



**Changing masculinities for the better: A narrative
project among young men in Cato Manor**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis sought to investigate the link between masculinities, fathering and gender-based violence in a Durban community.

The prevalence of gender-based violence is a crisis in the lives of many South Africans and statistics show that this country has one of the highest incidences of gender-based violence on a global scale. The research examines the issues of gender-based violence in South Africa and how a select group of young men view women, gender-based violence and their masculinities. Using a narrative approach, the study explored what fathers pass on to their sons in the way of masculine thinking and their sons' reflections on this.

The study found that a man's masculinity is formed by learning to be a man from other males in the community, as well as from their ancestors and the media. Even in their absence, fathers play a vital role in the construction of male masculinities. The results indicated that there is a need in the community for older men to offer guidance to the younger generation. Causes of gender-based violence identified by the participants include financial issues, the misconception that men cannot control themselves when women wear revealing clothing, and men's reaction when women say no to their advances. The study indicated that aspects of the previous traditions and approaches applied in a modern context, as well as hegemonic masculinity, were also underlying causes of gender-based violence.

During discussions on how males are expected to behave, alternative constructs of masculinities emerged. It was evident that males must negotiate contradictions within the hegemonic constructs of masculinity and all the participants concurred that individual men navigate these constructs of hegemonic masculinity differently. Barriers to deviating from hegemonic markers of masculinity included feeling 'not manly enough', fears of exclusion from the community and fears of the disintegration of the family unit.

DECLARATION

I, Jenna-Lee Strugnell, declare that this thesis is my own original work. All work from other sources is cited as such and I have not previously submitted this research for any degree at any other university. I hereby give consent for my work to be available to the Durban University of Technology, for interlibrary loan and for cited use by individuals and organisations.

Jenna-Lee Strugnell:



I hereby approve the final submission of the following thesis.

Prof. Geoffrey Harris (PhD)

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I am indebted to the community and to the participants who joined me in the discussions, which will hopefully help to reduce gender-based violence in South Africa and beyond.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

- GBV - Gender-based Violence
- NGO - Non-governmental Organization
- NPO - Non-profit Organization
- SAPS - South African Police Service
- SIDA - Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
- STI - Sexually Transmitted Infection
- UN - United Nations
- WHO - World Health Organization

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
DECLARATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background to the problem.....	1
1.3 Problem statement.....	3
1.4 Significance and Rationale of the Study.....	4
1.5 Aim and objectives.....	4
1.6 Research design and methodology.....	5
1.7 Overview of chapters.....	6
1.8 Conclusion.....	7
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW.....	8
2.1 Introduction.....	8
2.2 Theoretical Framework.....	8
2.2.2 Dominant Stories.....	9
2.2.3 Alternative Stories.....	9
2.2.4 Externalising Conversations.....	10
2.2.5 History and Effects of the Problem.....	11
2.3 The nature of gender -based violence.....	12
2.3.1 Gender-Based Violence, Intimate Partner Violence and Sexual Violence	12
2.4 The extent of gender- based violence globally and in South Africa.....	12
2.4.1 The extent of gender- based violence globally.....	12
2.4.2 The extent of gender-based violence in South Africa.....	13
2.4.3 Limitations of gender-based violence statistics.....	15
2.5 Consequences of gender-based violence.....	16

2.5.1 Effects of Gender-Based Violence on Women.....	16
2.5.2 Effects of Gender- Based Violence on Children.....	17
2.5.3 Effects of Gender-Based Violence on Men.....	18
2.5.4 Effects of Gender-Based Violence on Communities and the Economy.....	19
2.6 Causes of Gender Based Violence Linked to Masculinities and Fatherhood...	20
2.6.1 Overview of Causes.....	20
2.6.2 The link between hegemonic masculinity and gender- based violence.....	21
2.6.3 The linkage between fatherhood and gender-based violence.....	30
2.6.4 The construction of alternative masculinities.....	37
2.6.5 Context.....	40
Table 1: Summary of the facilities in Molweni (Todes and Meth, 2018:1).....	43
2.7 Knowledge Gap.....	43
2.8 Exploration of interventions.....	44
2.9 Recommendations.....	46
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.....	48
3.1 Introduction.....	48
3.2 Research design.....	48
3.3 Methodology.....	49
3.4 The sample.....	50
3.5 Sampling method.....	50
3.6 Data Collection.....	51
3.7 Data Analysis.....	53
3.8 Ethical considerations.....	55
3.9 Validity and reliability.....	55
3.10 Context.....	56
3.11 Conclusion and reflection.....	57
CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.....	58
4.1 Origin of male masculinities.....	58
4.1.1 Male role models.....	58
4.1.2 Ancestors.....	63
4.1.3 Media.....	64
4.2 Causes of gender-based violence.....	65
4.2.1 Finances.....	65

4.2.2 The perception that men cannot control their sexuality.....	67
4.2.3 Saying no to sex.....	72
4.2.4 Old fashioned ways applied to modern contexts.....	74
4.2.5 Hegemonic construction of masculinity.....	76
4.3 Exploration of alternative masculinities.....	81
4.4. Effects of not complying with dominant masculinities.....	86
4.5 Conclusion.....	88
CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	89
5.1 Introduction.....	89
5.2 Overview of previous research.....	89
5.3 Main findings.....	90
5.4 Reflections.....	94
5.5 Recommendations for future action.....	94
5.5.1 Train male leaders.....	95
5.5.2 Digital storytelling.....	95
5.5.3 Train fathers.....	96
5.6 Closing comments by the researcher on how the findings of this study will be utilised.....	96
5.7 Conclusion.....	98
REFERENCES.....	100
Addendum 1: Program.....	108
First Session.....	108
Session 2.....	109
Session Three.....	110
Addendum 2: Tree of Life and Act Like a Man Box Activity.....	112
Addendum 3: Letter of Information.....	114
Addendum 4: Consent.....	115

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Summary of the facilities in Molweni	43
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

Gender-based violence is a global phenomenon that has negative consequences for men, women and children as well as the community and the economy. Hegemonic masculinity promotes and justifies gender-based violence, therefore it is important to explore and strengthen alternative masculinities. Sons learn what it means to be a man from their fathers, thus in order to break this cycle, it is necessary to understand what fathers are passing on to their sons in terms of masculine thinking. The research commenced by reviewing literature on gender-based violence, masculinities and fatherhood. Insights gained from the literature were used to develop a program (refer to addendum 1) for men with the aim to explore how fathers influence their sons by way of masculine thinking. This program assisted in identifying alternative masculinities and explored these in the hope of ameliorating the situation and reducing the incidents of gender-based violence.

The young men participating in this study explored dominant constructs of masculinity and the effects that this type of masculine thinking had on their lives. This study discoursed on gender-based violence literature, studies on masculinities and fatherhood, as well as on the narrative therapy theory. The focus was on discussions, which took place during the above-mentioned program for young men, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of South African men's thoughts about their masculinities and on alternative masculinities that could be strengthened, with the aim of reducing future gender-based violence.

1.2 Background to the problem

Gender-based violence is a common phenomenon in the lives of many women in South Africa and abroad. The United Nations defines violence against women as follows:

Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (UN: 1993).

Research conducted by the World Health Organisation (WHO) (2013) revealed that internationally 35% of women have been the victims of gender-based violence (GBV). The occurrence of GBV varies among countries, which indicates that it is a behavioural problem that can be decreased through appropriate interventions (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005: 7). South Africa has one of the highest rates of GBV (Watson 2015: 2), the leading cause of death amongst South African women being intimate partner violence; in 2009 one woman was killed by her intimate partner every eight hours (Abrahams et al. 2012: 3). Research conducted by Gender Links (2010: 1), revealed that 78.3 % of the male participants admitted having perpetrated emotional, economic, physical or sexual violence. The number of reported cases of sexual offences during 2018/2019 was 52 420, which was a 4.6% increase in the 50 108 cases reported to the police during 2017/2018 (Stats SA 2018/2019:53). Whilst statistics reveal the extent of gender-based violence, it does not reflect the full extent of the problem, as rape and sexual assault are hugely under-reported (Gender Links 2010: 1).

Gender-based violence negatively impacts on men, women and children, as well as on the community and the wider society. According to WHO (2013: 12), violence has far-reaching consequences for women as it is detrimental to their physical, emotional, sexual and reproductive well-being. GBV also adversely effects the physical and emotional well-being of children (Krug et al. 2002: 103) as well as the health of men (World Health Organization 2013: 29). GBV has negative effects on communities as well as on the economy. Gender-based violence has financial implications as it draws on resources that could be more effectively utilised to promote economic growth (KPMG Human and Social Services 2014: 3).

In the South African context, GBV is exacerbated by poverty, discrimination, marginalisation, unstable living conditions and violence (Jere et al. 2015: 3). The ongoing failures evident in the legal system and a deep-seated distrust of the Police have limited the legal consequences for GBV, which exacerbates the pervasiveness of this type of violence.

When males are unable to live up to the dominant markers of masculinity, GBV is more likely to occur. The migrant labour system, poverty and HIV/AIDs have prevented many South African males from performing their masculinity as per social dictates and expectations (Clowes et al. 2013: 258). Economic marginalisation (Graham 2014: 8) and social instability (Hatcher 2014: 1034) also create challenges for South African males to achieve the standards as determined by hegemonic masculinity.

In South Africa there is a high prevalence of absentee fathers, who are emotionally and/or physically absent in the lives of their families. An estimated 54 % of 15 to 49-year-old males in South Africa are fathers, however, 50 % of these males do not interrelate with their children on a daily basis (Holborn 2011: 5). The South African Apartheid regime and the migrant labour system contributed to fractured families, which has in turn resulted in high rates of absentee fathers. Teenage pregnancies (Meyer 2013: 8), the imprisonment of criminal males (Padi et al. 2014: 51) and violent deaths (Padi et al. 2014: 53) have contributed to many South African fathers' lack of involvement in their children's lives. Alcohol and drugs (Holborn 2011: 5) as well as the rural labour migration system (Padi et al. 2014: 50) have also contributed to the disruption of families.

The high rate of absentee fathers is likely to contribute to GBV because when fathers are not present, their sons are more likely to display hypermasculine behaviour (Holborn 2011: 4). The lack of paternal support makes it more challenging for sons to enter the labour market at a later stage and provide for their family, which is a hegemonic marker of masculinity. Sons who grow up without a father, are less likely to value gender equality.

1.3 Problem statement

As discussed above, absentee fathers and hegemonic masculinity contribute to the prevalence of gender-based violence. Further research is required to provide insight

into the South African male's attitude towards GBV and their masculinities. While there has been research conducted into the markers of hegemonic masculinity, it is necessary to gain a deeper understanding of alternative masculinities in a South African context as well as to strengthen alternative masculinities.

1.4 Significance and Rationale of the Study

Gender-based violence impacts negatively on women, children and men as well as on the community and wider society (World Health Organization 2013: 21-28). Clowes et al. (2013) asserts that hegemonic masculinity produces and validates gender-based violence as it promotes displays of aggression and dominance over others. Hegemonic masculinity is difficult for many men to achieve in the South African context of unemployment and marginalisation as men are expected to prove their masculinity by being financial providers (256). Sons learn their masculine behaviour from their fathers, and many of these constructs of masculinity promote and often justify GBV, which is then passed on to the next generation of males. This cycle needs to be broken. This study aims to contribute to the literature by exploring what fathers in South Africa pass on to their sons by way of masculine thinking. What remains obscure are the views of young South African males regarding their masculinities. Current understanding fails to consider alternative masculinities that may reduce future GBV. Failing to explore this aspect results in hegemonic masculine traits remaining unchallenged, perpetuating the high rates of GBV that South Africa is facing.

1.5 Aim and objectives

This study seeks to investigate the link between masculinities, fathering and gender-based violence in a Durban community. The aim, therefore, was to gain a deeper understanding of alternative masculinities as well as to strengthen alternative masculinities to reduce future GBV.

The specific objectives of this study are:

1. To explore a small sample of young men and their thoughts on women, GBV and the like, that is, their masculinities.

2. To determine the origins of these views, in particular, what do fathers pass on to their sons by way of masculine thinking and what opinions are held by sons regarding this.
3. To explore and strengthen alternative masculinities in the hope of reducing future GBV.

1.6 Research design and methodology

The research problem will be explored using a narrative approach as it fosters meaningful dialogues where young men can explore the dominant stories of what it means to be a man and their subjective experiences of these narratives. This approach views stories as being created through language, over time and in relation to the wider social context. During these conversations, the effects of gender-based violence will be explored. This will enable young men to consider the consequences of GBV and whether these outcomes are congruent with their own values, as well as their hopes and dreams for the future. This approach creates a space for changes in thinking and behaviour, as well as providing for new possibilities. Instead of blaming, which fosters hopelessness, it encourages men to take responsibility for masculine attitudes and behaviours that foster GBV.

A narrative approach acknowledges the context that the research takes place in. This is important in South Africa with its history of violence, trauma and injustice caused by the legacies of Apartheid. A narrative approach acknowledges the broader dynamics of power that shape our stories which makes injustices visible. In this approach, participants are regarded as the experts of their own lives, having resources located within themselves and in the community with which to resolve their problems. Problems are externalised so that participants can jointly take a stand against the problems that they are facing. The experiential knowledge of the participants as well as their ability to take a stance against the problem are acknowledged.

By deconstructing the dominant stories of what is expected of the males in our society, alternative ways of being a man are acknowledged and explored. These conversations explore the history of the problem and identify unique outcomes,

where young men act outside the constraints of hegemonic masculinity. By acknowledging these unique outcomes, alternative stories of masculinity are strengthened, and it helps to connect men with the preferences that they have for their lives.

Data will be collected from discussions during a three-day program, which will be designed using literature, theories on masculinities and narrative therapy as guidance. The participants will meet in the KwaDinabakubo Community Hall for four hours over this period. Thematic analysis will be used to interpret the data and to generate themes. The themes will be interpreted in relation to existing literature to generate new understandings that are contextualised in the existing body of knowledge.

The qualitative research methodology will be used to gain an in-depth understanding of the link between gender-based violence, masculinity and fatherhood. This method is appropriate as the study intends to gain insight into the subjective experience of a group of young males' masculine identity and the masculine thinking that their fathers have passed on to them.

Young men between the ages of 18 to 35 residing in Molweni will be invited to take part in the research. Non-probability sampling methods will be used, and participants will be invited to attend the program by a social worker from Vuleka Trust, who provides and manages projects in the area.

1.7 Overview of chapters

Chapter 1 provides the introduction and overview of the study, which includes the motivation for the study and the context of the problem. This chapter defines the research question and outlines the research design and methodology.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the extent and consequences of gender-based violence, the relationships between gender-based violence, fatherhood and masculinities as well as recommendations for interventions to reduce gender-based violence. The aim of this chapter is to summarise current understandings and to identify knowledge gaps.

Chapter 3 discourses on the research methodology and defines the research question. This chapter provides insight into the data collection methods, data analysis procedures and the sample group. Ethical considerations and motivation for the implementation of selected approaches for this research are provided.

Chapter 4 offers a presentation of the data collected as well as an analysis and discussion of the findings.

Chapter 5 concludes the research with an overview and interpretation of the key results and suggests informed recommendations.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the context, problem statement, aims and objectives as well as a summary of the research design and methodology. The literature review reveals that gender-based violence is a problem in the lives of South African men, women and children. Gaining an in-depth understanding of alternative masculinities will assist in challenging society's expectations of males while strengthening different behaviours of being a man.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores literature that addresses masculinities, gender-based violence and fatherhood. The theoretical framework selected to consider the research questions, while generating possible solutions for gender-based violence in South Africa, is narrative therapy. After exploring this theory, the extent and effects of gender-based violence are reviewed. This is followed by an exploration of the causes of GBV, organised into themes, particularly in relation to masculinities and fatherhood. The chapter concludes with a review of previous interventions and suggests recommendations for future research.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Narrative therapy formed the foundation of this research. This framework shaped the literature review, which explores the context and power dynamics in which gender-based violence takes place. Literature focusing on the effects of gender-based violence, dominant stories of what it means to be male as well as alternative masculinities were also examined. Research conducted by Béres and Nichols (2010: 66) suggests that taking a narrative approach during interventions with men who resorted to abusive behaviours promotes more ‘respectful discussions’ in the intimate relationships of males.

2.2.1 Definition of stories

Narrative therapy utilises conversations to facilitate a process where individuals can re-author the stories of their lives. In this context, a story refers to events which are connected in a sequence over time and according to a plot (Morgan 2000: 5). People create stories about every aspect of their lives, including their competencies, relationships, successes and failures (6). People use stories to interpret their experiences and to make meaning of their lives, which effects their present and future actions. These stories are not created in isolation as they are influenced by external factors and by the culture in which people live (7). These stories are hence significant as they impact on and mould people’s lives (7).

2.2.2 Dominant Stories

The dominant narrative that people employ to make meaning of their lives results in certain events being prioritised over others. Experiences external to the dominant narrative often go unrecognised and over time, more events are selected to support this interpretation (11). Thin conclusions are drawn from dominant stories as this process leaves little room for the complexities of life or for articulating a deeper meaning (12). It can also negatively impact on the person's life, as dominant, problem-saturated stories often function to disempower the individual (12). Dominant stories usually do not consider the influence of broader power dynamics regarding the way in which experiences are interpreted. Problem-saturated stories tend to obscure people's abilities, skills and resources (13). While dominant stories are employed to interpret experiences, people's lives are in fact multi-storied, as a single story cannot include all the complexities and contradictions of life (8).

2.2.3 Alternative Stories

Narrative therapy principles are used to facilitate conversations which explore stories that are supportive of the person's values and how they want to live their life. The exploration of these alternative stories creates a space for the participants to loosen the hold of problem-saturated stories on their lives. These conversations reduce the effect of thin conclusions and facilitate the re-authoring of new stories (15).

During these conversations, rich descriptions of the person's preferred stories are discovered. These alternative stories emanate from the individual and include in-depth descriptions of the person's life and experiences, which is interwoven with the stories of others (15). Alternative stories reduce the negative impact that the dominant story exerts on their lives and creates a space for new possibilities; these may even assist in addressing current problems (14).

A narrative approach centres on the participants' knowledge, viewing them as the experts of their own lives. The researcher's role is to pose enquiring questions that will generate in-depth descriptions of the situation. This approach allows the

participants to explore their preferred ways of being by describing the attitudes and behaviours that are consistent with their values (Béres and Nichols 2010: 63).

2.2.4 Externalising Conversations

Narrative therapy posits that the problem itself is the issue, which avoids viewing the problem as part of the person's identity. In order to clarify this distinction, the problem is externalised from the person so that it is detached from the identity (Morgan 2000: 17). During externalising conversations, the problem is defined, and the language is transformed to support this distinction (17). Once the problem has been externalised, it may be useful to personify the problem so that the tactics and effects of the problem can be further explored (19). The problem is defined by the participants themselves. Emotions and problems amongst people as well as cultural and social practices can be externalised (21). If the person is facing multiple problems, these problems are externalised and then prioritised. As the conversation progresses, it may become evident that the different externalised problems function to support each other (22). It is vital to consider the social context and the power dynamics that are at play during externalising conversations (22). When the broader context is taken into account, injustices become evident. If the facilitator is unaware of the context, the externalising process can inadvertently have the effect of marginalising the person's experiences (22). This is particularly valid in contexts where violence and abuse are prevalent (23). Externalising conversations enable the person to view themselves as separate from the problem, which often results in a sense of relief while providing space within which to approach the problem and generate solutions (24).

Externalising conversations reveal the person's skills and resources, which make them easier to access. These types of conversations minimise guilt and blame while simultaneously creating space for people to take responsibility their problems. The negative effects of labelling and pathologising are weakened and space is created for people to discourse on how the problem affects them. A thorough investigation of the problem is possible during these conversations and unique outcomes, which highlight times when the person acted differently, are identified. The exploration of unique

outcomes increases access to other options, such as exploring their relationship to the problem, which in turn creates possibilities for them to change this affiliation. Hence, a sense of working together and collaboration is fostered (25).

2.2.5 History and Effects of the Problem

Once the problem has been externalised, it is helpful to explore the history of the problem by examining the effects that the problem has had on the person's life over time. Exploring the history of the problem facilitates an in-depth understanding about the person's relationship with the problem and how it has changed over time (33). During these conversations the person discovers times in their lives when the problem had more impact and other occasions when it was less influential (33). When establishing the impact of a problem over time, it becomes evident that its influence fluctuates and that its impact on the person's life is not fixed (36). These conversations enable people to discover times when the person has influenced the problem and which skills and resources they employ to do this (37). Examining the effects of the problem over time reveals some of the ways the problem operates in the person's life (37). During these conversations, it is helpful to determine the onset of the problem and how it has developed over time. Examining how it has been sustained and who has supported it is also beneficial (38). When tracing the history of the problem, it is important to explore the effects the problem has had on the person's identity, relationships, hopes and dreams, career, emotional and physical well-being as well as the person's daily life (39). As the effects are discovered, the person is asked to state whether each consequence of the problem is acceptable to them or not (42). It is helpful to question why they agree or oppose each effect of the problem, as their response will determine certain preferences for their lives. These questions provide the person with an opportunity to reconnect with these preferences (43). Reviewing the history of the problem and noting its effects plays a role in the development of alternative stories, as well as the reduction of the influence that the problem has on the person's life (43).

2.3 The nature of gender -based violence.

2.3.1 Gender-Based Violence, Intimate Partner Violence and Sexual Violence

The United Nations defines violence against women as:

Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (UN: 1993).

Intimate partner violence is defined as:

Behaviour by an intimate partner or ex-partner that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, including physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse and controlling behaviours (UN: 1993).

Sexual violence is defined as:

Any sexual act, or an attempt to obtain a sexual act or other act directed against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting. It includes rape, defined as the physically forced or otherwise coerced penetration of the vulva or anus with a penis, other body part or object (UN: 1993).

According to SIDA

GBV is an umbrella definition which includes a wide range of expressions of violence such as intimate partner violence, sexual violence by non-partners, Female Genital mutilation (FGM), honour violence, child marriages, violence against LGBTI and trafficking in human beings (2015: 4).

2.4 The extent of gender- based violence globally and in South Africa

2.4.1 The extent of gender- based violence globally

According to the WHO, (2013) the prevalence of gender-based violence, on a global scale, is both a serious public health concern and a transgression of women's human rights. In 2013 the WHO carried out comprehensive research which included statistics from more than eighty countries. The research revealed that globally 35% of women had been the victims of gender-based violence. Most of the gender-based violence was perpetrated against women by their intimate partners. Globally, 30% of women, who had been in a relationship, were the victims of intimate partner violence.

Statistics show that 38% of the murders of women are carried out by their intimate partner. In countries with a higher social economic status 23.2% of women are victims of intimate partner violence and this rate increases to 24.6% in the Western Pacific with a significant increase to 36.6% in Africa (World Health Organization 2013: 31). When non-partner sexual violence is included, the rate of gender-based violence (females 15 years and older) is 32.7% in high income countries and 45.6 % in Africa (World Health Organization 2013: 27).

While gender-based violence is a critical issue across the globe, research by the WHO (2005) shows that the rates of intimate partner violence varied significantly, which indicates that intimate partner violence is a behaviour that can be reduced. The rate of women, who were victims of intimate partner violence in their lifetime, ranged from 13% in Japan to 61% in Peru. The sexual abuse of children before the age of 15 years was reported with a frequency that ranged from 1% to 21 % while sexual violence rates ranged from 6 to 51 % (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005: 7). Research by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA 2015:5) supports the view that gender-based violence could be reduced.

2.4.2 The extent of gender-based violence in South Africa

Intimate partner violence is the dominant cause of death for women and 56% of female homicides are perpetrated by intimate partners (Abrahams et al. 2012: 3). In 2009 the frequency of women, who were murdered by their intimate partners in South Africa, was one woman every eight hours (Abrahams et al. 2012: 2). According to the Research Unit (2013: 2) there were 13 748 new criminal prosecutions for domestic violence opened in 2011.

Police statistics confirm the prevalence of sexual offences in South Africa. Sexual offences include, but are not limited to, “rape, compelled rape, sexual assault, incest, bestiality, statutory rape and sexual grooming of children” (Africa Check 2016/2017). South African Police Service (SAPS) statistics show that reports of sexual offences were 53 617 in 2014/2015, 51 895 in 2015/2016 and 49 660 in 2016/2017. The number of reported cases of sexual offence during 2018/2019 was 52 420, which was

a 4.6% increase in the 50 108 cases reported to the police during 2017/2018 (Stats SA 2018/2019:53).

The legal definition for rape includes:

The oral, anal or vaginal penetration of a person (male or female) with a genital organ, anal or vaginal penetration with any object and the penetration of a person's mouth with the genital organs of an animal" (Africa Check 2016/2017).

There were 39,828 documented cases of rape in the 2016/2017 period with 71.3 incidences of rape recorded per 100,000 people. An average of 109.1 rape incidences took place daily in 2016/2017.

Under-reporting and the lack of a separate crime category for gender-based violence necessitates the review of statistics from sources other than the SAPS. Research by Jewkes et al. (2011: 1) confirms that gender-based violence is widespread in South Africa. In research carried out with a sample of South African males aged 18 to 49, 27.6% of the male participants admitted to raping a woman in their lifetime and 4.7% admitted being the perpetrators of rape in the twelve months preceding the study. 53.9% of the male participants, who admitted being the perpetrators of rape, indicated that they had committed an act of rape more than once (Jewkes et al. 2011: 1).

Examining research based on self-reported behaviour adds depth to the SAPS statistics. Research by Gender Links (2010) used in-depth interviews to document male self-reported behaviour as well as women's experiences. The research revealed that 52.1 % of women in Gauteng had been victims of emotional, economic, physical or sexual violence. This finding was supported by the participants in the study as 78.3 % revealed that they were perpetrators of some type of gender-based violence. Emotional violence was prevalent with 43.7% of women indicating that they were victims of this type of violence and 65.2% of male participants revealing that they had been perpetrators thereof. One in four women in Gauteng had been the victims of sexual violence and 37.4% of the male participants revealed that they had been the perpetrators of sexual violence (Gender Links 2010: 1). Gauteng, being the highest

populated province in South Africa, also has the highest prevalence of gender-based violence and this is indicative of a problem that is widespread across the country (Gender Links 2010: 1). Research conducted in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal revealed that 27.6% of the male participants admitted to being the perpetrators of rape in 2009 and 4.6% revealed that they had been the perpetrator of rape in the twelve months preceding the study. Intimate partner rape was reported by 14.3% of the male participants and 46.3 % of the male participants admitted to multiple rapes (Jewkes et al. 2009: 1).

2.4.3 Limitations of gender-based violence statistics

Statistics on gender-based violence do not indicate the full extent of the problem, as GBV is under-reported. Only 3.9 % of women who have experienced gender-based violence report the incident to the Police (Gender Links 2010: 1). According to Gender Links (2010) statistics on gender-based violence offences are under-reported as GBV is viewed as a confidential matter. Victims are hesitant to report assault when they are related to the perpetrator, which is particularly true of domestic violence cases. In the majority of assault incidences, the perpetrator is known to the victim, with 32.2% of assault cases occurring with a person from the same community, 16.8% of cases perpetrated by an intimate partner and 9.2% of assaults carried out by a relative (Institute for Security Studies 2015: 2).

Rape statistics in particular are inaccurate as research has indicated that only one in thirteen victims of rape report the incident to the Police (Institute for Security Studies 2015: 4). Secondary victimisation is one of the reasons for the under-reporting of rape incidents (Watson 2015: 2). The Institute for Security Studies (2015: 2) proposes that the under-reporting of sexual offences may be attributed to distrust between the public and the Police.

Limitations of the criminal justice system also contribute to the under-reporting of incidents. Research shows that in Gauteng 45% of reported rape cases do not reach the courts (Sigsworth et al. 2009: 8). It is difficult to monitor the progress of individual cases of gender-based violence through the criminal justice system

(Research Unit 2013: 1). From 2011 to 2012, there were 64 514 reports of sexual offences, with a conviction rate of 6.98% (Research Unit 2013: 8).

Gender-based violence is not listed as a separate crime category, which affects the accuracy of the statistics. While the Police do not compile statistics on intimate violence in particular, they are required to document incidences of domestic violence in a register. However, research carried out in 2013 found that only 1.4% of police stations were compliant with this law, 77% were partially compliant and 21% were non-compliant (Institute for Security Studies 2015: 3). These findings are supported by the Research Unit (2013: 1) who stated that domestic violence is not listed as a crime category, which makes it difficult to assess the prevalence with which these incidences occur. The Institute for Security Studies (2015: 2) proposes that the under-recording of assaults and sexual violence may be attributed to the SAP who strive to reach crime reduction targets. The number of women who are murdered by their intimate partners is difficult to quantify as in more than 20 % of femicides, the identity of the perpetrator was unknown to the Police (Abrahams et al. 2012: 3).

2.5 Consequences of gender-based violence

Gender-based violence has a negative impact on women, children and men and on the community and wider society. GBV is a breach of the fundamental right to life, liberty, security, dignity, non-discrimination, physical and mental integrity, and is therefore a direct breach of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa' (KPMG Human and Social Services 2014: 8). It is important to note the intersectionality of the consequences of gender-based violence, as women with a lower socio-economic status, elderly women, women from the LGBT community, refugees and women with disabilities are more susceptible to GBV (11).

2.5.1 Effects of Gender-Based Violence on Women

The outcome of intimate partner violence can prove fatal for women, with deaths caused by murder or suicide. 42% of women subjected to this violence also endure physical trauma, which includes musculoskeletal and soft tissue injuries as well as

genital trauma. Likewise, psychological trauma and stress have a negative impact on women's health, including cardiovascular diseases, hypertension, irritable bowel syndrome, chronic pain and chronic pelvic pain. The fear and control that is typically associated with intimate partner violence can make it challenging for women to seek out health care and to make decisions about their health (World Health Organization 2013: 15). Disability is also a possible health outcome for women who are in an abusive relationship (15).

Intimate partner violence affects the sexual well-being of women as it increases their risk for gynaecological issues as well as sexually transmitted diseases (29). Research shows that for women, who have been victims of intimate partner violence, the risk of contracting HIV is increased by a factor of 1.5 and the risk of contracting syphilis is elevated by a factor of 1.6 (38). Research by Jewkes et al. (2010: 46) reveals that intimate partner violence results in a higher risk of HIV infection for women. Likewise, high rates of gender inequality between partners increases the rate of HIV infection in women (46).

The emotional well-being of women subjected to violence, is negatively impacted on as these women are at risk for depression, post-traumatic stress and anxiety (World Health Organization 2013: 31). There is double the likelihood that they will suffer from depression (38). Other negative mental health outcomes include eating disorders and suicidal tendencies. Substance use is more common among women who are in an abusive relationship, including drugs, alcohol and tobacco (World Health Organization 2013: 15).

2.5.2 Effects of Gender- Based Violence on Children

Gender-based violence at schools is an international issue that violates the rights of millions of children. Not only does gender-based violence put women at risk, it also has consequences for their unborn children. Women who have been the victims of intimate partner violence, are more likely to have abortions, miscarriages, stillbirths and premature delivery (30). Women who have been affected by intimate partner violence, have a 16% increased chance of giving birth to a baby with a low birth

weight. Unplanned pregnancies are more common in abusive relationships, which doubles the chances that a woman will choose to end her pregnancy through an induced abortion (38).

Intimate partner violence has a negative impact on children's lives, affecting their physical, emotional and developmental well-being. Young people who witness intimate partner violence are prone to low self-esteem and poor emotional well-being, including depression and anxiety (Krug et al. 2002: 103). These mental health issues contribute to a poor performance in schools and a lack of engagement with learning (Policy Paper 17 2015: 10). There is also a tendency for young people who have witnessed intimate partner violence to struggle with social and romantic relationships (Krug et al. 2002: 103). Sexual violence contributes to the rate of teenage pregnancies and STIs (Policy Paper 17 2015: 10). Gender-based violence has negative consequences on the quality of education that children receive and reduces school attendance as well as completion rates (1). Girls who witness GBV in their homes are more likely to be a victim of GBV later in life (Krug et al. 2002: 103). In many cases gender inequality contributes to the prevalence of violence in schools, which has a negative impact on the education of girls (Policy Paper 17 2015: 1).

2.5.3 Effects of Gender-Based Violence on Men

Males who are perpetrators of intimate partner violence, are more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour, including alcohol abuse and hiring sex workers. Intimate partner violence also has a negative impact on their health with an increased chance of HIV infection, STIs and decreased use of health care systems (World Health Organization 2013: 29).

Males are often the victims of violence for not conforming with hegemonic masculinity. Men who identify as gay, transsexual or bisexual, have become the targets of violence for transgressing the requirements of hegemonic masculinity. Displays of alternative masculinities which are not valued, can also result in men being subjected to violence. In South Africa, men and women who identify as gay are raped by men to try and make them heterosexual. In informal settlements, on

average ten women who identify as gay or women who men believe to be gay, are raped every week (SIDA: 2015: 4).

2.5.4 Effects of Gender-Based Violence on Communities and the Economy

Intimate partner violence disrupts the social fabric of the community as women are less able to provide their children with the care that they need, and their participation in the community is often reduced due to isolation. The economic effects are substantial, as women who become victims of intimate partner violence may not be able to find employment, and poor health and mental well-being may impact on their income and on their earning capacity. (WHO 2013).

Gender-based violence prevention contributes to a reduction in poverty while facilitating economic development. Gender- based violence is:

a security concern and a prerequisite for sustainable peace. Wherever GBV occurs, it is a major obstacle for gender justice, posing a serious threat to democratic development and public health, and is a critical barrier to achieving sustainable development, economic growth and peace. If women, girls, men and boys are not safe, they cannot be full citizens nor fully participate in the development of their own society (SIDA 2015: 4).

Research dispels the myth that GBV violence is a matter of privacy as it impacts on businesses, the Government, the economy and civil society. The cost of gender-based violence is between R28.4 billion and R42.4 billion in South Africa, which is between 0.9% and 1.3% of GDP (KPMG Human and Social Services 2014: 1). This figure is a conservative estimate as incidences of GBV are under-reported, the cost of pain and suffering is excluded, and comprehensive expense data is not available. Therefore, it is likely that the real cost of GBV is much higher. In addition, GBV has a negative impact on South Africa's economy in that it utilises resources that could be allocated to supporting economic growth; GBV thus inhibits economic growth and decreases general living standards (3). The negative impact on the economy can be attributed to the increased cost of medical care and the cost of supportive Government services, such as social workers and law enforcement officials. Other negative effects include decreased income, the prevention of women from working

and decreased performance at work. Income can be reduced by up to 35% because of violence (10).

2.6 Causes of Gender Based Violence Linked to Masculinities and Fatherhood

2.6.1 Overview of Causes

The causes of gender-based violence are located on an individual, family, community and societal level (WHO 2017: 2). The quality of the relationship between partners has an impact on GBV as infidelity, poor communication and dissatisfaction between relationship partners are associated with a higher risk of intimate partner violence. Other contributing factors to GBV include alcohol abuse, poor education and exposure to violence as a child (Policy Paper17 2015: 2). In some cases, boys who witness GBV at home are at risk of becoming perpetrators of GBV. (Jere et al. 2015: 3).

Gender-based violence is exacerbated in certain contexts. According to SIDA (2015: 4) conflict and war exacerbate GBV. The occurrence of intimate partner violence may increase in war or post-war contexts as well as among refugees. GBV is more prevalent in certain locations and in the context of schools, gender-based violence is more likely to occur in isolated areas such as bathrooms, classrooms and corridors (Policy Paper 17 2015: 2). Another location where children are at risk of being targets of GBV is on route to and from school (Policy Paper17 2015: 2). Gender discrimination as well as power imbalances in schools contribute to GBV (Jere et al. 2015: 3). In circumstances where girls are sent to live with male relatives, GBV is more likely to occur (SAfAIDS 2015: 31).

Discrimination, marginalisation, unstable living conditions and violence are factors which increase the prevalence of GBV (Jere et al. 2015: 3). High levels of poverty exacerbate gender inequality norms as young girls are more susceptible to child marriages and relationships with older men in exchange for financial compensation in these contexts (SAfAIDS 2015: 46). The legal consequences for perpetrators of intimate partner violence also impacts on its prevalence (Policy Paper17 2015: 2).

Gender inequality is another risk factor for violence against women. Communities which share a worldview with male entitlement, family honour and sexual purity, are more likely to experience higher incidences of GBV (WHO 2017: 2). According to Jewkes et al. (2019:2) the social norms that contribute to GBV include ‘restricting interactions of women with their natal family, restrictions on the mobility and employment of women as well as excluding women from financial decisions.’ Other factors include, ‘wife-beating, physically punishing children and corporal punishment’ as well as ‘men fighting to defend their ‘honour’ and lack of respect for women’ (Jewkes et al. 2019:2). A third of the male participants in a study conducted by Gender Links (2010: 3) maintained that males believe social norms promote gender-based violence. 22.3% of the participants expressed the view that husbands are entitled to discipline their wives for inappropriate behaviour.

2.6.2 The link between hegemonic masculinity and gender- based violence

Hegemonic masculinity produces and validates gender-based violence and rigid adherence to these gender roles has been linked to intimate partner violence (Clowes et al. 2013: 258). Hegemonic masculinity includes the dominant traits and expectations which are prioritised over other aspects of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is socially constructed and varies across cultures, age, race and socio-economic status (Denborough et al. 1996: 97). While the concepts male and female refer to biological categories, masculinity is defined by gender roles, which include the ‘behaviours, feelings, values and attitudes’ that are believed to represent the male biological category (Steinberg 1993: 7).

Beliefs held on what it means to be a man are learnt at an early age and the outcome often are powerful stereotypes which impact on the behaviour and views of males. In order to feel adequate and accepted, boys attempt to develop the traits and behaviours that are associated with the dominant markers of masculinity (2). Deviation from this gender role can result in feelings of insecurity, incompetence and shame as well as a fear that they will be rejected by women (80). According to Hooks (2004: 90) shaming is used to ensure that boys adhere to the constraints of hegemonic masculinity, which means boys do not receive recognition for being

themselves. In addition, adherence to hegemonic masculinity is rewarded, which offers further incentives for conforming to these prescribed ways of being a male (88).

While the construction of masculinity is fluid, there are dominant traits that are prioritised over others (Denborough et al. 1996: 94). The dominant ways of being a man are viewed by the majority of males as intrinsic to the nature of men and are therefore rarely questioned (29). However, it is important to note that while there are biological and physical differences between men and women, these differences do not necessarily dictate behavioural differences, as is popularly believed. In addition to questioning the link between physical differences and behaviour, there are the biological differences among men, and the physical differences between men and women are in fact a continuum rather than two distinct categories (29).

In addition to sustaining traditional masculine norms on an individual level, it is important to acknowledge that masculinity is constructed on multiple levels (93). Hegemonic masculine values are not only entrenched in the individual, but they are also at the core of many aspects of our society, including corporate companies and institutions (27). It is important to note the power relations which impact on the construction of masculinity, in order to acknowledge the challenges that males face when they are navigating their own masculine identities. (94). Power dynamics also influence which aspects of masculinity are prioritised over others. In the context of adolescent boys, the power dynamics between the youth and the adults need to be acknowledged. The youth are dependent on adults and they spend a significant portion of their time in the controlling environment of educational institutions (97). Schools and the media play a role in maintaining the prevalence of hegemonic masculinity. Educational institutes are based on hierarchy; the curriculum focuses on the views of white, heterosexual males and sporting achievements are prioritised (93).

Men demonstrate their masculinity through action, and therefore perform their masculinity (16). In these incidences gender is not linked to innate traits but with the

proper performance of masculinity (Morison and Macleod 2015: 130). Masculinity is performed through the repetition of behaviours, gestures, language and attitudes which are associated with the social norms of how men are expected to behave (Van Lenning 2004:38). These gender norms are deeply entrenched in society as gender is an integral aspect of being recognised and included in society (Morison and Macleod 2015: 31). In this context of masculinity as a performance, males are expected to prove their masculinity and fear humiliation when failing to conform to the dominant standards of being a man (Denborough et al. 1996: 40). Dominant markers of masculinity, such as virility, power and strength are largely unstable. This instability may result in the male experiencing a persistent fear of not being masculine enough, and he may respond to perceived shortcomings through oppressive behaviour (16).

Constructions of hegemonic masculinity are dichotomous in nature, where prioritised traits are associated with the idealised notions of masculinity while other traits are associated with failure. This dichotomy leaves no space for males to explore their own ways of being and prevents them from exploring their distinctive combinations of traits. Placing a high value on power often leads to the male's intense fear of failure. In this context of dominant masculinity, males can only view themselves as winners or losers with no alternative scenarios, and males who enjoy success, often still fear the possibility of failure (16).

Hegemonic masculinity contains numerous contradictions, which men need to negotiate (19). A contradiction in the construction of hegemonic masculinity is that while men as a collective hold power in society, many men feel powerless. One way that males navigate these contradictions is to change their perspective on behaviour that deviates from what is expected according to social norms, so that the behaviour complies with markers of hegemonic masculinity. In such instances deviating from traditional masculinities can be associated with the hegemonic traits of autonomy and independence rather than being viewed as falling outside of social norms (Morison and Macleod 2015: 126).

Hegemonic masculinity is often defined by what men *cannot* do and be, which is usually related to traits that are associated with being a female (Denborough et al. 1996: 16). Males therefore create their identity in relation to females as they avoid any behaviours and attitudes that are associated with women (96). The rejection of femininity causes inner turmoil in boys as they realise the need to reject their mothers in order to be viewed as masculine. Mothers are typically the primary source of safety and nurturing for boys and the rejection of these feminine qualities may cause emotional discomfort (17). This gives rise to a contradiction as femininity is attractive to males, but at the same time it is unacceptable as it poses a threat to their masculine identity (17). The result of this dualistic construction of masculinity often leads to a disconnection from women and from other males. This viewpoint is supported by (Denborough 1996: 92) when he notes that dominant messages of masculinity value the rejection of women and homosexuality.

Having power over women is a common trait that is associated with being a male (Graham 2014: 7). Hegemonic masculinity may ignore displays of aggression and sexual dominance by boys. Likewise, social expectations of boys may support homophobia (Jere et al. 2015: 3). Strength, dominance and control are all associated with hegemonic masculinity (Clowes et al. 2013:261). These markers of hegemonic masculinity result in the perception that the more control one exerts over others, the more masculine one appears to be. The acceptance of power over others as a demonstration of masculinity vindicates the use of force by men as a method of regaining control (Denborough et al. 1996: 92). According to Hooks (2004:107) men resort to dominance in order to mask emotional vulnerability and feelings of helplessness, which fall outside the constraints of hegemonic masculinity.

The duties associated with hegemonic masculinity include being the patriarch in the household as well as the provider for the family (Morison and Macleod 2015: 130). When women or children question patriarchy, or engage in behaviour that is perceived as disrespectful, GBV is a more likely outcome (SAfAIDS 2015: 31). According to Hooks (2004: 85) hegemonic masculinity defines responsibility as providing for one's family both financially and materially. Men who do not meet this

criteria experience feelings of failure and a low self-esteem (86). Hegemonic masculinity supports the idea that if males are unemployed, they are worthless (30). In this paradigm the value of the male is determined by his material capacity and financial wealth (31).

Markers of hegemonic masculinity include initiating sexual advances as well as having coercive sex (Meyer 2013: 7). Boys believe that girls are only there to be coerced into sexual relations to their advantage, and the power that results from this coercion is highly valued as part of their masculine identity (Denborough et al 1996: 96). When wives refuse to engage in sexual relations with their husbands, it increases the risk of GBV (SAfAIDS 2015: 31). Hooks (2004: 72) asserts that sexual activities are used by males as a confirmation of their masculinity. For men who have been oppressed, sexual relations function as an avenue to express hegemonic masculine traits, which cannot be achieved in other aspects of their lives because of unjust systems. Sexual conquests are used by males to assert their power in the context of “imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy” (73). However, in some instances respecting women are associated with hegemonic masculinity, which is an indication of how males have to navigate contradictory aspects of their masculinities (Morison and Macleod 2015: 130).

Research by Clowes et al. (2013:258) shows that when males prioritise markers of hegemonic masculinity, such as independence and control, it isolates them from their families and community. This lack of connection elevates the level of anxiety and doubt that they face, increasing the likelihood that males will resort to gender-based violence as a coping mechanism (258). Hooks (2004:122) suggests that hegemonic masculinity disconnects boys from their authentic selves as well as the emotional contentedness that they initially start life off with. Rather than teaching boys about intimacy, they are taught to hide their authentic selves and to avoid self-expression. Boys are taught to repress the need for emotional connection, which is a basic need of every human being (Hooks 2004:122).

Markers of hegemonic masculinity include achievement and conquest (Morison and Macleod 2015: 126). Another factor that results in the isolation of the male is that hegemonic masculinity prioritises achievement over the connections gained through personal relationships (Denborough et al 1996: 73). An aspect of the dominant marker of achievement is the competitive nature of males' relationships with each other. Male friendship is characterised by sharing behaviours that are associated with hegemonic masculinity rather than by authentic connections. Typical aspects of male friendships in this framework are the exclusion of women and exhibitions of oppression. Examples of activities that men take part in together include drinking alcohol, gambling and playing sports (Morison and Macleod 2015: 130). Hooks (2004:107) proposes that in a culture of hegemonic masculinity, males are not raised to be intimate. When males are hurting emotionally, they experience shame, fear and pain in intimate situations (107).

Males who disrupt the rigid confines of male friendships, are condemned by their peers (Denborough et al. 1996: 17). The dominant construct of masculinity is therefore reinforced by other males, such as between fathers and their sons, as well as in male friendships (17). In a school setting masculinity is performed through conflict with boys who display ways of being a man that are different to the dominant constructs. The benefits to boys displaying traits associated with hegemonic masculinity further supports these social norms (93).

Men are expected to ignore the losses and emotions they experience as a result of hegemonic masculinity. As hegemonic masculinity values aggression and physical strength, sensuality and a connection to the body is marginalised. In the dualistic hegemonic construction of masculinity, sensuality and a connection to the body are viewed as being contradictory to the true nature of males. The importance of ignoring bodily sensations is emphasised by many males during their transition from boyhood to manhood. The value of ignoring bodily sensations is achieved through different behaviours, such as excessive drinking and physical fighting. In this context the body becomes an instrument of power and domination (1996: 33). Research reveals links between peace and the "experience of body pleasure" and conversely,

violence is linked to the “suppression of body pleasure”. Furthermore, research shows that children who are raised with physical nurturance, are more likely to be peaceful (34). The suppression of emotions and bodily pleasure increases the likelihood of males blaming others for emotions that may arise as they are not aware of their own internal processes and are unaccustomed to taking responsibility for their emotions. Combined with the prioritisation of control, the attribution of feelings to external sources increases the likelihood that males will resort to dominance and in some instances violence, in order to reduce negative feelings they are experiencing. Sexual violence may result from this construction of masculinity, as in this context, when a male perceives that a woman has impacted on him through sexual desire or negative emotional feelings, he is more inclined to attempt to reclaim power and control through sexual violence (43).

Hooks (2004: 7) asserts that humans are sensual beings with a profound ability to feel and to connect. However, men are socially conditioned to repress their emotions, bodies and sensuality as well as to disconnect from others. The fulfilment of these unrealised needs is achieved through sexual relations and sexuality, which contributes to a male’s preoccupation with sex. While sexual relations cannot fulfil all of these needs, it is a socially constructed space where men can experience aspects of themselves that they have been socially conditioned to repress (71). An addiction to sex is also used by some men to escape their emotions (129).

Rational thinking and the completion of tasks in order to achieve goals are prioritised as dominant markers of masculinity (Steinberg 1993: 2). Hegemonic masculinity perpetuates the idea that males should be ‘fearless, insensitive, egocentric and invulnerable’ (61). While other emotions are marginalised and deemed unacceptable displays of masculinity, anger is viewed as a permissible response for males. This may result in men ignoring their feelings until they become overwhelmed and express themselves through anger. Similarly, men may be more likely to display their negative emotions through the more accepted emotion of anger. Such anger is viewed as a display of dominance and control and is used to regain a sense of power (Denborough et al. 1996: 44). Hooks (2004: 96) suggests that intense

pain is expressed as anger and violence is used by males to take control of the pain. According to Hooks (2004:96) anger creates a sense of inner unity and generates a feeling of power. Many males choose to repress their anger rather than express their emotions, which often results in outbursts of violence against their loved ones (97). While pain and sadness underlie anger, these emotional wounds cannot be healed when men refrain from expressing their emotions in compliance with the constraints of hegemonic masculinity (97). Grieving has no place in a culture of hegemonic masculinity as it is perceived as a display of weakness (99). This inability to grieve prevents men from processing their pain and initiate the process of emotional healing (97). Grieving is important as it helps to release the sense of powerlessness, which underpins anger (98). Men typically do not acknowledge the emotional wounds that were created during their childhoods and there is a lack of male role models for grieving (99).

Pervasive gender inequality norms, that exacerbate GBV, include the perception that men are more adventurous, stronger and aggressive than women. Other prevalent gender inequality norms include the belief that men are better decision makers and leaders than women as well as that men are more intelligent and valuable. In addition to these perceptions, men are regarded as providers while women are ascribed the role of caregivers. Another predominant gender inequality norm is that boys should not cry (SAFAIDS 2015: 17), whilst girls are taught to prepare for married life and child rearing rather than for employment (SAFAIDS 2015: 21).

Hegemonic masculinity is difficult for many men to achieve in a South African context. The context of the migrant labour system, poverty and HIV/AIDs has resulted in a situation where many men are unable to perform the dominant markers of masculinity (Clowes et al 2013: 258). High unemployment rates make it challenging for men to support their family financially (Clowes 2013: 260), which exacerbates GBV (SAfAIDS 2015: 31). When men cannot display their masculinity through providing financially, it fosters an increase in the number of men who display their manhood through domestic abuse and rape (Meyer 2013: 7). Informal settlements are typically under-resourced with high rates of poverty, thus for many

men the construction of masculinity is taking place in a context of economic marginalisation (Graham 2014: 8). According to Hooks (17) capitalism, which was introduced by the West, emphasises making money at all costs in order to comply with hegemonic masculinity and this prioritisation of finances is perpetuated by the media (28). Hooks (24) adds that many African men earn low wages while having to cope with racism at work and the indignity of not earning a living wage.

Social instability and a society that is in transition make navigating masculinities particularly problematic. Rapid transitions threaten the fabric of society, which results in decreased trust and communication between partners in romantic relationships. When men feel that their masculinity is threatened by the inability to display power in other aspects of their relationship, it is more likely that they will use violence to maintain control in societies where violence is a permissible response to problems (Hatcher 2014: 1034). The prioritisation of external achievement as a dominant marker of masculinity can lead to feelings of inadequacy for men who value internal achievements, such as commitment to their family (Steinberg 1993: 99). According to Shefer (2008:2) risk-taking is a marker of hegemonic masculinity which, when combined with poverty, is particularly harmful to young South African males. The association of hegemonic masculinity with violence and danger are also harmful to both males and females (Shefer 2008: 2).

South Africa has a high rate of violence and child abuse. Boys who are victims of abuse are more susceptible to growing up to be abusive men (Hooks 2004: 75). In some instances, sexual abuse is seen as a rite of passage into manhood which forces boys to repress their feelings of shame, pain and inadequacy (80). Physical and emotional abuse causes psychological damage and as a result males become emotionally disengaged (92).

South Africa has a history of oppression and inequality. The unjust systems of colonisation and apartheid have left a legacy of violence, trauma, structural racism and disrupted families in their wake. According to Hooks (2004: 122) in a history of oppression, African people have learnt to repress their 'vulnerability in order to

survive'. In the context of oppressive systems, African males were indoctrinated into hegemonic masculinity, which justified the use of violence in order to maintain power (3). Domination and control of others are markers of hegemonic masculinity, however, a system of 'imperialist supremacist capitalist patriarchy' prevents many men from being able to achieve positions which allow them to enact control and dominance in a way that is socially acceptable (57). These men are more likely to resort to socially unacceptable behaviour to prove their masculinity (58). While apartheid has been abolished, racism and inequality is still prevalent in South Africa. Hooks states 'non-violent black males daily face a world that sees them as violent' (49).

2.6.3 The linkage between fatherhood and gender-based violence

Gender-based violence is a cycle of abuse which is often passed on from fathers to their sons. Similarly, violence is a learned behaviour which is passed on from one generation to the next. Boys, who witness violence in their homes, are more likely to become perpetrators thereof later in life (Krug et al. 2002: 103). Families are instrumental in the socialisation of children and research shows that witnessing family violence teaches children that aggression is an appropriate response and solution to problems. This results in boys, who are more likely to be perpetrators of violence than girls, to more likely become victims of violence (Fikree et al. 2005: 325). The prevalence of violence and dysfunctional families in South Africa contributes to the high rates of GBV (325). Boys are emotionally vulnerable during childhood and pressure to conform to hegemonic masculinity during this phase of life is linked to violent behaviour later (Hooks 2004:95).

The role of a father is associated with gender role modelling, which includes teaching children acceptable gender behaviour (Morison and Macleod 2015: 128). Fathers are viewed as having a particularly important role in teaching their sons how to be men because of their shared gender. The role of fathers in this context is to perform their masculinity in compliance with socially accepted gender norms, so that it can be replicated by their sons. They are responsible for teaching their sons masculine skills and sharing their masculine knowledge. In these instances,

socialisation is instrumental to the construction of masculinities where the son is taught how to behave accordingly by an older male (Morison and Macleod 2015: 128). Language plays a significant role in the development of gender roles. Emotions, particularly pride and shame, is also used to guide the development of and conformity to gender roles. Humiliation, isolation or physical punishment are some of the consequences of deviating from the traditional masculine gender role (Steinberg 1993: 52).

A nurturing and respected father plays an important part in the development of his son's masculinity. When the mother is valued in the home, it makes it easier for boys to integrate masculine and feminine characteristics to express their authentic selves (62). Conversely, a difficult family environment can result in 'defensiveness, fixations, disturbed images of masculinity, and pathological development trends' (62). The quality of a boy's relationship to his own masculinity is influenced by his father (69). According to Hooks (2004:114) authentic fathers have transitioned into adulthood and develop a sense of emotional maturity. They 'give love, that combination of care, commitment, knowledge, responsibility, respect, and trust' (114). Hooks (2004: 95) adds that a lack of guidance and psychological nurturing causes boys to emotionally disconnect to cope with life as best they can. When boys are emotionally abandoned by their fathers, it results in dysfunctional behaviour and a sense of powerlessness remains with these boys to adulthood (95). Powerlessness is related to a sense of worthlessness, which is accompanied by a lack of meaningful purpose (97).

Hooks (2004: 12) asserts that the same emphasis needs to be placed on fatherhood as society places on motherhood. Hegemonic masculinity supports the belief that the actions of males outside their home are more valuable than their actions within their households. This perpetuates the connection between the male's sense of manhood being attached to financially providing for their family (111). Providing financially is seen as a demonstration of caring for one's family, which disregards the importance of a father's emotional connection and love for his children (111). According to Hooks (112) males are as capable of nurturing as females are.

According to Steinberg (1993: 51) part of the psychological process of the development of masculinity is the identification with male role models. This process is guided by direct teaching, observation and feedback. Role models are selected according to their availability, perceived power and nurturing qualities. Children also look up to role models whom they perceive to be similar to themselves (51). Males long for and miss their fathers when they are absent from their lives and the lack of emotional support from the father causes boys suffer psychologically (Shefer 2008: 3). While hegemonic masculinity promotes the belief that mothers are more important than fathers, children yearn for their father's love and care. Boys require male adult role models who demonstrate constructive ways of negotiating hegemonic masculinity in a way that promotes their sense of self and embodies healthy ways of being a man (Hooks 2004:104). According to Hooks (104) the emotional engagement of fathers is vital in the development of boys. In order to create meaningful change, the belief that men do not have a role to play in the emotional well-being and nurturance of children needs to be addressed and active participation of the male role in parenting needs to be actively encouraged (105).

Males construct their masculinity through fatherhood, implying that fatherhood is related to hegemonic masculinity. Similarly, hegemonic masculinity effects the male's parenting practices as well as the decisions that he may make about his offspring (Morison and Macleod 2015: 6). In relation to fatherhood, hegemonic masculinity prioritises providing financially for the family and heading the household (Clowes 2013: 260). Protecting their family from economic difficulties is another aspect of the dominant constructs of fatherhood (Clowes 2013: 250). Males who define their masculinity through hegemonic discourses, are more likely to view violence as a permissible response to threats to their family's safety. As a result, the women and children in the household are expected to adhere to their father's rules, which requires subordination to the father's leadership. In this context violence is a permissible reaction to family members who fail to comply, as these transgressions are viewed as a threat to their safety. In this instance violence is viewed as a permissible display of the father's love and concern (Clowes 2013: 261).

While fathering a child is associated with hegemonic masculinity, other dominant expressions of masculinity disrupt the family unit. Hegemonic masculinity is associated with virility and sexual performance. Many males demonstrate these traits by having multiple sexual partners, which is a threat to the family unit. Linked to this dominant portrayal of masculinity is the male's perception of their sexual drive as insatiable and uncontrollable (Graham 2014: 10).

The high prevalence of absentee fathers in South Africa contributes to GBV. Absence refers to physical presence as well as emotional connection and involvement in their children's lives (Padi et al 2014: 51). An estimated 54 % of 15 to 49- year- old males in South Africa are fathers, however, 50 % of these males do not interact with their children on a daily basis (Holborn 2011: 5). Some 41 per cent of children aged 0-17 live with their mother only, three per cent with their father only, 35 per cent with both parents and 21 per cent with neither (SAIRR 2018: 3). Put a little differently, a third of South African children live in the same household as their biological father, another third live in a household with a man who is not their biological father and the remaining third in a household where there is no adult male (Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference 2019: 2). The number of absentee fathers is predicted to continue with future generations of males, as between 1996 and 2009 the number of living absentee fathers increased from 42% to 48 % (Mtimkulu 2006: 2).

In 2003, South Africa's Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) began a major research study titled The Fatherhood Project (HSRC, undated). The major publications resulting from this project were Richter (2004), Richter & Morrell (2006) and Swartz & Bhana (2009). Men were found to be focused on themselves and concerned with their own interests and careers and many occasionally or regularly used violence against their partners and children. High proportions of children did not know their biological fathers and many did not have the protection and care of a substitute father. There is little reason to believe that the challenges of promoting positive fathering in South Africa have changed to any extent since that project was

carried out and this has significant negative consequences. In the words of a recent report from the South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR), ‘Many of South Africa’s social ills can be attributed to problems relating to the lack of a stable family environment’ (SAIRR 2018: 2).

The negative impact of absentee fathers has far-reaching consequences and contributes to GBV. The lack of support from fathers impacts on the ‘psychological, financial, emotional, physical and cognitive effect’ of children (Mtimkulu 2006: 2). Hypermasculine behaviour, such as aggression, is more prevalent in boys who have grown up without their fathers (Holborn 2011: 4). Children with absentee fathers report feelings of frustration and anger (Nduna et al. 2013: 539). When the absence of their father is not discussed, children report feeling sad, angry, lonely and undervalued (2013: 544.) The absence of fathers is connected to low impulse control and increased risky behaviour (Allen and Daly 2007: 13). Research by Clowes (2013: 259) shows that boys felt that they needed the involvement of their biological fathers to help guide them through the challenges of becoming an adult. Boys who feel angry and frustrated are more likely to be perpetrators of gender-based violence, particularly if they do not have a father to guide them through dealing with negative emotions. Sons with absentee fathers grow up with less access to economic opportunities, which has a negative influence on their ability to provide for their family and therefore their masculinity (Allen and Daly 2007: 5). Likewise, sons with absentee fathers are more likely to fail at school and to drop out, which negatively affects their employment opportunities (5). The absence of emotional and financial support from fathers contributes to the likelihood of their children becoming offenders. Adolescents who have a strong relationship with their fathers are 80 % less likely to go to prison (5). The lack of a masculine paternal presence increases the likelihood of rigid adherence to hegemonic masculinity. Boys are more likely to exaggerate the performance of dominant markers of masculinity when there is a lack of paternal presence in the home. They are also more likely to be insecure in their masculinity (Steinberg 1993: 73).

While the absence of fathers has a negative impact, the presence of a father is a protective factor in the child's life. The role of a father is associated with stability, security, guidance, teaching independence and providing children with a male role model (Morison and Macleod 2015: 123). When fathers are involved in their sons' lives it is more likely that their sons will value gender equality. A son whose father is involved in his life, is more likely to grow up to be an involved father himself. Empathy and good morals can help to decrease gender-based violence and fathers contribute to the development of these traits in their sons (Levtov et al. 2015: 6). Fathers play a vital role in the emotional well-being of their sons (Nduna et al. 2013: 539) and children, who are connected to their fathers, are at a lower risk of delinquency and unemployment later in life (Levtov 2015: 6). The involvement of a father in his daughter's life protects her from gender-based violence and makes it more likely that the girl will grow up to be independent, empowered and financially successful (Levtov et al. 2015: 7). Girls who have involved fathers are more likely to have healthy romantic relationships later in life. A father's involvement decreases risky sexual behaviour in girls and boosts their self-esteem. (Holborn 2011: 4).

Hooks (2004: 106) suggests that part of the process of healing emotional loss caused by absentee fathers is for men to evoke what they liked about their fathers when they were growing up. However, because of the constraints of hegemonic masculinity, it is easier for daughters to talk to their fathers about the absence of emotional connection than it is for sons. When fathers are strict with their sons in order to conform with hegemonic masculinity, it generates a sense of worthlessness, making it difficult for sons to reconnect with their fathers (106). They may also lack in the ability to be intimate, which makes it difficult for them to bond with their fathers (106). Emotionally impaired men who have not recovered from their own feelings of loss and abandonment, and who have repressed their pain may find that this pain resurfaces when they are with their children (109). Likewise, men who have never experienced their own father's care, may not realise how much their presence and attention matter to their children (110).

Emotionally healthy relationships between men and women can help to reduce GBV and Hooks (2004: 117) suggests that conversations about relationships between men and women need to include explorations of what people were taught about relationships in their childhood. Relationships with other family members form the basis for all the relationships in men's lives (117). These relationships teach men about themselves as well as their emotions and which emotions are acceptable, as well as the permitted ways of expressing these emotions are perpetuated if they are not questioned (118).

While research has shown the negative outcomes of absentee fathers, it is argued that the disintegration of nuclear families has been pathologised inaccurately in many instances, as the patriarchal nuclear family is a recent western construct which was not prevalent in South Africa previously. It is argued that a focus on the absence of biological fathers leads to discounting the important role of social fathers, such as male family members and older men in the community. Social fathers play a vital role in children's lives by performing the functions that are typically associated with biological fathers. This narrative discounts the important role that social fathers are playing in the lives of male children (Morison and Macleod 2015: 135).

There are numerous causes of absentee fathers in South Africa. During apartheid the migrant labour system forced men to seek employment in the cities, which disrupted South African households (Holborn 2011: 1). The rural labour migration system takes fathers away from their families and further disrupts the family structure (Padi et al. 2014: 50). When children do not live in the same household as their father, it affects the relationship between the father and his children (Rabe 2007: 170). Another contributory factor is teenage pregnancy, as in these instances, it is common that the father refuses to accept responsibility for the new baby (Meyer 2013:8). With the prevalence of gender-based violence, some women opt not to disclose the identity of the father to their children, for the protection of both mother and siblings (Nduna et al. 2013: 543). Violence, accidental deaths and imprisonment result in the absence of many fathers (Padi et al. 2014: 53). As a consequence of the high unemployment rates, many men are unable to financially support their family, which results in the

physical or emotional absence of fathers. Alcohol and drugs also play a role in the lack of involvement of fathers (Holborn 2011: 5). Some traditions, such as paying damages for unwed pregnancies, have resulted in the identity of the fathers being withheld from children. When a father has a poor relationship with the mother of his children, he is less likely to be involved in his children's lives (Padi et al. 2014: 52).

2.6.4 The construction of alternative masculinities

Interventions to prevent GBV should include the strengthening of alternative masculinities, which may promote gender equality (Sathiparsad 2008: 249). Narratives of South African masculinities show how hegemonic masculinity is 'challenged and resisted' (Shefer 2008: 3). According to Shefer (4) it is important to 'document, advance and facilitate the hearing of resistant voices and meanings that make transformation possible.' Barker concurs with Shefer when he states that:

For every young man who recreates traditional and sometimes violent versions of manhood, there is another young man who lives in fear of this violence. For every young man who hits his female partner, there is a brother or son who cringes at the violence he witnesses men using against his sister or his mother. For every young man who refuses to use a condom, there is another who discusses sexual health issues with his partner. In discussion of male 'social pathologies', particularly in discussions related to HIV/AIDS and to violence, these alternative voices are often lost (Barker, 2005:6).

Masculinities are complicated, fluid and socially constructed. There are alternative masculinities, which males enact as they develop their masculine identity. Males must navigate competing social expectations and contradictory social norms in order to select which aspects of masculinity to prioritise (Graham 2014: 11). Individuals, families, communities and organisations impact on the ways that males navigate their masculine identity (Denborough et al. 1996: 93). Daily interactions influence the construction of masculine identities and sexuality (Graham 2014: 3). The focus on dominant aspects of masculinity has resulted in alternative expressions of masculinity being overlooked (9). Failing to acknowledge alternative masculinities, which males express through different behaviours, hampers in-depth understanding

of masculinities (Graham 2014: 3). In order to create change, alternative displays of masculinity need to be noticed and strengthened. (Denborough et al 1996: 95).

Challenging hegemonic masculinity is made possible by examining alternative masculinities, which display different ways of being a man. Discourses around hegemonic masculinity play a role in shifting the current constructs of what it means to be a man (Morison and Macleod 2015: 32). As males navigate their masculinities, alternative narratives of being a man emerge which are more supportive of women, children and communities. Moving away from dominant markers of masculinity results in improved partner relationships, gender equality and respectful communication. Mutual sexual decision making is a desired outcome of moving away from the hegemonic marker of dominance (Hatcher 2014: 1034).

While hegemonic aspects of masculinity were discussed by participants in a study by Clowes (2013: 263), there were alternative aspects of masculinity that these men valued in their lives. Alternative narratives of what it means to be a man that counter the markers of dominance and control, included 'nurturance and interdependence, forgiveness, humility, respect and consultative decision making' (Hatcher 2014: 1034). Participants involved in research on intimate partner violence expressed how they had shifted from defining their masculinity as having fun outside the home with other men to defining it by being attentive and caring fathers. These men linked communication to respect, which revealed an opportunity for men to construct their masculine identity on aspects which value non-violence (1034). Alternative values proposed by a participant in a study on fatherhood conducted by Rabe (2007: 168), were that of love and guidance. Another participant in the same study stated how he associated fatherhood with guidance and collective participation in household chores. He also expressed a preference for communicating with his children rather than turning to corporal punishment (Rabe 2007: 169). Research by Morison and Macleod (2015: 122) reveals that in some communities, gender norms are transitioning from linking fatherhood with providing and protecting, to improved gender equality, where both men and women are tasked with providing for the family. Hooks (2004: 31) suggests that men who embrace alternative markers of masculinity, use periods

of unemployment for personal development and to explore their creativity. These men use this time to discover their purpose in life, their values and their emotions. They focus on the importance of community and love.

Research by Graham (2014: 16) reveals that some young men included responsibility in the development of their masculine identity. Their masculine identity was enacted through accepting responsibilities in their household and community. Acting as a role model to other males in the community through sports and religious institutes was associated with responsibility and therefore formed part of the participants' masculine identities. Risk avoidance was used to show their responsibility and their ability to contribute to the community was another attribute that the participants associated with being a man. Graham's (2014: 11) research shows that for some men, having control of their sexuality and the strength to be faithful to one partner replaces virility in the construction of a masculine identity.

The context in which men are living is an indication of the factors which contribute to gender-based violence, as well as factors which support men in choosing alternative expressions of masculinity. A participant in Graham's research (2014:11) revealed how his close connections to his family supported him in opting for a monogamous relationship over displays of virility. In terms of romantic relationships, participants expressed their commitment to emotional care and chivalry towards women (15).

When men comply with hegemonic masculinity, their beliefs and actions reflect what is expected of them rather than representing their individual ways of being. It is necessary for males to separate their individual masculinity from the collective masculine culture. In order to develop their individuality, males need to overcome the fear of deviance as well as possible feelings of guilt and tension (Steinberg 1993: 3). Part of challenging hegemonic masculinity includes a journey towards psychological wholeness, which is supported by the understanding that separating human characteristics into masculine and feminine categories is misleading. Psychological wholeness is achieved through the internal integration of masculine

and feminine characteristics. The journey towards psychological wholeness enables males to self-actualise by accessing their full potential as a human being (5). Adhering to hegemonic masculinity means that in most cases males have not developed all the ‘skills, feelings, values and behaviours’ that are required to manage life effectively and to reach their full potential (10). The psychological integration of masculine and feminine attributes is associated with improved self-esteem as well as an improved ability to exhibit the most effective behaviour in a diverse range of situations. While it is not necessary to eliminate the traits that are associated with hegemonic masculinity entirely, men need to consider whether these traits are congruent with their personal beliefs and attitudes towards life (97).

According to Hooks (2004:111), in order to transform, males need to reclaim their past and have the courage to develop emotional connections that are free from shame in order to heal and to create new narratives. A journey of self-discovery is required where men explore their family history and their relationships with their fathers as well as facing their own painful pasts. Part of the healing process involves exploring their early relationships, what they were taught as children and how those teachings shaped their sense of identity (111). Thus, there is a need for men to repair their connection with themselves as well as with their loved ones (111).

In Sathiparsad’s (2008: 255) research, alternative masculinities emerged during discussions on GBV with some participants showing support for relationships that value gender equality. These alternative masculinities offer potential opportunities to change perspectives on GBV (255). Sathiparsad maintains that alternative ways of being a man include men’s “openness to mutuality, responsibility and equality in their relationships with women” (257).

2.6.5 Context

Understanding the context that this research took place in is an essential aspect of a narrative approach. It is also important as hegemonic masculinity is ‘profoundly located in local discursive, cultural, political, institutional, and economic contexts’ (Shefer 2008: 3). In order to be effective, interventions to decrease GBV need to be

contextually appropriate. Interventions should consider how gender norms differ in various contexts (Jewkes et al. 2019:12).

While GBV occurs in a diverse range of contexts across the globe, this type of violence is exacerbated by many of the conditions that are also found in South Africa. According to Promundo and Sonke Gender Justice (2014), these factors include 'an ineffective criminal justice system, poverty and economic stress as well as young boys and girls having experienced violence in childhood.' Apartheid legitimised violence, deeming violence as an appropriate response to conflict and causing a loss of dignity in African people. Violence as an aspect of conflict in relationships has continued in the aftermath of this unjust regime (Sathiparsad 2008: 248). Violence in relationships was found to be prevalent particularly in rural areas of South Africa and it was attributed to the need for men to be in control (Sathiparsad 2008: 250).

Approximately 40% of the eThekweni Municipality's population resides in informal settlements where violence, GBV, racism and xenophobia are rife. Residents are faced with high levels of poverty and unemployment and mental trauma, substance abuse and HIV negatively impact on the well-being of residents in these areas (Gibbs et al. 2018: 1).

The Molweni location is relevant to this research as it is located in the western area of the eThekweni Municipality near Durban, on the urban periphery where many of the factors that exacerbate GBV are present. Residents of Molweni have expressed their concerns about the high rates of GBV, which include rape and ongoing virginity testing (Todes and Meth, 2018:1). In 2017 the residents organised a peaceful protest to emphasize their rising concerns about the rates of crime and rapes in their community (Todes and Meth, 2018:2).

Molweni, with a population of 20 000, is made up of peri-urban and rural settlements with a prevalence of informal backyard shacks (22). 33% of the population are between the ages of 15 and 33 years old. 48% of the residents in Molweni are female and 52% are male (UDIDI: 2012: 16). This low-income area is underdeveloped with

high levels of poverty and unemployment (Todes and Meth, 2018:1), and where many households do not earn the minimum required income of R2279 to support a basic nuclear household (1). 40% of households fall under an income level of between 0 to R600 per month, 30% are middle incomes of between R601 and R5000 with 30% in the high income category of above R5000 (16). The area is surrounded by the more affluent areas of Kloof, Waterfall, Hillcrest and Pinetown, where residents from Molweni seek employment. This increases transport costs and results in the income being spent in these more affluent areas rather than supporting the economy in Molweni (1). Inanda Road provides access to Molweni, however, transportation inside the settlement is poor and restricted by the difficult topography. This has a negative impact on the economy in Molweni as well as on employment opportunities (14).

Numerous residents of Molweni were born in the area or have resided in this area for a long time, which has created a robust sense of community. There are a high number of orphaned households and grandmothers assume responsibility for children who do not have parents. The youth are faced with a sense of hopelessness due to unemployment as well as issues with education and boredom (Todes and Meth, 2018:2).

There is a need for increased policing in the area, as although there is a satellite Police Station at Molweni, it is only used to verify documents. The response rate to crime is slow and the residents rely on the Hillcrest Police Station, which is located some distance away, to respond to crimes. Residents trust the Ward Councillor and view him as helpful and fair; he also collaborates with the traditional leaders to oversee the communities (Todes and Meth, 2018:2). There is poor access to services, such as shops and clinics, as well as limited transportation that necessitates residents to walk far distances. Many ATMS are positioned in taverns, which increases the amount of money that is spent on alcohol (Todes and Meth, 2018:1). The facilities in Molweni is summarised as follows:

Table 1: Summary of the facilities in Molweni (Todes and Meth, 2018:1)

Facility Type	Number
1. Educational Facilities	
1.1 Primary School	4
1.2 High School	1
1.3 Combined School	1
1.4 Crèches	6
2. Health Facilities	
2.1 Health Post	1
2.2 Mobile Clinic	3
3. Community	
3.1 Community Hall	1
3.2 Churches	7
3.3 Sizakala Centre	1
3.4 Police Station	1
3.5 Cemetery	2
4. Sport and Recreation	
4.1 Sportsfield	6
4.2 Parks/Playgrounds	1
5. Other	
5.1 Taxi Rank	1
5.2 Tuck Shops/ Stores	24

2.7 Knowledge Gap

Research has been conducted into GBV across the globe. GBV prevention programs have been reviewed and conclusions have been drawn. The What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls Global Program has compiled evidence of the impact of these interventions in various settings, and concludes that:

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) is driven in part by gender attitudes, norms on gender inequality and the acceptability of violence, which are socially reproduced and shared. Women's rights organisations across the global south have dedicated themselves to challenging these. Early evaluations of work they have championed has shown that sufficiently equipped community volunteers, guided in a long-term

structured programme, can enable widespread diffusion of new ideas on gender and VAWG and ultimately achieve changes in harmful attitudes and norms across communities (Jewkes et al. 2019:2).

However, further research is needed into the perspectives and views held by South African males on their masculinities as well as the alternative masculinities that may decrease future GBV. If hegemonic traits are not reviewed, they will continue to be passed down from fathers to their sons, supporting the high rates of GBV in South Africa.

2.8 Exploration of interventions

Interventions focusing on the masculinities that are being passed from fathers to their sons is important because research shows that GBV is perpetrated from a young age. Therefore, guidance from positive male role models aimed at young boys may help to decrease the high rates of GBV. A 2009 study showed that 9.8 % of the male participants in research conducted in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal revealed that they were younger than ten years of age when they committed their first act of rape. 16.4% were between the ages of 10 and 14, 46.5% were between 15 and 19 years old and 18.6% were between the ages of 20 and 24 years old (Jewkes et al. 2009: 1). Research in 2011 showed that 75% of men committed their first act of rape before they were twenty years old (Jewkes et al. 2011: 1). Internationally 29.4 % of girls between the ages of 15 and 19 have been the victims of intimate partner violence (World Health Organization 2013: 31). Knowledge of GBV in South Africa is limited with only 25% of young people understanding GBV (SAFAIDS 2015: 8).

The *Stepping Stone Intervention* was implemented in South Africa with the aim of reducing GBV. This participatory intervention incorporates critical reflection as well as a range of topics, including gender and power and was implemented in conjunction with *Creating Futures*, which aims to strengthen livelihoods and reduce poverty (Gibbs et al. 2018: 2). An evaluation of these two interventions implemented together showed a decrease in GBV as well as decreased alcohol consumption. The reduction in GBV may be attributed to increased awareness that GBV is unacceptable as well as decreased stress levels and increased income. Improved

communication skills are also a likely contributor to this outcome. During the research, female participants reported high levels of GBV, which emphasised the need for interventions to reduce this type of violence. Increased support from the Police is required as well as improved services for the victims of GBV (Gibbs et al. 2018: 3).

An evaluation of *Raising Voices SASA!* a community mobilisation intervention to prevent gender-based violence in Uganda, showed a significant decrease in the acceptance of intimate partner violence among women as well as men. There was also an increased acceptance that women can refuse sex as well as a decrease in intimate partner violence. Another valuable outcome was that women who were victims of GBV received more support from the community (Abramsky et al. 2014:122).

The *Safe Homes and Respect for Everyone* project included a community intervention as well as workshops to prevent intimate partner violence. Women reported a reduction in physical and sexual intimate partner violence, however, there was no reduction in emotional intimate partner violence. The incidences of male-reported intimate partner violence were also not reduced (Wagman et al. 2015). The evaluation of these two interventions emphasises the need for further research into the impact of changes in social norms in different contexts (Jewkes et al. 2019:4).

The *Sonke CHANGE* trial which took place in South Africa, achieved a limited impact on decreasing intimate partner violence. An analysis of the intervention shows some impact on less violent men, while the intervention may have caused elevated levels of violence perpetrated by the more violent men. This intervention excluded important components which have proven to be effective, such as incorporating the development of critical thinking and communication skills. The context of poverty, violence and inequality had a negative impact on the results of the intervention (Jewkes et al. 2019:8).

2.9 Recommendations

Research by Abrahams et al. (2012: 3) revealed no evidence that current efforts to reduce GBV are effective and the researchers recommend that current interventions need to be reconsidered. The researchers propose that efforts to reduce gender-based violence need to focus on primary prevention interventions (Abrahams et al. 2012: 4).

It is necessary to create awareness on GBV among the youth. A baseline assessment conducted by SAfAIDS in Zimbabwe reveals that only 25% of the youth had a thorough understanding of GBV (2015: vii) and it is uncommon for emotional abuse to be perceived as a form of GBV (SAfAIDS 2015: 11). After conducting the baseline assessment, SAfAIDS recommended that projects need to be implemented to increase the awareness on GBV amongst young people in schools. SAfAIDS recommends the implementation of programs designed to empower males to change detrimental gender inequalities (2015: x).

In the *Men's Non-violence Project*, the Texas Council states how it is important to create safe spaces for men to join each other, express their feelings and explore healthier ways of being a man. This goes against hegemonic masculinity norms that cause men to see each other as adversaries, which result in feelings of isolation. Similarly, the notion that men should repress their feelings is also challenged by groups meeting to discuss alternative ways of being a man (Texas Council 2009: 3). When men and boys commit to bringing GBV to an end it is more likely that they will share what they have learnt with their peers (Texas Council 2009: 10). Meaningful change is facilitated by engaging men and boys in skills-building activities, which include positive messages about masculinities. Focussing on self-awareness and then using this awareness for action is a helpful strategy (Texas Council 2009: 13).

When developing and implementing interventions, it is vital to acknowledge one's stance in current power dynamics. This is the first step when one is setting up measures to ensure that power dynamics are not replicated in the intervention. When

working with young people, a respectful intervention should be voluntary, feedback from young people must be valued, transparency regarding program goals should be maintained and the notion that only adults possess all the knowledge needs to be negated. The intervention should also create a space where the youth can express their opinions and share their knowledge (Denborough et al. 1996: 98). It is important for men to meet with other men to explore constructs of masculinity. However, meaningful shifts need to be made with contributions from women. In this way the experiences of women are included in alternative constructs of masculinity (47). Interventions should include views from girls where boys can acknowledge the alternative aspects of masculinity that girls value. This also allows the girls to support the boys in different ways of being a man (110). One of the barriers to the acknowledgement of women's narratives of hurt and consequently barriers to change in the constructs of masculinity is the fear that it will result in the reversal of the situation, where the males are controlled by females (60).

When working in a culture other than one's own it is necessary to look for solutions within that culture rather than imposing solutions from the home culture. In order to bring about change, one needs to examine the cultural memories of communities who have faced injustice, to find value systems that uphold equality between men and women. In research conducted in pre-colonised Samoa, the equality in relationships between brothers and sisters could be transferred to create equality in current relationships between romantic partnerships (60). Solutions should be driven by the individuals that are part of the intervention as each context is different. Interventions should select people within the community they are working in as examples of men who value alternative displays of masculinity (110).

Programs are not the only method of sharing knowledge, as the media and interactions within households have played a role in previous efforts, such as education on HIV. Communities can also play a role in knowledge distribution, including communal gathering areas such as religious spaces (SAfAIDS 2015: 45).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The aim of the research was to gain a deeper understanding of alternative masculinities as well as to strengthen alternative masculinities in the hope of reducing future GBV. The narrative research component sought to explore the views held by a select sample group of young males on GBV, their masculinities as well as where this thinking originated.

This chapter provides details on the research design, the research methodology and the motivation for the approaches implemented in this research. Details of the sample group are provided, followed by a description of the data collection and analysis as well as ethical considerations.

3.2 Research design

Links between masculinity, fatherhood and GBV were explored using a narrative approach. This approach was preferred as the participants were viewed as co-researchers, which acknowledged their expert knowledge as well as their ability to act on the problem. This design facilitated meaningful conversations and was well-suited to exploring the dominant social construct of hegemonic masculinity.

In this theoretical framework, problems are viewed as narratives developed through language over time and in relation to the wider social context. This approach acknowledges that people's lives are shaped by the stories that individuals and communities tell to make sense of their experiences (White and Denborough 1998). A story is defined as a series of events, which are joined in a sequence, over time, and in accordance with a plot (Morgan 2000: 5). When individuals are blamed for problems, it is disempowering and creates a sense of hopelessness, therefore narrative therapy views people as separate from their problems, which facilitates change. Investigating the history of the problems and the effects that negative stories have on the lives of individuals creates space for change in thinking and behaviour. Investigating the context in which problem stories have evolved makes visible how identities have formed over time and in relation to power dynamics. Creating the

space to investigate dominant constructs without blame, facilitates the questioning of these dominant constructs and makes visible alternative stories. Everyday acts of resistance are celebrated and alternative ways of being are strengthened (White and Denborough 1998).

A narrative approach enables the exploration of dominant narratives of what it means to be a man, the context that these stories are formed in, the effects of these stories as well as alternative stories from the participants' own lives. This design was effective because it made hegemonic constructs of masculinity visible and enabled the participants to collectively take a stance against the negative consequences that these dominant stories have on the lives of men, women and children. Taking a narrative approach created space where the participants could explore different ways of being a man that are in line with their values as well as the hopes and dreams that they have for their lives. There was some indication that this led to changes in thinking and behaviour. One participant was adamant that men should not cry, however, after the discussion he went home to confer with his brother on the matter and reported back to the group that sometimes men do in fact cry.

3.3 Methodology

The research was approached from within an interpretive paradigm, employing a qualitative research methodology. This methodology was selected because the research included an in-depth analysis of a few case studies. This methodology was congruent with the aim of the research, which was to gain an understanding of the associations between gender-based violence, masculinity and fatherhood.

According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2004), an interpretive paradigm focuses on people's experiences and the meanings that they attribute to their experiences. This research was exploratory and, therefore aimed to gain more information about the relation between masculinity, fatherhood and gender-based violence in a South African context. According to Mclean (1996: 81), interventions with young men need to begin by gaining an in-depth understanding of their experiences, which include the challenges that they are facing as well as their hopes for the future. A

defining aspect of qualitative research is understanding the experiences of individuals from their own perspective and considering the context that they are living in (Mouton 2001: 195). By using a qualitative methodology, the research aims to gain rich insight into a group of young men's subjective experience of their masculine identity and the influence that their fathers have had on shaping their sons' masculinities. In qualitative research, the aspects of design typically evolve over the course of the study (Mouton 2012: 123). While a workshop was designed with the research questions and objectives in mind, there were no set questions asked. The participants' discussions were generated from the workshop and are consistent with the use of narrative therapy; curious questions, free from preconceived ideas or judgement were asked to gain better insight into their meaning. This approach facilitated deep listening to the participants' questions as well as organic responses to their insights. In many instances the participation guided the direction of the conversation as they discussed various aspects of GBV, masculinities and fatherhood amongst themselves.

3.4 The sample

The sample population consisted of eight young males between the ages of 18 and 35, who are residents of Molweni. This small sample size promoted and facilitated an in-depth understanding of the subjective experience of the lives of young males in a particular context (Crothers et al. 2013: 100). The sample was therefore appropriate for the study aims as well as the theory.

3.5 Sampling method

A non-probability sampling method was used, as is the norm for qualitative studies. Participants were subjectively selected from the research population. While the participants are only included if they meet the research criteria, the method makes use of convenience sampling. Participants were chosen for their availability and for their willingness to participate in the intervention (Crothers et al. 2013: 100). Furthermore, the focus of the research was to gain an in-depth understanding rather than to make generalised claims (Crothers et al. 2013: 100). The participants were invited to attend the program by an NPO, the Vuleka Trust, which runs projects in

the area. The NPO identified participants and explained the research as well as their role in the study. The list of participants that were invited was generated from a WhatsApp group of young males who had also participated in other Vuleka projects in the past. The participants who joined the workshop were the ones who responded to the invitation and arrived at the Community Centre on the day of the workshop. Informed written consents were obtained from the participants before the program began.

3.6 Data Collection

Data was collected from the subsequent discussions during a three-day program, with participants meeting for four hours over this period in the Lower Community Hall, 108 Hexane Rd, Lower Bloemfontein, Molweni. All the participants remained for the duration of the workshop, except for one participant who missed a day because of his part-time employment commitments.

The program design (see addendum 1) was influenced by the literature, theories on masculinities and narrative therapy. The participants were questioned to facilitate discussions on masculinity, GBV and fatherhood. The spoken language used throughout was English. At times the participants conversed in isiZulu and a translator provided appropriate English meanings. With permission from the participants, audio recordings were used for data collection. The core function of the program was to facilitate in-depth conversations and feedback where participants were comfortable enough to share their experiences and perspectives. The group setting enabled participants to discuss their perspectives and experiences amongst themselves and to communicate with each other. This facilitated the simultaneous collection of data from several participants.

On the first day an icebreaker was used to enable participants to get to know each other as well as to create a relaxed atmosphere where they felt comfortable to express themselves freely. The researcher participated in the icebreaker to build trust with the participants and to move away from being positioned as an expert. The participants were asked to explain why they had joined the group, which provided insight into their expectations for the program. Team expectations and commitments were

discussed, which encouraged the participants to participate freely. This included a non-judgemental approach and the assurance of confidentiality.

The participants completed the Tree of Life activity (refer to addendum 2), drawn from narrative therapy and used as a tool to explore their individual stories, hopes, dreams and values. The participants shared aspects of their Tree of Life with the group. It was important to initiate the discussions with the individual stories of the participants so that they could identify their own ways of being a male according to their stories. Their aspirations for their future and their values could be compared against the effects of hegemonic markers of masculinity. This enabled the participants to engage critically with hegemonic markers of masculinity and decide whether they supported or opposed these ways of being a male. During the second session, causes of gender-based violence were discussed. The participants discussed the topic amongst themselves, while the researcher asked curious questions to clarify meaning as the discussion took place. The Act Like a Man Box activity (refer to addendum 2) was used to facilitate a discussion on the expectations that are placed on males by wider society. This facilitated the process of naming the problem and also gaining a richer description thereof, which is important when taking a narrative approach. An activity and role play were used to explore the dominant markers of masculinity further. The discussion centred on the origin and the effects of these ways of being a man

In the third session, the discussions focused on identifying male role models and the qualities and behaviour that males admire in these role models. This gave the participants an opportunity to identify valued alternative masculinities.

Pretesting was used to assess the efficacy of the data collection instruments and reduced the probability of errors occurring during the implementation of the data collection phase of the research. The data collection method was pretested during an interview with a father prior to the implementation of the research. The literature reviewed and information from the interview created the baseline data that was used

to develop the program. Information provided by the father and son was used to adjust the program design according to their recommendations.

3.7 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to interpret the data. Thematic analysis is useful when limited information is available on the research area as it exposes the underlying processes of people's behaviour (Matthews 2018: 11). While there has been extensive research on masculinities, this study aims to expand the understanding of the masculinities that fathers are passing on to their sons, which has not been researched extensively to date. Although there is extensive research on hegemonic masculinity, there is limited research on alternative ways of being a man and how one can strengthen these alternative masculinities, which are more supportive of women and of non-violence. The advantages of thematic analysis are that it offers the researcher flexibility and can generate new understandings (Matthews 2018: 54).

Thematic analyses focus on the participant's perspective, ideas and interpretations. This approach is congruent with narrative therapy, which considers people to be the experts of their own lives (Matthews 2018: 12). Thematic analysis aims to generate rich descriptions of the participant's experiences, which corresponds with the narrative therapy used in this study (Matthews 2018: 11). A narrative approach was used to generate rich descriptions of alternative ways of being a man that are more supportive of women and harmony. This is an essential aspect of the research, as by enriching these alternative stories, it makes them more visible in a society that prioritises and rewards problematic, hegemonic constructs of masculinity.

During this process, the feedback from the group discussions during the program were transcribed and transcripts were read holistically to gain an overview of the data collected (Giorgio and Giorgio 2003). This was achieved by suspending personal and theoretical preconceptions. Transcripts were engaged with, noting down any initial thoughts to gain an in-depth understanding of the data and meanings as well as patterns were scrutinised (Matthews 2018 : 34).

Interviews were read critically and separated into natural units of meaning by marking when there were changes in meaning (Smith and Osborn 2003). The data was coded and separated into units of meaning while noting any emergent contradictions to the themes (Matthews 2018: 35). Once the coding system was developed, the researcher examined how the patterns are connected to form themes. Natural meaning units that enables a certain kind of measurement, were coded for themes that relate to GBV, masculinity and fatherhood and these themes were reviewed to determine whether there was enough data to support them or not. This step involved checking and refining each theme and once the themes were reviewed, they were named and their link to broader theories assessed.

Comments were made to clarify meanings that were implicit in the discussions. The natural meaning unit was then transcribed into formal language, while still reflecting the participants' original meaning. When writing up the data, each theme was explained and phrases from the discussion were included to ensure a strong relationship between the participants' meaning and the interpretation thereof. The role of context, namely young males in Molweni, was acknowledged, however, the themes were transformed into more universally applicable statements (Giorgio and Giorgi, 2003). Themes were related to the theory as well as maintaining a strong relationship to the participants' meaning. The themes were then analysed in relation to existing theory so that the findings from the study could be contextualised in the existing body of knowledge (Smith and Osborn, 2003).

An important aspect of thematic analysis is reflexivity, where the researcher engaged in self-reflection during the research process (Matthews 2018: 11). As an English-speaking, white female working with Zulu-speaking males, reflexivity formed a vital part of the process to explore the influence an adult female facilitator had on the outcomes of the workshops.

Thematic analysis was used to reveal how people make meaning from their experiences. This approach is used to acquire insight into people's viewpoints and understandings as well as the reasons for their behaviour. Examining the words that

people use and the meaning that people attach to words lie at the core of this approach. Therefore, information about the language that participants used was gathered and notes were made of their behaviour (Matthews 2018:11). Thematic analysis is appropriate for this research as it provides a rich and comprehensive understanding of the data (Braun and Clarke 2006). This approach aims to understand the meaning that males attribute to their experiences and how this meaning is linked to the dominant constructs of masculinity in society. The aim was to understand how the masculinities that fathers pass on to their sons contribute to incidences of GBV.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Validity and reliability as well as anonymity and confidentiality were addressed by the researcher as described in the sections below.

The researcher obtained informed consent from the research participants by requesting them to sign a written consent form. Informed consent includes the discussion of the predicted advantages and disadvantages of participating in the research. The participants were made aware of their right to decline to participate in the research as well as their right to opt out of the research at any stage (Crothers et al. 2013: 64). The participants were not coerced or deceived in any way into attending the program. Confidentiality was important to ensure the safety of the participants. It is also part of the process of building a rapport with the participants and therefore played a role in the success of the study. Confidentiality was ensured by removing identifying information from the research, including the names of the participants. Pseudonyms were used to ensure anonymity. *Pro bono* counselling services by a registered professional for referrals was made available to the participants if required.

3.9 Validity and reliability

Validity refers to whether the study measures what the researcher sets out to measure (Crothers et al. 2013: 233) and takes into account how accurately the research

findings represent the data (Long and Johnson 2000). Reliability refers to whether the study can be replicated with the same results, (Crothers et al. 2013: 233) as well as the consistency of the research (Long and Johnson 2000). The inclusion of several participants helped to increase reliability as themes that are presented by each participant are more likely to arise with other young men. Eight participants took part in the workshops to ensure the consistency of the results. The researcher ensured that there were no personal bias which may have impacted on the interpretation and outcome of the study.

Precise record keeping was employed throughout the research process. The interpretation of the findings included rich descriptions as well as quotes from the participants (Long and Johnson 2000). The participants were consulted on the accuracy of the interpretations of their contributions during the discussions and clarifications on the meaning that they attributed to their experiences were sought as necessary.

Triangulation was used to ensure the consistency of the findings and therefore contributed to the validity of the research. In addition to reinforcing validity, triangulation contributed to a more in-depth understanding of the phenomena being studied (Kennedy 2009). Relevant literature was reviewed, and data was ethically collected. Different data sources were used during the triangulation process, including a transcription of the discussions, written notes from observations and video recordings. Findings were organised into themes and compared to the relevant literature. All findings were factually included without bias.

3.10 Context

The study was conducted in a community centre in Molweni, Durban. The residents of Molweni experience significant levels of GBV, which makes focusing on this region of KwaZulu-Natal appropriate.

The study was limited by funding and time. The small sample size included in the research as well as the non-probability sampling method decreases the generalisability of the findings and makes standardisation impractical. The study

focused on young males residing in Molweni, and thus will not be generalisable to all males. The sample was limited to young males who were available and willing to participate in the research. The data collected and analysed focused on the subjective experience of the sample group. In this qualitative study, the findings could be subjected to other interpretations.

3.11 Conclusion and reflection

The research design, data collection and data analysis used in the research generated insight into the participants' experiences and the meaning that they attributed to these experiences. The approaches that were selected by the researcher made it possible to generate meticulous findings and valid results for this research.

The program made it possible for the participants to explore the masculine thinking that they have subscribed to as well as where these ideas originated from. During the process, alternative narratives of what it means to be a man were described and these narratives were enriched with the hope of reducing future gender-based violence. The participants were enthusiastic about sharing their experiences with the researchers and each other, which was reflected in their commitment to attend the entire three-day program with a low rate of absenteeism. The participants concurred that there was a lack of male role models in the community and they appreciated having a space for men to come together and have discussions about topics relating to masculinity. Due to the lack of male role models in the community, they requested that an older male attend the final day of the workshop to respond to any questions that they had relating to their masculinity.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The themes that will be explored are what shapes masculinities, the link between the construction of masculinities and GBV, the effects of not complying with dominant masculinities as well as the exploration of alternative masculinities. Four themes were selected because the participants provided in-depth information on these themes and these themes were frequently referred to. They relate to the objectives of the research, which are to explore GBV in relation to the construction of masculinities, to determine what fathers pass on to their sons in terms of masculine thinking and to gain an in-depth understanding of alternative masculinities.

These themes contribute to the understanding of this research area and extend existing literature on GBV and masculinities. While acknowledging the researcher's influence on the results, these themes focus on the meaning that the participants attribute to their experiences, which are presented in the participants' own words.

4.1 Origin of male masculinities

Understanding the origin of male masculinities is particularly important when taking a narrative approach as it enables a review of the history of the problem, and also understanding more about the context of the problem.

4.1.1 Male role models

During the workshop the participants discussed the origins of their ideas about how to be a man. Consistent with findings by Steinberg (1993: 51), male role models played a key role in the development of male masculinities. The participants' responses focused on learning from other males in the community. As the following excerpt illustrates, the participants stated that they learnt how to be a man from their fathers, brothers, grandfathers and male leaders in the community, including the Councillors, Chiefs and Indunas (headmen).

***Researcher:** Where did you learn that you should be like this?*

***Sanele:** It is my grandfather and some men in the community. The leader of men in the community.*

***Bongani:** The leader of men in the community.*

***All Participants:** The Chiefs, the Councillor, Induna (headman).*

Consistent with findings by Morison and Macleod (2015: 128), several participants agreed that other men in the community play a role in shaping their masculinities. The importance of male role models in the development of masculinities was reflected on by Siyanda, who stated that he does not believe men should cry because ‘Shaka and Mandela’ never cried. This suggests that leaders play a role in determining which markers of masculinity are acceptable.

As expected, the absence of fathers in South Africa, identified by Holborn (2011: 5), was prevalent in this group of participants. Most of the absentee fathers were attributed to death as the fathers of Sanele, George and Thabo had passed away. Siyanda described his father as being absent from his life and he attributed it to the generation gap between him and his father. He felt that because his father was much older, his father was unable to be involved in his life and was unable offer him the guidance that he needed. Despite these absences, all the participants considered their fathers to be their role models, which is articulated in the following statement by George:

***George:** My role model is my father, although he passed away to, but still I can take him as my role model . . .but you will learn as you grow up and I didn't have so much time with him to ask him, how to do all those things and how to have those qualities that I should have as a man so I'm able to take good care of my family. I didn't have that time so I took all those words that he was telling me before, so I just banked them in my mind, and each day I just remember it . . . so much thing, I just learn it on my own, how should I take things, how should I behave in front of people like my father. Because when he was still alive, I used to see his movement, his behaviour, the way he treats his family, the way he talks with people, the way he supports other people. I used to take those things and say my father was a good man.*

While the majority of the participants explained the absence of their fathers in their lives, they still described their father as a role model. As identified by Morison and Macleod (2015: 128), the participants reported that fathers play an important role in teaching the younger males how to perform their gender. All the participants shared that they learnt how to be men from their fathers. They learnt the qualities that men

should have, how they should behave and develop a manly gait as well as how to treat others. Consistent with research carried out by Clowes (2013: 259), the participants felt that they needed their fathers to offer them guidance. This suggests that while there is a high rate of absent fathers, it is still important to examine what fathers are passing on to their sons in the way of masculine thinking. Even if they are absent, fathers play a vital role in the construction of their son's masculinity.

While Levtov et al. (2015: 7) found that a son who has a father that is involved in his life is more likely to grow up to be an involved father himself. Siyanda is involved in his daughter's life despite having had an absent father.

Facilitator: *What is important to you in life?*

Siyanda: *It's my daughter, I've got a daughter. I wish that my daughter will be triple times better than me, I wish that my daughter would love me more than everything, more than anyone.*

As evident from the following excerpt, the role of brothers in the construction of masculinities was also identified as an important factor. After a discussion on whether men may cry or not, Siyanda went home and asked his brother this question.

Siyanda: *I did my own research yesterday, I asked my brother, is a man allowed to cry? He said there is a situation where a man finds himself crying where he can't get his own space to cry.*

After his brother had shared these sentiments, Siyanda was more open to the concept of men being able to cry. These findings indicate that other men in the community can assist in influencing the construction of masculinity in a positive way. Prior to this conversation with his brother, Siyanda was adamant that men should never cry and should instead opt for revenge. During the discussion with the other participants about whether men could cry or not, the researcher noted that Siyanda became tense and banged his hands on the table, even getting up from the table in frustration when some of the participants suggested that it is acceptable for men to cry. Guidance from his brother showed a significant change in his thoughts about crying. While the

discussion during the workshop helped to engage Siyanda in reflecting on the possibility that it was acceptable for men to cry, and initiated his conversation with his brother, change was not achieved until his brother assured him it was acceptable for men to cry.

As explained above, all the participants expressed their desire to learn how to be a man from older men. However, most participants expressed the view that there was a lack of role models in their community. This stands in contrast to the findings of Morison and Macleod (2015: 135), who argue that current research places too much importance on the status of biological fathers while overlooking the involvement of social fathers in children's lives. However, while this research suggests that older men do play an important role in shaping male masculinity, it found that there was a lack of men who were fulfilling this role. This indicates that there is a need in the community for mature males to offer guidance to the younger males. Siyanda shared that life taught him how to be a man, which suggests that he has had a lack of access to male role models. Sanele, Lungani and George attended the workshop to receive guidance about being a man, which suggests that they are not receiving this guidance from men within their community. This is reflected in the following excerpt from the discussions during the program:

Researcher: *Why did you decide to join the workshop?*

Sanele: *The reason I'm here is because I need to know all about a man and the behaviour of a man. I need to be a man.*

Lungani: *The reason that I'm here I need to learn more about how to be a man and what men think about their woman.*

George: *I want to learn how to stay being a man and learn how to treat others especially the females and how to take things accordingly. If you come across with some situation that is stronger in age than you are, I want to learn about that.*

The participants shared that they could not approach older males in the community for guidance as they were unsure of how they would react. The participants felt that the use of alcohol by older men was also a barrier to accessing the guidance that they longed for. When the participants did not have a present father or brother and they were reluctant to approach older males, they had to try and work everything out on

their own. This was reflected on by George who stated that ‘I just learn it on my own’. George also explains how he used memories of his father’s advice and behaviour to guide him as he ‘has nobody else to talk to’.

George: I used to take all those things and just say, my father, he was a good man, he always takes good care of people, he always supports people. So me too, I should do those things, understand people who are not easy to understand, when its not easy to understand their situations. So I have to be different like he was before. So, I can take him as my role model and other people who are more elder like on his age, those people that I used to see with him, who used to treat people like him, and refer myself to them, that I should be like them when I grow up. So I grew up with this thing, I want to be different, not to stick on something that is not important, that will lead me on something that is not good because in these now days, things are happening, and I can take, I can say, life is moving fast and if I’m saying that and taking things for granted, it won’t be easy for me to meet my life expected if I’m moving in a way that I can’t understand what I am doing.

This suggests that George uses the memory of his father as a role model to guide him away from ways that he perceives to be unsound. He added that he learnt to ‘take good care of people’ and ‘support people’ and ‘understand people who are not easy to understand’ This is consistent with findings by Allen and Daly (2007: 5) which suggests that fathers have an impact on the moral development of their children, and by Levtov (2015: 6), which suggest that fathers play a role in the development of empathy in their children. In this instance, George values alternative markers of masculinities because his father valued them. Caring for people as well as supporting and understanding people are alternative markers of masculinity passed on from father to son.

During tea breaks, the facilitator noted comments by the participants on how they felt insecure about their masculinity because of the lack of guidance from male role models. George thought that his voice was too feminine, and he had no father to teach him to speak in a more masculine tone, which has caused him feelings of embarrassment.

In response to the lack of male role models in the community, Sanele mentioned a Men's Forum that was already established in the community, where men could gather to discuss the challenges that they are facing and seek guidance from other men as well as from the leader of the forum. All the participants were interested in attending the Men's Forum and Sanele shared the details for the WhatsApp group with them. As most of the participants stated that they were attending the workshop to learn how to be a man, which also suggests that there is a need for a space where men can meet to discuss their masculinities. While this is encouraging, Sanele suggested that other men could attend the forum to discuss how their wives were mistreating them, which suggests that it's not necessarily a space where hegemonic constructs of masculinity are challenged as this focuses the conversation on the grievances that men have against women. This comment may have been made to avoid taking responsibility for violence and shift some of the blame to women or was an attempt to acknowledge that men are also victims of abuse in some instances. The participants suggested that an older male should attend the final session to answer their questions in response to the lack of male role models in their community.

4.1.2 Ancestors

The findings suggest that male masculinities are also shaped by their ancestors. Men tend to replicate the masculinities of their ancestors, which indicates that it is important to review the masculine thinking of past generations. Concepts of masculinity are passed down from one generation to the next out of respect for the ancestors, as explained in the extract below:

Siyanda: *As for us we believe that we are also connected with our ancestors and we must do what they used to do in the old days. That is why we are still doing things the way that they used to do it.*

Researcher: *So you should do things like your ancestors used to do them?*

Siyanda: *Yes, you see if there's a ceremony at home I will burn mphepho and talk to my ancestors and I believe that if I'm not doing what they used to do, I will be disrespecting them or going in the wrong way and if I'm doing what they used to do my kids also will grow up because the way they used to do things before made my father to grow.*

This suggests that hegemonic markers of masculinity are replicated out of respect for tradition. Siyanda explains that if he failed to continue with the ways of his ancestors, he felt as if he was “disrespecting them” or “going the wrong way”. This suggests that hegemonic markers of masculinity will continue to be passed down from one generation to the next if they remain unchallenged. Deviating from these hegemonic markers of masculinity is viewed as improper and disrespectful. He continues that the ways of the ancestors enabled his father to grow up so he feels that these ways will enable him to raise his children successfully. This theme is reflected in the following excerpt:

George: From my point of view, I think that this means that as we are a new generation, we are still stuck on the past. You can't tell me to do this while I'm being told that you are telling me its wrong, but I have to take things the way that I am taught by my father or my grandfather or something like that.

The reference to grandfathers and fathers in this excerpt suggests that ways of being a man are passed down from one generation to the next. George's comment of being 'stuck in the past' shows how ways of being a man are replicated without being questioned. He continued that his generation does not want to let go of notions used by their ancestors or elders that taught them how to approach life. This suggests that he values the guidance and ways of his elders. This excerpt reveals a power dynamic between grandfathers, fathers and sons as children are expected to respect and follow the ways of adults.

4.1.3 Media

During the discussion a connection emerged between action movies and the traits of hegemonic masculinity, anger and revenge.

Siyanda: I'll prove myself strong by going for revenge

Researcher: So its okay to be angry?

Siyanda: Yes, yes so they'll see that I'm a man and that I'm responsible

Thabo: You've watched too many action movies

In this excerpt Siyanda states how he would not cry if something happened to his daughter but instead, he would go for revenge. He connected feelings of anger to demonstrating that he ‘is a man and responsible’. This suggests that anger is the only acceptable emotion for men and that men need to perform their masculinity.

The connection between masculinities and the media was reflected by Thabo, who suggested that Siyanda has ‘watched too many action movies’. When explaining where he learnt how a man should behave, Siyanda maintained that it was from ‘watching television, watching different dramas and movies.’ Echoing observations by Denborough et al. (1996: 93), this indicates that the media plays a role in shaping masculinities and maintaining the prevalence of hegemonic masculinity. It is significant that while Siyanda’s father is alive, he is not involved in his life. Perhaps if he had been guided by his father or other positive male role models in the community, he would be less influenced by the media.

4.2 Causes of gender-based violence

4.2.1 Finances

During the workshop, the participants were questioned on the causes of gender-based violence in their community. The first explanation given by the participants was that in relationships, financial issues were a trigger for violence against women. Sanele explained that when men perceive that women are trying to appropriate their earnings, this often leads to fighting and violence. There was no recognition that women are expected to do household tasks and require money to buy food and other household expenses.

Sanele: The main cause of violence is relationships, when I have money and you’re trying to take that money that I have, you’re mixing money and relationships and then we fight.

George added that when the man is earning money and the woman is not, it can result in the man feeling like he is the boss.

George: *Sometimes in a relationship when I have money, any money just a small wages, that's where its starting its gonna be like I am your boss I'm the one that can tell you what to do because I have the money and you don't have the money, you have a small amount of money.*

This suggest a connection between the ability to financially provide for the family and hegemonic masculinity. Consistent with the findings of Clowes et al. (2013:261), hegemonic masculinity is constructed as having control and dominance over women.

A second example concerns situations where women are earning a higher salary than men.

Sanele: *Sometimes violence comes because when the woman has much more money and it comes to an argument, it's going to be easy for her to say I'm packing my things and leaving, she has everything that it takes to stand by herself. So she's not really dependent on him in everything, she depends on her own way, on her own money. So when there's an argument she just packs her stuff and takes her children and leaves. Then he's going to go stand by the gate and just punch her, punch her.*

Disputes about money when women are earning an income can also result in violence. This suggests that violence is an acceptable response to disagreements in a relationship. As explained by Denborough et al. (1996: 92), the acceptance of power over others as a demonstration of masculinity vindicates the use of force by men as a method of regaining control. When women are financially independent, it is easier for them to leave the man during an argument, which can result in the man using violence to regain control over her. Perhaps this is also because men feel that their masculinity is being threatened, as providing financially is a hegemonic marker of masculinity and males will resort to violence to prove their masculinity through dominance in response to this perceived threat.

George described how gender equality can cause anger in men when they perceive that they are working harder than women. He explained that when there are tasks that women struggle with and request assistance from the male, the males view themselves as the leaders because they believe they have to work harder than women. This theme is reflected in the following excerpt:

Sanele: Yes they can't do the hard work because they're soft and even when it comes to the salary paid they should get an equal payment but even though they didn't do an equal job so that's why we're going to have fighting, ja.

As explained by SAFAIDS (2015: 17), gender norms include the belief than males are stronger, more intelligent and more valuable than women. Perhaps for this reason, when women earn on a par with men, it can lead to violence because men believe that they are working harder and so should get paid more. In this instance, ideas about gender equality and equal pay cause men to react with violence when they have not changed their belief that men and women have equal value. There was no recognition that women are paid less for the same work and mostly tend to have low paid jobs.

4.2.2 The perception that men cannot control their sexuality

A second explanation of GBV provided by the participants was linked to what women wear. Research suggests that men believe that what women wear can give rise to GBV. Most participants believed that women should not wear short skirts or shorts because men are unable to control themselves when they are attracted to a woman.

Sanele stated that if a woman was wearing something short, he would not let her near his house. He suggested that women should wear something that was long but not trousers. He added that women can wear denim jeans but not to Church.

Sanele: It comes with gender, you know those gender qualities. That a person who is a woman must wear this and a person who is a man must wear this. So in Zulu sometimes women are not allowed to wear pants and pants are not made for women they are only made for men. So your grandfather wouldn't allow you to wear pants even inside his house. So he is saying that that comes with appearance, that he didn't want you to appear as a boy or to appear attractive to other people.

Sanele refers to 'gender qualities' which suggests a belief in innate qualities that men and women are expected to portray. An aspect of displaying the qualities that are expected of each gender is through the clothing worn by males and females. Rather

than a continuum of qualities and clothes that can be used to reflect men and women's authentic selves, there are gender norms that they are expected to comply with. The reference to the term 'appearance' suggests a concern with how men and women are perceived by others in the community.

Sanele also linked what girls and women wear to men's feelings of attraction. He explained:

Sanele: *I think that a father that didn't want that child to come with pants in his house or a short skirt is something to do with feelings and attraction. That father will get attracted, will get more attracted to the child that came.*

He added that some men are incapable of controlling themselves when they see a woman in short skirts. This is consistent with findings by Graham (2014: 10) that a dominant portrayal of masculinity is the male's uncontrollable sexual drive.

Further examples that men believe that they are incapable of controlling themselves are found in the following excerpt:

Bongani: *Some men cannot control their feelings and they cannot control themselves. When they see a woman with short skirts or what, they just become sweaty or they just can't control their feelings.*

Siyanda expressed the hope that his young daughter would never meet Sanele.

Siyanda: *I also wish that my daughter would never meet Sanele (laughter from all participants). I wish that she never meets Sanele so she will be safe.*

Researcher: *Why do you wish that she never meets him?*

Siyanda: *You know Sanele likes these ones hey (sexual gestures). Maybe Sanele will be her sugar daddy and I will not like that for my daughter.*

Although George explained that limiting what women wear is an outdated idea that is no longer relevant, he maintained that 'we must make sure that women don't wear to

show off but wear just to look good and to feel good, not to show off at men.’ He added that women can prevent this problem by wearing suitable clothing.

George: *A person is defined in the way that she or he walks, yes, yes. Because you didn't choose the place to walk in a way that you are walking by. You should understand the situation of somebody else that's not in your gender because once a man sees something that is attracting him on somebody's body, he's going to say oh god I wish (laughter). Once there is that word I wish, obvious, everything is next now. So that's what I'm telling you. I'm not saying that you should change your style of walking but be careful of what you are wearing. When you're going to walk or when you're in a place where there is a lot of men there. You should understand the situation that they can't take it when they see someone who is beautiful and attractive at the same time, you know. Because all their eyes will be on you, they're not going to face another way or somewhere out there. Their eyes are going to point there.*

George's comment that 'it's obvious, everything is next now' suggests that it is inevitable that men act on their attraction to women and that they do not have a choice in the matter, as they cannot control themselves. He added that 'you should understand the situation of somebody else that's not in your gender' which suggests that women are being inconsiderate when they wear revealing clothing. This suggests that he believes there are inevitable biological traits associated with being a man rather than learned behaviours and socially acceptable gender norms. Women who cover their bodies are considered virtuous and respectful as reflected in the following example:

George: *But if she is wearing something that's respectful to her body. Then I'm going to say oh wow that's a woman, she's good. I'm not going to throw myself at her, I'm going to say that woman, she's good and she knows how to respect her body. She thinks of herself as a respectful person.*

Sanele suggests that violence against women is a result of men being jealous when they see other men looking at their girlfriend because she is wearing revealing clothing. Men feel jealous if other men look at their girlfriend when she wears revealing clothing as they suspect that she is being unfaithful. He maintains:

Sanele: *This topic takes me back to what we were saying yesterday about violence. Let us say that you are my partner and you are wearing something that attracts some other men and you are not walking with me at that time. And it*

happens that I come there to find that these boys or men are watching you and even following you and even someone tried to stop you and talk with you. I'm going to feel so jealous now, what is she wearing? I'm going to start thinking that she's going to see that when we're together I'm going to slap her because I saw something that's not good on my eyes at that time. I didn't feel well when I was seeing that thing happening in that moment. Then I'm going to start to be so aggressive on you, that becomes violence. But if you wear something that's long enough for your body and covers your body then those people should respect you at that moment and I would have understood if someone came to you and asked to talk with you aside. Then I would have understood wow she is wearing something that is more interesting, and some other man is going to wish to talk with her. Like expressing their feelings on you even though I know that you are my partner and I trust you and you won't agree with what they're going to say because I know that you are a respectful person. You respect your relationship, then there's no need to worry that you're going to give that person a chance. Then there's no need to fight. I should understand but jealousy will always be there.

In this instance, violence may be used against women in response to their feelings of jealousy. Perhaps violence is used to regain control over their girlfriend if they suspect that she is seeing other men. Alternatively, men could be using violence to cope with their feelings of jealousy. As explained by Denborough et al. (1996: 43), when males suppress their emotions, they are more likely to blame others for their feelings because they are not aware of their psychological processes and are unaccustomed to taking responsibility for their feelings. The result is that males are more likely to use violence in response to their negative feelings. This is illustrated when Sanele says 'I didn't feel well when I was seeing that...then I'm going to start to be so aggressive on you' Instead of taking responsibility for his emotions, he turns to violence to resolve his feelings.

The connection between GBV and what woman wear is reflected in the following quote by Xolani:

Xolani: *"I agree with what was done in the past because what women wear now it leads to a man going to rape that person because of what they are wearing. So if women can just carry on wearing long skirts, be boring like old times, maybe that can lead to men not raping women or men not raping kids. Wearing long skirts will just create self respect to that child or to that woman."*

However, George contends that it's wrong to follow the ways of the past as times are changing. While he suggests questioning the traditional notions, he still believes women should cover their bodies so that they do not create problems.

George: *I will disagree with my brother here; I'm not fighting back but here we are giving each other a better solution how to be a man and how to stay being a man. If you're saying that you can go with the way that was doing before, that is wrong. They didn't protect their body enough, even before. Because when I'm taking you back from the beginning, let us say that you were born in Shaka's time, you still can say that ladies were wearing something to protect their bodies, if you watch the movies of Shaka's time, you'll see people wearing nothing. In time things change and we learn that now we should cover ourselves because we see that men are getting problems if they see us wearing nothing in these now days. Things go on and go on and things are changing again.*

Researcher: *Why in those times could men control themselves when women didn't wear tops and now they can't control themselves all of a sudden?*

Sanele: *Back then rules were much stronger than now, once you were found raping a woman or doing some bad stuff with a woman you were just going to be killed, you wouldn't go into jail and come back out. Back then it was not easy to go easy on women as now. It wasn't that they could control themselves easily, it was that they were afraid of the law.*

Researcher: *But then they were afraid of the law so they didn't rape, so they managed to control themselves, right?*

Siyanda: *Some men didn't control themselves because they were found out and the rule was put there.*

Sanele: *A man can't control himself, but the law can control him.*

This excerpt illustrates how men do not believe that they can control their sexual urges. However, they believe that harsher punishment and legal consequences would decrease GBV.

However, Thabo states that women should feel free to wear what they want and that it is the responsibility of men to control themselves:

Thabo: *I disagree with what has been done a long time ago. Being a man is about your actions and about thinking about controlling yourself. You cannot just see*

any women walking past and just think that you want to be with that women or think something else for that women. You just need to control yourself and be controlling enough that if you see a woman walking around you can think oh, she is beautiful but then pass it away. And its nothing to do with her dress code, your dress code means nothing because we're living in sometimes very cold weather, the weather that allows us to wear pants and the weather that is sometimes very hot, that allows us to wear something very short, short bum shorts and everything that appeals to us, to feel free as women.

4.2.3 Saying no to sex

The third explanation was that there is a link between women saying no to having sex with their partners and GBV. This resonates with the findings of SAfAIDS (2015: 31), in that when women refuse to engage in sexual relations with their male partners, it increases the risk of GBV.

This theme was reflected on in the following quote by Siyanda:

Siyanda: *If I'm saying that I'm not in the mood to do that, he's just going to hit me, because it means that I've got it from somewhere. When I want to do it, she must do it, even if she doesn't want to do it.*

Perhaps this is because sexual performance is a dominant market of masculinity and men want to assert their masculinity by dominating and controlling women sexually. Men also fear that their female partner has been unfaithful to them, which alludes to a sense of fragility and self-doubt in their masculine identity. This is reflected in the following extract:

Siyanda: *That's why it ends up in polygamy, because when a man feels insecure, they want to make sure that he can have sex with different women.*

Researcher: *Does that stop you from feeling insecure?*

Siyanda: *It stops you from feeling insecure, it makes you feel strong and in control*

Siyanda refers to men feeling insecure, which again alludes to the fragility of hegemonic masculinity. Sexual performance with other women is used to prove one's manhood. Feeling 'strong and in control' are markers of hegemonic

masculinity. Consistent with findings by Hooks (2004: 71-72), male use sex as confirmation of their masculinity and to assert their power. Perhaps men feel that their masculinity is under threat when their girlfriends say no to sex and use violence to regain a sense of control, hence proving their compliance with hegemonic traits of masculinity. While men are concerned about their female partners being unfaithful, sexual relations with other women are viewed as part of hegemonic masculinity.

While George was sensitive to a woman's right to say no to having sex, he maintains:

George: It does happen that when a man wants it today, a woman doesn't want it today. But then a woman should just meet that man halfway. Because it also happens when a woman wants it today and a man is not thinking about it today, a man does meet that woman halfway. So it is important to meet each other halfway. You can say that now in this moment, I don't want to do this but I should convince you, please, at the end of this day, please I want this to happen. I want to do this by 3 o'clock, she said no, I'm going to leave you but come back again later. Maybe at 8, 9 I'm going to ask you again. Please can you do this?

Researcher: But if she says, not today?

George: I'm going to try my best to find out why, what happened, what are you feeling.

In this extract, George makes references to valuing alternative masculinities, such as compromising and maintaining some level of communication with his female partner. George's efforts to discover his partner's feeling demonstrates that he values understanding others and acknowledging their emotions, which also shows his preference for different ways of being a man. However, he still feels that by the end of the day his partner should not reject his advances and should have sex with him. Echoing the observations of Denborough et al. (1996: 96), boys are sent the message that girls are there to be coerced into sex for the pleasure of boys.

Clearly George felt insecure when he was unable to demonstrate his sexual performance:

Researcher: She's just not feeling like it, she's tired.

George: *Then I'm going to suspect myself, because I want to know. I'm going to think back, there's something that I'm not doing it well to her, that's why she's refusing to do this think now, to do this thing on this day. Another thing, maybe we're not performing well. I'm going to think that.*

Researcher: *Does it make you feel insecure about yourself? Does it make you feel bad about yourself?*

George: *Yes because she is refusing what I'm asking, even though I understand that at that time I said can you do this now and she said no I'm not feeling to do this now, then I'm going to come back later on and try to convince her. Then she just refuses it, then I just leave her and come back later and come back later and say, I really want to do this, please can you let me, then she refused again. Then I'm going to say oh god, there's something that I'm not doing it well, because why is she just refusing without saying any problem that she has. She should tell me something, because today I'm not feeling well. Because we always make this thing day by day by day and then I should understand that we always do this but if we're doing this after two or three days, then I should think that there's something that I'm not doing it well. You know, something that makes a man to be happy, it's his partner. Because I can't say that a man is happy about having money in his pockets or money on his hands. No, most of the time, men use money to be with women's so I can't say that men are happy to be getting money, its rare, very rare.*

Women saying no to having sex with males make them question their sexual prowess. As sexual performance is associated with hegemonic masculinity this refusal threatens the male's masculine identity. However, George also values his female partner and strives to satisfy her, which is an example of alternative masculinities.

4.2.4 Old fashioned ways applied to modern contexts

A central idea expressed as a cause of GBV was outdated ways applied to a modern context. A solution offered by the participants was to combine the traditional ways with new ways to develop solutions to violence while honouring past traditions. This theme is reflected in the following statement by Siyanda:

Siyanda: *I think the main cause of the violence and abuse is the way that people used to live in the past. Maybe our forefathers or our grandfather's they will be controlling everything in the house that is what we are also trying to match in these days that even if you have a girlfriend, you must control her.*

In this extract Siyanda makes a connection between the hegemonic marker of masculinity, control, and violence. He mentions 'trying to match' these old ways which suggests that this construction of masculinities is being passed from one generation to the next.

A further example of traditional thinking and violence is found in the following excerpt:

***George:** So, what I'm trying to say is that violence sometimes, it is caused by the past, by the action that we take relating from the past'*

While George values the old ways, he suggests combining these traditions with new knowledge to create different ways of being a man.

***George:** We are willing to mix things, like things that happened before we combine it together with the things that are happening in this new generation. So we are taking things like I don't want to drop something that was used by my ancestors or by my elders that I used to taught us how to focus how to approach the life. We used to say that I don't want to drop that thing down. I want to carry it and combine it with the thing that I've been taught at school. That the thing that's misleading us and put us in a situation where we are like together with our partners, with those people who are trying to support us, notice they are loved ones or what but they are there to support us, but we are just taking some anger or something like that from us to them. Just like saying you can't tell me to do this while I'm being told that if I do things the way that you are telling me its wrong but I have to take things the way that I am taught by my father or my grandfather or something like that.*

George mentions being 'together with our partners' and that their partners are 'there to support us' which suggests that he values a sense of connection in a relationship, therefore illustrating a different way of being a man. In this excerpt, George suggests that men question the construction of masculinity that they have been taught as a possible solution to GBV.

In the following excerpt George expands on how to create new ways of being a man, while emphasizing the association between violence and the masculinities that are being passed down from generation to generation.

George: Yesterday as I was saying that most of the times violence it happened in a way that sometimes we take something that we were taught about that was doing by the elder people or the older parents long time ago and they tell us that we have to go on their feet and do what they were doing before so that we should understand the life. So what I mean now to combine some views that is doing by the other mans it is good because it's the other way of progressing in life to know more things that we should understand and we should pick on as a man. So mixing something that is good that we have been taught about by the people that are older than is, it is good. On the things that people that are older, that they were doing before, we should pick the things that are good and combine them with what we have learnt about as from now in the new generation so that can it could be useful for us in understanding the principles of self.

George discusses the possibility of combining previous thinking with new ways, which illustrates how men must negotiate their masculinities. It also suggests that change is possible as men can learn and choose different ways of being a man. He mentions 'understanding the principles of self' which suggests that its important that he gains insight into himself. This falls outside the hegemonic markers of masculinity, which focus on the external rather than the internal. This suggestion by George is significant as according to a narrative approach, the solutions to problems lie in the knowledge and resources of the community.

Another example of the importance of combining tradition and modernity is found in the following excerpt:

Siyanda: Ja I will agree because if you don't mix the old way with the new way because the way we live now has changed from the way that people in the past used to live. You can still go hunting but that will not mean you are living the way of the past because there are butchers where we can get meat, but you are just enjoying the sport. We do something and other things that were done in the past because we enjoy them.

4.2.5 Hegemonic construction of masculinity

Consistent with findings by Clowes et al. (2013: 258), hegemonic masculinity (as defined in section 2.5.2) was identified by the men as a causal factor of gender-based violence. Clowes further observes that the display of control was associated with

hegemonic masculinity, which may lead to gender-based violence. This is illustrated by George in the following excerpt:

George: *I think the other reason why most of the time men gets to be mad. it's just that they just take a relationship and include the money side and when they're performing whatever in a relationship, they just take that, men and women are equal in power and rights. But most of the time people they used to say that take that actually men are the people that should struggle more than a female so at the end of the day when it comes to the relationship as we are men we are used to saying I am the man, I am the boss here, I should do anything like controlling anything in the house, controlling anything in a relationship as I'm a man. That's why those problems are involved in relationship and money so I can support him about that and just say that most of the time I would complain about the equal rights, when we talk about equal rights, Its very hard because sometimes I'm going to feel like whatever I'm doing she should do it to,so that we will be equal in everything but if I'm doing something that will take her to struggle on it then I will feel like I'm the boss here and she can't do it but at the end of the day she's going to come to me and say you have to do this for me. I don't know if you get what I'm saying?*

George describes how men are accustomed to being in the lead and how they want to control everything in the home as well as in their relationship. Echoing the observations of Morison and Macleod (2015: 130), being the leader of the household and providing for the family are constructs of hegemonic masculinity. Sanele maintains that to be a man you need to be the 'breadwinner' which is a construct of hegemonic masculinity.

Siyanda expressed the importance of men having control over women, which is a construct of hegemonic masculinity. This theme is reflected in the following excerpt:

Siyanda: *Even if you have a girlfriend, you must control her, she must know that you are the boss, she must do anything that you say must happen. It doesn't matter if she's coming from a rich family or she has got a lot of money but if you are a man you have that tendency that you must be respected. If you say something, what you said must be done and if that didn't happen, I must give maybe one slap.*

Control is displayed by women being obedient to him, which is viewed as a sign of respect. His remark of giving his girlfriend 'one slap' illustrates how violence is used

as a response to loss of control or perceived disrespect. Echoing the observation of (SAfAIDS 2015: 31), when women or children question the leadership of the husband and father, or engage in behaviour that is perceived as disrespectful, GBV is a more likely outcome.

The markers of hegemonic masculinity are emphasised by Siyanda in the following excerpt:

Siyanda: *The values of a man as we said yesterday is that a man should be strong, should be protective, should be respected.*

Sanele expressed the importance of men “having that power to show” and having “men’s power in your life.” Power is associated with hegemonic masculinity. His use of the word ‘show’ suggests that masculinity is performed.

The participants indicted that men must negotiate contradictions within the constructs of masculinities, which can lead to GBV. This was illustrated by the participants describing how some men navigate these contradictions by using violence. Consistent with the findings of Denborough et al. (1996: 16), dominant markers of masculinity are unstable, which may result in men using oppressive behaviour to deal with a persistent fear of not being ‘good enough’. This theme is reflected in the following quote by Sanele:

Sanele: *Men don’t want women to show that women have more power, that is why there is violence.*

Sanele added that women are more intelligent than men, but men do not want it to be known. He described how women are able to master tasks and make them their own while men are unable to. He stated that after being taught something new women will remember what they have learnt but not men. He added that this makes women more powerful than men and that is why many women find employment while men remain unemployed. This could be interpreted as an example of the fragility of the

hegemonic masculine identity. Declaring who is ‘more powerful’ is another reference to power and dominance, which is associated with hegemonic masculinity.

The responses of Lungani in the following excerpt are an example of the value placed on hegemonic markers of masculinity.

Researcher: *So do you think its okay to share your problems with your family or do you think its not okay?*

Lungani: *Its not okay to share your problems with your family because as a leader they will see you as a weak man.*

Researcher: *What happens if your family thinks you’re weak?*

Lungani: *If you are a weak man, your family is going to disrespect you. If they disrespect you, they’re not going to listen to you, if you say they must do something they won’t listen, if you’re the leader of the family, you must lead by example. If now you are a weak man, you cannot lead the family by example, they will decide to do their own things because they don’t believe in you.*

Lungani values being a leader of the family and feels that men should ‘lead by example.’ Leadership is a quality which is associated with hegemonic masculinity. Here ‘sharing your problems with your family’ is perceived to be weak. If the family ‘won’t listen’ or decide to ‘do their own thing’ it is considered disrespectful. This suggests that family members are expected to obey the male, as the head of the household. Displays of weakness are also associated with the family not trusting the man. This can be interpreted that men believe that their families will not trust their capabilities if they do not display the hegemonic markers of masculinity. The inability to express their problems to their families, prevents men from receiving the support they need, impedes proper communication and promotes disconnection. Consistent with findings by Clowes et al. (2013:258) independence is a hegemonic marker of masculinity that isolates males from their communities.

Another possible causal factor of GBV is the expectation that men should repress their emotions, except that of anger. The participants discussed whether men should cry or not. Consistent with the findings of Denborough et al. (1996: 44), while other

emotions are unacceptable displays of masculinity, anger is viewed as a permissible response for males.

All the participants agreed that when you tell someone to be a man, you are saying 'don't show me your weaknesses'. This is illustrated by the participants who agree that men must 'be strong, if you're strong it means you're not showing your emotions.' When asked whether men may cry or not it generated laughter and an animated discussion. Bongani stated that 'a man must prove that he is strong by not crying and by not showing his weakness at that time'. As discussed previously, Siyanda emphatically associated crying with weakness. He stated that 'a man doesn't cry' as it means that he is 'weak'. He added that he would never cry as it would be showing that he is 'not strong.' Echoing observations by Hooks (2004:99) grieving is not permitted under the constraints of hegemonic masculinity as men are expected to refrain from any displays of vulnerability.

Siyanda described how he learnt that crying indicates that he is not strong when he was circumcised on the mountain. He added that:

***Siyanda:** When a man is going for male circumcision, a man there is not allowed to cry, even if you put a needle on your penis, I was not allowed to cry because it will show that you are not strong, you are weak.*

Siyanda described anger as an acceptable emotion for a man as he associates anger with strength. This is illustrated when he states that if something bad happened to him, he would 'prove himself strong by going for revenge'. He felt that getting revenge would show others that he is a 'man and responsible.' He added that a man 'must show that he is angry, even when he asks for a beer, you can see that, ay, that man is angry.' This suggest that anger is used as a display of dominance and control and perhaps it is used to regain a sense of power.

Siyanda described how 'when a man keeps his anger inside, he sometimes is angry at everyone, even if that person did nothing'. As identified by Hooks (2004:97) this suggests that many men choose to repress their anger rather than express their emotions which often results in outbursts of violence against their families.

4.3 Exploration of alternative masculinities

During discussions on how men are expected to behave, alternative constructs of masculinities emerged. It is evident that men must negotiate contradictions within the hegemonic constructs of masculinity. All the participants agreed on how individuals navigate these constructs of hegemonic masculinity differently. However, these actions are not necessarily congruent with the individual values and beliefs of the male. It's important to explore men's individual constructions of their masculinities, as while some men may subscribe to the dominant markers of masculinity, they have a choice to act differently. This theme is reflected in the following quote by Bongani:

***Bongani:** On my own view I think to be a man we have different ways because we don't think the same and we don't focus the same. I do things my own way and they do things their own way. So if I have a woman by my side I will try by all means to make up to her and make her feel safe by my side. So I don't think other men think that because I don't live in their minds. So to be a man I think it's your own choice and your own way.*

Bongani states that deciding how to act as a man is a choice. This suggests that masculinities are constructed, rather than being inherent in nature. This creates possibilities for change where men can choose 'different ways' of being a man rather than conforming to societal expectations. His remark 'making the women by his side feel safe' may be interpreted as preferring non-violent expressions of masculinity.

George adds that there are different ways to be a man because you cannot take one action to be a man as you must understand life first. He explains:

***George:** To be a man, you can be a man in different ways because you can't take one step to learn to be a man. You have to understand everything, every principle based on life. How to go on life, handle things and how to walk, how to take care of anything that should be taken care of. I think those are principles to learn how to be a man.*

The concept of taking action to be a man suggests that masculinity is performed. He stated that men need to understand everything, which suggests an alternative way of

being a man who values understanding different points of view. This notion is expanded on by Thabo who adds that being a man is about your actions.

The participants discussed some of the alternative ways of being a man that they value.

***Sanele:** I think that there is a different way to be a man. To be a man you must not be a violent person. There's a different way to be a man you can be a man by being a breadwinner and by being responsible at home and in many ways.*

Sanele suggested that there is another way to be a man, which includes being non-violent. His reference to 'responsible at home' is significant as the home is typically considered the domain of women, thus men are typically less involved in the home. He says that you can be a man in 'many ways' which opens up opportunities for men to be a man in a way that is congruent with their own values and authentic selves

A second example was provided by George, who maintained that 'to be a man means not to be aggressive.' While having control over others is a trait associated with hegemonic masculinity, Thabo shared that being a man is about self control. Sanele asserted that as a man it is important to protect your family, society, community and 'even the dog around the yard.' He added that to be a man you need to have animals and cows to take care of.

Bongani described how he values communicating with people, which is a behaviour that contrast with hegemonic masculinity. He maintains:

***Bongani:** My dream is to change South Africa to a developed country, I want to share my good ideas with people, specially people in my life especially with my family and friends. The dream that i have is to play football. If I have the money, I'm going to donate to school and clinic.*

While hegemonic masculinity is associated with independence, Sanele stated that interdependence, asking for help and supporting other people is important to him.

Sanele: *In life there are many things in life that we should understand. I don't know how to say it. Its the most important thing to know yourself and where we come from and how to respect others, how to approach the life. And how to give support to the people around.*

In this excerpt Sanele explains how it is important to 'know yourself', which again suggests a different way of being a man, as hegemonic masculinity does not value the understanding of internal processes. He believes it is important to 'respect others' which portrays a different way of being a man as hegemonic masculinity is focused on men gaining respect from others. While hegemonic masculinity values independence, Sanele emphasizes the importance of interdependence, where he is offered support from others and supports them in return. He maintains:

Sanele: *It's very important, very much. You can't live alone, you have to get that support from other people, I can't live on my own without having some views from some other people who will say okay you want to do this, you need to his first to do what you want to do. So I can't, I'm certain that I'm going to reach what I want to do, but I can't do that on my own without asking other people. There's someone that I can ask, if I want to build an aeroplane, can you tell me what I should do, what is it that I should have first or who are the people that I have to go and ask them to get the equipment to build my own plane. So that person's going to assist you, so if you're alone you can't do that, you can't even start. I have to talk with other people and support them if they need my support.*

Lungani added that he values 'the support of the guys in the football club' and that it is important for him to 'love people'. He believes that these relationships will enable him to reach his goals in life.

Lungani: *So, as I am a football player, in the future I want to be in a national football club or playing on the other side of South Africa, in America. My values are that I value God a lot because what I want to be in life, God will make me so. And i value work because I can't survive if I can't get the support of the guys in the football club, so when I'm in the club I need to focus and love people so that I can be high and be in the other side of the world that I want to be.*

Siyanda stated that his daughter is a priority in his life. George emphasized that taking care of your family is the most important responsibility of a man as well as

caring for others in the community. Supporting other people and understanding people who are not easily understood is important.

While repressing emotions is associated with hegemonic masculinity, the participants navigated this expectation differently. During a discussion on whether it is acceptable for males to cry or not, Thabo admitted that ‘it does happen that I want to cry, but I don’t show it to other people. I just wipe it away quickly or go outside’. All the participants, except Siyanda, said that they cried when Nelson Mandela passed away.

In contrast to the belief that men should not cry, George felt that it was acceptable for men to cry. He is of the opinion that crying does not indicate that a man is ‘weak, it just means that’ he ‘has feelings.’ He added that whether it is acceptable for a man to cry in front of other people or not ‘depends on the situation’. He shared that he cried with everyone in his house the previous week when they were watching a sad movie together. Lungani viewed crying as an acceptable behaviour for men in certain situations. However, he added that he would “create” his ‘space to cry’,

This theme is reflected in the following quote by George:

George: *About crying, when a man is crying, it shows that there is a feeling that he has in his body about what is happening at the moment and that doesn’t mean that he is weak so that is good that a man should cry, because sometimes people who are men express their feelings in different ways. There is a thing whereby a man, do not talk too much but he’s going to hear something or see something happening before his eyes and unable to speak out but he’s going to show it by his emotions. So I can’t say crying for a man is not good because everyone should cry if he has to.*

Although George felt that it was acceptable for men to cry, men should not cry in front of others. He stated that men are the strong ones that should support others. He added that ‘so when men are crying, they want to have their own space to take that something out from their minds and their bodies.’

Several men asserted that crying is healing. Lungani believes that crying helps to relieve stress so that ‘you cannot violate other people’. He stated that it was important to relieve stress because stress is damaging to men as well as to others. He added that stress can cause men to turn to alcohol or to feel ‘like a useless person.’ He felt that crying helps to address the problem so that it can be resolved.

Lungani: *In my own view, I think as a man, you can be strong but some situations are hard, as a man you need to cry, to release stress, so that you can not violate other people, or put other people. Because if you have a lot of stress, you are damaging yourself and other people so as a man you need to cry so that you can release the stress and just to ... Because if you have stress, stress can damage you, sometimes you end up drinking alcohol, sometimes you can feel like you’re a useless person. So to cry is better, because you release that thing at that time and you pass on and its over.*

Bongani also viewed crying as a release of pent-up emotions:

Bongani: *From my own view, crying is the better way to relieve myself, as we are sitting around the table, there is something that we call Ubuntu, meaning you need me and I also need you. Then crying and asking something to other people around you so it also helps myself to be a better person*

Sanele felt that ‘its okay for a man to cry, its healing’. This is illustrated by George who expressed the link between crying and releasing emotions. He shared that ‘because even anger, you easily let go of anger when you cry’. This theme is reflected in the following quote by Sanele:

Sanele: *From my perspective its good for a man to cry, when you are crying, you are just releasing yourself because when you’re not crying, there’s something that’s building inside you. So I will say, yes its good for as as a man to let it go in other words this is where we have to express our feelings so we don’t have to feel pain anymore.*

As observed by (Hooks 2004:97), these findings suggest that grieving is an important part of the healing process where men acknowledge and process their pain at what they have lost.

4.4. Effects of not complying with dominant masculinities

The participants discussed the effects of not complying with hegemonic traits of masculinities.

George: *A man, when he shows his weakness, its like he's not enough man in front of people, so that's why most of the time, we are afraid to show our weaknesses.*

Researcher: *And then what happens if you're not enough man? What happens then?*

George: *Things like, when you feel that you're not enough man, you can think that there's no-one who can trust you, there's no-one who can come to you and ask for something that will give them strength on that situation that they come across.*

In this interaction, George stated that males are afraid to show their weaknesses because 'it's like he's not man enough'. Again, this can be interpreted to show the fragility of the hegemonic masculine identity. The mention of 'in front of other people' echoes how hegemonic masculinity is performed. A consequence of not complying with hegemonic masculinity is that people will not trust the man and will not ask him for advice to support them in difficult situations.

Further insight into the effects of not complying with hegemonic masculinity were offered by Siyanda. He maintains:

Siyanda: *If a man proves that he is weak, everyone will know that there is no protection that they will get from that man. That man will be disrespected. That will man will be treated like a lady (laughter) because people know that he cannot provide support as a man.*

Researcher: *what does it mean to be treated like a lady?*

Siyanda: *if there is hard work, like when someone passes away and the men have to go there and dig a grave, they won't call you because they know that you are weak. If you are weak even someone else, maybe Sanele here will come and play with your wife because he knows that you are weak, you will do nothing about what he is doing. When you are a weak man, people they take you for granted, especially the ladies, they take you for granted whatever decision that you're making.*

Siyanda states that if a man shows his weaknesses everyone will know that he is unable to provide protection and support, which are markers of hegemonic masculinity. He added that the man will be disrespected and ‘treated like a lady’. The idea of being treated like a lady evoked laughter from the other participants. This can be interpreted that being compared to a woman is shameful, suggesting that that women are not capable of doing ‘hard work.’ Siyanda shared that another outcome of being weak is that other men would ‘play with your wife’, suggesting fear of a man’s female partner being unfaithful, which may be connected to men’s concern over their sexual performance. The importance of ‘decision making’ is mentioned in this excerpt, another marker of hegemonic masculinity.

All the participants expressed fear of being excluded from the community if they were viewed as “not man enough”. This theme is reflected in the following quote by Sanele:

Sanele: When other people take me for granted, I don't fit in, I don't feel like a real man around the community and I don't fit in with the other men.

As identified by Morison and Macleod (2015: 31), gender norms are deeply embedded in our society and gender is an integral aspect of being recognised and included in society. Failure to comply with hegemonic markers of masculinity makes men feel that they are not a ‘real man’, which again suggests that not living up to the expectations placed on men is viewed as a deficiency. Echoing observations by Steinberg, deviation from this gender role can result in feelings of ineptitude and insecurities. Lungani states that if you show any weaknesses, your family will disrespect you by not listening to you, which will lead to the family being destroyed.

Taking a narrative approach, it is important to evaluate the effects of the problem on the lives of the participants. This encourages critical thinking and provides men with the opportunity to evaluate the effects and decide for themselves whether they are going to take a stand against the problem or not.

Researcher: *who does this violence have an impact on? Who does it mostly affect?*

Lungani: *It affects mostly the women and the children.*

George: *Violence is not okay on everyone because no-one is happy when there is violence.*

Xolani: *Its not okay.*

Siyanda: *sometimes its okay, when you're paying revenge.*

In this excerpt the participants agree that violence has a negative impact on 'mostly the women and children' and 'on everyone'. Most of the men stated that violence 'is not okay' however Siyanda felt it was acceptable if you were seeking revenge on someone. The participants are stating their position on violence, which may help to facilitate change.

4.5 Conclusion

The insights that were gained from the findings offer a deeper understanding of factors shaping male masculinities as well as the causes of gender-based violence. An enhanced understanding of alternative masculinities was gained, which can be used to strengthen different ways of being a man, with the hope of decreasing gender-based violence. The effects of not complying with dominant masculinities offer insight into the factors that discourage men from acting differently.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study explored alternative masculinities with the long-term hope of decreasing future gender-based violence. The research explored male thinking on gender-based violence, women and their masculinities. The study examined the origins of these mindsets, in particular, what fathers passed on to their sons by way of masculine thinking. Through these discussions, several major themes were identified.

Chapter 5 presents a review on the aims and objectives of this study and concludes with a summary of the findings based on the literature and research. The concluding section provides recommendations for future GBV prevention programs in South Africa as well as reflections on the study.

5.2 Overview of previous research

The research to date (refer to Chapter 2) focused on hegemonic masculinity rather than alternative masculinities. Such approaches have failed to consider the different ways of being a man which ignored the potential of these ways to play a role in the reduction of GBV. While discussing the themes of GBV, masculinity and fatherhood, the literature review explored the extent and consequences of GBV both in South Africa and abroad. The extent of GBV as well as the negative impact that this type of violence has on the lives of women, children and men, make it necessary to gain a deeper understanding of this issue. Hegemonic masculinity was found to contribute to incidences of GBV (refer to section 2.5.2) and fathers clearly were instrumental in teaching their sons how to be a man in compliance with the norms that are accepted by society. However, absentee fathers are prevalent in South Africa, which contributes to the high rates of GBV (refer to section 2.5.3).

The literature review suggests that alternative masculinities have been overlooked and in order to create change, these different ways of being a man need to be made visible and strengthened (refer to section 2.5.4).

5.3 Main findings

Gender-based violence statistics indicate an urgent need for sustainable solutions to decrease violence against women in South Africa. This study attempted to gain an in-depth understanding of masculinity, fatherhood and gender-based violence. The aim, therefore, was to explore and strengthen alternative masculinities, with the hope of addressing and reducing future GBV. The aim of the study was achieved through the three main objectives:

Objective 1: To explore a small sample of young men and their thoughts on women, GBV and the like, that is, their masculinities.

Objective 2: To determine the origins of these views, in particular, what do fathers pass on to their sons by way of masculine thinking and what opinions are held by sons regarding this.

Objective 3: To explore and strengthen alternative masculinities in the hope of reducing future GBV.

The first objective was achieved through discussions on causes of gender-based violence in the participants' community as well as during explorations of how men are expected to behave.

The participants concurred that in relationships, financial issues and gender norms were triggers for gender-based violence. The study found that most men believe that women should not wear revealing clothing as men think that males cannot control their sexual drives. Jealousy and perceptions on women's morals were other factors that contributed to men's belief that women should dress conservatively. The participants suggested that when a woman refuses sexual advances from her male partner, it increases the risk for GBV. Another contributing factor to GBV was the adherence to long-standing traditions in a modern context without modifying the masculine thinking that has been passed down from the previous generation. The findings suggest that men use violence to mask their insecurities and that hegemonic masculinity is a causal factor of GBV. Markers of hegemonic masculinity include displays of control, assuming leadership and the repression of emotions. Other

markers of hegemonic masculinity include being strong, avoiding emotional weakness, and accepting anger as a viable response to challenging situations.

The second objective was achieved through discussions by the participants regarding masculinity and an exploration of what shaped their masculinities

The study showed that masculine thinking is learnt from other males in the community including fathers, brothers and grandfathers. Leaders of men in the community, including the Councillors, Chiefs and Indunas also influenced the construction of men's masculinities. Masculine thinking is passed down from one generation to the next out of respect for the ancestors. The research found that the media also contributed to shaping men's masculinities. Absentee fathers are common, but fathers still played a vital role in shaping the masculinities of their sons. Fathers exert their influence on their sons' ideas of the qualities men should have, how to behave and how to treat people. However, there is often a lack of male role models in the community. The findings suggest that there is a need for a space where men can hold discussions about the challenges they face as well as to receive guidance from male role models.

The findings suggest that men fear deviating from hegemonic traits of masculinity because they are afraid of being ostracised by the community. The fear of being disrespected and mistrusted contributes to men's compliance with hegemonic markers of masculinity. They fear that their families will be negatively impacted on and that other community members will view them as being incapable of protecting or supporting their families.

The final objective was achieved through discussions on how men are expected to behave and whether alternative behaviour was possible.

The study suggests that individuals construct their masculinities differently, a phenomenon made evident by the alternative masculinities that emerged during the study. The findings showed that an alternative marker of being a man is self-control

rather than exerting control over others. Different narratives of what it means to be a man included non-violence, accepting responsibility and keeping others safe. Communication as well as giving and receiving support also emerged as alternative masculinities. The study showed that the importance of relationships, caring for others and taking the time to understand people are other markers of masculinity valued by males. In contrast to the expectation that men should repress their emotions, the findings revealed a different perspective which views a response such as crying a valuable expression of emotion and a component of healing.

Masculine thinking is shaped by the males in the community, which suggests that male role models in the community can be used to strengthen alternative masculinities. While there was an absence of fathers in the participants' lives, masculine thinking was still passed down from fathers to their sons. Breaking this cycle could help to prevent hegemonic masculinity from being passed down from one generation to the next. While the participants expressed a desire to learn from more mature males, they also stated that there was a scarcity of male role models in the community. Masculine thinking is also shaped by following the traditions of the ancestors. Efforts need to be made to honour traditional ways, while incorporating the new ideas that are available in a modern context.

Financial problems contribute to GBV, irrespective of whether the man or woman is earning more money. This suggests that gender norms need to be addressed, as the issue of gender equality, where women earn the same or more than men, can exacerbate GBV. When a woman is economically empowered to leave her male partner, it can result in the man using violence to regain control. This suggests that the hegemonic marker of masculinity, having control over others, needs to be addressed otherwise, while still exceptionally valuable, interventions to economically empower women could exacerbate GBV.

Most men believe that are unable to control themselves sexually when they are attracted to a woman. This suggests that men need to be educated so that this erroneous perception is eradicated. What women wear is perceived as a reflection of

their morals and character, which indicates that gender norms around what women and men can wear also need to be addressed. Sexual performance is used as a dominant marker of masculinity and when women refuse the male's sexual advances it can result in GBV to regain power and a sense of manhood.

Hegemonic masculinity includes the display of control, being the leader, being in charge, being respected, having power and being the patriarch. Men are expected to repress their emotions, except for displays of anger. Emotions are associated with weakness and men are expected to never show weakness. However, anger is associated with strength. If these feelings are not addressed, men can take their anger out on anyone. There is the perception that women are weak and incapable of doing the same tasks as men, whereas men are viewed as more intelligent and valuable as well as physically stronger. Men may respond to perceived loss of power with violence. This suggests that hegemonic markers of masculinity need to be addressed in order to decrease gender-based violence. Men must negotiate contradictions within the constructs of masculinities. While men believe that they are superior to women, they also fear that some women are more powerful and more capable.

Alternative masculinities emerged from the discussions and all the men supported the view that there are different ways to be a man. Alternative constructs of masculinity include non-violence, self-control, protecting your family, communicating with people, interdependence, valuing relationships and that crying is in fact healing.

Most men felt that there are negative consequences to not subscribing to hegemonic markers of masculinities. Men are afraid that if they deviate from these norms, they will be excluded from the community and people will not trust them or ask them for advice. They are afraid of being seen as not man enough and of being treated like a lady. They feel that an effect of non-compliance with hegemonic markers of masculinity is that their family could be destroyed, infidelity could creep into in their relationships and the perception created that they cannot protect or support their family.

5.4 Reflections

Using a narrative approach provided this research with a deeper insight into the experiences of a small sample of South African males. The narrative approach provided a framework to explore the dominant construct of masculinity as well as how men felt about the masculine thinking that is prevalent in their community. The effects that hegemonic masculinity have on the lives of men, women and children were also identified. Through the process of exploring dominant ways of being a man, alternative masculinities were revealed. As the participants discussed masculine thinking that is congruent with their values and hopes for the future, it strengthened these alternative masculinities.

Having a research team consisting of an English-speaking female researcher and a Zulu-speaking female co-facilitator working with a group of Zulu males may have to a small extent impacted on the findings. However, the impression gained by the research team was that the participants shared their ideas openly. Research shows that men ensure that the rules and regulations of male masculinities are being followed and the participants also expressed the view that they had expected a mature male facilitator to tell them how to be men. As there was no male facilitator who would provide correct answers, they were open to discussing and debating different aspects of their masculinities. The differing cultural backgrounds of the researchers enabled the asking of curious questions about male experiences as no assumptions were made in understanding their answers. However, a limitation of having two female researchers was that there were certain questions they refrained from asking as they believed these questions were not appropriate to discuss with females.

5.5 Recommendations for future action

The findings of this research should be used to develop targeted interventions aimed at reducing GBV. The willingness of the participants to attend a workshop addressing GBV, as well as a previous protest against GBV held by the residents of Molweni, indicate that this is an issue the community wishes to address. This helps to improve community engagement levels.

5.5.1 Train male leaders

Young men need to have access to male role models within their communities. The study indicates that men learn how to be a man from other men in the community and the men expressed a desire to learn from the older generation of males in their community.

A possible approach would be to train male leaders within the community to hold discussions, which would deconstruct hegemonic masculinity and highlight alternative ways of being a man. Discussions of alternative masculinities would assist men to separate their individual masculinities from the dominant narrative of what it means to be a man. Working with leaders would be appropriate as the study found that the leaders within the community play a definitive role in shaping men's masculinities. All the participants expressed positive feelings and trust towards the Ward Councillor. During the discussions the participants described how the Ward Councillor equitably distributed part-time work to the unemployed youth in the community as well as being involved in community projects, such as organising and participating in running races for the youth. The youth leaders appointed by the Ward Councillor expressed interest in the program implemented in Molweni and requested to send more men to participate in the program. If male leaders, who are admired within the community, make the effort to model different ways of being a man, it can help to reduce the men's fear of isolation from the community should they deviate from the hegemonic markers of masculinity that are expected of them.

5.5.2 Digital storytelling

Another important practical implication is the need to strengthen alternative masculinities by sharing these stories with a wider audience. Digital storytelling can be used to share these alternative narratives of what it means to be a man. Digital storytelling is appropriate as it is a powerful tool for sharing stories which ensures the anonymity of the participants. Images, drawings, songs and voice overs are used to create a narrative without including the identity of the participants. These digital

stories can be shared on various social media platforms as both the literature and research showed that the media is effective in spreading knowledge. It is important to share alternative masculinities with a wider audience so that men are not afraid of being excluded from the community should they not subscribe to the dominant constructs of masculinity.

5.5.3 Train fathers

There is a definite need for programs to be run with fathers to help disrupt the cycle of hegemonic masculine traits that are being passed down to the next generation. The traditional ways need to be combined with new ways suited to a modern context. The participants referred to the concept of *Ubuntu*, which they explained was the interdependence between people needing support from each other and offering support in return. This contrasts with the hegemonic marker of masculinity, independence. In cases of absent fathers, older brothers could serve as role models, as suggested by the participants.

As well as the deconstruction of hegemonic masculinity, it is important that programs include the education of men on the rights of women to dress however they wish and to have the right to refuse sexual advances. The study identified these issues as contributing to GBV.

The intervention can also be replicated in other locations. A vital part of the success of the program was partnering with a non-profit organisation which had already established relationships with the community. Interest shown by community leaders is also advantageous. If the community leaders are not available, other male role models in the community could be identified for training and involvement in the intervention.

5.6 Closing comments by the researcher on how the findings of this study will be utilised

As the researcher of this study, I am already involved in community projects in the non-profit sector, I plan to conduct gender-based violence prevention interventions in

Molweni. I intend to focus on offering programs for men who will be willing to become male role models in the community and offer guidance to the younger males. These programs aim to deconstruct hegemonic masculinity and to strengthen alternative masculinities. The workshops will also address the problematic topics that were identified by the research, including the woman's right to refuse sexual advances. I will approach leaders who have shown interest in decreasing GBV in their communities through my intervention and enquire if they are willing to form part of the community's male role models. A female resident of Molweni, who is an experienced community worker and trained in GBV prevention, has also offered to invite other men in the community to be part of the interventions.

I already conduct mother's support groups, which include teaching non-violent parenting and the development of empathy and communication skills. Men have repeatedly expressed interest in attending workshops for fathers. My mother's workshops will be adapted into an intervention for fathers, which will include breaking the cycle of passing hegemonic masculinities on from fathers to sons. The non-violent parenting as well as the development of empathy and communication skills aspect of the workshop will be maintained. I am currently learning the skills of digital story telling from another non-profit organisation and will be incorporating these skills into the interventions to share the alternative masculinities that arise from the intervention with a wider audience. This maintains the anonymity of the participants and only participants who choose to share their digital story with a wider audience will do so.

A WhatsApp group will be created for the father's groups and male role models groups so that they can share their experiences with each other and build on the alternative masculinities that have emerged during the interventions.

5.7 Conclusion

Incidents of GBV have reached epidemic proportions in the lives of many South African women and children and dominant constructs of masculinity are a contributing factor. Without interventions, hegemonic masculinity will remain unquestioned and fathers will continue to pass this type of masculine thinking on to their sons.

In order to bring about meaningful change, alternative masculinities need to be identified and strengthened. By involving men in these programs, it offers them the opportunity to learn from each other and to adopt different types of masculine thinking that are devoid of violence and fully dedicated to supporting a peace initiative.

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Addendum 1: Program

First Session

Introduction

Introduce the workshop and researcher

Icebreaker: Three truths and a lie

Each participant is given a piece of paper and a pen.

Instructions: Each participant must write down four sentences about themselves, three of the statements should be true and one should be a lie. They must not tell anyone else which statement is untrue. Going around the circle each participant reads out their instance and the other participants try to guess the lie. This icebreaker is an opportunity for the participants to learn more about each other while having fun.

Introduction and intentions

Learners introduce each other and say why they joined the group.

Group commitment

Ask the group how we can create a safe space where everyone feels safe to participate. Suggestions include confidentiality and non-judgement.

Tree of Life: exploring individual stories, hopes, values

Ask participants to create their own tree of life, which includes their family history, resources, values, hopes and dreams. Tell participants that they can be as creative as possible. Use words, colours, different size lettering, illustrations, pictures from magazines, objects from nature, poems, songs and quotations.

Participants share from their Tree of Life with the group

Sharing individual stories

Participants share from their Tree of Life with the group, which provides an opportunity for them to listen to each other's individual stories.

Invitation to return

Do you want us to come back and continue the workshops?

Session 2

Icebreaker: Names and adjective

Each participant thinks of a word to describe how they are feeling. The feeling word should begin with the same letter as their name.

Identifying dominant markers of masculinity

What expectations are placed on men by the wider society?

Naming the Dominant Story: the researcher will facilitate a discussion using the 'act like a man box activity' which will explore what name can be given to the dominant markers of masculinity that contribute to the occurrence of violence. The problem, hegemonic markers of masculinity, will be externalised to create space for the participants to explore alternative ways of being a man (Denborough 1996: 101).

Act Like a Man Box

Write "Be a Man" on a piece of paper or board that is visible to the entire group. Ask participants what it means to be a man. "What are some characteristics of men? When people tell you to be a man, how do they want you to be, what are they asking you to do?"

Write a list on the board of the characteristics the participants name. Be sure to include. Draw a box around the entire list and label it "Act-Like-A-Man".

Presenter: We call this our "Act-Like-A-Man" box. We believe that all boys learn about this box as they grow up. Who are some of the people in society that teach us to be this way?

Exploration of dominant masculinity

Place A 4 pieces of paper on the floor. Instruct the participants to move around the room quickly when you say 'Walk'. When you say 'Stop' they need to stand on the closest piece of paper. There can only be two people standing by each piece of paper. Next, you will call out a statement which they will have two minutes to discuss in pairs. After two minutes, you will say 'Walk' again and so the process will be continued until you have called out all the statements.

Statements to be used:

- Something typical of my gender that I like doing.
- Something typical of my gender that I do not like doing.

- Something not typical of my gender that I like doing.
- Something not typical of my gender that I would like to be able to do without judgement.

After the activity, the participants return to the larger group and provide feedback on their discussions and experience (Amnesty International: Gender Awareness Workshops)

Role play dominant masculinity

Ask participants to work in pairs to role play for two minutes on what it means to ‘act like a man’. Afterwards, ask a few participants to share how it felt to act like a man. Who are some of the people in society that tell us to be this way? (Sonke Gender Justice: Youth Changing River Flow).

Mapping effects of the problem

Mapping the effects: the researcher will facilitate a discussion to map the effects of dominant markers of masculinity on men, women and children (Denborough 1996: 101). Mapping Violence: the participants will be asked to list the different types of violence in their lives (101). Then ask who carries out these acts of violence? What might some of the reasons be that men commit nearly all the acts of violence that we have listed? (101).

Point out that men are not born with these characteristics or behaviours. They learn how society expects a man or woman to act from the spoken and unspoken messages they get from their family, community and society. How do these gender stereotypes effect our lives? (Sonke Gender Justice: OYC facilitators guide)

Statement of position

Considering the effect of the problem on men and others, are the dominant constructs of masculinity acceptable to you?

Inviting an articulation on the need for change: the researcher will discuss what changes the men feel need to be made in the way men display their masculinity (Denborough 1996: 101).

Session Three

Icebreaker: Mirror image

Ask the participants to get into pairs. One person in the pair is the ‘mirror’ who

will copy their partner's action. After two minutes, swap the roles so that each partner has the opportunity to be the 'mirror.' Return to the larger group so that the participants can discuss their experiences during the activity and how it felt to lead as well as to copy the actions of another person.

Discuss how people often people frequently mirror what they see around them, which normalises specific behaviours despite their consequences in our lives (Sonke Gender Justice: OYC Facilitators Guide)

Role models - identifying the alternative stories

The researcher will facilitate a discussion to explore the alternative stories of being a man.

Tell the participants to close their eyes and think of a man whom they admire. It could be any man who is still in their lives or who they knew previously. They can know the man personally or have heard about him from other people. Ask the person what qualities they admire in this man, what does this man value and how does he treat other people?

Next, discuss the role that their fathers have played in their lives and what they have learnt from their fathers (Sonke Gender Justice: OYC Facilitators Guide)

Building on histories: to strengthen these alternative stories we discuss other examples from the past when the participants have valued alternative markers of their masculinity (Denborough 1996: 101).

Strengthening alternative stories: through group discussion we aim to strengthen alternative stories of being a man by exploring the steps that it took to step outside of the constraints of hegemonic markers of masculinity (101).

Role play alternative masculinities

Ask participants to work in pairs to role play different ways of being a man that were generated by the discussions Afterwards, ask a few participants to share how it felt to act in these different ways.

Addendum 2: Tree of Life and Act Like a Man Box Activity

Tree of Life Activity

The Tree of Life is a narrative activity which creates a safe place for people to tell their life stories and have their stories witnessed. The tree is used as a visual metaphor, with each aspect of the tree used to represent a different aspect of the participant's lives including their past, present and future. During the activity participants have the chance to explore where they came from, their skills and knowledge, their hopes and dreams as well as the significant people in their lives. This exploration enables people to discover aspects of themselves that have been shaped by their past and to identify their hopes and dreams for the future. The process enables people to reclaim their identity and direction in life.

The Tree of Life is a hopeful and inspiring approach that makes it possible for people to talk about their lives in ways that are not retraumatizing. This activity strengthens their relationship with their own history, culture and significant people in their lives. It creates a space where participants can talk about their stories in ways that make them stronger.

The methodology was created by Ncazelo Ncube and David Denborough from the Dulwich Centre Foundation when they were working with children affected by HIV/AIDS in southern Africa. Since then it has been used with adults and children who have experienced hard times across the globe. Core values of a narrative approach include the belief that people are the experts of their own lives and communities have useful resources within them to solve the problems that they're facing. This approach also makes visible and acknowledges the power dynamics that are at work in our societies.

Act Like a Man Box Activity

Developed by Paul Kivel, The Act Like a Man Box is an activity that aims to deconstruct hegemonic masculinity. These dominant markers of masculinity are reinforced through shaming as well as by positive reinforcements. Through this activity the participants identify and explore the various hegemonic markers of

masculinity. They identify the effects that hegemonic masculinity has on their own lives as well as the lives of women and children. Through this activity, alternative ways of being a man may also emerge.

Addendum 3: Letter of Information



LETTER OF INFORMATION

My name is Jenna-Lee Strugnell and I am completing Masters in Peacebuilding at Durban University of Technology. The title of my research is 'Changing masculinities for the better: A narrative project among young men in Cato Manor.'

Violence against women is a problem in South Africa and men are coming together to stand against this violence. I aim to explore what a group of men think it means to be a man and what they think about violence against women. During the workshop we will also discuss how your fathers influence what you think about being a man. Together, I hope that we can come up with new ideas that can help to reduce violence against women in the future.

If you decide to take part you will be required to attend a workshop, which runs for 4 hours a day over 4 days. The workshop will take place at your community centre. During the workshop you will be part of discussions on what it means to be a man and these discussions will be video recorded. You can attend the workshop if you are a man living in Molweni between 18 and 35 years old.

Your participation in the workshops is voluntary and you can stop participating at any time with no negative consequences. You will not be paid for attending the workshops and there is no fee to attend. Your personal information that you share during the groups will be kept confidential.

Please contact the researcher (082 396 8939), my supervisor (Prof. Geoffrey Harris (031 373 5609).) or the Institutional Research Ethics administrator on 031 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof F. Otieno on 031 373 2382 or dvctip@dut.ac.za.

Best wishes

Jenna-Lee Strugnell

Addendum 4: Consent



CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Jenna-Lee Strugnell, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: 31/18FREC
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.

_____	_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Participant Thumbprint	Date	Time	Signature / Right

I, Jenna-Lee Strugnell (herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

Jenna-Lee Strugnell	_____	_____
Full Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

