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**Masculinities and Change in Men's Oppressive Behavior Against
Women**
A Case Study in Gugulethu Township, South Africa

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Abstract

This study is a case study of qualitative character, which uses the two theories Hegemonic Masculinity and Social Identity, and it was carried out in a township/community called Gugulethu in Cape Town, South Africa. Violence against women in South Africa is a huge social problem in the country. An organization called Sonke Gender Justice Network works in different communities within the country, to involve men in the struggle to eliminate violence against women and to achieve gender equality. This organization runs a project called One Man Can, which involves training for men as part of an effort to reach the above goals.

In this study, six men who had participated in this training were interviewed semi-structurally. Focus was on how these men, after completing the training, viewed themselves and their masculinity. The interviews showed relevant results for the men who had participated in the training, as they experienced a significant change in themselves as regards their behavior and attitudes towards women. After this result was found, the first question was answered and one other research question was formulated. This question was about how these men thought it was possible to change other men in their community as regards negative attitudes and behavior towards women.

The method used in this study has both an inductive and deductive approach, and some parts of a method called Grounded Theory were also used. The results show that the men experienced a change as regards their view on masculinity and how a man should treat and act towards women. The results also show that the participants believed that men and women have the same level of responsibility as regards household work and the care of their children. Also, women and men can, and are supposed to, “do the same things”. Moreover the participants believed that the norms in their community are the basis of why men behave the way they do towards women. They thought that more communication and education about behaviors and attitudes with other men in the community may lead to greater gender equality in the society, meaning violence against women could be reduced. They also thought that preventive work with boys and younger men could be part of the solution to the latter problem.

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Sincerely,

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction	6
1.1 Background.....	6
1.2 Assumptions and the Study's Connection to Social Work.....	7
1.3 Formulation of the Problem	8
1.4 Aim of the Study, and Research Questions	8
1.5 Descriptions.....	9
1.5.1 <i>The Sonke Gender Justice Network</i>	9
1.5.2 <i>Gugulethu</i>	9
1.6 Term Definitions.....	9
1.6.1 <i>Culture and Tradition</i>	9
1.6.2 <i>Violence Against Women / Gender-Based Violence</i>	10
1.6.3 <i>Township / Community</i>	10
2. Earlier Research.....	11
2.1 Engaging Men and Boys in Preventing Violence against Women	11
2.2 Impact of the Program One Man Can	12
2.3 Men and Masculinities in a Rural Area of South Africa	13
2.4 Masculinities by R.W. Connell	15
3. Theories and Theoretical Perspective	16
3.1 Social Constructivism	16
3.2 Hegemonic Masculinity	16
3.3 Social Identity Theory	17
3.3.1 <i>Categorization</i>	17
3.3.2 <i>In-group and Out-group</i>	17
3.3.3 <i>Identity</i>	18
4. Methodology.....	19
4.1 Choice of Study Method.....	19
4.2 Data Collection and Grounded Theory.....	19
4.3 Type of Qualitative Interviews	21
4.4 Reliability, Validity and Generalization.....	22
4.5 Sampling.....	23
4.6 Ethics	24
4.7 Distribution of Work.....	25

5. Results	26
5.1 The View of Masculinity	26
5.2 Their Own Change	29
5.3 Prevention Work With Young Men, and the Importance of Moral Activities	30
5.4 Education and Knowledge.....	32
5.5 Social Norms.....	33
5.6 Boys Walk in Their Fathers’ Footsteps	34
5.7 Respondents Want to Change Other Men	34
5.8 Summary of the Results	36
6. Analysis	37
6.1 The Norms in the Society	37
6.2 Hegemonic Masculinity	38
6.3 Men Creating Identities Out of Norms.....	39
6.4 New Identities and New In-group	39
6.5 Feed the Knowledge Back Into the Community	40
7. Conclusion.....	41
8. Future Research.....	43
9. References.....	44
Appendix	

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Previous studies have described how the power structure, as well as men's values, attitudes and behavior, all contribute to violence against women in South Africa (Reid & Walker, 2005). As described in an article from Baloyi (2010), gender-related violence is caused by the patriarchal society. Walker (2013) writes that between 25 and 55 percent of all adult females in South Africa say that their intimate partner has physically abused them. Also, the risk of being murdered is six times higher for South African women than the average percentage spread around the globe (Walker, 2013).

In a study about women's experience of violence in Southern Africa, some women also said that they thought physical or mental abuse was a normal part of marriage (Sakala, 1998). And in another research in South Africa, 42 percent of the men admitted they had subjected their intimate partner to violence (Walker, 2013). South African scholars report that the country has one of the highest rates of domestic and sexual violence in the world (Dunkle et al. 2006; Jewkes et al. 2009, referred to in Dworkin et al., 2013).

South Africa is a country with a wide variety of cultures and many people of mixed race. The mix of people is a result of colonialism and the slaves who were shipped to South Africa. Today, the population consists of black, white, colored and Indian people speaking a total of 11 different national languages. The apartheid system and its segregated politics is a huge part of South Africa's history. Discriminatory laws against black people were established and remained in force until 1990. The first democratic elections were held in the year 1994, and South Africa is now celebrating 20 years of democracy (South Africa Government, 2014).

There are still problems remaining from the apartheid period. One of them is the unequal economic situation of people, and there are also major class differences in the country (<http://www.dubell.se>). The GINI Index, which measures equality in the world, has ranked South Africa as one of the most unequal countries worldwide (World Bank [WB], 2014). This inequality is described as being a result of the country's history of apartheid. The inequality connected to geographical locations in South Africa is a fact, which means that the socio-economic status of the population is linked to the area of the country they live in. But there are also segregated neighborhoods and rich neighborhoods that exist in the same urban area. An example of a city with many differences within urban areas is Cape Town, which is classified as one of the most unequal cities in the world (<http://www.geocurrents.info>).

This minor field study focuses on males who have taken part in a training program. This training program is aimed at reducing violence against women and establishing a more gender-equal society (Sonke Gender Justice Network, 2014). The training program is part of the work that the NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network currently undertakes. This study focuses on how men regard themselves and their masculinity after completing a training program called One Man Can, an anti-violence program, at the Sonke Gender Justice Network in the Gugulethu community. This minor field study also

contains the respondents' ability to positively affect other males in their community following their own change by the training. Gender roles pertaining to masculinities, especially hegemonic masculinity, play a central part in this study.

Raewyn Connell is a sociologist and the leading researcher of hegemonic masculinity. Connell (2013) describes this type of masculinity as linked with power and strength against men with other types of masculinities and also women. Connell (2013) identifies hegemonic masculinity as the norm in the society.

1.2 Assumptions and the Study's Connection to Social Work

We have some assumptions on the topic, which will be explained in this section. We believe that gender inequality is one reason for social problems, such as violence against women. To be able to work with the social problems that exist in this community/township, and problems that result from male behavior, we believe it is of the utmost importance to have information about how the respondents of this thesis think that they can change others. We have therefore carried out a case study. We also believe that it is important to find out how men view themselves and their masculinity if we are to work on social problems such as violence against women. We believe that the help must come from within the individual and that the respondent's thoughts on how it is possible to change other people are incredibly important for implementing a positive change in their particular community.

The outcome of the study pertains to helping social workers in their future work to assist community. It will hopefully also be easier for social workers to understand the complexities that exist in the community by using knowledge from the men who were interviewed in this study. In other words, the social workers will get different perspectives on the social problems that exist in a specific community.

There are different social work methods for changing convicted men who use violence against women. One of these is a method called Change, which Dobash et al. (2000) write about. Change was designed by an NGO in 1989 in Scotland. In this method, different instances working with men (that use violence against women) collaborate with various bodies, for example the social services. The method Change has four goals: making the men create new skills, develop the men's self-awareness, challenging the men about their attitudes to violence, and also keeping an eye on the men's progress and change. The method is based on a pedagogical approach with elements of KBT techniques to help the men to achieve personal change. The method considers the men's violence against women as a behavior which is learned and which is based on patriarchal attitudes in the society, but at the same time the method assume that the men themselves are responsible for their actions. The philosophy of Change is that the men learn the violent behavior from patriarchal norms, socialization and personal experiences (Dobash et. al, 2000).

1.3 Formulation of the Problem

Sakala (1998) writes that many countries in Southern Africa have traditions that have a negative attitude against women, and the man is often placed in the top position while the women are powerless. Almost all abusers, who use violence, want to control and have power over the victim. The men in societies with traditions that include negative attitudes to women have their abusive behavior legitimized by the society's norms about what it means to be a man. One of the norms about how a man should be is the idea that a man can show his power and strength by using violence against women. The main contributing factor to the violence against women is actually described to be the patriarchal society, where the men are in the top position (Sakala, 1998). Therefore, masculinity is interesting to talk about in connection with the issue of violence against women.

There is a masculinity that is hierarchically defined as the highest in relation to other masculinities and to women; this is *hegemonic masculinity* (Connell, 2013). Dworkin et al. (2013) write that the hegemonic masculinity is the norm in society. Some organizations in South Africa work with males to change gender roles and it has been shown that they can have a good impact on equality in human relations. For the opportunity of change, men must have the ability to look at their own behavior and maintain an open mind towards developing positive behavior (Dworkin et al., 2013).

Unfortunately, most of the anti-violence programs in South Africa are only working towards empowering women; not many of these organizations are actively working with men (Dworkin et al., 2013). In comparison to this, there is not much research about the involvement of men and their struggles to stop violence against women. A better approach to this problem is to work with men themselves, and not only to empower and support vulnerable women.

1.4 Aim of the Study, and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to gain knowledge of how men can positively change their attitudes and behavior towards women as a result of participation in an anti-violence training program called One Man Can provided by the NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network.

Hopefully, it will be possible to lift this case study to a higher level of abstraction and apply the results in contexts that are similar to that of Gugulethu. In that way, it will be possible to see how effective involving men in the work to reduce violence against women can be, and how to achieve a more gender-equal society.

The research questions of the thesis are as follows:

- How do men in Gugulethu, South Africa, who have been in training at One Man Can at the NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network, regard themselves and their own masculinity?

- How do men who experienced a positive change during the One Man Can training program at the Sonke Gender Justice Network, think it is possible to change other men in their community as regards negative attitudes and behavior towards women?

1.5 Descriptions

1.5.1 The Sonke Gender Justice Network

The Sonke Gender Justice Network (2014) is a non-government organization that was established in 2006. Sonke is growing in Africa and also plays an important role outside of Africa. Sonke works with men and boys to take action to reduce the spread and impact of HIV, prevent gender-based violence, and achieve gender equality. Their work with men has the purpose of creating healthy relationships, which should lead to the development of democratic societies and justice. Sonke works with different projects, and one of these is One Man Can. This type of work is called Community Mobilization and is about motivating community members to work towards achieving the goal that is described above, and to intervene when they see and meet violence in their own community. Every community has different social structures and also different needs. Therefore, One Man Can's intervention training and education programs are designed differently, depending upon how individual communities are structured. The men who have been in the training program become members in the Community Action Team, which means that they are focused on working in their community to achieve One Man Can's goals. The training and education is about health, networking, reporting and also provides relevant knowledge and skills that are useful to have in each individual community (Sonke Gender Justice Network, 2014).

1.5.2 Gugulethu

Gugulethu is a township outside Cape Town city. The township was established in 1958 when, because of apartheid, black people were forced to move from the city of Cape Town to townships like Gugulethu (<http://www.laurastownshiptours.co.za>).

1.6 Term Definitions

1.6.1 Culture and Tradition

It can be hard to define the meaning of culture and tradition when it can have different meanings for different people. Nhlapo (2000) defines *culture* as a set of moral codes that have a strong connection with the past and are experienced as non-changeable. This may sometimes be called *tradition* (Nhlapo,

2000). Keeping your social identity can be a reason not to change things that have a connection to *culture* and *tradition* (Siders, 2005).

1.6.2 Violence Against Women / Gender-Based Violence

The definition of violence against women is an act of gender-based violence, carried in the public or private sphere, which results in physical, sexual or mental suffering or harm to women (World Health Organization [WHO], 2014). Gender-based violence and violence against women are often used synonymously (<http://www.eige.europa.eu>), which is also the case in this study. A definition by Heise (1991), who refers to in Sakala (1998, p. 30), is used as the basis of the concepts of violence against women and gender-based violence in this study:

...violence against women includes an act of force or coercion that gravely jeopardizes the life, body, psychological integrity or freedom of women in service or perpetuating male power and control. Included here would be rape, battery, femicide, incest, psychological abuse, sexual harassment, genital mutilation and property grabbing (Sakala, 1998).

1.6.3 Township / Community

In South Africa, a township is a segregated residential settlement located outside a city or town (<http://www.dictionary.reference.com>). A community is a social group of any sizes whose members reside in a specific locality, share government, and often have a common cultural and historical heritage (<http://www.dictionary.reference.com>). When the respondents in this study refer to Gugulethu, the word *community* is used. The word is therefore used throughout the whole study when talking about Gugulethu.

2. Earlier Research

In this section, an international study, which was written by Crooks, Goodall, Hughes, Jaffe and Barker (2007), called *Engaging Men in Preventing Violence against Women*, is presented. Research by Dworkin, Hatcher, Colvin and Peacock (2013), and literature written by Reid & Walker (2005) and Connell (2011, 2013) is also presented, and all of these authors talk about men and masculinity in different ways.

Dworkin et al. (2013) and Reid & Walker (2005) provided research from South Africa. These studies were chosen to provide the reader with a perspective on masculinities in South Africa and also to connect with the study's research questions. In the research written by Dworkin et al. (2013) they use *program* as a concept in the same way that we use the concept *training*. Each part of the section below (2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4) includes research from only one earlier study or publication.

These are the key concepts that we have used to find the above research in Google Scholar, Academic Search Premier and libris.kb.se: Masculinity, anti-violence training program, South Africa, townships, intervention program, gender inequality, violence against women, men, masculinities, norm, gender, antiviolence, engaging men, prevention work, social work methods. The key concepts have been used in various combinations in the databases presented above.

2.1 Engaging Men and Boys in Preventing Violence against Women

An article written in London and Canada, by Crooks et al. (2007), aims to present a paradigm for engaging men in ending violence against women in the world. The article also claims the importance of involving non-violent men in violence prevention. The researchers discuss the importance of involving men who observe other men using violence against women but do not know how to intervene. For example, the man who hears a screaming woman in the apartment next door, or the man who experiences a colleague attacking a female colleague in a sexist way at work (Crooks et al., 2007).

Engaging men is a concept that involves helping men to adopt a deep personal commitment to the work to stop violence against women (Crooks et al., 2007). This article shows that some men are uncomfortable, or for some other reason unwilling to participate in violence prevention. Some men say that they think domestic violence is a private matter and some say that they do not participate because no one asks them to. Others want to participate but are not sure how to engage. The norms about masculinity and violence make it difficult for men to participate, because they can have problems keeping their own masculine identity, the researchers argue (Crooks et al., 2007).

The researchers also write about factors that contribute to violence against women and claim that there are both individual and collective factors involved in men's violence against women. It has been found in research that traditional notions about masculinity are connected with attitudes that accept

violence. It has also been found that stereotypical notions and men's authority, along with alcohol use and poverty, are the main reasons to commit violence against women. The article states that a man should take individual responsibility but it is also the collective and contextual notions in the society that have an impact on the violent situation. An important thing to take into account as regards the collective factors is that children learn behavior from society at a young age. The researchers write that it is important for education of men and boys to change the collective and contextual situation, which can lead to violence against women (Crooks et al., 2007).

2.2 Impact of the Program One Man Can

The NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network, the University of Cape Town and the University of California have been produced a survey about men and masculinities. The authors of this survey are Dworkin, Hatcher, Colvin and Peacock. Dworkin et al. (2013) write that hegemonic masculinity is the most dominant form of masculinity and is hierarchically defined in relation to other masculinities and to women. Hegemonic masculinity is the norm in society even though far from the majority of all men are in this category. Some scholars that the authors write about say that hegemonic masculinity often is too easily connected to men who are violent or oppressive towards women. There is also research that says that men with hegemonic masculinity are more likely to be violent towards their partner. Interestingly, research has found that men who adopt dominant masculinity norms often have poor mental health as a result (Dworkin et al., 2013).

As is written in the survey of Dworkin et al. (2013), it is important to observe the Social Constructive Perspective of gender and to understand that masculinity includes hegemonic masculinity but also contains other types of manhood. Scholars have found that in South Africa, men in general are raised to be mentally strong, and physical strength is often used as a marker for toughness. Violence is used to demonstrate power over other people, which is a legitimized behavior (Dworkin et al., 2013).

The survey by Dworkin et al. (2013) was done in the NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network, in a program for men called One Man Can. The aim of the survey was to find out what impact the program has on men's practices, centered on masculinities. The survey is based on sixty in-depth interviews carried out in rural Limpopo and the Eastern Cape in South Africa. In the results of the survey, men talked about how they had changed their views on women's rights. They also stated that their new way of looking at women's rights had made them behave in a different way and they had developed new attitudes as regards gender-related issues such as power and masculinity. One man said: "... we did not know anything about women's rights. We have come to realize that women have to be treated as equals in the home and in the community and we are not supposed to abuse them." (Dworkin et al., 2013). Another man in the survey said that taking part in the program, he realized that it was wrong to treat women as if they did not exist. Several of the men had, before the program, thought that women's rights were about oppressing men but then they realized that was a misunderstanding. Some other men

thought that the empowerment of women's rights would take away women's respect for men. Some men expressed worries that an increase in the men's responsibilities in household chores would give women more power. One man said:

Why did I get married then if I have to cook and wash dishes? ... We did not know anything about women's rights. We have come to realize that women have to be treated as equals in the home and in the community and we are not supposed to abuse them (Dworkin et al., 2013).

The involvement in the One Man Can program made some men think of their masculinities in a different way. Two men said that, before the program, they thought that women had to listen to everything that the men said, but now they asked for the women's opinion (Dworkin et al., 2013).

There were several men who had changed their view of physical violence, and one man said: "I am a man who used to like fighting. Men in rural areas view fighting as a measure of manhood and competition... That OMC program made me realize that there are other alternatives to fighting...". Overall, most of the men changed their views as regards women's rights and the program made them more observant. They also described changes in social norms and their relationships (Dworkin et al., 2013).

In the last 15 years there have been big changes in South Africa concerning human- and gender rights, both politically and in the society (Dworkin et al., 2013). Dworkin et al. (2013) states that scholars such as Kimmel (1986, 2000), Morrell (1998, 2002) and Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher and Peacock (2012) have talked about a rapid shift in gender relations and how that can lead to masculinism, which means that all men end up adopting one particular form of masculinity. It can also lead to a backlash, meaning that gender violence escalates instead. Fast shifting in gender relations does not need to be negative; it can also make people embrace women and their rights (Dworkin et al., 2013).

The results of this study show that the One Man Can program had a positive impact on the men as regards changes relating to women's rights, and dominant ideals of masculinity such as hegemonic masculinity. All these changes are important for developing a more gender-equal society (Dworkin et al., 2013).

2.3 Men and Masculinities in a Rural Area of South Africa

Reid and Walkers' (2005) conclusion includes research from Connell (1995), Morrell (2001), Whitehead (2002), McDowell (2003) and claims that the way men access power depends on their race, class and sexual orientation. Morrell (2001, referred to in Reid & Walker, 2005) argues that in South Africa, colonialism and apartheid have had a strong influence on the types of masculinities that exist.

He also states that in South Africa, masculinities and violence have been coupled together because of the country's history (Reid & Walker, 2005).

Research by Sideris (2005) states that men in Nkomazi, a rural area in South Africa, are engaged in revising their practice as regards components that connect to gender equality and gender norms. Those practices can be, for example, taking care of housework or the children. Sideris (2005) claims that how dominant the men see themselves in turn defines the scale of domestic violence and also affects the household economy.

Sideris (2005) writes that the men in Nkomazi legitimize their authority by explaining that their culture and tradition is the reason for why their society is the way it is, and also the reason why men are the ones who have the power in the family. The men also say that the key symbol of what it means to be a man is that he is the head of the family. The cultural construction is about what it means to be a man: that the man should decide what the rights, duties and obligations should be. In some quotes from the interviewees, men tell stories about women who are abused by their men. One man explains that he and his wife are equal. In the second sentence he gives one example from their lives. His wife wanted new clothes and asked her husband for permission to buy them. He gave her his bankcard so she could purchase some clothes by herself (Sideris, 2005). Another man says that there are many cultural factors that contribute to the man being the head of the house: 1. The Bible, when God made the man before the woman. 2. A man can have several wives, but a woman can just have one husband. 3. The man can propose but the woman cannot. 4. The man is paying Labola. The man finishes by saying "If she wants to do something she must ask me first. If I say no, I say no!" (Sideris, 2005, p. 131).

The situation in Nkomazi is described as underdeveloped because of the history of apartheid separation policies (Sideris, 2005). The components that justify gender-based violence in societies in South Africa are explained by Segal (1990, referred to in Sideris, 2005) as being caused by: the fact that a man has the right to dominate women and children, the high rate of underemployment, the gap in wealth between the poor and the rich in the country, extreme poverty, and general levels of violence.

Sideris (2005) writes that for some men, especially young men with marginal status (for example due to poverty), sexuality has become the most important thing about manhood, and they show their dominance in violent ways. The society has developed in social and political ways, which have led to the requirements for new behavioral norms. Research is showing that this has caused an opening for men to reflect about themselves and the past models of what manhood means (Sideris, 2005).

Walker (2003, referred to in Sideris, 2005) has examined young men who have been perpetrators of abuse. Those perpetrators want to have a change in their behavior. When Walker analyzed their testimony, she found that the men were struggling "...to remake themselves in contrast to past versions of manhood which they interpret as oppressive." (Walker, 2003, referred to in Sideris, 2005, p. 118). He means that *oppressive* in this sentence refers to oppression against others.

Williams (1997, referred to in Sideris, 2005) writes that the power of the tradition is more than just ideology. Tradition is connected to the past, and it regulates attitudes and social relations (Williams, 1997, referred to in Sideris, 2005). If traditions are connected to daily practice in life, the practice becomes an important role in the construction of gender and the hierarchy of sexual differences. Because of this it is not difficult to understand why gender struggles are expressed as a conflict between women's rights and the traditions (Sideris, 2005). A man from the study says that:

You have to change and you don't know how. The Government is confusing things. They say let's go back to our culture and then they say let's go forth. Meanwhile they are legalizing polygamy (yet) they say women have equal rights. (Sideris, 2005, p. 133).

Sideris (2005) has, in the conclusion, found that the man is torn between the will to reach gender equality and the benefits and domination that come with being the head of the family.

Segal (1990, referred to in Sideris, 2005) has found the concept that men are able to change and are changing. In Nkomazi, the men show that they are open to new ways of thinking and they are willing to find new ways of behaving that are not oppressive (Sideris, 2005).

2.4 Masculinities by R.W. Connell

Connell (2013) says that we need to talk about masculinities, not masculinity. By that he means that there is not only one type of masculinity. He says that gender is constructed differently in different cultures and is designed differently depending on where in the historical context you are at the moment. In multicultural societies there will be multiple differences and definitions of masculinity (Connell, 2013).

According to Connell (2013) there are differences of masculinities in different communities but also contrasts of masculinity within a specific community and area. In one culture and context you learn what it is to be a man in one way, and in another culture you are taught in another way. In different cultures there are also various ways of seeing the self and there are different ways of enacting manhood (Connell, 2013).

Connell (2013) also writes about the collective construction of masculinity where we define masculinity together in one group, in one culture and in one institution. As an example, within one institution there can also be groups, which form their definitions of masculinity. He also talks about the fact that masculinities also change because of circumstances surrounding historical changes. Gender practices can be changed at certain important points in history, he means (Connell, 2013).

3. Theories and Theoretical Perspective

A perspective that has been taken into account in this study is the perspective of social constructivism. This is included in this minor field study because Connell (2013), who is the main scholar as regards gender research within hegemonic masculinity, has a social constructivist perspective on gender. Turner (1975) writes that Tajfel and Turner, who coined the theory of social identity, identified individuals as socially constructed.

The theories about hegemonic masculinity and social identity were used to analyze the results in this study. It may be interesting to discuss how hegemonic masculinity can be linked to the respondents' view of themselves, their masculinity, and also to the social norms in the community.

The results were analyzed while the data was being collected for this minor field study, and showed that the respondents' identity might have been changed during their time in the training. Therefore the theory about social identity was chosen as one of the theories to be applied in this study.

3.1 Social Constructivism

Burr (1995) writes about social constructivism, which is a sociological theory that encompasses factors such as class, ethnicity and gender, as a result of cultural and historical social constructions. This theory states that a social objective reality does not exist; instead the theory states that humans construct reality out of values and knowledge. The social reality is a result of interaction between people and collective behavior. In social constructivism you take a critical approach to the traditions and norms of the society, which arise from the interaction between people. There are beliefs that are taken for granted, for example gender: how a man and a woman should be and how men or women are expected to behave according to their gender. It is important to see these common beliefs as a product of cultural and historical social processes and not as an objective reality (Burr, 1995).

3.2 Hegemonic Masculinity

Connell (2013) writes that different types of masculinities have a relationship to each other as regards hierarchical definitions. The different types of masculinities can be: dominant, subordinated or marginalized (Connell, 2013). He also writes about hegemonic masculinity as the most desired and honored form of masculinity. Even though hegemonic masculinity is the norm in society, it does not have to be the most common form of masculinity. Often it is the most comfortable form of masculinity, because it is the norm (Connell, 2013). One thing to take into consideration, according to Connell (2005), is that hegemonic masculinity does not look the same in every context, but is flexible depending on the society. Hegemonic masculinity is characterized as a form of authority, not

involving violence, but the authority can lead to violence. To make this concept clearer, hegemonic masculinity is often connected to dominance, control and strength (Connell, 2005).

3.3 Social Identity Theory

3.3.1 Categorization

Adams and Hogg (1990) write that Tajfel and Turner formulated the theory of Social Identity. The Social Identity Theory involves the individual identifying him- or herself based on what social class or group he or she belongs to. This theory also contains the individual awareness of belonging to a category or group. Such a group or category comprises individuals that have a social identity in common (Adams & Hogg, 1990).

Thus, belonging to a category is a part of the person's social identity (Stets & Burke, 2000). Turner (1975) writes that the theory also implies that an individual feels an emotional bond with the category he or she belongs to. The social environment orients an individual so that he or she has an idea of his or her place in society (Turner, 1975).

Stets and Burke (2000) write that people become placed in one social category depending on the structure of the society, and any given category exists only in contrast to another category, such as black versus white people. Different categories also have different amounts of power, status, prestige, etc. Individuals are born into a structured society that contains different categories and each individual is a unique combination of multiple social categories (Stets & Burke, 2000). For example, an individual who is Asian American can also be a feminist, artist, mother and a homeless person (Deaux, 1994).

3.3.2 In-group and Out-group

Stets and Burke (2000) write that individuals compare themselves with other people to categorize themselves as similar or different from each other. The individual can define someone else as similar to him- or herself, and also similar to his or her category, which means that both of them belong to the in-group. Otherwise the individual defines the other as different from him- or herself, and also different to his or her category, which means that the other person belongs in the out-group. Members of the group get a sense of *us* and *them* (Stets & Burke, 2000). Experiments show that it is easy to create discriminatory behavior between in-groups and out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

What it means to belong to the in-group can be defined by speech, faith, values, attitudes, behavioral norms, etc. Groups have a tendency to get their self-esteem to grow by developing distance between the in-group and the out-group, as the in-group is perceived to be more positive than the out-group (Stets & Burke, 2000).

3.3.3 Identity

According to Stets and Burke (2000) an individual relates to other social categories to understand who he or she is. In Social Identity Theory, this process is called self-categorization, and in Identity Theory it is called identification. In this process the individual's identity is formed (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Identity can be described as a feeling of integration of the self, and that the individual's different parts come together as a whole (Deaux, 1994). In Social Identity Theory, as regards the individual's identity, the individual notes how he or she is different from others within the same in-group (Stets & Burke, 2000). These differences cannot be too large, because if they are, the individual does not fit into the group. Differences can be about behavior or attitudes. The individual constructs identity in relation to how he/she identifies as a member of the group. In this way, the individual finds the personal identity. In-group identification has been shown in research, leading to great commitment to the group and unwillingness to leave the group, even if the status of the group is relatively low (Stets & Burke, 2000).

4. Methodology

4.1 Choice of Study Method

This minor field study is a qualitative study. Bryman (2011) writes that qualitative research is flexible and involves descriptions of the subject. A qualitative study is not as structured like a quantitative one, one major difference being that the way the respondents perceive the world is important in the former (Bryman, 2011). This study was structured from Bryman's description of how the framework of a qualitative research process can appear, and this is how he describes it: A qualitative study usually begins with some general questions about a topic and relevant locations for the data collection are selected. Then the data is collected and the data material is interpreted. Later, the process to find theoretical concepts based on the empirical data begins. Occasionally, more data needs to be collected after the theoretical concepts were decided (Bryman, 2011).

The study is a case study, which means that the study concerns a specific society, place or a smaller context, for example an organization. It also means that this specific case is investigated in a deep and close way. A case study emphasizes that the specific context, where the phenomenon belongs, is of significance (Bryman, 2011).

This case study was carried out in an intervention project for men, called One Man Can. The NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network has shaped this project. The study's respondents were men who had voluntarily attended an anti-violence training program at One Man Can in Gugulethu. The authors of this study were involved in a one-day training program by One Man Can where the respondents were found. The authors introduced themselves and told the participants the reason they were attending the training program. The aim of the authors' participation in the training was to get a better understanding of what a training day in Gugulethu was like. The authors made clear that everything that was shared on that day would not be used in the study.

The minor field study has an inductive approach and to some extent also a deductive approach, which will be explained in the next section. Bryman (2011) writes that in an inductive approach the theory is the result of a research effort. A deductive approach means only having theoretical considerations that become hypotheses, which will be tested to be either confirmed or rejected in an empirical examination (Bryman, 2011).

4.2 Data Collection and Grounded Theory

The Grounded Theory method was used while analyzing and coding the data into concepts, themes and sub-categories. However, this method was not used fully, as explained below.

The founders of Grounded Theory, Glaser and Strauss, had different ideas about how the method was supposed to be used (Guvå & Hylander, 1998). For example, they had different views on how

concepts and definitions should be used. Therefore, it is difficult to explain in a simple way what Grounded Theory contains. The method is a type of qualitative research and is supposed to find patterns in the complexity of reality. The method also aims to generate theories (Guvå & Hylander, 1998).

In this minor field study a new theory has not been generated, because that would have been too extensive for this study. Instead, after studying the empirical data, two pre-existing theories were found. These theories seemed to be useful for analyzing the empirical data. According to Guvå and Hylander (1998) a central point of Grounded Theory is that themes are transformed as new experience emerges. They also write that the method is both inductive and deductive. First, empirical data is collected and then analyzed to formulate concepts. After this the concepts are tested on the empiricist and are confirmed or rejected. The aim of this process is to generate a new theory (Guvå & Hylander, 1998).

A total of six respondents were interviewed. The interviews were transcribed word by word. The texts were read through and the concepts, which the authors thought were connected to the research questions, were highlighted. Those concepts were developed into themes, with sub-categories. This coding process was conducted while the interviews were still taking place. This coding is described in Grounded Theory as a circular spiral-like process where there is an interaction between the research question, collection, coding and analysis of data (Guvå & Hylander, 1998). After two interviews were completed, the authors of this study understood the main ideas put forward by the respondents and used the information for the forthcoming interviews. After the four interviews were completed, all the interviews were transcribed and the coding process began. Concepts were found, which were formed into themes, sub-categories, and then analyzed. One theme, which we call Respondent Wants to Change Other Men, the authors considered required more investigation. Therefore, the authors went back to the field and two more interviews were conducted. The theme was confirmed and could be used in the analysis of data. At this stage, a big change in one of the research questions was implemented because of the confirmed theme. The Grounded Theory with a deductive approach was used when the theme was tested, and the authors went back to the field once again. During this process a matching and already existing theory, the theory of Social Identity, was found.

Strauss's procedure for analysis and coding processing can be described in four parts: discovering indicators in the data, defining concepts, finding patterns in the concepts, and finally creating a model from these patterns (Guvå & Hylander, 1998). The last part of creating a model is not included in this minor field study in order to restrict the scope of the study.

The author Hutchinson (1988, referred to in Guvå & Hylander, 1998) mentions one thing that is important in Grounded Theory, which is that the researcher observes the reality from the respondent's perspective. This was taken into consideration when the interviews were conducted. The respondents were the experts in their field; therefore the authors asked open-ended questions to understand the respondents' life experiences. Several other researchers have used their own interpretations of the

method Grounded Theory; some have made a few changes in the method and others have used the method only as a research approach (Guvå & Hylander, 1998). Because other researchers have made their own interpretations of the method, or only used the method as a research approach, the authors of this minor field study consider that it is legitimate to only use parts of this method.

4.3 Type of Qualitative Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used in this study to collect material. Bryman (2011) states that qualitative interviews are not very structured and give the respondents the opportunity to state their own opinions and views. He also writes that in quantitative interviews it is different because the interviews are usually designed to obtain answers to specific questions. In qualitative interviews, an interview guide is used, but deviation from it is allowed in order to catch the respondent's experiences (Bryman, 2011).

Bryman (2011) writes that in semi-structured interviews an interview guide sets out the different themes that will be raised in the interview. Even if there is an interview guide the respondents still have the freedom to respond in their own way and the questions can come in a different order. This is a flexible interview method (Bryman, 2011).

The interviews in this study had an open approach, and were flexible and open for some new questions that depended on the respondent's view and on what the respondents wanted to share. The first interview was for test purposes, but the authors found that it contained relevant information and therefore it was used in the study. The authors designed interview questions they thought would answer the study's research questions. First, the authors wanted to know about the respondent's age and where he was living. The reason for this was the possibility that a connection between their age or location of living and their answers could exist. To get some background information about the respondent's involvement in the program, the authors thought that some interview questions about the program the respondents had been through were of importance. The main focus of this study is on masculinity, and therefore the subsequent questions were about that. They addressed the respondents' views of themselves and their masculinity and also their general views on masculinity.

The last questions were about their experiences of being in the program. These questions were selected because the authors wanted to know if and in what way the time during the program had changed them as regards their view of masculinity. Last, the authors asked if the respondents wanted to add something. The first four respondents had a lot to add, which was related to the same topic. The topic was that they wanted to change other people. Therefore, the two last interviews had this topic added to the interview guide in formulated questions. The interview guide is attached (appendix 1). If structured interviews had been chosen, which Bryman (2011) writes, the interview guide would have been more structured and the respondents would not have had the opportunity to talk about what they found most interesting. The authors thought about having focus groups, which Bryman (2011)

describes as the respondents discussing questions in a group setting. The reason for not choosing this interview method was that the topic for this study might have been too sensitive for the respondents to discuss in a group.

4.4 Reliability, Validity and Generalization

Neuman (2005) writes that reliability and validity are essential for all measurements. Reliability means dependability and if a study has high reliability it means that same research can be repeated under similar conditions. Stability reliability means that the same answers are delivered when applied in different time periods. Representative reliability is reliability across subgroups (Neuman, 2005). A case study was chosen because of an interest in the particular context. To be able to get similar results, the study has to be done with the same method in a similar location, and using respondents with similar backgrounds. To make it possible for another researcher to replicate this study, a description of how this research was performed was carried out. The Sonke Gender Justice Network, at One Man Can, carried out a similar study, which is included in the section *earlier research*. That study's interpretations were similar to this study's interpretations, which can indicate that the results of this study have stability and that they can be applied to different subgroups.

One more aspect, which is important for reliability is that the instrument used during the research should be functional (Neuman, 2005). A functional recorder was used, as a measuring instrument and the audio quality was good. After recording the interviews, they were transcribed and the recordings could be listened to over and over again, which led to increased reliability. Both of the authors attended and took notes during the interviews to avoid misunderstandings.

Validity involves measuring what should be measured (Bryman, 2011), and also implies truthfulness (Neuman, 2011). The respondents expressed a great solidarity with the Sonke Gender Justice Network and they may have exaggerated their own positive change during the training. The results show that many of the respondents wished to get employment at Sonke Gender Justice Network in the future and they may have seen the participation in this study as a job opportunity. The respondents' eventual exaggeration has been discussed but the authors perceived the respondents as reliable and genuine.

Another example of what could negatively affect the validity is the understanding between the respondents and the authors. If one respondent did not fully understand the interview question, the answer might not have been consistent with the question. One more aspect that could have affected the results is that neither the authors nor the respondents had English as their native language. To avoid misunderstanding between the authors and the respondents, the authors made clear to the respondents that if the respondents and the authors did not understand each other, they should discuss further to get the correct sense.

One threat to the validity is that the researcher's interpretation of the investigated phenomenon may be incorrect (Neuman, 2011). The authors repeated the respondents' answers during the interview process in order to correct misunderstandings. In striving to achieve high validity and catch the respondents' point of view, the authors ended each interview by asking the respondents if they wanted to add something of importance to the aim of the study. This open question was intended to go beyond the authors' own pre-understanding and interpretations of what should be asked connected to the study's aim. The intention was to, in a better way, measure what should be measured.

Bryman (2011) writes that generalizability refers to how it is possible to generalize the results to other populations. In qualitative research, one often wants to gain deep knowledge about the specific case, rather than to generalize the results to a larger population (Bryman, 2011). The specific community Gugulethu and the training at One Man Can were of interest and therefore a case study was selected. The aim of this study was to apply the results to similar contexts and obtain knowledge about how men can positively change in their behavior towards women. The authors think this study have the potential to be generalized to similar contexts because of the fact that the earlier research about One Man Can delivered almost the same answers as this study did. The authors also think this may indicate high validity.

4.5 Sampling

Targeted selection was chosen as the sampling method for this study. This means that researchers select respondents who are relevant to the research questions (Bryman, 2011). The organization Sonke Gender Justice Network was selected as the organization at which to conduct the study. This is a large organization that works towards involving men in gender equality work, and stopping gender-based violence (Sonke Gender Justice Network, 2014).

A meeting was held with a coordinator at the Sonke Gender Justice Network, who was a gender and social justice activist and coordinated the campaign One Man Can in Eastern Cape. The coordinator established a meeting between the authors of this study and a coordinator who worked in Western Cape, the township Gugulethu. In this township the respondents were found and selected. The coordinator asked some men who had participated in the training at One Man Can if they wanted to take part in this study. A Theoretical Sampling Method was used for this study. This method Bryman (2011) writes involves choosing respondents until the theoretical saturation is reached. When the authors found that the theoretical saturation had not been reached, the coordinator found more respondents to interview.

4.6 Ethics

Four ethical principles of research were taken into account while interviewing the respondents. The principles were the Information Requirement, the Consent Requirement, the Confidentiality Requirement and the Use Requirement.

According to Bryman (2011) The Information Requirement means that the researcher must inform the respondents about the purpose and the different parts of the study. Respondents should also be told that their participation is voluntary and that they can leave the interview whenever they wish (Bryman, 2011). The respondents in this study were before the interviews informed about the purpose of the study, about its different parts, and that their participation was voluntary.

The Consent Requirement implies that the participants themselves choose if they want to be involved in the research. If the participants are minors the guardian's approval is necessary (Bryman, 2011). The respondents were asked about their age before the interview to make sure that they were legally allowed to take part. An ethical aspect to take into consideration is that the coordinator who asked the respondents to participate in the study might influence the respondent's agreement to participate. The respondents may have felt that they were forced to agree to participate in order to satisfy the coordinator. The authors were aware of this ethical dilemma, but tried to inform respondents clearly that the interview was voluntary and that they could leave the interview or pass on questions they were not comfortable answering.

The Confidentiality Requirement implies that people who participate in the study will be treated with confidentiality and all the information about the respondents will be kept from unauthorized persons (Bryman, 2011). The interviews were recorded on two devices. The recordings were transferred to a computer and then deleted from the devices. The recordings were named with numbers from one through six. If the recordings were to reach an unauthorized person the respondents would be anonymous.

The Use Requirement means that all information received from the participants is used for this research only (Bryman, 2011). At the beginning of the interview the respondents were informed that only the interview material would be used in this study.

The study topic, how the men regard themselves and their masculinity, can be a sensitive topic of discussion, which the authors were aware of during the interviews. For example, the men spoke of how they had demonstrated oppressive behavior against other people before the training, which they were not proud of. The respondents told private stories about their lives and were carefully listened to by the authors, and were not made to talk about subjects that were uncomfortable for them.

4.7 Distribution of Work

The distribution of the work involved in this thesis was equally shared by both of the authors. Some parts were divided, but nevertheless, both authors were equally involved in every part, even though one author had the main responsibility for writing the part. *1. Introduction*, *4. Methodology* and *7. Conclusion* were written together by both of the authors. In *2. Earlier Research*, Evelina Wigren wrote parts 2.2, 2.3 and 2.5, while Elina Wännman wrote part 2.4. Part 2.1 was written by both of the authors. *3. Theory and Theoretical Perspectives* was divided. Evelina Wigren wrote parts 3.1 and 3.2, while 3.3 was written by Elina. In *5. Results*, Elina Wännman wrote parts 5.2, 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7. Evelina Wigren wrote parts 5.1 and 5.3. In the analysis, Evelina Wigren wrote part 6.2 and Elina Wännman wrote parts 6.1, 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5.

5. Results

Several concepts were found when analyzing the results. Similar concepts were paired together and divided into themes and sub-categories. The themes and sub-categories were named to summarize the concepts. The themes identified were: The View of Masculinity, Their Own Change, Prevention Work with Young Men and the Importance of Moral Activities, Education and Knowledge, Social Norms, Boys Walking in Their Forefathers' Steps and Respondents Want to Change Other Men.

The research questions:

- How do men in Gugulethu, South Africa, who have been in training at One Man Can at the NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network, regard themselves and their own masculinity?
- How do men who experienced a positive change during the One Man Can training program at the Sonke Gender Justice Network, think it is possible to change other men in their community as regards negative attitudes and behavior towards women?

The results section initially describes the answers connected to the first research question. Later, the result section addresses how the respondents experienced their own change. The reason for including this in the study is to get a better understanding of the respondents' willingness to change other men in their community. At the end of the section the results for the last research question are presented.

5.1 The View of Masculinity

When the respondents explained how they regarded themselves and their masculinity after the participation in the One Man Can training, several respondents talked about how men acted and how a man should and should not behave. Men should not, according to them, be aggressive, rape or fight. Men need to respect other people and men should also be involved in gender-based programs, one respondent said. Some respondents said that men in general were shy to talk about their own problems and that men sometimes did not care about their own wives and children and sometimes abandoned their home. This is how one of the respondents expressed himself:

... Sometimes, to be a man, it is difficult because we create the problems in ourselves. If we try to stop being shy and talk about our problem, it will be easier to be a man... the thing is that we are shy to talk, all men are the same: we are shy to talk.... As I'm a man, if the woman is pregnant, mostly we like to run away.... so the mother and child have to struggle alone. So it is tough to be a woman rather than to be a man.

The respondent who stated this above meant that the man was the one who should take responsibility in the home and as he described the following as the way to be a real man: "... To be a man is what you do at home, take responsibilities, don't run away from your problems, face the problems and face the consequences. That's a real man."

Most of the respondents considered men and women as equal in terms of responsibility, for example as regards responsibility for the children. They argued that both the man and the woman were responsible for the home. One respondent said that the woman was the partner of his flesh and not just an instrument to use. Another one said that there was no difference between a man and a woman besides the physical organs, and argued that we were all the same. Some respondents said that women and men were exactly the same; the only thing that distinguished them was pregnancy. Here are two examples of the above ideas from two different respondents:

But now to be a woman, you can be a woman and work... do anything that a man can do, but you are a woman. That is what I believe. Nothing that I can do, the woman cannot do. Nothing the woman can do, I cannot do. The only thing a woman can do, that I can't do is the pregnancy, only. All other things can I also do, you see... What I believe, we share the same blood. I don't think it is a special thing for a woman to do, a special job for a man, all of us can do the same thing.

The other example: "...And whatever I am able to do, a woman is able to do also. Except giving birth."

One respondent talked about the responsibility of the home and what it meant to be a man, and said the following:

To be a man is not that I must go to work to earn; I can be a man because I take my kids to the clinic. Taking care of my kids and cooking for my kids. For me that means that I am a man.

Another respondent expressed his sense of gender equality. He thought that gender should be equal and he also wanted to find a solution to the current situation of gender inequality. "... So as I take a woman and make equality. Create equality. I like equality.... For me equality is right. No one should be below another.... Sit down and talk about some solution."

One respondent had some different views from the others on how a man should be. He thought the man should be more dominant in relation to the woman. The man must be a hardworking person who took care of his family, and a man must also be married. He said: "... a man must be a hard worker and a man is a caretaker of his family... and a man is also the pillar of the home, who provides bread for his children... and a man must be married."

Several of the respondents explained that they were both masculine and feminine. One respondent said that he was both a mother and father to his child now, because the mother to his child had left the

home. He explained that he was a man who had turned into a woman after the separation with his child's mother. He said:

I'm like a mother and father to that kid, you see, same, together and permanently... The reason I say that I'm a man, and suddenly I change to a woman is because: At home, we stay together, I've got my house, I'm staying together with my kid... I do electrical jobs. To keeping myself going... So when I'm busy with my electrical jobs he (the kid) will come to me, maybe crying: Daddy, daddy, daddy, can I have something to eat? I must then stop whatever I was doing, I must stop from where I was and give him whatever he is asking for, because I must look after the kid...

Another respondent also said he was both masculine and feminine. He said: "Masculinity to me.... I see myself as a bold man who can be feminine when it is necessary..."

There was one respondent who lost his parents at a young age. He explained that he did everything at home. He said:

...You see... when my mother still was alive I did the cooking, washed the dishes, cleaned the house, I knew everything because my mother was teaching me... so I know how to cook soup ... everything I do on my own.

All respondents in this study felt that they had changed as people after the time in the training. They described themselves as different now compared to how they were before the training on many different levels. They also said that they did things differently and also behaved differently now compared to before. One man put it like this:

I have changed the way I used to do things. My girlfriend, I spend more quality time with her, and friends are the last thing now. I used to go to see my friends, I put them before my girlfriend. But since I've heard a lot of these guys (trainers at Sonke) standing in front of me, explaining all these things, it has opened my mind.

One respondent talked about when he tried to put himself into the woman's situation and tried to understand how a woman experienced situations. He then realized that women also were wise, and explained it in the following way:

During one session in the training when we were imitating a woman or putting ourselves into a woman's shoes I understood what the difficulty was. I thought that things that a woman experiences were nothing compared to what I experienced as a man. But then I realized that women can also have problems and women are also wise.

5.2 Their Own Change

Two of the respondents said that even before the training, they felt that they were different to the majority of men in their community. One of them had tried to change his behavior as regards the way he lived his life, even before the One Man Can training. Two of the other respondents said that they were involved with a group of gangsters before the training program. Other descriptions of how they were before the training included having multiple partners, being an irresponsible father, beating their girlfriends and being a bully. Some of them did not know of the consequences that can result from anger or that HIV can be spread when having multiple sexual partners. The respondent who was beating his girlfriend also said that his life was miserable because of that.

When questions were asked about how the men perceived themselves after the time in the training program, many of them answered that they had the feeling that the training had renewed them and had opened their mind, and they had begun to see things in a different way than they did before. One other thing that the training did, according to many of the respondents, was that it helped them to open their eyes and think of solutions in a more rational way, which the following is an example of:

I did not realize that I had an element of anger inside me because of what happened before. When I came to the program I started to relate to other people. I started to open my eyes, to see things in a different way, as well as taking steps to solve whatever problems I faced, in a very rational way.

One respondent said that it was during a session where he had to imitate a woman that he got a big eye opener. A recurrent theme during the interviews, when the respondents talked about what they thought caused their change, was that they had been educated and had gained more knowledge. Many respondents talked about themselves as more responsible now. An example of this is a quote from a man:

I can take care of them (his kids) because of Sonke. I know that, as a man, I have the responsibility also to take care of my kids and the place where I live. It's not my girlfriend that can do all that stuff. I think the training has changed me a lot.

Another respondent said he was a real father now, and said that it was thanks to the knowledge and training he had received that he knew how a real dad should be. When the same man was asked a question about what he believed was the reason for his change, he replied:

The reason part in the program was for me, to understand more about what the woman needs. Secondly, the program is about understanding yourself. Because some of us, we don't understand ourselves. Like, who I am. What is my goal in life, what do I want in life and what do I really strive for in life.... I am happy with who I am now. I am happy because I can commit now, to people. I am more educated now. I

am engaging myself. Especially when I am talking to people, I am more educated and I am more advanced.

One respondent expressed his positive view of the Sonke Gender Justice Network: “I don’t know how to put it. I would like to put this place (Sonke) here (he grab his armpit), the warmest place. Whoever wants to come here can come in.”

Some respondents said that they had found themselves after the time in the training program. One of these men was the one quoted above. A quote from another respondent who was about to resume a career he liked, said this and was smiling in the end of the sentence:

I used to be an artist, I'm a gospel singer, but after that (when he joined a group of gangsters) I decided to let it go. But now, after this training, I'm back on track and I am doing my second album.

Two of the respondents clearly described how they were role models for other men in their community. A quote from one of them is:

In my place, my community, I'm like a role model to them (other people). I'm staying with my kid. Other people are always using me as an example. They say: “...He’s looking after his kid, he's busy washing the clothes, the kids’ clothes, his clothes, putting the kid on his back like an African women...” People are always coming to ask me questions.

5.3 Prevention Work With Young Men, and the Importance of Moral Activities

Several of the respondents talked about preventive work with young men. They talked about the importance of teaching them how to behave as a man, at an early age. Almost all the respondents talked about the importance of getting young people involved in various activities, which would take them off the streets and away from crime. Many of the respondents thought art and other cultural activities could be good for young people to engage in. Some said that youths were involved in criminal activities because they were unemployed and because they were bored. They needed something to do during their spare time, and would then have less time for activities such as stealing. One respondent believed that young people needed to understand that the gifts they had received from God, such as the ability to sing, could take them off the streets. Several of the respondents suggested examples of activities that could keep young people off the streets. These could be dancing, singing, playing instruments and practicing sports. One of the respondents explained:

Because most of us men influence each other in the wrong way... We have to keep them off the streets. Like after school, try to open a playground, give them some sport or do some traditional dance... Go

watch soccer or they can go play soccer there, and do those traditional dances also. Sometimes maybe go to kitchen soup on Saturday, in the morning... something that keeps them off the street.

Another respondent reported how he told young men and boys about activities they could do, instead of performing bad or criminal acts:

... You see, so I met those guys and told them: "No guys, let's make other things for people to enjoy! Okay look guys ... if you want to do drama, you can do that on stage, if you want to play football you can do that.... And there's a lot of other things that you can do (rather than criminal actions)... each and every time. Better to take your time and do something. Cut the grass ... you can do something instead (of criminal actions). So I don't have time to steal. Do something, do something...

One respondent talked about the time after school, between two o'clock and six o'clock, which he thought was the critical time when young people usually do not have anything to do. He also spoke about the importance of helping them find activities to engage in, during this time:

If you take a day...If you wake up at seven o'clock. You go to school, if you are a child. You spend from eight o'clock till two in the afternoon. What do you do between two and six? ...What have you done during that space of time? That crucial time. They come from a very good place, which is school... But this time, between two and six, they are influenced by wrong things during that time because they don't have anything to do. So it is very important for kids after school to have extra moral activities... So it is very important for children, boys and girls, to be in structures that keep them busy and not think about drugs, and they need to be told about the dangers of using drugs... it is very important for them to be kept busy, with arts and culture...

One respondent had begun to involve himself in creating activities for young people. He told about a DJ-group he runs, that children from second school participate in.

In terms of prevention work with young people, one man said how important he thought it was to start teaching about gender issues at an early age and try to get young people, who perform criminal acts, to be law-abiding. He said that maybe in the future, the young people could even be an asset to the community, and contribute to more positive change in the community as regards gender-based questions. He put it like this:

So if we start teaching these boys at a very young age... when they start reach puberty, then they at least have the knowledge. The earlier the better and the sooner the better. Because now, when you take us we have already been influenced by past things. And we already have problems, marriage problems, differences, unemployment... And now you come to me and tell me about gender-based violence but it has already affected me, so it will take time for me to reconsider the past. But preventing it, not to do wrong things that will lead you into a bad position... like if I make an example of myself. The position

that I am in today, maybe I could have been an asset to the community, even before I came here. So I think, the earlier you start with these boys, the better!

The same man who stated the above also said that he had experienced young boys undermining women and girls and said he believed that it would lead to major problems. He believed that young boys had the same norms as grown-ups, perceiving men as strong individuals and women as soft ones. He also said that he thought young boys did not want to be associated with being a soft individual.

5.4 Education and Knowledge

All the respondents said that they had received information and knowledge from Sonke Gender Justice Network that was of great benefit to them and had helped them change. They explained how they were taught and that they had become more knowledgeable about gender-based violence. One respondent said that he could take care of his kids now because of Sonke. Another respondent described that the new knowledge made him understand what women need and another said that Sonke told him how a man should behave. One respondent gave an example of how Sonke had given knowledge to these men:

I met up with Sonke Gender Justice. Now I am getting more and more knowledgeable and more educated, as regards gender-based violence, drugs and alcohol and abuse, stuff like that. I am very, very much aware of stuff like that.

Many of the respondents said that they wanted to give knowledge and information to other young men in their community. Many of them said that young men walk around knowing nothing. One respondent described himself as an open-minded person and said how he imagined himself going out and talking to other people:

There's a gang around here... I can try to recruit others and bring them here for maybe once a week...because people stay a bit far from here. I can give them lessons... I can stand in front of them and give them some lessons because I've learned from what I'm in. I'm always an open-minded guy. I will educate others to share what I've learned here. Because most of us men, we influence each other in a bad way.

Another respondent said that many men in their society ascribed to social norms that contributed to bad behavior. As an example, that a man can have sexual intercourse with his woman when he wants, and a man can hit the woman if she does not understand something. He believed that men need more knowledge about gender-based violence and how the men themselves are in person:

People are not so educated, as regards GBV (gender-based violence) and themselves. They are more focused on those social norms about a man. For example, that a man must always have a stick in his hand and the man can beat up a woman if the woman doesn't understand what the man wants. A man can sleep with the woman anytime he wants to. You see, they are more educated with that. And it's not education, you see.

One respondent already had some information before he was in the training but says that the training made him think more. Sonke taught one man that his behavior was wrong, and another man said that Sonke had helped him with the problems he had in the past.

5.5 Social Norms

The respondents talked about social norms that existed in their community. These norms concerned how men should be and how certain things should be done by a woman and other things by a man. Examples of these norms are that a man does not need to look after his children or take them to the doctor; this is something that a woman should do. Even things that have to do with the home, such as cleaning, cooking or other household chores are what the women are supposed to do. One respondent talked about his previous conception of how women as well as men should be: "I always had that norm, that she must be the housewife, she must look after the house and I would provide her with things as I was working... "

Another respondent said:

... there is a perception, especially in our culture, in the black community. Mostly, we tend to think that we (the men) are the people that are supposed to say, "women must stay home to look after children, we go to work and we direct everything." And then... there is no democracy, in terms of what a family looks like. It starts from a relationship, goes to marriage, and then the family adopts the approach that the man is the one who is in charge, even if things go wrong.

Several respondents said that men wanted to boss around the women, and one of them said that in their culture you have to have three wives to be called a man. Another respondent talked about men's view of women being linked to money. "Most men think that money buys love... And they will use money to get some other girlfriends outside the marriage." He also said that when a man was not married to a woman he was only using her as a tool or an instrument.

5.6 Boys Walk in Their Fathers' Footsteps

Almost all of the respondents pointed out that children take after their parents and the older people in the community. That is where the children get the norms about how a man and woman should be, and they imitate the behavior of the elders. One respondent put it like this:

...something that is happening in our life, is more based on what happened to them (our grandparents). Some of us watch our fathers beating a woman, and think that is something good, to beat up a woman. Because it gives you more power.

A quote from another respondent:

I think that we are still living in the past, based on, if you remember what I said, our upbringing, especially regarding culture and moral values that come from our forefathers, who labeled men as the wisest of the sexes. The man is the one that supposed to be the driving force behind everything that is happening, without giving the woman a chance to have her own input.

The respondents speak from their own experiences, and described the domestic violence against their mother or any other woman. One respondent said that his father beat his mother. He also explained that he took after his father's behavior and started to beat his mother himself. One respondent said that because of experiences similar to those mentioned, he had an image that this is how it should be. It became normal for him that a man should beat or boss around his girlfriend or wife.

5.7 Respondents Want to Change Other Men

All respondents said that they wanted to change other men and the community they lived in. They agreed that the male norm that existed in their communities now was something they would have to work hard to change. They talked about changing men's violent and aggressive behavior, and they wanted to include men in household chores.

One of the respondents was particularly interested in changing young men who were involved in criminal gangs. He had himself, when he was younger, been involved in such a gang. He said that he talked with these gangsters, for example, discussing where they might end up if they did not quit participating in these gang activities. Another respondent said that he had changed many other people, including gangsters, in the right direction. Many respondents expressed a strong desire to change. One respondent said this:

I like to speak with people, but then (a long time ago) I took the wrong way, but now I am back on the track. I will do my job and I will change my community; not only my community, the whole township!

You can change South Africa, you can change Africa as well! ...I told myself, "I won't get anything (money), but I will just take on this project."

When the respondents were asked questions about how they should change other men they answered that they should go out and educate, explain and talk to men about issues concerning gender-based violence, inequality and crime. One respondent said that after the time in the training program, he was no longer afraid to go out and talk to other men about gender issues. Many of the answers from the respondents addressed how they would change others. The authors of this study perceived that the respondents have a strong motivation to change other men in their community. An example of this is when one said:

Now it is high time for us to face the reality. Whatever was done a long time ago, was wrong. So now, we need to understand and appreciate each other, whether you are a male or a female...When you have participated in a training you have to pass the knowledge back to the community! Don't just sit down with the information!

One respondent talked about the importance of using strategies to get more men involved in the work for gender equality and stop violence against women. He said:

I think men need to be treated in a very strategic way because there is an element of stubbornness into men. There is still, I will say the majority, that are still stubborn. Slowly but surely, trying to make some mechanisms, try to make some structures, like how can you lead men, in a polite way, but being straightforward. You need to be realistic.

Many respondents said that they would be glad to work at Sonke Gender Justice Network, and one man said that if Sonke had more money, they would be able to hire more employees and would then be able to change the community faster and with greater ease. One respondent, who will be volunteering for Sonke, emphasized the importance of the willingness to change something in order to succeed:

If it comes from your heart, everything will follow. ...I'm willing to be a volunteer so I want to try, and see as time goes by, see what's next after the course. What can I do?! I can do something because I'm willing.

5.8 Summary of the Results

The respondents changed a lot in how they regarded themselves and their masculinity. They said men should take as much responsibility as women and also said that the knowledge received from Sonke Gender Justice Network had opened their eyes.

The respondents said that the male norm in their community included behavior they no longer considered as positive behavior. They had noticed that there were other forms of masculinity one could adopt instead of ending up with the male norm. They believed that men could do things that were normative for a woman to do, and that both men and women should do the same things. The respondents talked about masculinity and femininity as being different from each other. An example is when a respondent said that he was both a mother and a father to his child, and described his role in that way because he did things that were typical for both males and females.

The respondents talked about educating others regarding more democratic behavior. They also talked about reaching out to young boys and doing preventive work, which should help prevent young people from adopting the norms of how a man should be. In this way, they would prevent the old norms of masculinity from previous generations being transferred to the new generation.

6. Analysis

In the first two parts of this section, the norms in the society and hegemonic masculinity were analyzed together with the earlier research and the theory about hegemonic masculinity. The next part in the analysis is called Men Creating Identities Out of Norms, and in this part, norms in the community are analyzed together with the theory of social identity. The fourth part examines how the respondents created new identities after taking part in the One Man Can training. The last part of the section is about the spreading of knowledge about alternative approaches towards women to other members of the community. This part is analyzed with support from the theory about social identity.

6.1 The Norms in the Society

The respondents in the study often said in the interviews that, before the training, they had a different view of themselves as men compared to how they viewed themselves after the training. The respondents talked a lot about how men in their community generally act. Many said that they thought the reason for the high amount of violence against women, and also the reason why the male norm was the dominant way, was that the environment had affected them in several ways. As Dworkin et al. (2013) write, the male norm is often paired with the traditions and culture that exists in the country. Some traditions and norms say that as a man you should be strong and be the head of the family (Dworkin et al, 2013). The respondents in this minor field study said that boys notice other men who act in a certain way and therefore imitate these behaviors. Burr (1995) and Connell (2013) claim that gender is a result of the cultural and historical context. We think, as Burr (1995) writes, that individuals are born into a system that shapes them into the individuals they become, so that they fit into the structure. Depending on the society someone lives in, the norms of how a woman and man should be or behave are different as both Burr (1995) and Connell (2013) say.

Connell (2013) uses the term *hegemonic masculinity* to describe the norm of how a man should be in a society. He also says that the hegemonic masculinity looks different in different contexts (Connell, 2005). Crooks et al. (2007) claim that factors that contribute to violence against women are said to have both individual and collective characters. There are traditional notions about masculinity that have attitudes that accept violence (Crooks et al. 2007).

Many examples of how a woman and a man are expected to behave are given in the results section. One example is that a woman is expected to stay at home and look after the children and the house, while a man is expected to work and make all the decisions in the family.

6.2 Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is both the dominant form of masculinity, and the norm, in society (Connell, 2013). We think that it is easy to adopt norms, which in this case is about adopting hegemonic masculinity. Before the respondents participated in the training program they followed the norms and traditions of the community. Hegemonic masculinity is often paired with violent behavior (Dworkin et al, 2013), and the men we talked to expressed this violent behavior as a norm for men in their community. Connell (2005) writes that hegemonic masculinity is an expression of authority, and the authority can lead to violence. The respondents talked about the male norm as something that the majority of men in their community had. Thus, we believe that the majority of the men in the community adopt hegemonic masculinity. These men have seen their parents and other men behave in an oppressive and violent way and have embraced this behavior. One respondent told us that he saw his father beat his mother and then he, himself, began to beat his mother and thought that this was the natural way to behave.

We believe that the patriarchal society in South Africa plays a big role as regards men ending up with hegemonic masculinity. Dworkin et al. (2013), Sakala (1998) and Sideris (2005) writes about how some men in patriarchal societies want to verify and demonstrate their power, and this is often done in a dominant and violent manner towards other men and women.

Before the training, many of the respondents had no knowledge about how they themselves could behave in a different way. If the society and the culture indicate it is acceptable for a man to be dominant towards his wife, such as having sex with his wife at any time, we believe it is not surprising that men can easily fall into violent behavior. The respondents mentioned that men often lack knowledge about proper behavior. Before one respondent had participated in the training, he did not know that a man was not supposed to beat his wife or girlfriend. The respondents said that after they had acquired more knowledge, their minds were renewed and because of the knowledge, they had opened their eyes. They wanted to go out and tell other men about how they could change themselves and do things in a different way instead of treating women in a negative way. We believe that the respondents in this way wanted to tell other men that there were other forms of masculinity they could adopt, besides hegemonic masculinity.

Sideris (2005) makes an example of how religion can affect how norms are formed. God created the man before the woman in the Bible, which some interpret as a reason for the man to be the head of the family (Sideris, 2005). We believe that, unfortunately, this interpretation can affect traditions and gender norms in a negative way.

Factors such as unemployment, poverty and restlessness are believed by both the respondents and us to be elements that can make men easily fall into the habit of committing violent and criminal acts. The respondents described the fact that many young boys in their community were unemployed, poor or had nothing to do. The respondents wanted to share what they had learned in the training with these

boys, to prevent them from engaging in violent and criminal actions. As Walker's (referred to in Sideris, 2005) research states, many boys who are perpetrators of abuse, want to remake the old way of manhood. Connected to this, we believe that abusive and violent boys can often have the view of masculinity as being dominant. This dominant masculinity may be an underlying reason for negative behavior, which can lead to violence against women.

Dworkin et al. (2013) write that much has happened in the last 15 years as regards human- and gender rights in South Africa. The fast shift in gender relations may have caused many men to adopt a specific masculinity (Dworkin et al., 2013). Gender relations may have been changed during the development of gender rights and we believe this may be a reason for many men to adopt hegemonic masculinity.

6.3 Men Creating Identities Out of Norms

We believe that boys define themselves with reference to other boys and men. As regards gender identification, boys define themselves at an early age with reference to other boys and men, and we believe they get a feeling that they are all in the same category as each other. As Stets & Burke (2000) write, individuals create their identity in such a way as to belong to an in-group, which includes people with similar characteristics. Individuals also create their identity through having different characters to those who belong to the out-group (Stets & Burke, 2000). We believe that the division between a man with hegemonic masculinity and men with other masculinities and women creates a sense of *us* and *them*. By this we mean that men and boys are classified as being in the in-group with other men if they join the masculinity norm (hegemonic masculinity), while women and men with other types of masculinities are considered to be in the out-group.

6.4 New Identities and New In-group

We believe that the individuals at One Man Can have created their own in-group. In this group there can be certain norms about how to be a man. One recurring theme, as regards what masculinity means to the respondents nowadays, is to take responsibility. By applying Social Identity Theory, we believe that these men define themselves as similar to other men within One Man Can, and different from the men who are trying to reach the general male norm. Several of the respondents said that they had found themselves after the training in One Man Can and also that the training had helped them open their eyes. Some of them talked about the way they acted before and said that they currently did not see their old type of behavior as the correct way to behave. One respondent explained that his life was miserable before because of the way he was behaving. We interpret the above results to mean that the men had abandoned their previous male identity. They had found other ways to behave and other ways

to be a man. We interpret this to mean that they had found a new in-group to identify themselves with. We think that they had found their identity in something other than being the dominant, hegemonic man, as previously expected by both the social environment and themselves.

6.5 Feed the Knowledge Back Into the Community

We believe that the respondents now want to recruit new members to their in-group. For other men to be able to qualify to join the group, they would have to become more educated and willing to change their views and behavior towards women (if their views and behavior did not fit already). We believe that the respondents who described having found themselves, provided evidence for the theory that the men had found their new identities after the training. The theory of Social Identity states that identity is a sense of integration of the different parts of yourself that come together into a whole (Deaux, 1994). The respondents received knowledge about gender and violence issues, and had changed their views on how to act in a proper way. They also had people around them who had the same views on how men should behave. These two factors make it reasonable to understand why the respondents had found themselves. Research shows that the in-group definition leads to a large commitment to the group and unwillingness to leave the group (Stets & Burke, 2000). Unwillingness to leave the group is something we noticed that the respondents experienced. They talked about Sonke Gender Justice Network as something very positive. One respondent said he wanted to put Sonke under his armpit, which he meant was the warmest place on his body. Several of the respondents wanted to work at Sonke. All of them were committed to volunteer work and to give other men knowledge about gender issues and violence against women.

Without knowledge of different forms of masculinity, it is hard to make an active choice about which form to adopt. Since the respondents were able to change their identity, and see the change in a positive light, they perhaps felt that it was their duty to educate other men with the knowledge they now possessed. An example of this is a respondent who said that people with the knowledge could not keep it to themselves, but must go out and feed the knowledge back into the community!

7. Conclusion

This study has shown that lack of knowledge as well as male norms in societies are important reasons explaining why many men in society behave in an oppressive way against women. Sonke Gender Justice Network work makes men open their eyes and realize that their behavior, which they previously thought was correct, was wrong. They now see themselves as equally responsible as women for matters such as household work. They also think that men and women can do exactly the same things in life, except giving birth. Because of their own change of views they want to pass on this knowledge and transform other men. The respondents themselves experienced some kind of transformation, and with the theory of Social Identity, we can interpret this to mean that they have changed their identity. They have also, as we can see, been able to observe that there are other masculinities apart from the norm (the hegemonic masculinity) that can be adopted.

We observed the respondent's excitement and willingness to work towards ending violence against women and achieving gender equality. We believe this will lead to increased knowledge and hopefully more people want to work towards creating a gender-equal community.

This training can be seen as a step in the right direction towards gender equality and towards stopping men's violence against women. We believe that the respondents have the power and vision to change the community. We believe that the training sessions at One Man Can are having a ripple effect on the community. We think that the respondents give knowledge to people as well as contribute to discussions about violence, oppressive behavior against women and also discussions about male norms in their community. Later on, the people who the respondents were talking to, will spread the discussions further. Therefore, the respondents in this minor field study can be seen as a tremendous asset for the community, its development, and the progress toward gender equality.

It is not only important to change men with violent behavior, but also, as Crooker et al. (2007) write, to engage nonviolent men in the movement towards gender equality. Men with nonviolent behavior may be unsure about how it is possible to participate in violence prevention work, and some nonviolent men say they will not participate because no one has asked them to (Crooker, et al, 2007). Therefore we believe, it is important to spread knowledge to nonviolent men about how they can engage and participate in the violence prevention work, to stop violence against women.

There are several organizations worldwide working with perpetrators who have been prosecuted for violence against women and they have methods to change these perpetrators' violent behavior (Dobash et. al, 2000). One difference between the work in those organizations and One Man Can is that the work in One Man Can has all men in the community as the target group and not only men found guilty of a crime. We think that working with men who are perpetrators of abuse crimes against women is different to working with men without such a background, because the former one includes a contribution from an authority. The ethical dilemma is as follows: even if both organizations strive to reach the same goal it is more legitimate to force men found guilty of a crime to participate in a

voluntary organization than it is to involve men without such a background. Thus, it is possible that a man without a criminal record can abuse a woman to the same or to a greater extent than a man who has got a criminal record.

The struggle towards gender equality is something that should take a broader approach to attain greater success. For example more organizations could work with engaging men in order to change men's violent behavior and attitudes against women in communities. It is important for more people to realize that it is of equal importance to work on men's attitudes and behavior against women, as it is to support and empower vulnerable women.

Another possible strength could be to involve both men and women in the same organization. Then both men and women would have to interact with each other and identify themselves with the opposite sex. In that way, men would not only identify themselves with other men and women not only identify themselves with other women. This would make the gap between *us* and *them* smaller. As the results show, the respondents thought that prevention work was important. They said that prevention work should focus on not transferring old norms about masculinity to the new generation. They said these old norms caused destructive behavior. Social workers can use prevention interventions for young people in different ways. For example, at youth recreation centers or other meeting places where young people can interact and discuss gender norms and gender issues.

8. Future Research

It would be interesting to conduct research on how organizations, which strive for gender equality in South Africa, work with the involvement of both men and women to try to achieve change as regards the struggle to end men's violence against women.

One other interesting future research topic would be how women in Gugulethu experience themselves and their femininity in connection to the theory of Hegemonic Femininity.

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Appendix

Interview guide

Introduction

- Describe ourselves and the aim of the study.
- How long the interview is going to be.
- Our English is limited so if there is something that you do not understand, tell us. Maybe we do not understand everything you say so please be patient about that.
- This interview is voluntary and you can decline the interview if you want, or say ‘no’ to some questions.
- The answers will be anonymous.
- The answers will only be used for this study.
- Is it okay with you if we record the interview?
- The topics we are going to discuss are:
 1. Basic questions about you as a person
 2. More general questions about the program
 3. Masculinity
 4. Changes that have occurred since you started the program
 5. How to change other people

1. Basic questions about you as person

- How old are you?
- Where do you live?

2. More general questions about the program

- How did you find out about this training program?
- Why did you get involved in this training program?
- How long have you been in this training program? Are you still in it?

3. Masculinity

- How do you see yourself and your masculinity?
- What is masculinity for you? What are the main characteristics of masculinity (manhood) for you?
- What is it to be a man and to be a woman?

4. The change before the program till now

- What has happened to you while in the training program?
- Is there anything that you think about in a different way since being on the program? If yes, why? Can you give an example?
- Do you feel that your opinion of yourself has changed while in the training program? If yes, what opinion?

5. Respondent Wants to Change other people

- What do you think about this topic?
- What do you think needs to be done to change other men's attitudes and behavior as regards gender-based violence and gender-inequality?

Conclusion

- We have almost come to the end of this interview and we wonder if you have anything you want to add?

Thank you so much! We really appreciate your contribution to this study. We wish you all the best, and thank you again!