2009; Heise, 1998; Jewkes, R., 2012; Mathews, S., Jewkes, R. & Abrahams, N., 2011) suggest could be a contributing factor to the high levels of violence in South Africa. Meanwhile, the rural areas faced increasing poverty and overcrowding while the system of patriarchal authority comprising of chiefs and male elders remained intact (Morrell, 2001).

Structural violence was one of the defining features of the apartheid era. Johan Galtung (1969) explains structural violence as violence that is "built into the structure of society, showing up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (p. 171). Similarly, Newton Garver (1981) argues that "any system which systematically robs certain people of rightful options generally available to others does violence to those people" (p. 226). George Lawson (2005) illustrates the levels of structural violence in apartheid South Africa:

> three-and-a-half million people were forcibly uprooted from their homes; an insidious and pervasive ideology of racial superiority denied the rights of nearly nine-tenths of the population to basic needs, schooling and work; significant groups in South African society ranging from the church to the medical profession were complicit in the oppression of their fellow citizens by turning a blind eye or actively sanctioning police brutality and abuse; discrimination and humiliation were used as everyday instruments of psychological torture to erode the dignity, self-belief and security of non-white South Africans. (p. 488)

The restrictions on movement that were enforced during the apartheid era also constituted a form of structural violence. Structural violence did not end with the transition to democracy; it persists in the post-apartheid period in the form of high unemployment, income inequality and poverty (Pillay, 2008). Structural violence has been linked to South Africa's HIV/AIDS pandemic (Hunter, 2006) and to vulnerability to, and perpetration of, other forms of violence (Pillay, 2008). For example, Suren Pillay (2008) notes that the areas of South Africa where violent crime occurs most often, in urban townships and informal settlements, are also the areas that are most affected by structural violence.

In addition to structural violence, the apartheid period was characterised by the extreme use of physical violence by the state. Black women were frequently raped by the South African Defence Forces and also faced forced abortions or sterilisation, electric shock and other forms of physical violence (Britton, 2006). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission heard that men were regularly sexually violated and experienced electric shocks to their genitals as a form of torture (Britton, 2006). Protestors were frequently met with violence from the police and the military, as the examples of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 and the Soweto Uprising in 1976 illustrate (Worden, 2007). The extreme violence exercised by the state led to the emergence of the African National Congress's (ANC) armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, which committed acts of violent sabotage as a means of resistance (Worden 2007; Terreblanche, 2002). Towards the end of apartheid there was also significant violence between ANC supporters and members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (Murray, 1994; du Toit, 2001). In addition, as Hannah Britton (2006) explains,

> women were at risk not only from the opposing forces, but often were also subjected to rape or harassment by their own comrades, even in the ANC camps. This abuse often went unreported out of loyalty to the overall fight against apartheid. (p. 149)

There are some similarities in the use of violence in the post-apartheid period as state apparatuses continue to use extreme violence, as evidenced by the Marikana massacre (Botes & Tolsi, n.d.) and by incidents of police brutality like the recent murder of a Mozambican taxi driver ("Taxi driver killed", 2013). South African police also face high

levels of violence while performing their duties and protests frequently escalate to violence ("South Africa's Police", 2011). Vigilante justice in the form of necklacing, the practice of putting a gasoline-drenched tire around a suspected perpetrator's neck and setting it alight, has also continued in the post-apartheid era (York, 2014).

Though South Africa was truly "a man's country", in the sense that men held the power in the public and private spheres and that male domination was supported by both the customary and modern legal system (Morrell, 2001, p. 18), this shifted to some extent during the post-apartheid transition to democracy. South Africa now has comprehensive constitutional legislation concerning equality and freedom from discrimination as well as specific criminal legislation pertaining to sexual offences, domestic violence and sexual harassment (though the legislation is not perfect; see Bruins, 2007, for example). The transition to democracy also saw women taking on leadership positions in the public sphere. For example, South Africa has one of the highest percentages of seats in parliament held by women in the world. Despite these changes, rates of violence against women in South Africa remain among the highest in the world. Helene Moffett (2006) suggests that although women have made advances in the public sphere, underlying patriarchal structures and values have not been adequately addressed, and therefore, the way women are viewed and treated in the private sphere has not necessarily changed.

Morrell (2001) notes that not all men have responded to the changes in gender relations implemented during the transition to democracy in the same way. He suggests that men's responses to the changes in South Africa can be loosely categorised as "reactive or defensive, accommodating, and responsive or progressive" (2001, p.26). For those men who have reacted defensively, violence against women may form part of their response. Some men, for example, have argued that while women are gaining rights, men are losing their 'rights'. Shari Dworkin, Chris Colvin, Abigail Hatcher and Dean Peacock (2012) found that men in their focus groups argued:

> [human] rights were potentially acceptable but only if adapted to suit local conditions and relations of power. When this didn't happen, men often argued that they were suffering from a loss of their rights relative to women. This loss of power, or as they expressed, of 'rights,' was in turn used to explain the high levels of domestic violence in South Africa. (p.111)

Similarly, Moffett (2006) asserts that rape has been used as a method of social control against women who are perceived to be acting outside of traditional gender norms as defined by hegemonic patriarchal structures. Her findings suggest that this violence is a form of punishment toward "those members of a subclass that reveal (through body language, visible signs of self-respect, freedom of movement) that they do not recognise or accept their subordinate status in society" (Moffett, 2006, p. 138). She concludes that the use of rape as a means of policing gender barriers speaks to the anxiety that men feel over the instability of patriarchal structures.

The anxieties over women's gains in the public sphere in the post-apartheid era are compounded by the disappointment over broken promises and unmet expectations. As mentioned above, levels of poverty and unemployment have remained high in the post-apartheid period, which contributes to a sense of emasculation among men. Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher and Peacock (2012) found that respect was a central feature of how their research participants described masculinity. Their research shows that men's

> increasing economic marginalisation—in addition to what they perceived to be women's relative gains—led them to fear not only a decline in their traditional sources of own self-respect but also, and perhaps more gallingly, a lack of respect or deference from female partners and members of the community. (p. 107)

Two of the participants in this study, Morrell and Groenewald, also discussed how this sense of emasculation related to high levels of unemployment is linked to violence against women, as well as the recent xenophobic violence in South Africa.

Another important factor in the current context of violence against women in South Africa is the lack of leadership in this area from men in positions of power, particularly on the part of President Jacob Zuma. As Robert Morrell, Rachel Jewkes and Graham Lindegger (2012) describe,

> he epitomised a rejection of more thoughtful, egalitarian masculinities, rather asserting in the name of 'tradition,' a masculinity that was heterosexist, patriarchal, implicitly violent and that glorified ideas of male sexual entitlement, notably polygamy, and conspicuous sexual success with women. On the other hand, Zuma's personal style is warm, uninhibited, and respectful and for many black South Africans he is 'a man of the people.' In a true expression of

> hegemony, Zuma has substantial support from women, partly because he represents the possibility of the ordinary man rising above poverty, illiteracy, and failure, but also because he reflects a familiar masculinity in a social order that African women and men understand and own as 'theirs'. (p. 17-18)

The Zuma rape trial serves as a perfect illustration of this characterisation. Zuma, who was the deputy president when the charges were laid, was tried (and later acquitted) for rape in 2006. The comments that he made during the trial reflected traditional patriarchal attitudes and he argued that the alleged victim's dress and behaviour led him to believe that she was willing to have sex with him (Hassim, 2009). Moreover, outside the courthouse, male and female Zuma supporters held up signs with the messages 'burn the bitch', '100% Zuluboy' and 'Jacob Zuma for President' (Hassim, 2009). They also burned an effigy of the alleged victim.

There were many who spoke out against Zuma and feminist activists mobilised in support of the alleged victim. Sonke responded to the comments made by Julius Malema, the then leader of the ANC Youth League, who claimed that Zuma's alleged victim had a 'nice time', by taking him before the equality court. Stefanie Roehrs (2011) argues that Malema's statement was highly problematic from a feminist perspective because it "trivialises the experience of rape survivors" and "because the comment contributes to the myth of 'real rape'" (p.113). Malema was found guilty of hate speech and was ordered to issue a public apology and pay R50, 000 to a women's organisation (Smith, 2010). Malema has remained an influential political figure and was recently elected to parliament as the leader of his newly founded political party, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). Overall, the Zuma rape trial demonstrates that although there have been legal and political gains for women in South Africa, patriarchal structures and values are still pervasive and political leadership around violence against women leaves much to be desired.

4.3 ORGANISATIONS WORKING WITH MEN AROUND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

In response to the high levels of violence against women in South Africa, there are a number of organisations dedicated to preventing and addressing it. As working with

men has become an increasingly popular strategy, new organisations have emerged with this as their focus while other organisations with long histories in the sector have also begun working with men. Though my research focuses on perceptions about working with men to prevent and address violence against women in general, I was able to interview members of a few of the organisations that work in this area of the sector. The following brief overview of these organisations serves to illustrate the kinds of efforts that currently exist. However, because of the limited number of participants interviewed in this study, this is just a small sample; there are many other organisations that work with men to prevent and address violence against women in South Africa that are not directly referenced in my research (see Appendix III).

One of the most visible organisations is Sonke, a grassroots South African nongovernmental organisation (NGO) founded in 2006. According to their mission statement, Sonke "works across Africa to strengthen government, civil society and citizen capacity to support men and boys in taking action to promote gender equality, prevent domestic and sexual violence, and reduce the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS" (Sonke Gender Justice Network, n.d.). Sonke aims to realise this mission through a variety of initiatives including policy advocacy, public awareness campaigns, media and social media, community radio and community workshops. Sonke's co-founder and executive director, Dean Peacock (2013), has sought to clarify misperceptions about Sonke's work, asserting that "Sonke does not see itself as a 'men's organisation'. Instead, Sonke positions itself very carefully as an organisation working for gender equality that employs as one of its primary strategies working with men and boys" (p.129). I interviewed Peacock, and Cherith Sanger, who was then the Policy Development and Advocacy Unit manager at Sonke, as part of my research. Many of my other participants also referred specifically to Sonke in their interviews.

Whereas Sonke tends to focus primarily on preventing violence against women rather than working directly with perpetrators, I also interviewed members of a couple of organisations that work with men who have committed acts of violence against women. The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO), which was established in 1910, focuses primarily on diversion, non-custodial sentencing and offender reintegration. As part of their work, they offer a programme for perpetrators

of intimate partner violence. I interviewed Venessa Padayachee, who was involved in the development of the perpetrators programme. I also interviewed Melissa Groenewald, who was working for MOSAIC at the time. MOSAIC began their work with men on the issue of violence against women by providing court-mandated counselling for perpetrators of domestic violence. After encountering challenges with this programme, they launched a voluntary individual counselling service for perpetrators of domestic violence in 2011. In 2013, MOSAIC partnered with Sonke to join the MenCare+ international initiative, which promotes men's involvement as fathers and caregivers. The MenCare+ initiative includes counselling with perpetrators of domestic violence as well as educational workshops with men on sexual and reproductive rights, gender equality and caregiving (MOSAIC, n.d.).

Also interviewed was Elizabeth Petersen, the founding director of the South African Faith and Family Institute (SAFFI), an organisation that works with religious leaders around violence against women. According to Petersen, SAFFI works with religious leaders of all faiths to explore the gender messages in faith traditions and the theological and faith dimensions of violence against women. They also consider the positive messages in faith traditions about healthy intimate relationships and families. SAFFI conducts pastoral and spiritual care training workshops on the topic of domestic violence and assists religious leaders in setting up faith-specific support services in their faith communities in collaboration with the police, the justice system and other gender organisations. Petersen noted that SAFFI engages with religious leaders (many of whom, though not all, are men) not only in their capacity as spiritual leaders but as men in positions of authority. SAFFI's work is thus, at least in part, an effort to engage men in preventing and addressing violence against women.

I was also referred to another South African organisation called Hearts of Men by one of the participants in this study. Based on my interview with Richard Kloosman of Hearts of Men, while their work encourages men to be involved in their families and communities and promotes respect for women, it does not appear to be grounded in a feminist analysis of gendered power relations, nor does their work engage directly with violence against women. Therefore, though they work with men, Hearts of Men must be

differentiated from organisations like Sonke, NICRO and MOSAIC, which work with men around violence against women.

This brief snapshot of organisations speaks to the diversity of work being done with men to prevent and address violence against women in South Africa. It also speaks to the range of actors involved in this field (an organisation that was created to work towards gender justice by engaging men, an organisation focused on offenders, an organisation with a longstanding reputation as a women's organisation, and an organisation focused on faith). Moreover, it shows that although the sample size included in this study is small, a variety of actors were included. It also illustrates that there are organisations working with men in South Africa that are not grounded in a feminist analysis or do not have an explicit focus on working to prevent and address violence against women. This does not mean that their work with men is not positive or useful, but because it is not underpinned by a feminist analysis, the implications in terms of transforming gender relations and achieving gender equity may potentially be limited.

These examples also demonstrate that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between a men's sector and a women's sector with regards to violence against women. There are organisations in the gender-based violence sector that work exclusively with women, whether it is because their focus is on providing services for women who have experienced violence or whether they have resisted embracing work with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence. But where does an organisation like MOSAIC fall? They have a long history as a women's organisation and their logo is the symbol for woman power, yet they are also involved in working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women. Furthermore, while Sonke has been labeled as belonging in the men's sector, as noted above, Sonke's co-founder and executive director rejects this categorisation, preferring to be known as a gender justice organisation. Moreover, in our interview, Peacock said that he considers Sonke a feminist organisation. Sanger also argued that although Sonke's work does not focus on providing services for women who experience violence (practical gender needs), it is feminist in that it meets strategic gender needs by engaging with policy, for example. As discussed in Chapter 3, GAD makes it clear that addressing both practical gender needs (such as women's shelters) and strategic gender needs (which challenge or transform inequitable gender

relations) is essential to achieving gender equity. As such, it may be more useful to see all of these diverse actors and organisations as belonging to a broader gender-based violence sector, rather than to distinct men's and women's sectors.[3] That said, this does not mean that the sector is necessarily unified, as the discussion in Chapter 7 on some of the concerns that feminists and longstanding women's organisations in the sector have about working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women illustrates.

This section has attempted to provide a brief overview of the diversity of actors involved in working with men to prevent and address violence against women and the range of interventions that currently exist in South Africa. It bears repeating that this is a small sample of the organisations that work in this area; Appendix III provides a more comprehensive list. As the popularity of working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women grows, we can expect to see more and more work being done in this area.

4.4 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide context to my research findings, which will be presented and discussed in the following chapters. This chapter has attempted to provide a brief overview of the roots of violence in South Africa and to explore the factors that have shaped contemporary violent masculinities. Exploring the historical context of violence in South Africa, and of the development of violent masculinities in particular, provides a background to situate the current levels of violence. Though the levels of violence against women and the persistence of patriarchal structures and values paint a bleak picture, there is also reason for hope. There are many examples of alternative discourses of masculinity in South Africa and, as the previous section demonstrates, there are efforts to engage men to prevent and address violence against women.

[3] I do not consider men's organisations that are not grounded in feminist analysis or are focused on men's rights to be part of this sector.

CHAPTER 5: IMPACT OF EXISTING EFFORTS AND PERSPECTIVES ON FUTURE EFFORTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the key questions in the debate around working with men is whether existing efforts to work with men have had an impact in terms of preventing and addressing violence against women. The question of impact relates to a discussion on which types of work with men are effective and; therefore, where future efforts to engage men should focus. These critical questions are the subject of this chapter and speak to the overarching research question for this study, 'how are efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women in South Africa perceived by members of the South African gender-based violence sector'?

Determining the impact of efforts to engage men is difficult given the relatively limited volume of literature and data on the subject. The limited volume of evaluation data may be explained, at least in part, by the relatively recent emergence of working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women. The World Health Organisation published a report in 2007 which analyses the data from 58 evaluation studies to assess the effectiveness of programmes that engage men and boys to achieve gender equality and gender equity in health (Barker, Ricardo & Nascimento, 2007). Among the programmes analysed, fifteen were focused specifically on working with men and boys to prevent violence against women. The authors of the study reported that well-designed programmes demonstrated positive impacts in terms of changing men's behaviour and attitudes. The authors noted several limitations of the study including the limited amount of published data, the weakness of evaluation methods often used, and the fact that studies showing limited or no impact are less likely to be published (Barker, Ricardo & Nascimento, 2007). Limitations specifically related to the programmes working with men to prevent violence against women include that many of the evaluations relied on self-reported change and only two included triangulation with female partners. In addition, given that Gary Barker, the first author of the study, was the founding executive director (and currently serves as the international director) of

Promundo, an organisation founded in Brazil that works with men and boys to promote gender equality and address violence against women, there is a clear interest in demonstrating the effectiveness of working with men and boys.

Sonke has also published a number of reports on the impact of their programmes. For example, a recent report on their One Man Can initiative found that men who had participated in the initiative and were subsequently interviewed held positive views on women's rights (Dworkin et al., 2013). Previous studies found a combination of backlash and support for women's rights among programme participants (Peacock et al., 2006; Dworkin et al., 2012). Again, there are limitations to these studies, which the authors themselves discuss, such as relying on self-reported change and having a small sample size (Dworkin et al., 2013). Given Peacock's role as Sonke's co-founding executive director, there is a clear incentive for these studies to reflect positively on Sonke's work.

Due to the limited availability of data and the limitations of the studies that exist, determining the impact of efforts to engage men to prevent and address violence against women is challenging. Drawing on my research findings, this chapter explores how the impact of existing efforts to work with men in South Africa is perceived by members of the gender-based violence sector. Participants' perspectives on the impact of these efforts likely inform their views on what kind of work should be done with men and who should be responsible for doing it, topics which are also explored in this chapter.

5.2 EXPLORING IMPACT: RESEARCH FINDINGS

When asked about the impact of existing efforts to engage men in preventing and addressing violence against women in South Africa, the participants in this study had very mixed views. While some participants felt that there had been positive outcomes, others expressed uncertainty. One participant identified ways in which some of the efforts are problematic. While it is more complex than a simple dichotomy of positive and negative impact, none of the participants explicitly stated that they felt that efforts to work with men had resulted in harmful, damaging or adverse affects. This does not by default mean that efforts to engage men to prevent and address violence against women have been effective. It is also worth noting that there are members of the sector who feel that work with men is harmful because it diverts resources from, and detracts from a

focus on, women and girls who experience violence. Given that there was general consensus among the participants in this study that working with men is an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women (see Chapter 6), it is possible that this is merely an outlying opinion. However, with a limited research sample, it is impossible to say.

Four participants noted that although the levels of violence against women have remained high, there is evidence to suggest that working with men can lead to positive change at the level of individual behaviour. Three participants pointed to the success of the Stepping Stones project as evidence that interventions with men can have a positive impact at the individual level. Stepping Stones is an intervention programme aimed at reducing HIV transmission by improving sexual health and building more equitable relationships through communication. The South African Medical Research Council conducted a study to evaluate the effectiveness of the programme and found that the proportion of male participants who reported perpetrating an incident of severe intimate partner violence was lower after twelve months following the programme and after twenty-four months (Jewkes et. al, 2006). Though this finding is exciting, it relies on self-reported change, which may or may not reflect real behavioural change. It is therefore difficult to measure the impact.

Both Groenewald and Padayachee, who are involved in counselling programmes with men who perpetrate domestic violence, noted significant changes in their programme participants at the individual level. Padayachee claimed:

> we find in our groups that every single man is impacted in some way and even when we interview their partners, something has changed for them so the intervention has helped. [It] has definitely changed just how they see things, how they view women...So it depends on what we're measuring…These programmes have shown to equip men…with tools to prevent themselves from getting into that situation where they put someone else in danger. It's up to them to use the tools but I think it does give them tools and that's the value of it.

Though it is difficult to determine the long-term impact of these interventions on levels of violence against women, the participants in this study felt that these programmes have a positive impact at the individual level.

Four participants also noted the impact of efforts, particularly by Sonke, to raise awareness and create a public dialogue on men and violence against women in South Africa. Morrell noted the success of Sonke's billboard and media campaigns in promoting men's roles as fathers and men taking responsibility for safe sexual practices. Colvin, who recently conducted an evaluation of Sonke's One Man Can campaign, summarised the impact as follows:

> I think the biggest short-term impact was just the chance to have kinds of conversations that hadn't been had before, that there wasn't a space for talking about gender roles and how they're under pressure from economics and rights discourses and everything else and how that makes people feel and how it affects relationships. A lot of people spoke about how they really appreciated that and maybe they didn't have agreement at the end of the day but that was not something they talk about in their day-to-day life. And I think it's an important first step to be able to open up that space for that conversation.

Erin Stern, who researches South African masculinities, also mentioned the importance of Sonke's mobilisation around the Jacob Zuma rape trial, and their legal action against Julius Malema specifically, as having an impact on public discussion about sexual violence and holding those in positions of leadership accountable. When asked about the impact of Sonke's work, Peacock referred to high profile media cases like the Malema trial as well as their lesser-known community radio campaign, which features weekly programming on men, masculinities and gender equity in indigenous languages, as having significant impacts in terms of creating dialogue. He claimed "that impact is probably more significant in terms of our broader project of social change than the stuff that we've documented more, which is the community education work".

Though also less recognised than their community education work, Peacock stated that he felt that Sonke's biggest impact had been at the policy level. He noted several examples of how Sonke has affected policy at international and national levels to reflect the importance of working with men and boys as a means of realising gender equity and women's rights. According to Peacock, the policies that they have influenced range from the UNAIDS Agenda for Accelerated Action for Women and Girls with HIV to South Africa's National Strategic Plan on HIV, STIs and TB (NSP). He also said that

Sonke has been involved in policy advocacy around new national guidelines on the prevention and early detection of sexual violence in prisons with Just Detention International and around the recently abandoned South African Traditional Courts Bill. Beyond influencing policy, Peacock noted that they are involved in efforts to ensure its implementation. In regards to their work on the NSP, Peacock asserted:

> we are now chairing the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC) men's sector to make sure that the SANAC implements that part of the plan and I think we've been successful there. So there have been quite a few high profile events with the deputy president, the minister of health and the commissioner of police, all speaking out and engaging the media on the important of framing gender equality differently and engaging men and boys.

It is important to note that, as Peacock is the first to point out, much of Sonke's policy work happens in partnership or in consultation with other organisations, often including traditional women's rights organisations. Though less visible than the billboards and the high profile media cases and less documented than their community education work, if implemented, Sonke's efforts at the policy level have the potential for significant long term impacts in relation to engaging men to prevent and address violence against women.

Other participants felt that past and current efforts to engage men had a general positive impact but that there were limitations. For example, when asked about the impact of existing efforts to work with men, Leon Holtzhausen, who researches violentisation (the process through which individuals become violent perpetrators), noted that in the Western Cape in particular, the majority of efforts producing positive outcomes came from local non-governmental and community-based organisations. Whereas, he claimed:

> [the] government unfortunately still thinks that you can solve a problem by just raising awareness and they think that if we go to a community and we put up a few posters and we call a public meeting and we bring in a lot of political leaders to…speak out against violence, that it's going to stop and we know that doesn't work.

Peacock argued that a lot of the work that is done by the government is primarily symbolic and suggested that if the government were to scale up Sonke's efforts there

would be a greater impact. Similarly, Stern asserted that while "there's quite a lot of really innovative stuff happening in South Africa…it's still very marginalised and it's a very small voice in South Africa. It needs a lot of work. It needs more funds. It needs more credibility". Other participants noted that although there have been positive impacts, the pace of change has been slow (Kloosman) and there is a long way to go (Petersen).

Other research participants expressed uncertainty about the impact of past and present efforts to engage men in preventing and addressing violence against women. Benita Moolman, who researches engaging men and boys in gender-based violence prevention, argued that it is too soon to discuss impact because efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women are relatively new in South Africa. Similarly, Groenewald noted that addressing the root causes of violence and transforming gender relations are processes that take a long time, which serves as an explanation of why efforts to work with men have not yet had a notable impact on overall levels of violence against women. Others, like Shanaaz Mathews, the Director of the Children's Institute, who has researched violence against women and femicide, felt that it was difficult to comment on the impact of efforts to work with men because many of these efforts have yet to undergo rigorous evaluation. The lack of evaluation may be related to a lack of resources or to the relatively recent emergence of the work. Still, this is a source of frustration for Mathews:

> my sense is we're kind of in the really early days. Although we've been speaking about it for more than a decade, we haven't invested and therefore in terms of are we making a real difference, I can't tell you. So as someone that's been working in the area for nearly two decades, I feel really frustrated because in many ways you want to move ahead and I'm of the opinion that we need the evidence to show that we're actually working in the right direction. And I do feel that we don't have sufficient evidence to show that. So I think there's a lot of hard work ahead.

Sam Waterhouse, who has a long history of advocacy work in the sector, said that it was difficult to assess the impact because there have been relatively few efforts to work with men to date and few of the existing efforts have been large-scale.

When asked about the impact of efforts to work with men, Lisa Vetten, who has worked in the sector for many years, dismissed the question of impact based on the fact that there has not been a notable change in the statistics on violence against women. She stated:

> I'm going to use exactly the same argument that donors and development practitioners use to dismiss women's work. Their argument is that we haven't seen the statistics go down so therefore work with women is a waste of time. Mine is that you've been working with men and putting all this money into men and the statistics aren't going down. I mean that's obviously very simplistic but that's the level of engagement.

She then went on to explain why she found some existing efforts to work with men to be problematic. Having recently conducted research related to the subject, she claimed:

> quite a lot of what I have seen…is conservative. And a lot of it is being run by men in religious formations who tend to uphold this idea of men as women's protectors and you know what's wrong with us as men that we are abusing our power and our strength and I mean there are some attempts to grapple with the question but they are in ways that simply generate the same old problem.

She also gave the example of a particular government programme working with men, which the government decided to roll-out despite problematic results after the pilot. For obvious reasons, Vetten found this to be concerning.

As this discussion demonstrates, the research participants were divided when answering the question 'what do you think is the impact of current efforts to work with men in South Africa in terms of preventing and addressing violence against women?'. While some felt that existing efforts to work with men had resulted in positive impacts at multiple levels, others were uncertain for various reasons. Finally, one participant expressed concerns that some of the existing efforts are problematic. Though none of the participants in this study articulated the view that work with men and boys has had a harmful impact, as mentioned above, I am aware that there are some members of the sector who hold this view. The participants' views on the impact of existing efforts to work with men and boys in South Africa undoubtedly influence their perspectives on what kind of work should be done with men and boys around violence against women.

5.3 WHAT KIND OF WORK SHOULD BE DONE WITH MEN?

The question of what kind of work should be done with men and boys is a subject of disagreement within the broader debate around working with men to prevent and address violence against women. Participants in this study articulated a wide variety of answers, from general to specific. The majority of participants focused on preventative interventions (which engage men and boys who may or may not have committed acts of violence against women) rather than on responsive work (which focuses specifically on men who have perpetrated violence against women). These are by no means discreet categories and there is some overlap between them but for the sake of clarity, this section is organised around this distinction. This section will first briefly consider a couple of overarching concerns expressed by participants related to what kind of work should be done before turning to examine their views on what kinds of preventative and responsive interventions with men and boys are useful.

Several participants emphasised the importance of making sure that all efforts to work with men and boys are appropriately nuanced around questions of power and difference. Relating directly to literature in the field of Critical Studies on Men, Moolman, Morrell and Kloosman expressed the view that interventions need to take into account the fact that not all men access power equally. As Moolman stated, "men are never only men". Vetten and Moolman referred to feminist approaches to difference, and the concept of intersectionality in particular, as being applicable to ensure that work with men accounts for difference. Morrell discussed the importance of taking power differences among men into account:

> I think, unfortunately, quite a lot of interventions don't understand or accept that even if, broadly speaking, around the world men have power over women, that there are a lot of men in particular contexts who don't feel that, who feel, in fact, quite the opposite. They feel powerless, they feel frustrated, disappointed and often angry and that's the part that I think that our interventions don't really grip onto. So I think a lot of interventions feel to men as quite unsympathetic, quite preachy. They want to be helped. They don't want to just be told 'don't do this, don't do that, don't do the other thing'. They want their stories to be heard. And I

> think Sonke, by the way, does listen very closely but I think there's a huge scope in that area for helping men.

Thus as Morrell suggests, the extent to which the power differentials among men are taken into account in efforts to engage them to prevent and address violence against women can have an impact on men's willingness to participate and the overall success of the intervention.

Beyond ensuring that work with men and boys is appropriately nuanced, participants held differing views on ensuring that the models adopted in interventions are applicable to the South African context. Padayachee, who was involved in the design of NICRO's counselling programme for perpetrators of domestic violence, felt that it was important to learn from other models. She noted that NICRO consulted the Duluth model in Duluth, Minnesota, as well other American models. She felt that these models were applicable and asserted, "I know people say 'but this is a different context' but I think that the dynamic of domestic violence, and of violence, is the same in any context". Mathews expressed a different view:

> we should be looking at what's being done in other Southern countries…to see what programmes have been evaluated and are making a difference that could be also implemented in South Africa. There's a lot of work in Northern countries but I do think the magnitude of our problem is so different and when you're looking at the whole notion of our masculinities, it's incredibly different.

Concerns around the appropriateness of external models are not limited to differences in the magnitude of the issue. Going back to concepts from CSM, as Mathews suggests, constructions of masculinity may be seen as a structural factor that contributes to the perpetration of violence against women. Though constructions of hegemonic masculinity may share features, they also differ across space and time. Their construction is connected to culture and history, as the previous chapter discussed. As such, the relevance of models must be questioned not only in terms of their applicability to South Africa in general but also to different groups of men within South Africa. Thus while external models may provide useful insight on addressing the individual behaviour of perpetrators of violence against women, they may not be relevant to constructions of

masculinity which influence individual behaviour and must be considered one of the structural causal factors of violence against women.

In general, participants also seemed to favour long-term interventions that engage with symbolic, structural and systemic factors over individual-level approaches. Vetten asserted that "doing the equivalent of consciousness raising with men definitely has its place but I don't think one must assume that just because somebody came to a workshop that lasted four hours now they've had some road to Damascus conversion". Similarly, Waterhouse claimed:

> dropping in with a workshop and flying out is not going to change a damn thing. It just confuses people because you're talking about such fundamental beliefs about our identities and it's not going to make any difference to spend two days talking and then do nothing more.

As these examples demonstrate, research participants tended to lean not only towards sustainable preventative interventions rather than once-off interventions but also towards preventative interventions aimed at addressing the broader root causes of violence against women rather than individual behaviour. This approach corresponds to the argument highlighted in the theoretical framework that it is particularly important to address the structural and systemic factors because they inform and influence individual behaviour. As discussed in chapter three, such factors include discourses of masculinity in which patriarchy and male violence are entrenched, attitudes of entitlement or ownership of women at the societal level, rigid gender roles and the systems through which these values are transmitted and upheld, such as religion, the justice system and the education system.

5.3.1 Preventative work

The bulk of the responses regarding what kind of work should be done with men focused on preventing violence against women. Holtzhausen noted that although there is a tendency to be reactive in South Africa, early preventative interventions are very important in reducing the overall number of incidents of violence against women. Colvin agreed, claiming that "preventative work is probably more important in the long run and harder to do". Mathews argued that because of the scale of the problem, combined with

the limited nature of resources, in terms of both money and the number of social workers, the government should invest primarily in prevention.

One of the key areas for preventative work, as identified by participants, was around constructions of masculinity. Participants suggested that South African men often have a very fixed view on what it means to be a man and to be masculine. In the experience of the anonymous participant, men did not generally see masculinity as a cultural construct, which led them to feel confused. In this sense, men often asked "what are we without this image of man?...It's either that or we're nothing". The perception that masculinity is fixed is particularly problematic given the way in which violence is often deeply embedded in masculine identities. As Holtzhausen explained,

> there is almost this perception in certain communities that a man is not a man unless he beats his wife or his girlfriend. And those are intergenerational patterns that have been developing over time so when you want to change this behaviour the biggest challenge is to dismantle that belief system and to dismantle the sort of thinking that…this is what it means to be a man.

Similarly, Morna Cornell, who researches gender and HIV/AIDS, commented on the prevalence of images of "huge, violent men" and the association between sex, violence and success as a man in South Africa. In addition to the relationship between violence and masculine identities, a few participants suggested that changes in gender relations, particularly those related to women's advances in law and the public sphere during the post-apartheid transition period, have led men to believe that their masculinity was under threat (Morrell, Groenewald, Padayachee). Groenewald claimed that some men responded to this perception by perpetrating acts of violence against women. Therefore, one of the most important areas for engagement around masculinities is to promote the idea that masculinities are fluid cultural constructs rather than fixed identities.

In addition to recognising the constructed nature of masculinity, participants felt that it was important to acknowledge the ways in which men are vulnerable and the gap between the ideals presented by discourses of hegemonic masculinity and men's lived and embodied experiences of masculinity. The anonymous participant explained how this gap relates to violence against women, thereby demonstrating the significance of engaging with it:

> we've got to confront the overblown male ideal—the fantastic male who is invulnerable, who is heroic. [This is] precisely that masculine ideal that I think the rapist is trying to assert violently and to create, to make up and make real for himself in a performance of masculinity…it's crucial to get to an acknowledgement that real men are not like that impossible ideal.

This relates back to the arguments presented in the theoretical framework regarding the application of concepts from CSM to violence against women (see Niehaus, 2005; Freedman & Jacobson, 2012; O'Toole, Schiffman & Kitter Edwards, 2007). Engaging with masculinities to prevent and address violence against women, therefore, not only requires challenging the fixed nature of violent masculine identities but also engaging with the difference between men's experiences and ideal masculinity.

By recognising the constructed nature of masculinity and the gaps between the ideal and men's lived and embodied experiences of masculinity, it becomes possible to imagine alternatives. This is another important area of engagement with masculinities identified by research participants. It then becomes less of a question of men becoming "more de-masculinised to make them less violent" and more about reconstructing or re-imagining masculinity (Holtzhausen). Cornell noted that there has been little exploration of alternative masculinities in South Africa and suggested that men need to be presented with different role models. She cited the example of a men's organisation, Imbizo Yamadoda, which recently hosted a picnic for fathers and their children to promote the image of men as caring fathers. Presenting alternative images of masculinity is, according to several participants, an important area of engagement in terms of preventing violence against women in South Africa.

Other participants referred to the ways in which women have been socialised to view violence as a normal part of their relationships (Burton, Mathews). Mathews spoke about the importance of shifting traditional values around men beating their wives and rape within the context of marriage, which are held, and transmitted to younger generations, by both men and women. As Mathews explained,

> not a lot of work has been done in South Africa on women's perceptions of femininities but if you do look at the work that's being done with women…one also sees how women attach value to men's violent acts and how they, women

> themselves, kind of legitimise the use of violence in relationships. So when he doesn't beat her, she thinks he doesn't love her.

These arguments are supported by the findings of a study conducted by Katharine Wood and Rachel Jewkes (2001), which showed that male and female informants believed that a man beating his girlfriend for talking to another man was a sign of his love. This is not to suggest in any way that women are somehow responsible for their oppression or for the violence that they experience. Rather, it demonstrates that as well as working with men to shift discourses of masculinity, it is also important to engage with the ways in which women have been socialised to view men, masculinity and violence.

In addition to masculinities, one of the other major areas for engagement that the research participants identified is the issue of male entitlement. According to Waterhouse, men commit acts of violence against women because they feel entitled to do so. She expressed concern that some efforts to engage men may not address male entitlement, which she claims is a critical driver of rates of violence against women. She explained:

> I'm sceptical if…mass work with groups of young men alone is…enough to shift the entitlement. I'm not sure if what they are doing is conveying enough of the power analysis...If the work that is being done by whichever organisation is about helping men be nicer to women and deal with their violent tendencies in more healthy and constructive ways, I don't think it's very useful because it won't. But if the work is dealing with men sitting there feeling like they have a right to be served or to receive the best food or to kiss or have sex with their women when they want to—until you address that it's not going to happen…I do think it's necessary and I support efforts that are underpinned by this kind of theory.

In this sense, simply working with men is not sufficient to prevent and address violence against women. Efforts to engage men must be grounded in a feminist power analysis that interrogates male entitlement and privilege.

Many participants emphasised the importance of working with men to prevent and address violence against women at structural and systemic levels. Waterhouse noted the importance of engaging with the education system and with religion because of the important role that they play in transmitting and upholding social norms and values.

SAFFI's work, as explained in the previous chapter, is an example of engaging with religion to prevent and address violence against women. Petersen noted that SAFFI engages with religious leaders not only as religious leaders but also as men with authority. She explained:

> we really talk to the religious leaders as religious leaders but also as men and we literally open that up in terms of how you use yourself as a resource. If you are a man and you have a huge amount of influence and authority in people's lives, how are you using that influence and authority in a way to really assist people to move into intimate relationships that are healthy and family life that is healthy?

In addition to religion and the education system, Cornell suggested that the male initiation rituals are another important site of engagement:

> boys come out with this notion that that's what it means to be a man suddenly and that is a very sensitive, very interesting and appropriate place to try and intervene because these are cultural practices and cultural practices change.

The importance of engaging men in positions of authority cannot be understated. As CSM scholars note, though men benefit from patriarchy at a structural level, as individuals, they do not experience power in the same way. As such, engaging men in positions of authority who may have more power in shaping and transmitting discourses of masculinity and in influencing individual men's behaviour is of critical importance to preventing and addressing violence against women.

Relating back to the theoretical framework, engaging men at the structural level is important for a variety of reasons, which participants highlighted. Patriarchal structures and systems are often the sites of transmitting norms and values, as participants noted with the examples of the school system, religion and cultural traditions like male initiation. Men feature strongly as leaders in these systems, thereby acting as gatekeepers to preventing and addressing violence against women and realising gender equity. Participants also mentioned the importance of engaging with the legal system (Waterhouse) and those responsible for its enforcement, the police (Moolman). Though South Africa has made significant advances in terms of legal protections for women and improved legislation on sexual offences, there is still plenty of work to be done when one considers that of the 268, 860 sexual offences reported to the police between 16

December, 2007 and 30 June, 2011, only 19, 549 cases went to trial, of which only 11, 938 resulted in a guilty conviction (Research Unit, Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2013).[4] Moreover, research demonstrates that SAPS has failed to implement the basic requirements mandated by the Domestic Violence Act (1998) and by the Sexual Offences Act (2007) (Vetten, Le, Leisegang & Haken, 2010; Artz & Smythe, 2005; Artz, Moult & Cronje, 2012).

Several participants discussed the significance of engaging with men as community members around their complicity towards violence against women. Stern noted that changing attitudes at the community level is important not only in terms of addressing how these attitudes often prevent women from seeking help or reporting violence but also in terms of preventing violence against women by interrogating how these attitudes contribute to women's vulnerability to violence. She argued that in South Africa, there is a need for greater recognition of the ways in which, at the community level, "we can all be complicit in this" rather than viewing violence against women as an isolated act by an individual man against an individual woman. Similarly, Morrell maintained that preventing and addressing violence against women requires persuading the community to

> give support to social projects of value construction such that violence against women is not regarded as the norm, nor is it accepted…such that it becomes the hegemony that you don't beat up your wife when you're drunk or whatever and that we frown on that.

Waterhouse also echoed this argument, asserting:

> there can be good impacts working with the complicity. So not working with the rapist as it were but working at a community level around what we're willing to tolerate and what we're not…I think it's quite clear that people do it because they feel entitled and because they can. I mean there's that Medical Research Council research that showed exactly that; no one says anything, in fact, men get patted on the back. So dealing with those systems would be very effective because I am a firm believer in the social gaze…It makes people very uncomfortable but I

[4] See Artz & Smythe, 2007 for research on the factors contributing to attrition in rape cases

> believe that we should make sure that people know they're being noticed when they're doing something that's not ok.

As Waterhouse suggests, efforts to engage men should explore not only men's roles as the perpetrators of violence against women but also as bystanders and encourage men to intervene. More broadly, attitudes at the community level must also shift to address complicity towards violence against women.

Working with boys and youth was of critical importance for the majority of the participants in this study. By intervening at a young age, there is a chance to socialise boys with gender equitable values and attitudes (anonymous participant). Stern stated that data indicates that most men who perpetrate rape in South Africa initially do so in their teenage years. This statement is confirmed by the findings of a study, which revealed that 75 percent of men who reported having perpetrated rape did so for the first time before the age of twenty (Jewkes et al., 2011). Similarly, Mathews noted that "from the age of fifteen onwards, what we are seeing is an increase in homicides and interpersonal teenage male-on-male homicides". Both participants suggested that this data is evidence that work with boys must start at a very early age. Mathews argued:

> interventions should not be targeting your…fourteen to fifteen year olds because then you've kind of missed the chance of making a difference…If you want to shift male patterns of violence you've actually got to start working with boys when they're much younger.

Waterhouse added that young men in their twenties who join anti-violence initiatives are less likely to have been violent men in the first place. Therefore, she reasoned, "the biggest work should be done hitting the targets that reach children in the targets of four to fifteen…that's where most of the money should go". Stern noted that it is not sufficient to focus only on educating boys from a young age; she also emphasised the importance of examining and addressing boys' experiences of violence. Stern cited the finding that boys who witness or experience physical or sexual violence themselves are more likely to commit acts of violence (see, for example, Jewkes, 2012). Thus, Stern argued, looking at boys' experiences of violence and their environments is a critical part of preventing violence against women.

Expanding on Stern's argument, several participants asserted that it is equally important to engage with the adults around the children, particularly parents and teachers. Waterhouse claimed:

> I don't think that working with children alone is particularly useful because how do you engage children in new ideas about values in terms of dignity and respect and resolving conflict if everyone around them who holds power in their life is practicing something differently.

Beyond the correlation between witnessing domestic violence and perpetrating violence, participants emphasised the importance of engaging with parents around the use violence against their children. Mathews noted that when children are disciplined violently, they learn a pattern of behaviour whereby violence is an appropriate response to misbehaviour. She asserts that children who are subjected to violent punishment carry this behaviour over into their intimate relationships and into their own parenting patterns. According to Mathews, corporal punishment in the context of the school system has a similar effect. She noted that in the South African context, "50 percent of children are still exposed to corporal punishment in schools so it's critical that we shift…how discipline is maintained". Thus working with parents to address domestic violence and engaging with parents and teachers to develop non-violent methods of discipline are important strategies, according to participants, in preventing violence against women.

Beyond engaging with boys' exposure to, and experiences of violence, Holtzhausen stated that studies with violent young men have suggested a correlation between having an absent father figure and perpetrating violence (the literature on this correlation is inconclusive; see Jewkes, 2012; Heise, 1998; Mathews, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2011). In South Africa, the percentage of children raised with absent father figures is high. According to Mathews, 40 percent of South African children are raised by their mothers exclusively while 25 percent are raised by neither their mother nor their father. As discussed in the previous chapter, this trend can be explained, at least in part, by the impact of the migrant labour system on South African family structures. Mathews claimed that

> South Africa is a society where, for a variety of reasons, apartheid has meant a number of fathers have worked away from home…But you also see a society

> where men have not taken on the responsibility of raising children and this is really critical. If we want to shift patterns we've also got to start looking at men taking on the responsibility of fathering.

According to Mathews, these trends in parenting can contribute to attachment issues, which children carry over into their own intimate relationships. Men who have trust and jealousy issues connected to their childhoods may express these issues through violence against their intimate partners (Mathews). Therefore, early intervention with parents and sustained guidance around parenting and children's developmental stages is critical (Padayachee). Thus in many ways, preventing boys from becoming perpetrators of violence against women requires intervention not only with boys themselves but also with the adults around them and within the family.

As this section has shown, participants discussed a wide range of work that needs to be done with men and boys to prevent violence against women. These preventative efforts tended to focus on long-term, deep-level engagement with what they perceived to be some of the root causes of violence against women. Generally, participants felt that preventative work with men should focus on a few key issues (masculinities, entitlement and complicity) and should happen at a various levels (structural, systemic, in the community and within the family). Finally, several participants expressed that working with boys and young men was critically important to preventing violence against women. Participants tended to provide more information about the importance of working with boys before they become violent than on working with young men who have already perpetrated violence, which suggests that they feel that the focus and scarce resources should be directed towards preventative interventions with boys and the adults around them.

5.3.2 Responsive work

Though the majority of participants emphasised preventative work with men and boys, some also felt that responsive work with perpetrators of violence against women was important. While these participants argued that working with perpetrators was key, they offered different, and often opposing, views on which perpetrators should be targeted for intervention and what that intervention should look like. These differing

opinions may indicate that working men who have perpetrated violence against women is more controversial than preventative work with men and boys.

One of the key questions raised by participants is which perpetrators should be targeted for intervention. Waterhouse expressed the view that working with young offenders, which she defined as "maybe under twenty-two", was a worthwhile investment because such interventions, in her view, had shown strong, clear impacts. Patrick Burton, the Executive Director of the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP), also felt that working with young offenders was important. He cautioned, however, that it is more difficult

> to work with men that are already in the system just because they need even more support in the long term and…once they're out of the system and we know the state does not have the capacity to offer that support. We know that society generally tends to write them off and kind of push them away. But I think on a one-on-one basis, if you can get that right you are going to get somewhere.

Mathews said that she was cynical about therapeutic programmes for men with a long history of violence. She argued:

> when you have a very violent history and pattern [of being] in and out of prison my feeling is that…you're going to have to do very in-depth one-on-one interventions…We just don't have the resources so where do you put your money?...And I'm not sure that we have the skill base to deliver that kind of intervention.

In this sense, given the limited resources and capacity in South Africa for this type of work, some participants suggested resources may produce a greater impact if directed elsewhere.

The views expressed by Mathews and Burton relate to the question of what kind of work should be done with perpetrators of violence. Groenewald said that at MOSAIC, they have found that individual interventions are more effective than group interventions so they work with perpetrators at an individual level. By contrast, Padayachee felt that group interventions worked better. She asserted that "NICRO is a supporter of group work for the reason that perpetrators can be held accountable. There's a dynamic in the group that you're not going to get in individual counselling". She noted, however, that

when necessary, NICRO may also do some individual work with a participant from the group-based programme. Groenewald and Padayachee also disagreed when it came to the question of whether it was more effective to work with court-mandated or non-court-mandated participants. MOSAIC initially started working with court-mandated offenders but according to Groenewald, they found that work to be difficult because the participants did not have the same motivation for participating. They now work exclusively with participants who volunteer to be part of the programme. By contrast, NICRO generally works with perpetrators as part of diversion or non-custodial sentence. While they also work with men who are referred by other organisations, Padayachee stated that they found that court-mandated participation kept the programme participants accountable.

Participants expressed a range of views regarding working with perpetrators of violence against women while they are incarcerated. Several participants expressed the opinion that working with men in the prison context was an important part of reducing the likelihood of recidivism and fostering rehabilitation. Mathews stated that at present, programmes with inmates specifically around violence against women are limited while Padayachee said that she was not aware of the existence of any such programmes.

Participants also discussed the challenges around working with men in the prison context. Sean Kaliski, a forensic psychiatrist with twenty-three years of experience, was sceptical of the effectiveness of working with incarcerated perpetrators of violence against women. He claimed that "prisoners have what you would call a false incentive—in other words, by cooperating and appearing to change they think that it's going to improve their chances of parole. So you don't really know if these guys have changed or if they're just giving you what you want to see". This claim echoes Groenewald's views on working with court-mandated perpetrators whose participation is forced rather than voluntary. Though Burton felt that "we can't just write them off", he argued that working with men in the prison context was particularly challenging. He explained:

> even when you're working with young men in prisons or any sort of facility, I think it's even more difficult to effect change because…they are surrounded by the most violent, the most aggressive, the most patriarchal, the most macho. It's taking everything that exists in a community on a diluted scale and concentrating

it into a single room or a single facility so trying to maintain the sort of impact that you have, even when they are incarcerated, is a lot more difficult.

Though working with incarcerated perpetrators may reduce the likelihood of recidivism, thereby preventing future acts of violence against women, the concerns discussed by Kaliski and Burton raise the question of whether, given the reality of limited resources and capacity, this work should be made a priority.

Overall, as this section demonstrates, participants felt that there was a range of work to be done in terms of engaging men and boys to prevent and address violence against women. In this sense, participants' views on what kind of work should be done with men and boys reflect a multi-dimensional approach to violence against women as discussed in the theoretical framework. There seemed to be a preference among participants for long-term deep level engagement with issues like masculinities, male entitlement and general societal attitudes and complicity though interventions around individual behaviour, particularly on the part of parents, teachers and perpetrators of violence, were also regarded as important. In determining what kind of work should be done with men and boys around violence against women, participants seemed to have two key concerns. Firstly, participants consistently referred to determining which interventions were the most likely to have genuine or lasting impacts. Secondly, participants were concerned about the cost-effectiveness of interventions, given the limited financial resources and capacity available for this work. The concern over resources and capacity is a theme that emerged consistently throughout the interviews with participants, as the following sections reflect.

5.4 WHO SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE?

Beyond the questions about the impact of existing efforts and what kind of work should be done with men and boys to prevent and address violence against women, participants also shared their views on who should be responsible for doing this work. Again, participants expressed a variety of opinions on the subject. There also seemed to be a distinction between who should be responsible for providing the funding and who should be responsible for actually doing the work on the ground.

5.4.1 Government

There was general consensus among participants that the government should be responsible, at least in part, particularly when it comes to funding efforts to engage men and boys, as well as efforts to prevent violence against women in general and service provision for women who experience violence. Groenewald explained the challenges of obtaining funding for work on violence against women:

> we should not be dependent on international funders, which, at the moment, we are. And unfortunately international funders are saying 'look you're a first world country now. You're not a third world country anymore. You should be able to look at sustainability, you know, we cannot fund you for ten, twenty years to come'. So our problem is now that we need to have our government step in and say look, ok, we need to assist our communities, we need to assist our NGOs that are out there doing the work.

As the Chapter 7 will discuss in detail, the issue of funding has been a major challenge for many organisations in the sector, including women's rights organisations and women's service providers such as rape crisis centres and shelters for women and children who experience violence. Many participants felt that the government has a responsibility to step in and provide funding for these important organisations and services.

Groenewald also discussed the significance of maintaining a strong partnership with relevant government departments, which she defined as the Department of Justice, the Department of Social Development, the Department of Health and the Department of Education. She claimed that violence against women could not be addressed unless NGOs work with these departments. At the same time, she lamented that there is a tendency for the government to channel scare resources for preventing and addressing violence against women to government departments rather than funding NGOs. As discussed in the previous section, Holtzhausen felt that in the context of the Western Cape province, the work done by NGOs and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) was more effective at preventing and addressing violence against women than existing government initiatives. Peacock also criticised government efforts, claiming that "a lot of what gets done by government to engage men and boys is kind of purely at the symbolic

level—hold a rally called a Million Men and 15,000 show up and you count that as a success". Though engaging with men and boys at the symbolic level is important, it is not sufficient to prevent and address violence against women. Peacock also suggested, however, that the government has an important role to play in scaling up efforts to work with men and boys:

> I certainly think that would be expedited if government took some of this work that we're doing with men and boys to scale. While Sonke is a reasonably large NGO, we reach a tiny, tiny fraction of men in this country with messages of any depth…I like to believe that if we did the work at a larger scale we would see more impact.

Thus as these examples demonstrate, some participants envision a relatively robust role for government involvement in partnership with NGOs.

5.4.2 Decentralisation?

By contrast, Colvin argued that while the government has a strong enforcement role and a catalysing role, they should not necessarily be responsible for doing the work on the ground. Colvin asserted that efforts to engage men and boys in preventing and addressing violence against women are most effective when they are decentralised and localised. In his view,

> with a lot of gender NGOs there's this tension between the kind of outsider, middle class expert coming in and trying to fix people usually who are poorer and darker than them…NGOs function when they have resources and skills and that means middle class so...that that tension emerges is inevitable. [Sonke has] been pretty good about trying to close that gap by getting facilitators, trainers and others from the places where they are working and bringing them into the organisation. I think that's quite important. I think it's very easy for this kind of stuff, especially if you're challenging core conceptions about the world,…to be written off as an outside thing, a white thing, a western thing…So I see the NGOs as playing a catalysing, networking, organising role as well but they very quickly need to be able to hand over responsibility locally to whatever the local unit is, whether it's a church or a street committee or a CBO.

Colvin's perspective may be particularly salient given the emphasis that participants placed on efforts to engage men and boys around constructions of masculinity, values and attitudes, which are generally sensitive topics. Because many of these topics are bound up in culture, taking a localised and decentralised approach may perhaps be effective and/or appropriate.

Though Stern felt strongly that working at the community level was very important, she acknowledged that there are also risks to decentralisation. She argued:

> sometimes we run the risk…that it becomes no one's responsibility. It becomes everyone's but it can also become no one's. So I do think that we need to have certain leaders or people who are accountable to it…And definitely leaders from different levels of society too are good, just for that holistic approach. So I think you need that political will level and the government. I think you need the education sector and the health sector. I think you need people in the religious sector. You ideally need leaders in all sectors but there needs to be certainly some accountability.

Thus while Colvin and Stern share the view that working at the community level is essential, Colvin seems to favour a greater level of decentralisation while Stern emphasises the importance of leadership at all levels and from multiple sectors.

5.4.3 Men or Women?

Other participants interpreted the question of who should be responsible for engaging men to prevent and address violence against women to mean whether men or women should be responsible for efforts to engage men. Padayachee felt that in order to have a holistic approach, both men and women should work with men to prevent and address violence against women. In reference to NICRO's work with perpetrators of intimate partner violence, she noted that it was important to have male and female staff to model what egalitarian relationships look like and how partners should treat one another. Mathews also agreed that it is not a domain where either men or women should be working exclusively. She argued that efforts to engage men and boys should be carried out by men and women in partnership to ensure that these efforts are not detrimental to work with women and girls. Stern had a particularly nuanced perspective on this topic:

> it's an interesting question because it kind of speaks to a much wider debate about can men be feminists and are men welcome in these women's spaces and…is this something that needs to be spearheaded by women? …I think that actually…there needs to be accountable men as well and accountable women…I certainly think it should not just fall on women because then it comes back to…rather than what women can do to avoid being raped, it's also thinking about what we can do to prevent it [from] actually happening. And so because of that, I think [it's important] to have men being accountable and being leaders in this to also educate other men and speak other men. Otherwise, it just reinforces [the notion] that sexual violence is a women's issue and that's completely not the case.

Taking a different view, Petersen argued that although both men and women have a responsibility to engage men around violence against women, because men have been privileged through patriarchy, they have a particular responsibility in terms of doing the work.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter illustrates participant's perspectives on the specifics of engaging men to prevent and address violence against women. Participants expressed a wide range of views, sometimes opposing, on the subjects explored in this chapter. Though participants disagreed on the impact of existing efforts to engage men in preventing and addressing violence against women, there was a general sense that these efforts had not reached their full potential, whether it was because the field is relatively new or because there had not been significant investment or enough large-scale projects. Participants also suggested that it was too soon to measure impacts and that existing programmes and interventions had not yet been sufficiently evaluated.

When asked what kind of work should be done with men, participants tended to favour longer-term projects that engage with the roots of violence against women, from constructions of masculinity, to male entitlement, to societal complicity. They also identified multiple populations of men that should be targeted for intervention, from non-violent men, to boys, to fathers, to teachers, to religious leaders, to men in positions of power who may act as gatekeepers, to perpetrators of violence against women. By

identifying multiple populations for intervention, participants acknowledged the multiple roles that men play, thereby negating the singular view of men as perpetrators. Participants also gave the general sense that there was a need to prioritise between different interventions with men and boys. Participants seemed to consider potential impact and cost-effectiveness when determining what types of interventions should be prioritised. Many participants felt that in particular, working with boys and the adults around them has the potential to have a positive impact in terms of preventing and addressing violence against women and is a particularly effective use of scarce funding and resources.

Echoing the previous sections, in regards to the question of who should be responsible for engaging men, participants emphasised a multi-level approach to preventing and addressing violence against women. Participants generally felt that the government had a responsibility at the level of funding and resource provision. There was also a sense that NGOs have an important role to play in delivering programmes and interventions as well as sharing their expertise and experience with government departments. While Colvin expressed the view that the closer the facilitators are to the participants the better, Stern argued that there is a need for leadership at all levels and in multiple sectors. In terms of whether men or women should be primarily responsible for engaging men to prevent and address violence against women, participants generally agreed that it was a shared responsibility between men and women.

Ultimately, echoing GAD theory, this chapter demonstrates the need to approach working with men to prevent and address violence against women holistically. There are many types of work with men that need to be done with many different populations. The responsibility for doing this work is shared between men and women and at multiple levels, from the government to the individual. Though participants were divided on the impact of existing efforts to work with men, they were generally hopeful that working with men would have important long-term impacts in terms of preventing and addressing violence against women. The variety in participants' views discussed in this chapter indicates that far from being straightforward, working with men to prevent and address violence against women is a complex issue. Moreover, the fact that participants'

perspectives are frequently contradictory confirms that working with men and boys is the subject of debate in South Africa.

CHAPTER 6: RATIONALE FOR WORKING WITH MEN

6.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most critical questions in the debate on working with men is whether it is an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women. The majority of the existing literature is in favour of working with men. Examples of this literature are cited in the third chapter (see Flood, 2007; Freedman & Jacobson, 2012). CSM scholar Bob Pease (2008) also provides an overview of reasons for engaging men and men's motivations for participating in efforts to prevent violence against women. Engaging men is not limited to academic discussion; rather a number of international organisations and networks have published documents that emphasise the importance of working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women (see United Nations, 2008; Plan International, 2011).

This chapter reflects on my research findings regarding whether working with men is an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women. Although some individuals in the sector view efforts to engage men primarily as detracting from work with women and girls, there was a general consensus among the participants in this study that working with men is important. Given this consensus, this chapter will focus on the participants' perspectives on why working with men is an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women.

6.2 REASONS FOR WORKING WITH MEN TO PREVENT AND ADDRESS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Participants discussed a wide range of reasons why working with men is an important part of preventing and addressing violence against women. One of the most basic reasons for engaging men is that men are 'half of the equation' and that realising gender equity requires their involvement. Morrell asserted:

> obviously, if you're coming from a gender equality position you can't get gender equality by only working with one side of the equation. I think it's just not logical and a lot of the earliest work, you know sort of victim empowerment stuff or

> women's empowerment stuff, it's obviously important but…it's not mutually exclusive nor should it be viewed as a necessarily sufficient condition for producing conditions for gender equality. It's a necessary component of work that's done…and should not be neglected but the other part in some ways is just as important.

This assertion echoes scholars like Freedman and Jacobson (2012), who argue that achieving gender equity requires society-wide engagement, thereby necessitating working with men. Similarly, according to Mathews, evidence suggests that men who, as children, witnessed their mothers being abused were more likely to become abusive themselves. She suggests that this demonstrates the necessity of examining intergenerational patterns of violence. This is as an argument for working with men to prevent and address violence against women on the basis of the necessity to work with both men and women to uncover the roots of violent behaviour.

Another reason that participants gave for working with men is that despite the efforts of feminists and women's organisations and the advances made by women in terms of political representation and legal status, there has not been a corresponding marked decrease in the levels of violence against women in South Africa. Groenewald explained MOSAIC's rationale for making working with men part of their strategy:

> yes we are traditionally a women's organisation but… if you look at the struggle that we have been fighting for women's rights since 1950, which is when we had our first women's march, from that time until 2013, we have not yet seen a visible reduction in the high numbers of violence perpetrated against women and girls… so we need to realistically look at our interventions and our programmes because clearly something's not working…We realised that at the end of the day, you will not be able to address the scourge of gender-based violence, especially in South Africa because our numbers are so high, without including men. Our interventions needed to change.

As this statement demonstrates, one of the reasons for working with men is that it is a new approach to an on-going issue that some hope will produce positive results in terms of decreasing the overall levels of violence against women.

This logic does not necessarily negate the importance of efforts to empower women and service provision for women who have experienced violence. Though MOSAIC decided to include men in their strategy, women's empowerment continues to be their primary focus. As Groenewald clarified, "even though we are including men…our focus will always be…women's empowerment. The reason for our work with men is for the empowerment of women". In this sense, working with men is justified from an instrumentalist perspective whereby it is important because of the potential benefits for women. Groenewald illustrated this instrumentalist logic with the example of working with men to transform their perspectives on gendered roles and encourage them to take on traditional female roles like caregiving and housekeeping to allow women to access gainful employment, thereby promoting women's economic empowerment. Aside from this example, the potential benefits for women resulting from work with men, in terms of preventing and addressing violence, are obvious. Therefore, working with men on this issue can be justified from an instrumentalist perspective.

Other participants argued that preventing and addressing violence against women necessitates working with men because men are generally the perpetrators of violence. As Waterhouse argued,

> if we're saying that our task is to prevent and address violence against women and our efforts are only with women, we're not going to get anywhere…If our thesis is that it doesn't matter how you dress, what you drink or how you behave, that's not going to stop rape because rape is motivated by the choice of somebody who feels entitled to rape you, for whatever reason. Therefore, clearly, my working with the people who are victimised is going to support those people and assist in access to justice and health services and so forth but it's not going to prevent [violence].

In other words, though work with women and girls who have experienced violence is extremely important, efforts to prevent it must involve men, who are responsible for perpetrating the majority of acts of violence against women. This view has also been expressed by CSM scholars (see Flood, 2005; Pease, 2008). This approach puts the onus on men to not rape rather than on women to avoid being raped. In this sense, as Stern suggested, if efforts to prevent and address violence against women focus solely on

women, it reinforces the notion that it is a women's issue. Therefore, it is important to involve men in order to make them recognise that they have a responsibility for preventing and addressing violence. Stern suggested that this responsibility extends beyond men who perpetrate acts of violence against women:

> if we only involve women being responsible for this, it just reinforces this idea that men don't have anything to be involved with, which I think even you know, when you look at statistics that one in four or one in three men rape and then people say 'well two or three aren't', I still think it's important that those men acknowledge how they might not be actually engaged in sexual violence but are in some way complicit or in some way contributing to a system [that allows violence to occur].

Similarly, Waterhouse's arguments about the importance of addressing male entitlement and complicity regarding violence against women suggest that efforts to work with men must include all men, not just perpetrators. Echoed by several other participants, the notion that men should be involved in efforts to prevent and address violence against women because they are responsible for the violence was a common theme in my research.

Conversely, other participants were in favour of working with men to prevent and address violence against women because many men are not perpetrators. Holtzhausen suggested that labelling all men as perpetrators ignores the ways in which men are also victims of violence. He and Cornell claimed that efforts to engage with men's own violent victimisation might have an impact on levels of violence perpetrated against women. Holtzhausen noted that the multiple roles that men play are also ignored. He claimed that "what we forget about is that men are also the husbands, the caregivers, the protectors in the homes so we've almost labelled and criminalised men". He argued that a more nuanced view of men is needed. In this sense, working with men to prevent and address violence against women may serve to challenge the characterisation of men as violent perpetrators by demonstrating that men can be pro-feminist anti-violence allies.

Several participants who have a long history of involvement in the women's sector noted that many women who experience domestic violence want the violence to

stop but do not want to end their relationship with the perpetrator. As Petersen, who spent many years working in women's shelters, explained,

> I've heard women say 'I don't necessarily want to end the relationship. I want the violence and the abuse to stop so please can you find interventions for men'. Even if the relationship does come to an end with the abusive partner, if there are children then the women are always still concerned about interventions with the perpetrator because this person would be having a relationship with the children and so forth.

Groenewald also raised this argument in her interview. She explained that when MOSAIC, which offers court support to abused women, investigated why the women they were assisting did not return to court to finalise their protection orders, they found that one of the primary reasons was that they did not want their husbands or partners to be arrested or incarcerated. There is likely a range of factors that influence women's desire to stay in their relationship, whether it is because they love their partners or perhaps they are concerned that they will be unable to provide for their children without their partner's income. There are also many reasons why women do not finalise their protections orders (see Artz, 2011). Nonetheless, the fact that abused women are asking for interventions for their abusive partners serves as a justification for working with men to prevent and address violence against women. For this reason, MOSAIC started their court-mandated counselling programme with perpetrators of domestic violence.

Echoing arguments highlighted in the brief literature review, Peacock claimed that efforts should engage men because men have an interest in preventing and addressing violence against women and in realising gender equity in general. He asserts:

> whether it's in relationships, heterosexual relationships, whether it's in the family, in the work place, in our social circles, men and women share a range of interests including that set of shared interests around wellbeing, access to rights, dignity… So in very immediate ways, men are connected to women who they care about. Boys who grow up in homes witnessing their mother being abused and boys who grow up in homes where they themselves are abused by a father acting out rigid oppressive gender roles have an interest in challenging those gender roles.

Beyond caring about women and recognising the value of transforming gender relations based on their own experiences of abuse, Peacock suggests that men have an interest in addressing violence against women and gender inequity more broadly for their own health and wellbeing. He cites the significant ways in which violence and constructions of gender contribute to the HIV epidemic as a reason for men and women's mutual interest in addressing violence against women and gender inequity. He also notes:

> the most recent analysis on the report of the global burden of disease shows that men are overrepresented in all ten of the top diseases and that's fundamentally about masculinities. It's about how both masculinities are constructed by industry—tobacco, alcohol, guns, cars—and it's about how men are socialised to think about their own health. If we don't think about masculinities and never work with men and boys we don't get to address those problems and those are not problems just for men. When men are overrepresented in those ten top diseases that make up the global burden of diseases, who is it that takes care of them? Who has to stay away from work?...It's women, in the public health sector and at home. So these kinds of issues around masculinities and men's health and men's disregard for their own health and women's health are massive social problems that quite obviously require us to work with men and boys.

Deconstructing rigid gender roles embedded in hegemonic masculinity can also benefit men in many ways, such as allowing them to develop more fulfilling relationships with their partners and their children (Peacock; see also Morrell & Richter, 2006).

As these examples demonstrate, in many ways, men and women share an interest in preventing and addressing violence against women and in transforming gender relations more broadly. This argument poses a challenge to the assertion that because men currently hold the majority of the power, they are unlikely to relinquish that power and therefore do not have an interest in gender equity. Building off of the argument that men have an interest in preventing and addressing violence against women, some have suggested that there are many men who would like to be involved in anti-violence efforts but are not sure of where they fit or who do not feel welcome. Therefore, actively working with men to prevent and address violence against women reflects men's interest in gender equity and provides an opportunity to include men who want to be involved.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

As this chapter demonstrates, though there was a general consensus among the research participants that working with men is an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women, the reasons why they believe that it is important vary. Some of the reasons that they discussed reflect the arguments made in the literature in regards to 'bringing men in' in general, which are highlighted in the third chapter, while others are specific to the issue of violence against women. Though all of the arguments focus on working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women, some emphasise positive implications for men more than others. For example, addressing men's own experiences of violent victimisation, recognising and responding to men's interests and challenging the stereotype of men as perpetrators will potentially benefit men, in addition to the implications for preventing and addressing violence against women. Other reasons, such as working with men because they perpetrate the majority of violence against women and working with men to shift the onus and responsibility for preventing and addressing violence against women are decidedly oriented towards a women's empowerment and women's rights perspective. This speaks to a broader tension related to 'bringing men in' as men for the betterment of both men and women and 'bringing men in' for instrumental reasons to advance women's rights and empowerment.

CHAPTER 7: CHALLENGES AND CONCERNS RELATED TO WORKING WITH MEN

7.1 INTRODUCTION

While there was a general consensus among participants that working with men is an important part of preventing and addressing violence against women, participants also discussed the challenges around working with men. Casey et al. (2013) provide an overview of some of the challenges around working with men. These include the perception that gender-based violence prevention efforts are inherently antagonistic toward men and the fear of experiencing negative and/or homophobic reactions from peers. Peacock (2013) summarises some of the key challenges that Sonke faces in carrying out their work with men and boys which include the relatively limited number of men that they are currently able to reach with their workshops, getting government to deliver on their obligations, and responding to patriarchal backlash. Some of the challenges articulated by the participants in this chapter are reflected in the literature while others are specific to the South African context.

In addition to the challenges related to working with men, participants also noted that working with men has been somewhat controversial and in some cases there has been resistance towards it. The controversy and resistance is generally related to feminist and women's organisations' concerns about funding, power, interests and theoretical/conceptual issues with regards to working with men. While there is an abundance of literature that promotes engaging men as an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women, there is relatively little written about feminist concerns regarding this work. These concerns are summarised by Shamim Meer (n.d.), who specifically references concerns about Sonke and Padare, an organisation working with men to prevent and address violence against women in Zimbabwe. A handful of other scholars also discuss feminist concerns (see Casey et al., 2013; Britton, 2006; Murphy, 2009; Pease, 2008). Many of the concerns articulated by participants reflect the concerns raised by gender and development scholars regarding the broader debate about 'bringing men in', as discussed in the third chapter. The relatively limited volume of

literature on concerns about working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women, in combination with the lack of studies on how the concerns articulated at the level of theory have played out in practice, speaks to the significance of this research.

The first section of this chapter explores the challenges around working with men that participants discussed, ranging from practical, to political, to theoretical and conceptual. The following section engages with the concerns expressed by feminists and women's organisations around working with men. This section also discusses some of the ways in which participants suggested that these concerns could be addressed without forgoing efforts to engage men around violence against women. These suggestions are not meant to read as recommendations, but rather as how participants negotiated the tensions around the topic.

7.2 WORKING WITH MEN: PRACTICAL, POLITICAL AND OTHER CHALLENGES

7.2.1 Practical Challenges

Though participants argued that working with men is an important part of preventing and addressing violence against women in South Africa, they felt that there were many challenges in doing this work. One of the most basic practical challenges that participants identified was actually attracting men's interest and participation. Padayachee contended that it is difficult to get men to volunteer for anti-violence interventions, which is one of the reasons why NICRO works with court-mandated perpetrators of intimate partner violence. In terms of broader preventative work, Holtzhausen noted that there seems to be a general disinterest among men:

> if you go to these rallies and public awareness campaigns who comes?...Who are the people in the audience? Most of them are women and children. The men are not interested…The people that don't necessarily need the message are in the crowd and the people that need the message are not there.

Men's reluctance to participate in efforts to prevent and address violence against women is not necessarily simply due to lack of interest. Padayachee suggested that men's hesitancy to join these programmes and interventions voluntarily may relate to the ways

in which dominant constructions of masculinity prevent men from discussing their feelings and experiences. Stern argued:

> sometimes men can also probably feel like it is a delicate excluded space to them or it's a sensitive issue for them, particularly men who haven't themselves been involved in it but they don't know the role they have to play. They might feel like they're always being labelled as the perpetrator and labelled as the enemy and then get defensive.

Moolman, by contrast, asserted that individual men, as well as "collectives of men", might resist change because they do not want to give up the power that is conferred by patriarchy. This is by no means an exhaustive list but it serves to illustrate some of the reasons why soliciting men's engagement and participation in efforts to prevent and address violence against women is challenging.

Beyond getting men to participate, determining which men to target for intervention is also a challenge. As Morrell explained:

> it's a difficult and unresolved issue of men's activism about where to target other work. Do you talk to those already on your side, those who are already in the process of engaging with gender equality or enacting it in their lives or do you talk to those who manifestly are not or do you talk to the in-betweens?

As the fifth chapter demonstrated, participants expressed a wide range of views regarding which men should be targeted. Participants generally appeared to base their opinions on where they perceived the potential impact to be the greatest and which efforts they thought were most likely to be cost-effective given the reality of limited resources.

Several participants identified limited resources as one of the practical challenges of working with men to prevent and address violence against women. For example, Padayachee noted that because of the intensive nature of NICRO's work with perpetrators, funding was a major concern and limited the number of men that they could include in their programmes.[5] In addition to funding, she claimed that there was a shortage of mental health professionals, social workers and psychologists, who all play vital roles in intensive work with men who have perpetrated acts of violence against women. Similarly, Morrell argued that because there is no shortage of messages or

[5] This, of course, is a challenge that affects many organisations working in this sector.

general awareness about "men taking responsibility, being good fathers, [and] using condoms" in South Africa, a second generation of interventions that go beyond raising awareness is needed. Unfortunately, he explained, this second generation of interventions requires a level of funding beyond what the state, NGOs and foreign funders are able or willing to commit at present.

The challenge presented by limited resources is exacerbated, according to Groenewald, by a lack of cooperation and coordination among organisations working with men to prevent and address violence against women. She explained that "a lot of organisations are still working in isolation instead of sharing all our different resources". She cited the way in which NGOs interact with the funding cycle as one of the reasons for this fragmentation. According to Groenewald, as NGOs receive funding, they face pressure to meet certain targets and this pressure prevents them from sharing their resources and skills. She noted that there is competition between NGOs because they are concerned that sharing their skills and resources with other organisations will lead to the other organisations receiving future funding instead. Thus competition between organisations and a lack of cooperation and coordination could limit the effectiveness of the work being done, thereby acting as another challenge around working with men.

In addition, the fact that there are still relatively few men working in the gender-based violence sector poses a challenge to working with men. Stern, who volunteers as a counsellor at Rape Crisis, stated that although there are more and more male rape victims who come to Rape Crisis for counselling and services, there are currently no male counsellors. She suggested that "it might be nice for them to speak to a male counsellor or just even have a man's voice within the organisation because at the moment it's completely a women's space". Though some argue that it is important to keep certain spaces such as rape crisis centres exclusive to women (as discussed in the following section), because men's own experiences of violence can contribute to their likelihood to become violent perpetrators, working with men who experience violence may also be an important means of preventing violence against women. Similarly, Groenewald stated that regrettably, MOSAIC's staff is still mostly female, with only two men currently part of the organisation. She also cited safety concerns for the female counsellors who work with male perpetrators of acts of violence against women. For this reason, MOSAIC has

taken safety measures by avoiding after hours counselling sessions where female counsellors would be left alone with the clients as much as possible. Thus the relatively limited number of men working in the gender-based violence sector also poses a practical challenge when working with men to prevent and address violence against women.

7.2.2 Political Challenges

Beyond these practical challenges, participants cited issues around political will and political leadership as major obstacles in working with men to prevent and address violence against women. Kaliski argued that working with men is not a "priority amongst politicians to deal with it as a topic. There are too many other pressing needs in this country…It just isn't on our political agenda really". Not being made a political priority not only limits the government resources committed to efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women, but also understates the importance of the issue. In addition to not being a political priority, Padayachee suggested that limited government funding for programmes and interventions with men might be affected by corruption and mismanagement by the government.

Participants also identified the ways in which political leaders, particularly President Zuma, are poor role models in terms of their views and behaviour around violence against women and gender equity more broadly. Mathews argued that President Zuma is not a good model of gender equitable masculinity. As she explained,

> if we have a president [who] promotes very traditional values with multiple partnerships, it gives out a message that it's ok for others to be having them. That, in itself, does more damage to gender equity than anything else because here's a powerful man that is seen to have all of these women. So in many ways then, sought-after masculinity is construed in that fashion—that you've got this powerful man and [these are] all the qualities that go with being [that] kind of man.

Similarly, Holzthausen maintained that South African political leaders' behaviour sends contradictory messages about violence against women:

> what's problematic in South Africa is that you have a male-dominated leadership and their behaviour on-stage, off-stage, in public and private life [is contradictory]…On the one side they want to say 'stop violence against women

> and children' but on the other side, they themselves engage in acts of abuse, horrendous acts of abuse against women and children. That's contradictory. So whatever efforts the government is trying to make, their own leadership is basically contravening that through their own behaviour in their private lives.

Holtzhausen's argument is particularly salient in light of President Zuma's rape trial, which he asserted has contributed to a culture of impunity around violence against women by suggesting that men can commit acts like rape and get away with it. As discussed in Chapter 4, Zuma's statements during the rape trial promoted deeply conservative, patriarchal values. Thus the lack of leadership from the President and other prominent political figures contradicts messages around men's responsibility and behaviour in relation to violence against women.

7.2.3 Other Challenges

Particular challenges may arise when a women's organisation starts working with men to prevent and address violence against women, as Groenewald explained in the context of her work at MOSAIC. She stated that when MOSAIC initially began their counselling programme with male perpetrators of domestic violence, not only was the staff entirely female, but MOSAIC also had a number of female volunteers, many of whom had themselves experienced violence. Groenewald admitted, "I'm a feminist by heart, out and out, and changing that perspective that I had of a perpetrator or male client was quite difficult". Therefore, Groenewald noted, working with male perpetrators required the staff and volunteers to change their perspectives so that they could approach their work with men with neutrality, openness and non-judgement. Similarly, Peacock asserted that trust was an issue in the sector. As he explained, when

> doing research or providing services to women who have been brutalised by men, your conception of men gets to be framed by your experiences of dealing with brutalised women who have no reason to trust the men in their lives—they failed them, more than failed them…If you're working with sexually abused girls who have been brutalised by men, why on earth would you trust men?…I think not surprisingly and appropriately, a decent number of people working in this sector, men and women alike, have been affected by the issues we're working on so I think trust is probably generally an issue.

Developing trust among organisations and actors in the gender-based violence sector presents a significant challenge not only to working with men, but also to coordinating these efforts with organisations that work primarily with women.

Participants identified the perceived disconnect between feminism and working with men as one of the broader challenges of working with men around violence against women. Colvin argued that the divide between theory and practice poses a particular challenge to working with men. He noted that while feminist theory has explored masculinity and patriarchy, in practice mainstream feminist efforts are generally focused on empowering women. From his perspective, mainstream feminist organisations were therefore not oriented towards engaging with masculinity. Thus Colvin suggested that one of the challenges of working with men to prevent and address violence against women is to achieve alignment with current mainstream feminist efforts on the ground. Similarly, Burton contended that work with men and boys in relation to violence against women is perceived as being very different from work with women and girls, particularly women and girls who have experienced violence. Burton argued that by contrast, these two types of work must be viewed as integral pieces of the same broad puzzle.

Burton also noted that one of the challenges around working with men and boys to prevent and address violence against women is that "there's a feeling that if we focus on boys and men we are somehow neglecting women who constitute the majority of violence victims". He explained that findings from a 2008 CJCP school violence study revealed that primary school boys reported higher levels of experiencing violence and sexual violence than primary school girls, though this trend shifted at the secondary school level. While these experiences of violence have serious negative consequences for the boys themselves, and in terms of their likelihood to become perpetrators of violence, the issue has not been adequately addressed. Burton suggested that this neglect could be explained, at least in part, by hesitancy to work with men and boys for fear of shifting attention away from women and girls. It also likely relates to the ways in which girls and women are generally constructed as victims while men and boys are viewed as perpetrators.

Cornell expressed frustration over a similar issue in her own work with men and HIV/AIDS. She explained:

> I was outraged to see that there was a systematic review of mortality and antiretroviral programmes in Africa, 36 programmes, and in every single one of them, men did worse than women and then they said but this should not be used to argue for men's rights to treatment because women are still disempowered in Africa… Sorry, how do those equate?

Though Cornell acknowledged that women are still disempowered, she argued that this does not justify not working with men. She also claimed that when discussing her research with organisations in the gender-based violence sector,

> people got very jumpy about some of the terminology I used, about the fact that I speak about men…Every time anyone mentions it you have to couch it in this terminology of 'I'm not threatening. I'm not taking away from women, I'm not doing any of that stuff but this is 50 percent of the population and they impact on that other 50 percent very strongly so surely there are very strong arguments to be paying attention to them'.

In other words, she sensed that members of the gender-based violence sector were hesitant to engage with her research around men and public health because it was perceived as potentially detracting from a focus on women and girls. Cornell noted that this trend was also present at the international level:

> if you look at the WHO, if you look at UNAIDS, if you look at USAID, if you look at the big funders of HIV and AIDS and in fact all the big health funders, and you look at where they say gender and just look at how quickly they say women.

This point echoes a similar argument noted in the third chapter regarding how although the language of gender has been adopted, the majority of gender-related programmes interventions tend to focus on women and girls. In sum, both Burton and Cornell argued that one of the challenges around working with men is that it is often seen as detracting from the focus on, or efforts to work with, women and girls. This is not to say, however, that this concern is not legitimate, as the following section on the concerns expressed by feminists and women's organisations about working with men to prevent and address violence against women demonstrates.

Similar to the example of work with men in the prison environment cited in Chapter 5, Burton argued that "it's also difficult when you are trying…to work with

young boys but they are living in a violent home, they're living in a home where patriarchy is established". In other words, the impact of individual interventions with men and boys is potentially limited or undermined by their environment, whether it is in the context of the prison system, the family, or the community in general. Thus, according to Burton, it is important to engage with men and boys "on an ongoing basis in the communities in which they live. It's not enough to take them out of the community and then stick them back into the community expecting them to be miraculously changed". Therefore, one of the challenges around working with men and boys to prevent and address violence against women is that merely engaging or involving them is not sufficient. Rather, in order for efforts with men and boys to have a significant impact on violence against women, they must engage with the structural and systemic roots of violence, including discourses of masculinity, male entitlement and complicity, at all levels. Though this may be challenging, given the resources and long-term investment required, this is the type of work with men and boys that participants seemed to find most worthwhile, as discussed in the fifth chapter.

Finally, in addition to resistance from individual men and boys, Moolman suggested that there is ambivalence on the part of the 'men's sector'. However, she argued that the 'men's sector' is not open about this ambivalence, which is characterised, according to Moolman, by their inability to ask the 'women's sector' for advice or guidance, despite their long history working in the area of violence against women. Moolman notes that this ambivalence also extends beyond the 'men's sector' to the state, where there is ambivalence and

> resistance on a very kind of symbolic level, I think. So your police, prosecutors, criminal justice system engaging, but also not engaging, around the issue of violence against women. So we had the Anene Booysen case[6]—speedy trial but that's one of many. What's happening to all the other trials? So there's a sort of ambivalence and resistance again that's embodied within the state institutions and that is really held by men. Positions are held be men. So there are all those different levels and layers of ambivalence and resistance from men as well as masculinised institutions like the state and criminal justice system, etcetera.

[6] For more on the Anene Booysen case and its implications see Watson & Lalu, 2014.

Thus one of the clear challenges in working with men to prevent and address violence against women, whether at an individual level, or at a broader symbolic, structural or systemic level, is that there is resistance to change and to engaging with the issue of violence against women.

As this section illustrates, though participants generally agreed that working with men and boys is an important part of preventing and addressing violence against women, they also recognise that there are many challenges involved. Whether it is getting men to participate, or poor leadership and resistance from the state and other patriarchal institutions, or the way in which work with individual men may be undermined by the patriarchy and gender inequitable values in their communities, it is clear that the challenges identified by participants are of critical importance. Leaving these challenges unexamined or unaddressed may potentially limit the effectiveness of efforts to engage men in preventing and addressing violence against women. While these challenges were discussed specifically in relation to the South African context, it is conceivable that many of them may be applicable to work with men around the issue of violence against women in other contexts.

7.3 CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY FEMINISTS AND WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS ABOUT WORKING WITH MEN

One of the motivations for conducting this research is that I discovered in conversation with South African feminists that similar to the debate on 'bringing men in' in gender and development, South African feminists and women's organisations have concerns and reservations about efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women. By 'women's organisations', I am referring to organisations in the South African gender-based violence sector that work primarily with women in terms of service provision for women who experience violence (i.e. women's shelters, rape crisis services, legal assistance), promoting women's rights and empowerment at a variety of levels, etcetera. This is not to say that all South African feminists or women's organisations share these concerns. As the example of MOSAIC demonstrates (see Chapter 4), some long-standing women's organisations in the gender-based violence sector have embraced

working with men. In saying that, it is important to discuss the tensions and concerns that exist, particularly because there is relatively little discussion of them in the literature.

Thus my objective in exploring work with men in the South African context was not only to interrogate whether and why working with men is an important part of preventing and addressing violence against women, but also to examine the various concerns and fears around such work. This question resonated with many of the participants in this study and though not necessarily reflective of their own views, they provided a wealth of information on the subject. In some cases, participants discussed concerns that they knew were held by members of the sector and explained why they disagreed with these concerns. Participants also spoke about ways in which these concerns could be reconciled with efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women, which they generally viewed as important.

7.3.1 Concerns: Background

Before discussing the concerns held by South African feminists and women's organisations regarding efforts to work with men, it is important to establish the general context in which these concerns have arisen. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, levels of violence against women, and of sexual violence in particular, remain very high in South Africa, yet several key women's organisations and organisations that provide services to women who experience violence have struggled financially in the past few years. Participants listed a number of these organisations, which included a key rape response service and a women's shelter. While I was in South Africa conducting this research, the Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre (TLAC), which works specifically on violence against women, made their struggle for funding public, saying that they faced possible closure in November 2013 (as of the time of writing, they remain open) (Mlandlu, 2013). This funding crisis is also illustrated by the case of Sisters Incorporated, a longstanding shelter in the Western Cape, which operated at loss of R105 747 in 2011 and had no more than two months' worth of operating costs in reserve by 2013 (Watson, 2014). While these important, and often long-standing, women's organisations and service providers have struggled, Sonke is perceived to have done relatively well, or as one member of the gender-based violence sector put it, they are 'mushrooming'. I am not suggesting that these two trends are directly related but the way that they have coincided

has undoubtedly caused friction. Though the participants in this study generally perceive Sonke very favourably, while attending a sector-wide symposium on sexual violence, one member of the sector exclaimed "but Sonke is taking all the money!" (the merits of this perception are discussed in greater detail below). Funding is one of the biggest concerns that feminists and women's organisations in South Africa are perceived to have, and it will be discussed in greater detail below.

In addition to the current financial struggles that women's organisations are facing, several participants noted that there has also been somewhat of a breakdown of the strong, united women's coalition. Morrell explained, "unfortunately the women's side, which was so powerful at getting the constitution into its current form, kind of has wilted. The women's coalition is not there like it was before". Mathews noted that as some of the women who were part of the coalition were elected as politicians, they failed to use their positions of political power to advocate for women's rights:

> a lot of our radical women who were in our women's movement moved into wonderful positions of power in the government. Once they were there most of them no longer took on women's issues as their issues…and lost sight of [the fact] that actually they were voted into a position of power because women supported them. And we see that more and more where you can have 50% of women in parliament but that doesn't mean they'll fight for gender equity.

Similarly, Morrell asserted that certain relatively well-funded bodies that one would reasonably expect to advance women's rights have underperformed. In particular, he noted that the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) has performed poorly and that the ANC Women's League has "been very poor at harnessing their political power". Thus the combination of financial struggles and the absence of a strong united voice for women are two aspects of the current context in which the concerns about working with men to prevent and address violence against women are situated.

In general, the majority of participants acknowledged the existence of resistance or concerns around working with men from feminists and women's organisations. Groenewald noted, for example, that as MOSAIC made working with men one of their strategies, they faced significant resistance from other women's organisations. She claimed that "there was a huge divide between organisations working with men and

organisations working with women". However, she also noted that in the past two or three years, there has been less resistance and that, increasingly, women's organisations are starting to recognise the importance of working with men to prevent and address violence against women.

Though I asked participants about concerns or resistance related to work with men in general, many participants referred directly to Sonke in their responses. Sanger acknowledged that some women's organisations had been opposed to, or uncomfortable with, Sonke. She suggested that this opposition or discomfort might relate to the perception that Sonke is a men's organisation. Sanger argued that this misperception is rooted in the fact that Sonke was founded and initially staffed exclusively by men. That said, Sanger argued that Sonke has always been about recognising the advances made by women's organisations toward gender equality and allowing women to lead rather than having men speak for women. Both Peacock and Sanger are quick to point out that Sonke is a gender justice organisation and has never been a men's rights organisation. Peacock also noted that because of his history of working with women's rights organisations, there was a certain degree of trust when he co-founded Sonke that they were not going to do backlash work. Thus he claimed that there had not been significant resistance to Sonke's work.

Though perhaps not outright resistance, other participants confirmed Sanger's point about the discomfort that Sonke had given rise to in the sector. For example, Vetten claimed:

> I get a sense that many organisations are uncomfortable with…Sonke and there's almost a sense of resignation that they're just this massive machine—and people have used the word machine—that just steamrollers over everybody. So you can either get squashed or find a way to try and work with it. But in some ways not everybody has been happy and I don't think there's been a space to hear that or engage with it.

Though Vetten suggests that feminists and women's organisations in South Africa have concerns about Sonke, another participant asserted that Sonke has recently made an effort to legitimise themselves in the sector more strongly.

7.3.2 Concerns: Funding

Having established the existence of tensions and resistance related to engaging men and having discussed the context in which these tensions are situated, this section will now explore why these tensions exist. As mentioned above, one of the key sources of tension and concern around working with men to prevent and address violence against women is funding. The majority of participants acknowledged that some feminists and women's organisations fear that efforts to work with men and boys will divert funds away from women's rights work and from service providers for victims of violence against women. As Stern explained,

> there's already so little funding for sexual violence work and Rape Crisis almost shut down this year so it's such a tiny pot and now we're trying to share it even more. I think that's just one of the realistic concerns.

Padayachee argued that there has been particular resistance to diverting funds for work with perpetrators, though she noted that there is increasing recognition that this is a necessary part of preventing and addressing violence against women.

Participants gave a variety of reasons why efforts to work with men have attracted significant funding. Groenewald and Colvin suggested that work with men has attracted donor attention because it is viewed as a new and innovative approach to violence against women, or as Groenewald put it, "the flavour of the month". Whereas many women's organisations are involved in service provision in addition to prevention, work with men in South Africa has tended to be primarily preventative, and in some cases, such as Sonke's work, more visible with public media campaigns (Groenewald). This is attractive not only to international donors but also to government. As Sanger explained, Sonke's work is oriented towards prevention, which is particularly attractive to government, rather than service delivery. Adding to these challenges is the fact that, as Waterhouse pointed out, it is difficult to innovate or reinvent services like counselling for victims of violence to attract funding.

According to Vetten, donor funding generates a problematic cycle, which has contributed to the challenges women's organisations have recently experienced. When donors fund the work of particular organisations, in this case, those working with men and boys, the organisations gain profile. As a result of this profile, she argued:

> donors give them more money, which then gives them more profile while other organisations lose it and lose funding because they're not getting the same profile. So in a sense, even the way that donors are responding to it is driving a closing down or, to some extent, the marginalisation of women's organisations and the sense that what they're doing is just not as meaningful or not as useful because it's focusing on women, it's providing services and it's not working with men.

Though this cycle could arguably occur whenever a particular organisation or particular type of work becomes popular with donors, in the case of work with men and boys, given the fact that women and women's issues in general are typically marginalised, this cycle has exacerbated this sense of marginalisation. This trend may apply to Sonke's work in particular as Sanger noted that Sonke has become a relatively large organisation quite quickly which is problematic from a funding perspective when other organisations are struggling to survive. Therefore, this trend has served to fuel tensions around efforts to work with men and boys to prevent and address violence against women in the South African context.

Though the perception that work with men and boys is diverting funding away from women's organisations and services for victims exists, many participants were quick to point out that they did not feel that these accusations were entirely legitimate or justified. By contrast, many participants raised a variety of complicating factors that serve to explain the recent financial struggles of women's organisations and provide a more nuanced view of the funding situation in general. Stern noted that while Sonke is a relatively well-funded and vocal NGO that works with men, overall, the percentage of global funding for violence against women that is directed towards efforts to work with men and boys remains small. Consequently, she suggested that this tension might be specific to the South African context. Arguably, however, the factors that participants listed above, including the relative newness of men's work and the interest in prevention over service provision or response, could easily arise elsewhere as efforts to work with men emerge around the world and in other contexts, particularly in those where funding for work around violence against women is even more constrained.

Peacock argued that although it is convenient for women's organisations to blame their funding woes on the emergence of efforts to work with men, this argument "falls

flat on a number of levels". He cited the findings of a recent study on funding by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) (see Arutyunova & Clark, 2013), which suggested that funding issues faced by women's organisations were related not only to the recent global financial crisis, but also to the trend of channelling funding to large international NGOs rather than local grassroots organisations. Perhaps more alarming, Peacock noted, is the recent trend of funding "big for-profit corporate sector clients whose work encompasses on the one-hand arms manufacturing and on the other hand some HIV prevention work". Another factor related to funding from international donors is that as South Africa's economy grows, they are perceived as no longer needing funding in comparison with lower-income countries. As Waterhouse explained,

> what happened in this country is that for years, fifteen odd years, international donors, the same donors, were funding the services delivered by NGOs and some advocacy and those donors quite necessarily, looking at the global context, not just the shrinking fiscus but looking at developing/developed middle income criteria are saying South Africa is in the middle income space. So they don't look at inequality of growth in South Africa. They don't look at the deepening of poverty in fact. They look at the income of the country and, based on that, they're saying 'your government can do this' and are pulling out.

Hence in the case of South Africa, not only is international funding being directed towards large international organisations and for-profit corporations rather than local NGOs, but they are also no longer considered a priority country for donor funding. Therefore, the responsibility for funding efforts to prevent and address violence against women falls on the South African government.

Several participants discussed the failure of the South African government to provide adequate funding for preventing and addressing violence against women and for services for victims. Waterhouse argued that because they can't necessarily be reinvented or made attractive to donors, the government must fund services for victims of violence against women in particular. Waterhouse noted, however, that this dependence on government funding is problematic because there are insufficient funds. Sanger also commented on the inadequate funding allocated by government to organisations working on preventing and responding to violence against women. She argued that NGOs provide

essential services that are not adequately provided for by the government such as women's shelters, which the government chronically underfunds. Thus, according to participants, although international donors have deemed the South African government capable of funding work around violence against women and services for victims, the government has failed to provide sufficient funding, thereby contributing to the financial woes faced by these organisations.

One participant suggested that one of the reasons for Sonke's success is that they are relatively well-connected to members of the ANC. As the participant explained,

> Sonke plays a good political game as well with the ANC, with government… Should I fault them for that? For being sussed when the rest of us were…busy messing around with the department of X while Sonke went and did the political thing?…The problem, I think, with a lot of service-oriented organisations is that we try to delink what we do from politics. It's politics because you aren't going to get any change of scale without playing politics. You're not going to address patriarchy in a nation with a president who has his ideology about being man without playing politics. You aren't going to get money for courts or for counselling or for health services without playing politics.

Therefore, though the participant noted that potential integrity issues accompany playing politics, it is a necessary part of accessing government funding that Sonke has perhaps mastered in comparison with other organisations in the sector.

Finally, participants suggested that the way in which organisations interact with donors also has implications for their funding situation. Waterhouse noted that many organisations in the sector have had longstanding relationships with the same donors and that some have struggled to reinvent themselves in accordance with the changing donor environment. Peacock also noted that some of the organisations that have been struggling have had issues with donor accountability. He argued that "a number of the women's rights organisations in South Africa are shutting their doors because of poor management". He explained that some organisations had failed to provide donors with annual reports, audits or annual financial reports. He asserted that this could not be blamed on Sonke or "on work with men and boys. That's about bad unaccountable practice". He suggested that while "Sonke does have a much bigger budget than many of

the organisations doing traditional women's rights work…that's because we deliver to the donors and when we don't, we lose our grants". Thus beyond different focuses or types of work, funding differences between organisations may also be explained by their relationships with donors.

As these perspectives have demonstrated, funding for work around violence against women, whether preventative or responsive, is complex. There are a variety of factors that contribute to the financial situation of individual organisations, ranging from the type of work they do, to their appeal to donors, to their relationships with the government and to their accountability to donors. Therefore, the notion that organisations like Sonke, whose work focuses on engaging men and boys, are the only, or even primary reason for the financial struggle of organisations that work with women or provide services to victims of violence is overly simplistic. However, it remains a major concern for some of the participants in this study and for many working in the sector.

Participants offered a variety of suggestions to respond to the concerns that feminists and women's organisations have about funding. Waterhouse noted that when resources are limited, it becomes a question of priorities. She argued that in the context of South Africa,

> the resource pie is small for this stuff. It's a government priority in political speak but it's not a priority in spending. That necessitates seriously difficult decisions and the first layer of those serious difficult decisions should be what services are we offering to the people being victimised. That's the first priority. Thereafter, what's the prevention planning and how are we addressing it?

Therefore, establishing service provision for women who experience violence (such as women's shelters, rape crisis services and legal support) as a funding priority may alleviate tensions around claims that work with men and boys is detracting from the delivery of these services.

Participants also suggested that there was a possibility for resource sharing between organisations. Peacock noted that in the past three years, Sonke has raised money on behalf of struggling organisations in the sector. Other participants suggested that partnerships between organisations might not only alleviate financial tensions but also result in the production of high quality work by building on each other's strengths.

As Colvin explained, Sonke is "actually quite small and they can't go do this on-the-ground work or this specialist kind of work so they would ideally be good as partners, as catalysers, in that kind of way rather than creating separate interventions". In this sense, if Sonke became interested in this type of work, they could benefit from the experience of long-standing women's organisations in the sector. Finally, Mathews argued that organisations in the sector should come together and develop a collective approach to funding. As she explained,

> we're missing opportunities to really make a good impact because we're always fighting for resources…We focused a lot on how do we raise enough money to do the work we want to do rather than say how do we come together and maybe fundraise, develop a coordinated strategy. We should be collectively saying these are the issues you should be funding to outside funders instead of saying this is what I need individually because then you're competing for the same pot of money.

These suggestions may provide a way to address feminist and women's organisations' concerns regarding funding while continuing to work with men and boys, which participants generally identified as an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women.

7.3.3 Concerns: Women's Space

Feminists and women's organisations have also expressed concerns that efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women will take over women's space. The struggle against violence against women, and for gender equity more broadly, has been hard-fought primarily by women for decades. Some participants communicated a sense that these struggles have been forgotten and that organisations that work primarily with men in the sector are now taking over that space. As Groenewald explained, some feel that

> we've worked for so long. Sonke was a new organisation…All of a sudden they're all over…We said you know, we worked our backsides off, we built the basis for Sonke to thrive on now and other organisations that were like them. What about our hard work?

Similarly, Stern suggested:

> historically in South Africa sexual violence has been fought by women and so it's not to discredit the work they've done, [but] maybe [work with men] can be seen in a way as…undermining that…It can be seen almost as 'we now need men to really take this off'.

As these statements suggest, there is a sense that recent efforts to work with men have catapulted off of the hard work that has been done by feminists and women's organisations over the past several decades. Given the fact that so many long-standing feminist and women's organisations are currently struggling financially in South Africa, the feeling that men's work is encroaching on a hard-won territory or taking over a sensitive space is understandable. I could not help but notice that on International Women's Day 2014, Sonke tweeted the link to a Forbes article, titled 'On International Women's Day, Let's Hear It For the Men' (Feingold, 2014), which profiled Peacock and a few other prominent men working towards gender equity. While Peacock and the other men profiled have certainly made important contributions, this tweet seemed insensitive and inappropriate in light of the fact that International Women's Day is meant not only to recognise women's issues but also to celebrate the women who have fought for women's rights.

There are also feminists and women's organisations that are concerned with physical space in relation to working with men. There is a sense that when it comes to providing services for victims of acts of violence against women, certain spaces should be exclusively for women and girls. As Stern explained in reference to Rape Crisis, some have argued that it should be a women's only space. That is "not to deny that men are also survivors of sexual abuse and that women can be perpetrators but for the most part, most of the women that come to Rape Crisis have been abused by men so…perhaps they don't want to see a man" (Stern). Therefore, there is also concern about working with men around violence against women with regards to the appropriateness of doing so in certain physical spaces.

In terms of addressing feminists and women's organisations' concerns regarding space, participants felt that there is a need for emerging organisations focused on working with men to recognise the hard-won struggles and contributions of women in relation to violence against women. As with funding concerns, working together was viewed as

being an important way of respecting the history and building on the expertise of feminists and women's organisations. As Mathews explains, she and her colleagues have

> been working in the sector for more than a decade and we have come somewhere in terms of working with women. Why don't we draw on those lessons and combine it with working with men, rather than working with men in isolation? So for me, in terms of working with men, you've got to be including women as well...If you don't see it as complementary processes we're going to lose women in the process…in fact the gains we've made as a women's sector will be lost.

At the same time, a couple of participants argued that it was important to overcome territoriality in the sector (Moolman, Burton). Working together in partnership and recognising working with men and working with women as necessary and complementary means of preventing and addressing violence against women may alleviate the sense that work with men is taking over the sector. It is important to note that Sonke, for example, already participates in a number of networks and coalitions with women's organisations and regularly consults with women's organisations (Peacock).

7.3.4 Concerns: Power, Voice and Leadership

It is not merely enough, however, for organisations working primarily with women and organisations working primarily with men around violence against women to work together, there is also a need to recognise the power differences between men and women in these spaces. Stern noted that the fear of men's voices dominating over women and of men taking over the agenda was a major concern for feminists and women's groups in South Africa. Similarly, while Vetten discussed the many ways in which including men in conversations about violence against women can be beneficial, she warned that when working with men who are used to "being in charge and dominant", there is a risk that they can take over the conversation. These concerns of men 'taking over' while working in partnership with women in the sector are particularly salient given that the women's rights and gender equity sectors have traditionally been relatively rare spaces for women's voices and women's leadership. These concerns are also deeply rooted. In 1997, while she was coordinating the establishment of a network on violence against women, Mathews recalled debating whether or not a male member of the network should serve on the governing board. The network decided against it, arguing that while

the man was a valued member, it was important for women to take on leadership roles in that space.

The notion that women should be in positions of leadership in the sector continues to be salient and presents a potential means of addressing concerns of men's voices dominating, men taking over the agenda and men speaking for women in the sector. Vetten argued that when men lead efforts to prevent and address violence against women, the "question you have to ask is to what extent that that simply reproduces women's lesser importance and lesser value and continues to reinforce the fact that men are worth listening to but women are not". She therefore felt that it was critical "that it also be women in positions of leadership not just as the back up and secondary facilitators". Sanger agreed and claimed that generally, women should lead efforts to prevent and address violence against women, with men offering their support rather than leading for women. She did note, however, that there are certain instances where it is useful for men to take responsibility for violence against women and gender inequity. Peacock noted that Sonke was sensitive to these concerns and that they have taken several measures to respond to them. For example, Sonke has brought in many women, including notable feminists with a long history in the women's sector, such as Sanger, to work at Sonke across all levels of the organisation. Moreover, Sonke's materials are often reviewed by women's organisations. Peacock also claimed that when working in coalitions and networks, Sonke rarely takes an exclusive leadership position but rather co-leads with, or defers leadership to, women's organisations in the sector.

Concerns around power, leadership and voice extend beyond the differences between men and women to differences among individual men and women, which relates to the concept of intersectionality discussed in Chapter 3. This issue is universally relevant but perhaps especially important in the South African context given the recent history of apartheid. As Waterhouse explained,

> I think that the people in the sector doing the work, women and men, need to take responsibility for their privilege. So we're not just talking about men here but as a white woman in the women's sector with the benefits of apartheid education… The dominance of male view and opinion over women's view and opinion is

relevant but I think that we do a grave disservice if we don't talk about class and race as well.

Similarly, Sanger claimed that while some women's rights organisations continue to be staffed primarily by white women, Sonke employs a number of prominent black feminists who bring different perspectives on women's rights and working with men and boys to the sector. She argued that listening to these different perspectives was of critical importance. These statements illustrate the significance of recognising that power and privilege operate and multiple levels, not just between men and women, and that these power differences are also relevant in this sector. Waterhouse argued that the most important means of addressing concerns about power and privilege, both between men and women and among men and women, is to recognise it and make it explicit. She noted the importance of interrogating "who's speaking and who is saying what and when somebody speaks whether we listen to what they say or whether we find it easy to challenge what they say, [and] who is being challenged". Thus women in the sector may already face marginalisation or be silenced by other women based on their relative disprivilege relating to the intersections of race, class, sexuality, ability, etc. With the inclusion of men in the sector and in coalitions and networks, there is a risk of further marginalisation, which must be taken into account. Likewise, depending on their social positioning, certain men may find themselves marginalised or silenced by certain women in the sector, and this too must be recognised and addressed.

7.3.5 Concerns: Interests

Another concern that feminists and women's organisations have expressed relates to whether men share their interests around issues like gender equity and violence against women. As cited in the previous section, Moolman noted that one of the challenges of engaging men to prevent and address violence against women is that men do not have an interest in surrendering or sharing their power and, as such, some men resist change. In other words, because they stand to benefit from the patriarchal dividend, men have an interest in maintaining gender inequity. However, scholars have argued that men do, in fact, have an interest in gender equity for various reasons, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 6. Peacock discussed the importance of recognising this mutual interest. He maintained that "we've constructed kind of a paradigm around gender that men's interests are

somehow or another inimical to women's and that men and women have deeply oppositional interests and I don't think it's true". He explained that this notion "assumes that the only thing in which men are invested is power and a very particular conception of power—power over other people". He used the example of a nuclear family to illustrate:

> if you assume that when a guy gets home what he's looking for is kind of services from a woman like dinner, laundry, sex, reproduction, then sure. But if you look at relationships in more nuanced and I think more accurate ways then I think people are looking for a sense a connection. They're looking for interesting conversation. They're looking for joy and fulfilment and surely to come home to a relationship where your partner is silenced, afraid of you and your kids are terrified that you're going to assault their mother or them, that can't be what most people are looking for in a relationship.

Thus as this example illustrates, not only do men have an interest in gender equity because they care about the women in their lives, but they also have self-interest in the sense that gender inequitable power dynamics can impede the development of fulfilling relationships. This is not to say that concerns around men's interests are not legitimate; certainly, all too often men's organisations and men's rights groups carry out anti-feminist backlash work under the guise of achieving 'true' gender equity (ie. the pedestal has swung too far the other way) or under the discourse of the crisis of masculinity, which they blame on feminist gains (see Blais & Dupuis-Deri, 2012). However, if we assume that men and women's interests are diametrically opposed, the possibility for engaging with men to prevent and address violence against women and to transform gender relations is severely limited.

7.3.6 Concerns: Theoretical Issues

According to participants, feminists and women's organisations are also concerned with the theoretical underpinnings of efforts to engage men around violence against women. Waterhouse noted that in her experience, few men in the sector have a feminist analysis. Rather, they have an approach

> that 5 in 6 men are good men and let's all hug each other. The disdain you receive from some of us on it comes from working with men who take that line and who are very concerned that women's issues take too much space and so on.

She argued:

> the biggest issue is the ideology, what our theory is, why we think that and what we ascribe to. And the biggest problem undoubtedly, particularly at a political level but also with organisations working with men, women's organisations, whatever, is that there is an absolute lack of a feminist analysis. You can call it whatever you want, but there's a lack of a power analysis and it's really people trying to say we're going to prevent violence with these violence prevention strategies and they won't work.

She went on to assert that efforts to address violence against women would only work if they take unequal power relations in account.

Relatedly, Vetten noted that "working with men shifts the locus of change in many ways from the social to the individual". This relates back to the debate between recognising power differences among men and men's vulnerability and the risk of devolving into comparisons of vulnerability and powerlessness among individual men and women, thereby distracting attention away from addressing gendered structural power imbalances, as discussed in the third chapter. She noted that on one hand, men face challenges in speaking about their own violent victimisation and vulnerability. She argued that "it would be very useful to try and shift that because if we shift that I think it will shift some of the less helpful articulations that we have around femininity and victimisation". However, on the other hand, she cautioned that efforts that construct "masculinity as also suffering from gender hierarchies in which men are also victims" risk shying away from interrogating men's "particular positions of privilege". This statement supports the argument that all work with men around preventing and addressing violence against women, and realising gender equity more broadly, must be grounded in a feminist power analysis.

The discourse around some efforts to work with men around violence against women demonstrates the lack of power analysis that Vetten and Waterhouse discussed. For example, Peacock expressed his frustration regarding a recent meeting hosted by the CGE about work with men and boys, which they problematically called 'Men Taking Charge'. Beyond failing to reflect a power analysis, this incident surely contributed to the concerns that feminists and women's organisations have about work with men.

The notion of men having a responsibility to protect women from violence against women is another common problematic discourse. The idea that men are the protectors of women operates on the same power imbalance as men as the perpetrators of violence against women. As the anonymous participant explained,

> many straight men find this idea attractive…They feel outraged by what's happening but the role they see themselves in is of the strong men protecting their women. And there is a problem with that…. It should be more important for a man to eradicate the conditions that make his protection necessary than to be so eager to play the protector role.

Waterhouse echoed this statement:

> the grave, grave danger is that what you have is money spent on [work with men], implemented by people who do think men should protect their women and girls…You're not going to address the violence without addressing the underlying value systems and the power.

Thus the importance of grounding efforts to prevent and address violence against women, particularly efforts that engage men, in a feminist power analysis cannot be understated. Though several participants cautioned that the term 'gendered analysis' had been depoliticised and rendered into a technical term, arguably the type of power analysis that the participants referred to aligns with the theoretical underpinnings of GAD theory, as discussed in the third chapter.

As this section has illustrated, feminists and women's organisations in South Africa have a number of concerns about efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women. Given the fact that patriarchy and gender inequity remain in place, their concerns about power, interests, voice and space must be considered. Moreover, the long-standing nature of the involvement of feminists and women's organisations around the issue of violence against women confers a certain degree of legitimacy to many of the concerns discussed here. Despite these concerns, the feminists and members of women's organisations who took part in this research viewed work with men as an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women.

The findings discussed in this section are perhaps best summarised by Flood (2007), one of the leading CSM scholars. As he explains,

> to be pro-feminist is to be guided by principles of gender equality and social justice. It is to be critical of those aspects of men's behaviour, constructions of masculinity and gender relations that harm women. To be pro-feminist or gender-just is to also encourage men to develop respectful, trusting, and egalitarian relations with women, and to promote positive, open-minded constructions of gender or selfhood. Any engagement of men in gender-related work should further feminist goals and draw on feminist frameworks. In other words, we must frame male involvement within a clear feminist political agenda. This must be done in partnerships with and even be accountable to, women and women's groups. In addition, we must protect women-only spaces and women-focused programs. (p. 12)

This statement not only acknowledges the concerns expressed by South African feminists and women's organisations about working with men to prevent and address violence against women but it also highlights some of the suggestions made by participants on how these concerns can be mitigated or addressed without forgoing working with men altogether. Moreover, it provides a clear example of how the findings discussed in this chapter relate back to the broader debate on 'bringing men in' and apply to men's involvement in all aspects of gender and development and gender equity work.

7.4 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter discusses some of the challenges and concerns around working with men to prevent and address violence against women, as identified by participants. Many of these concerns and challenges relate to discussions in gender and development literature around 'bringing men in' in general (see Chapter 3). Significantly, this chapter responds to a gap in the literature by exploring how the concerns discussed in gender and development literature have unfolded in practice and with reference to the issue of violence against women specifically. Though they are specific to the South African context, it is conceivable that these concerns and challenges may arise in other contexts or around other issues related to 'bringing men in' and gender equity. As the sixth chapter demonstrated, participants identified many reasons for working with men and several participants reported that work with men has resulted in positive impacts in terms of

violence against women and gender equity, as discussed in fifth chapter. Thus although they also identified many concerns and challenges, there was a general consensus among participants that working with men is important. Participants also expressed a sense of the importance of working with men by offering perspectives on how these concerns could be addressed without abandoning work with men altogether. Though they are not meant to be read as recommendations, these suggestions may provide useful insight for those involved in efforts to engage men around violence against women.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The large volume of literature in favour of working with men, in combination with the convincing theoretical arguments from the fields of GAD and CSM create the impression that it is inherently a logical and necessary means of preventing and addressing violence against women. However, as the previous chapters have demonstrated, in practice, working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women is complex. Moreover, if the challenges and concerns discussed in the previous chapter are not addressed, working with men may be highly problematic, or even detract from efforts to empower women and girls. This chapter will summarise the key themes that emerged in the research and discuss the significance of the research findings. Finally, this chapter will identify future areas for research on the topic.

8.2 KEY THEMES EMERGING FROM THE RESEARCH

One of the most important findings to emerge from this research is that there is a general consensus among the research participants that working with men is an important means of preventing and addressing violence against women. This finding is significant because although participants expressed a wide range of views on the impact of existing efforts to work with men and acknowledged many substantial challenges and concerns around this work, they still felt that it was important. As such, though it is a complicated and sensitive relationship, efforts to work with men and efforts to work with women around violence against women must be viewed as complementary processes, or as Burton put it, two pieces of the same big puzzle.

That work with men and work with women must be viewed as complementary does not negate the legitimacy of feminist concerns about working with men. In order for efforts to engage men to be complementary to work with women, they must be grounded in a feminist power analysis and must be sensitive to concerns around the diversion of scarce resources from work with women and particularly service provision for women who experience violence. They must also respect the hard-won gains of feminists and

long-standing women's organisations and acknowledge the importance of maintaining the sector as a space for women's leadership and voices. By coordinating with, and consulting, feminists and women's organisations, organisations working with men may not only reduce the tensions around, and resistance to, their work but also potentially produce greater results by building off of each other's strengths.

This research has also highlighted the significance of recognising the relationship between power, privilege and voice. In this sense, the concept of intersectionality, which both GAD theory and CSM have embraced, is particularly important in this sector. Men working in the field of violence against women must be sensitive to the risk of 'speaking for' women or marginalising women's voices. Moreover, it is important to recognise that beyond gender, factors like race, class, sexuality, ability, etc. also affect an individual's ability to speak and be heard. Thus the differences in power and privilege must also be acknowledged among women and in some cases, between individual women (who may embody more power and privilege) and individual men.

The findings of this research also confirm the significance of engaging with masculinities as a strategy for preventing and addressing violence against women. Furthermore, participants generally emphasised preventative efforts with men, and with boys in particular, over in-depth responsive work with perpetrators of violence against women. The themes of potential impact and resource-effectiveness in terms of allocating scarce funding and professionals like social workers were commonly used as justifications for why a particular intervention was useful or important. In addition, participants seemed to prefer investing in long-term change at the broader structural, symbolic and systemic levels, though they also acknowledged the importance of a multi-level approach. Participants also placed the responsibility for working with men to prevent and address violence against women on a wide range of actors, from the state, to NGOs, to the community, but generally felt that it is important that these interventions are led by both men and women.

Finally, this research also demonstrated that there are a wide variety of reasons why working with men is an important part of preventing and addressing violence against women. These findings also show that there are different motivations for working with men. Some of the reasons given by participants focused on engaging men because they

saw it as a necessary part of preventing and addressing violence against women and in this sense, their reasons for engaging men are largely instrumentalist. By contrast, other participants viewed engaging men as having potential benefits for both men and women as the arguments regarding the self-interest that men have in preventing and addressing violence against women suggest, for example. As such, while there was a general consensus among participants that working with men is important, their justifications reflect different, though not necessarily conflicting, motivations.

8.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS

The findings of this research are significant in a number of ways. First, the findings confirm the appropriateness of the theoretical framework that I employed. The importance of engaging with discourses of masculinity was a common theme in the findings. Therefore, drawing on concepts and literature from CSM is a useful way of approaching research on working with men to prevent and address violence against women. Participants also discussed the importance of recognising that not all men access the power conferred by patriarchy equally and that patriarchy can have negative implications for men as well as for women, which serves as an incentive for men's involvement in gender justice efforts. These are ideas that also correspond with CSM scholarship.

The research findings underscore the importance of approaching the topic of violence against women in general, and working with men in particular, from an ecological perspective. In terms of what kind of work should be done with men and the actors involved, the findings reflect a multi-level approach. In addition to applying ecological approaches to violence against women, participants also emphasised the importance of recognising intersectionality and of grounding work with men in a gendered power analysis. All of these are key features of GAD theory, thus confirming its relevance as the basis of the theoretical framework.

Moreover, the findings of this research serve as a case study on working with men to prevent and address violence against women in practice. In many ways these findings also speak to the broader debate on 'bringing men in' and as such, may provide real-life examples to substantiate or dispute claims made in the literature. Though the findings are

specific to the South African context, they may provide useful insight on some of the challenges and concerns that may arise in other contexts, particularly in those with even greater resource constraints. In this sense, the suggestions made by participants on how these challenges and concerns can be mitigated or addressed without forgoing efforts to engage men may also be useful in other contexts. Finally, these findings may also prove relevant to other areas of engaging men in gender and development.

Beyond being limited to the South African context, this research should not be viewed as representative of the South African gender-based violence sector as a whole. Because of time and budgetary constraints, the research participants were predominantly located in the Western Cape province and the sample is small and not as cross-sectional as it could be for a variety of reasons discussed in the first chapter. While these limitations may have impacted the findings of this research, overall, the diversity of perspectives represented created a rich debate, which was the goal of the study.

8.4 POTENTIAL AREAS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

Having developed an understanding of the broad debates around working with men to prevent and address violence against women, it would be interesting to explore the discourses about masculinity involved in this work. This research would involve exploring discourses such as men as protectors and how they have been mobilised in work with men around violence against women. Similarly, a past campaign in South Africa focused on spreading the message that 'real men don't rape'. This discourse is interesting because it espouses the notion that there is a singular 'real' masculinity to aspire to, which may be problematic, even if the ideal masculinity it espouses is non-violent and gender-equitable, because it ignores the divide between masculine ideals and men's lived and embodied experiences of masculinity. Finally, the unresolved debate on engaging with men's vulnerabilities and experiences of violence at the risk of distracting from structural gendered power imbalances could also be explored as part of this research.

Although the findings of my research are specific to the South African context, it would also be interesting to conduct comparative studies with efforts to engage men in preventing and addressing violence against women in other contexts. This could include

work that Sonke is currently involved in in other countries in the region or general efforts to engage men in other regions. To some extent, South Africa is considered exceptional. As discussed above, Mathews argued that because of the particularly high levels of violence in South Africa and the ways in which masculinities are constructed, the relevance of models from other contexts may be limited. South Africa's recent apartheid history also sets it apart. Thus, a comparative study would not only be interesting but may also test the relevance of the findings of this research for other contexts.

8.5 CONCLUSIONS

This research provides an overview of the debates surrounding working with men and boys as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women in the South African context. These findings add to existing gender and development literature about 'bringing men in' in general, and with respect to violence against women in particular, by providing perspectives that reflect on these issues not only at the theoretical level but also in practice. Ultimately, this research demonstrates the complexity of working with men as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women in practice. Recognising this complexity, and the various tensions, challenges and concerns that contribute to it, is essential to ensure that efforts to work with men and boys in the gender-based violence sector complement women's rights and empowerment work and service provision for women who experience violence.

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APPENDIX I: RECRUITMENT EMAIL TEMPLATE

Hello,

I am a Canadian Master's student and I am currently interning at the University of Cape Town's Gender, Health and Justice Research Unit while I conduct research for my thesis. My thesis explores how relevant civil society members and academics/researchers perceive efforts to work with men to prevent and address violence against women in the South African context. This study has been approved by the ethics boards at Dalhousie University in Canada and at the University of Cape Town.

Based on your work in this field, I would like to hear your perspectives. If you are willing, I would like to interview you as part of my research. The interview will be a brief semi-structured conversation on the role and rationale of men's work in the field of violence against women, the impact of current men's work and some of the challenges of working with men, from the theoretical to the practical.

The interview should last no longer than an hour and can be scheduled at your convenience. I will be conducting interviews from October 7 to November 15. You may choose to be quoted directly and identified in my thesis, but you can also choose to participate anonymously.

Thank you for taking the time to consider my request. Please do not hesitate to contact me should you have any questions or require additional information.

Best,

Emily Colpitts

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071-090-1119 (cell)
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APPENDIX II: GENERAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1) Can you please describe your experience working on violence against women and particularly on work with men to prevent and/or address violence against women?

2) How should violence against women be addressed, in your opinion?

3) Do you think that working with men is an important part of preventing and/or addressing violence against women? Why or why not?

    a. If working with men is important:

        i. What kind of work with men should be done?

        ii. Which men should be included in this work (perpetrators [boys, adults], non-perpetrators [boys/adults], at risk youth/adults, community leaders, etc.)?

        iii. Who should be responsible for doing this work (men's groups, feminist groups, schools, religious groups etc.)?

4) How do you perceive current efforts to work with men to prevent and/or address violence against women in South Africa?

    a) What kind of work is being done, by whom and with whom?

5) **Additional Question for groups/organisations that work with men and academics/researchers that have worked on men in the area of violence against women: What has the response been to your work with men? Positive responses? Negative/Critical responses? What do you think the reasons for these responses are?

6) What do you think is the impact of current efforts to work with men in South Africa in terms of preventing and addressing violence against women?

7) What do you think is the impact of current efforts to work with men in South Africa on work with women and girls who are survivors of violence?

8) What are the challenges of working with men to prevent and/or address violence against women?

    a. Theoretical challenges

    b. Political challenges

    c. Practical challenges

    d. In terms of interests (ie. do groups working with men share the same

interests as feminist groups? Where a difference of interest exists, whose interests are privileged?)

e. In terms of power (ie. has the inclusion of men into a sector that was established through feminist struggle and largely dominated by women led to a struggle for power?)

f. In terms of resources

g. In terms of relationships between organisations (those in favour of working with men and those opposed)

9) What do you see as the way forward in relation to preventing and addressing violence against women?

    a) Is work with men an important part of how you envision the way forward?

10) Is there any additional information you wish you share with me?

APPENDIX III: ORGANISATIONS THAT WORK WITH MEN AND BOYS AROUND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA[7]

Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training (ADAPT)

- Services offered by the Men's Programme, established in 1997, include counselling and support services for men; individual and couples therapy; group therapy for abusive men and prisoners convicted of rape and other violent crime; and gender sensitivity training for men (www.adapt.org.za)

Akasosha Men's Forum

- The Akasosha Men's Forum engages men in dialogue around sexuality, gender, gender-based violence, sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS in the Akasia and Soshanguve areas.

Banna Buang Organisation

- The Banna Buang Organisation works with men and boys to prevent and address violence against women through their Civic Education and Empowerment programme, restorative justice interventions, the Youth Empowerment programme and a programme for male perpetrators of domestic violence (www.bannabuang.org)

Brothers For Life

- National campaign targeting men over the age of 30 around gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS, among other issues (www.brothersforlife.org).

Engender Health

- The South African Men as Partners (MAP) program "strives to create a society in which men and women can enjoy equitable, healthy, and happy relationships that contribute to the development of a just and democratic society. The MAP Network does this by encouraging men to reduce their own risk-taking behaviors, take a stand against domestic and sexual violence, and become actively involved

[7] This is not necessarily a complete or comprehensive list of organisations currently working with men and boys as a means of preventing and addressing violence against women in South Africa. It is merely meant to provide a general overview.

in reducing the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS" (http://www.engenderhealth.org/our-work/gender/digital-stories-south-africa.php)

Family and Marriage Society of South Africa (FAMSA)

- Provide domestic violence counselling (www.famsa.org.za)

Gender Education and Training Network (GETNET)

- GETNET's men's training programme aims to engage men in transforming gendered power relations and in playing a positive role in organisational and institutional change. The training workshops include an examination of "the intersections between gender, HIV/AIDS and violence against women" (http://www.getnet.org.za/men.htm)

James House

- James House runs several programmes with at-risk children and youth including the Boys BEST (Building Emotionally Stable Teens) programme, a six-month intervention with teen boys and their families/caregivers, teachers and significant others. (http://jameshouse.org.za)

Masimanyane Women's Support Centre

- Established a 'men's programme' which "aim[s] to build allies among non-violent men who in turn can challenge perpetrators of violence" (http://www.masimanyane.org.za)

MenEngage South Africa

- Currently chaired by Sonke Gender Justice Network; "MenEngage South Africa seeks to strengthen advocacy and policy agenda for engaging men and boys to promote gender equality, prevent and address gender-based violence, promote reproductive health and rights, and gender equality" (http://menengage.org/regions/africa/south-africa/).

Men for Development South Africa (MEDSA)

- MEDSA's Awareness and Prevention Programme works with men and boys to prevent violence against women and children, HIV/AIDS and irresponsible alcohol consumption. The programme is delivered through a community outreach programme; a school intervention programme, which targets boys; and a tavern intervention programme. They also offer counselling services.

MOSAIC

- Provide counselling for perpetrators of abuse and intimate partner violence
- MenCare+ Programme (in partnership with Sonke Gender Justice Network) promotes men's roles as equitable and non-violent fathers and caregivers through interventions which include "group education with young men on sexual and reproductive rights, gender equality and caregiving; group education with fathers and their partners on sexual and reproductive rights, maternal health, gender equality and caregiving; and counselling with men who have used violence in their relationships" (www.mosaic.org.za)

National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO)

- The Perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence Programme provides counselling for men who have perpetrated intimate partner violence
- The Me and My Family programme work with male offenders who are fathers to prevent the intergenerational impact of crime and develop fatherhood skills. Though this programme is not focused on preventing or addressing violence against women, it may also have relevant implications. (www.nicro.org.za)

OLIVE LEAF Foundation

- The Abalingani Gender Programme works primarily with men to address issues of poverty, HIV/AIDS and violence through workshops; individual education sessions; and Ubuntu Bamadoda, an initiative that employs men's choirs to perform music with messages against gender-based violence and to be positive role models to boys in the community. (http://www.olf.org.za/region/western%20cape/)

South African Conflict Management Training and Advocacy Centre (SACMTAC)

- SACMTAC's Conflict Management department provides rehabilitation and therapy for perpetrators of domestic violence and runs programmes for men and boys to promote their engagement in preventing and addressing gender-based violence. (http://www.givengain.com/cause/3210/about/)

South African Faith and Family Institute (SAFFI)

- Engages with religious leaders (many of whom, though not all, are men) not only in their capacity as religious leaders but also as men in positions of authority to build their capacity to address gender-based violence (www.saffi.org.za)

South African Men's Action Group (SAMAG)

- SAMAG has three key programmes that focus on HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections, men's health and gender and human rights. Their programmes are delivered through counselling, support group sessions, education and awareness, participatory training workshops and campaign activities.

Samila Gender Counselling and Support Services

- The Men's Imbizo programme comprises of efforts to engage men through informal dialogue, workshops and a tavern project to change attitudes and behaviours to prevent or stop gender-based violence (www.samila.org.za)

Sinani

- Sinani's Young Men's Project trained twenty young men to be community facilitators and facilitate dialogue on masculinity and the role of young men in society. One of the projects implemented at the community level by the young men focused on raising awareness about gender-based violence (www.survivors.org.za)

Sonke Gender Justice Network

- Sonke "works across Africa to strengthen government, civil society and citizen capacity to support men and boys in taking action to promote gender equality, prevent domestic and sexual violence, and reduce the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS". Sonke aims to realise this mission through a variety of initiatives including policy advocacy, public awareness campaigns, media and social media, community radio and community workshops (www.genderjustice.org.za)

Thusanang Advice Centre

- Established in 1995 to respond to high levels of violence against women, their approach involves engaging with men as well as with local authorities and churches
- They also partnered with Sonke to train thirty-four men as members of

Community Action Teams (TACs).
(http://www.shukumisa.org.za/index.php/thusanang/)

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