Engaging men and boys in the struggle to end violence against women.

A study on how men and boys are engaged in the issue of Violence against women in Mauritius

Marika Holappa
Shqipe Ismaili

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Supervisor: Dr Komalsingh Rambaree
Examiner: Ted Goldberg
Abstract

This thesis looked deeper into the subject of engaging men and boys in the issue of violence against women in Mauritius. The aim of the study was to investigate what methods were used to engage men and boys in the subject, as well as the challenges faced when working to engage men and boys in the subject of violence against women, and lastly if there is any new innovative strategies that could develop the area of engaging men and boys towards decreasing violence against women. The theory used in this study was hegemonic masculinity by Connell. We used abductive thematic network analysis (ATNA) as our method and analysis. In addition we also used Atlas.ti-7, a computerized data analysis tool, to categorize the data and to further create the themes and networks between them. Our results showed that one of the methods that were frequently used by the organizations was to empower men to make a change in their own life, and further becoming the change in society themselves. Another method used by some of the organizations was to create an alternative role of what masculinity is in order to change the stereotypical macho dominant man which includes being aggressive as one of the characteristics, for instance. Some of the difficulties faced by the organizations was the challenge of actually recruiting men and boys to the workshops, but also recruiting male facilitators as employees. Some of the innovative ideas put forward by the interviewees, was to engage boys at school more than what is done now, also to work with corporations and companies and their employees in the issues of violence against women.

Key words
Hegemonic masculinity, violence against women, social norms, power, patriarchy
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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Our passion towards gender equality led us to explore different ways in how we can develop and work towards new ways to fight gender inequality. Our curiosity for engaging men and boys in the issue of violence against women started in the fall of 2014, when we did our internship in Mumbai, India, at MAVA (Men Against Violence & Abuse). MAVA worked with men and boys in the subject of gender equality, which mainly focused on violence against women. There we had the possibility to see upfront how the work of engaging men and boys is/could be conducted, but also the importance of engaging men and boys in the work towards gender equality. This continued to spark a great interest in the field of gender equality and the inclusion of men. It was becoming more evident to us that the inclusion of men and boys is a must to achieve gender equality, because this area does not only concern women, but also the other half of the population, men.

The topic of engaging men and boys in the work related to violence against women is of great relevance for social work, due to the fact that social work at its core aims to empower people and enhance the wellbeing of people as well as liberating those in need (International Federation of Social Work, 2012). It is also one of social workers’ responsibilities to challenge negative discrimination, and discrimination due to gender or sex is one aspect to be challenged. Which is a part of challenging and changing unjust policies and practices such as those that will be brought up in this study, for example patriarchal practices, which are oppressive and harmful to parts of our society (ibid). Violence against women, a global issue, is a widespread violation against human rights, and it is of greatest importance to shed light on the issue and promote a change, all of this being fundamental to social work (ibid).

The subject of engaging men in various gender equality issues has been on the forefront for the last couple of years. The United Nations (in Ruspini et al, 2011, p. 2) stated ‘women share common concerns that can be addressed only by working together and in partnership with men towards the common goal of gender equality around the world’. The responsibility of achieving gender equality should not only be on women to strive for, especially since they are mostly subordinated to men. Men occupying half of the population today have to take an active role in achieving gender equality since they are the majority of power holders in the mainstream society. For instance in government or in business it is evident that men are a
majority and therefore hold power. If men are not included in the work toward gender equality, the chance of reaching gender equality will be very small due to the fact that they are as mentioned half of the population and mainly the power holders in most societies thus possess a greater influence.

Men are generally the dominant gender in the world, and uses different tools of sustaining power, such as the use of violence (Pease and Pringle 2001, in Ruspini et al, 2011). Using force as a method of sustaining power is what Connell describes as one of the features of Hegemonic Masculinity (Connell, 1995). The dominant form of masculinity has trickled down to the majority of men and has created the norm of masculinity (ibid).

A report made by Gender Links found that almost a quarter, that is 24% of Mauritian women have experienced gender-based violence in their life, and 23% of the men admitted to have been perpetrators of violence against women in their lifetime (Gender Links, 2012). Thus showing that there is widespread violence against women in Mauritius. Hence a need for additional organizations and stakeholders working on, and acknowledging the importance of the topic, but also conducting further research. Between January and September 2013, there were 1,376 reported cases of domestic violence in Mauritius (Indian Ocean Times Mauritius, 2014). Although, we have to critically analyze these statistics, as it is only an indication of the number of domestic violence cases, due to the fact that we cannot assume that all cases of domestic violence is reported. What can be assumed is that if the norm in society is accepting towards people that make a report of for example domestic violence or rape, the outcome is of course that the reporting will increase as well. This is why it is important to emphasize that the number of reports does not show the real picture of violence against women, it rather shows that the issue of violence against women is probably a much bigger issue than we can measure from reports.

From our search of previous research there was nothing published in the area of engaging men and boys in gender equality from a Mauritian context. Along these lines, we found it relevant to conduct such a study in Mauritius since the statistics show that there is a large number of violence against women. Yet little research on the topic has been done, especially when it comes to the inclusion of men and boys to work against violence against women. Further, the World Bank states that research on men and masculinity has mainly been conducted in the developed countries, while the focus on the developing countries has been minor (Ruspini et
al, 2011). This comes to show that there is even a greater need to conduct more studies in this topic in the developing countries.

Lastly, to tackle the issue of violence against women we cannot face the problem only by a bottom to-top-approach, we have to further seek a solution from top-to-bottom as well. Which is done through engaging the male gender, which might seem logical because men are the main stakeholder of power in society today. Hence, there is a clear relevance in looking further into the subject on the process of engaging men in working towards violence against women in Mauritius.

1.1 Aim

The aim of this research is to analyze the process of engaging men and boys in working with violence against women in Mauritius.

1.2 Research question

What are the processes of engaging men and boys in working with violence against women in Mauritius?

1.3 Sub-research questions

1. What types of methods are used to engage men and boys in the work towards violence against women, and how are they implemented?

2. Are there any challenges/limitations in the process of engaging men and boys in working towards violence against women, and if so what are they?
3. What kind of improvements and/or new innovative strategies need to be implemented, to further develop the area of engaging men and boys in the work towards violence against women.

1.4 Essay Disposition

After the introduction of the essay, where we explain why there is an interest in the subject and why we found it important to further investigate and explore the area there is a chapter where some light is shed upon the previous research. The previous research is based on earlier readings we found to be of relevance, and that has connections to our aim and research questions. To more easily see the connections between the research questions and previous research the sub headings under chapter two are directly connected to the three research questions presented in the introduction. The third chapter presents the chosen theory, which is hegemonic masculinity and why we found it interesting for the chosen subject and research questions. In chapter four the methods used are presented and explained step by step, from preliminary understanding, tools of analysis to reflections of credibility and validity, to mention some of what is presented. The fifth chapter is the result and analysis section, and once again the sub-headings, or as we present them, themes are related to the research questions for a better understanding and structure of the essay. In this chapter there is also a short explanation of how the abductive reasoning has been used and implemented in the analysis of the results. The chapter presents the result gathered combined with the analysis and interpretation of the result. The sixth and final chapter of the thesis consists of the discussion part of the thesis where the results are discussed in terms of the aim, critical discussion of the theory and alternative interpretations of the results are being discussed amongst other things as the final stage of the essay writing.

Chapter 2 - Previous research

2.1 Risk factors

According to some research there are risk factors for men who conform or follow the dominant masculine norms (Dworkin et al, 2013). For instance men are more likely to have
poorer mental-health (Sharpe & Heppner, 1991, in Dworkin et al, 2012), they are also more likely to become sexually and physically violent towards their female partner when expressing the norms of hegemonic masculinity (Haj-Yahia 2005; Mouse and Stuart 2005; Santana et al. 2006, in Dworkin et al, 2012). Therefore, there is an importance to have a dialogue with men about their perception, feelings and reflections on how they conform to the norms of masculinity. During health programs, when men re-evaluate what these norms are and understand that these are harmful to both them and others, they can start to change that behavior (Lynch, Bronnard & Visser, 2010, in Dworkin et al, 2012).

Further, the use and risk of using violence is very much seen to be connected to traditional notions of masculinity (Casey & Smith, 2010). A WHO global review showed through evaluated programs that those programs engaging men and boys in the issue of violence against women which had the strongest (based on the evaluated programs) impact on men's behavior and beliefs were those that addressed norms related to gender and masculinity (Casey et al, 2013).

Studies from several countries have shown that perpetrators of sexual violence will do so in their early years of life, also sexual perpetrators might do it more than once in their life (Barker & Peacock, 2014). There are several factors of why men become violent towards women, however, one of the factors is that early on in their life they might experience violence which comes to show that the issue of early exposure to violence and how young men and boys experience, feel, and so forth, about the issue is important to address (Peacock & Barker, 2014). Also, alcohol does not cause gender-based violence, however, it can be a contributor to gender-based violence, therefore it is important to reduce men's alcohol use (ibid).

2.2 Methods

According to Casey et al (2013) it is of importance to explore and acknowledge the tensions that might occur when engaging men in anti violence work against women. To explore the tensions men might experience when engaging in issues of violence against women could be beneficial when inviting men into such movements, but also to create effective practices (Casey et al, 2013). As Casey et al (2013, p. 229) states; ‘Engaging men involves mobilizing a
A socially privileged group to work toward dismantling a problem largely perpetuated from within its own ranks.

2.3 Difficulties and limitations

Currently, much of the work on engaging men and boys are mainly led by different NGO’s around the world, usually small scale, short-term led and has been unsuccessful at reaching out to a large amount of young men and boys (Peacock & Barker, 2014). The reason for this could be the lack of resources the small NGO has in order to reach out to a large amount of men and boys, hence also why the work is usually short term. Another explanation is maybe that the matter of engaging men and boys in violence against women is not seen as an important issue to tackle.

There is also some difficulties in engaging men due to the fact that men sometimes are resistant to women’s rights, since they associate that with taking away men’s social power (Dworkin et al, 2012). Further there is difficulties in the workshops that the authors have evaluated, for example to create an open space where the men can openly reflect on the topic. Some of the men interpreted the workshop as to shift power from men to children and women (Dworkin et al, 2012). Previous research has found men to view gender-based violence as an important issue and a big problem, yet there is a lack of understanding what one can do about the matter (Casey et al, 2013). While at the same time, an environment supportive and encouraging, both political and societal towards the engagement of men and boys in gender equality is lacking (Promundo & UNFPA, 2010).

2.4 New ways forward

According to Dworkin et al (2012), they believe that to further develop the workshops they have evaluated, it can be useful to include intersections of masculinity, gender equality and health. It can also be important to have more number of sessions in schools, around 10-16 sessions has proven to increase attitude change (WHO, 2007, in Peacock & Barker, 2014).
What has proven to be successful, has been for example partnering up with women's’ economic empowerment and including men, incorporating the subject of gender-based violence in different fatherhood programs (Peacock & Barker, 2014). What has further been successful when tackling the tensions of engaging men and boys in the work with violence against women, is to critically discuss and explore notions of gender and masculinity, due to the fact that it demands rethinking on their behalf (Casey et al, 2013). It demands of men to re-imagine their own beliefs and privileges, not the least to become aware of these (Casey et al, 2013). Such examination of oneself could create defensiveness, so some men's ally programs have created different strategies to move past this possible defensiveness and try to do this in a manner that shows how it could be a positive way for men to be engaged in such programs. This could for example be initiating conversations that could be of interest to men at other levels, such as discussions of fatherhood (Casey et al, 2013).

It is further discussed in Dworkin et al (2012), that there are other factors other than attitude change from the workshops, that has been important for general attitude change about women. Such factors are for example women taking a bigger role in the job market and occupying power positions (ibid). Efforts in preventing violence against women that operate on many levels at the same time, and that engages not only individuals but also their communities has been seen to be effective especially when it comes to lasting change of attitudes (Casey et al, 2013).

Chapter 3 - Theory

The theory we will use as our starting point will be 'hegemonic masculinity' by Raewyn Connell. Hegemony according to Antonio Gramsci, refers to the fact that a group occupies power in society (Connell, 1995). Hegemony is expressed individually, however, created through cultural ideals and institutional power collectively (ibid). Although, it has to be stressed that,

'Hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable’ (Connell, 1995, p. 76)
Hence, why working with young men and boys is important, because the present hegemonic masculinity, for example attributes such as being violent, can be changed. Connell (2005) stresses the fact that hegemony is changeable, as history has prior shown.

This theory was chosen for its relevance of working with men and boys, specifically tackling a main trait of hegemonic masculinity, violence. Further, hegemonic masculinity also takes up the issue of power imbalances which is key when speaking of violence against women, where the woman is subordinate to the man, and the man uses force to keep the woman subordinate.

According to Connell (1995), there is a minority of men that actually exercise the traits of hegemonic masculinity, nevertheless, the majority of men benefit from women being subordinated. Therefore, men become passive enablers of patriarchy. Further, the reason why there is an importance of men realizing that they are a part of an oppressing system. Even though they might not directly exercise patriarchal acts such as violence, they might not actively try to stop inequality, therefore becoming some form of a bystander.

Acknowledging intersectionalities in the context of masculinity is significant when discussing the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). This is necessary in order to create a broader perspective of what masculinity entails, instead of creating a stereotyped form of masculinity (ibid). Masculinity is not an isolated subject, it rather interacts in a process with other factors such as race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, literacy and age (Barker & Peacock, 2014).

Through the Hegemonic Masculinity theory we will achieve a greater knowledge in how masculinity is formed, and the impact it has on men and their behavior due to the masculine norms, more specifically violence against women. Nevertheless, it is also of interest to see if and how the organizations use the theory in their methods to tackle the issue of a hegemonic masculine trait, which is violence against women.
Chapter 4 - Method

4.1 Preliminary understanding

Our prior understanding of the engagement of men and boys in the subject of violence against women is mainly based from our internship at MAVA (Men Against Violence and Abuse) in India, Mumbai. During our internship at MAVA we got to see how they worked with this subject mainly through awareness sessions with youth, advocacy based work, reaching out to different communities, and networking. We also got to attend the MenEngage Symposium in New Delhi, where different countries and organizations shared their views and their way of engaging men and boys in different areas, such as fatherhood, violence and maternity etc.

The experience of being interns at MAVA, gave us insights on the field and what an impact it can have on young men and boys and their mindsets. The men and boys that were a part of the sessions and various activities, expressed a greater awareness and sensitivity towards the subject and issue than prior to their engagement. This goes in line with what we have seen in previous research, and our believe is, that the engagement of men and boys on the issue of violence against women, is of greatest importance to be able to reduce violence against women.

Although we also got to see how difficult it can be for a small NGO in Mumbai working on this global issue, issues such as funding. Hence one of the reasons why we wanted to conduct this study, to enable others interested in the subject of engaging men and boys to be able to have various research to lean on and see what has worked for others, how to overcome such difficulties etc.

4.2 Research design

The intent of our study is to look deeper into how men and boys are engaged in the subject of violence against women. To achieve this we have looked into two different target groups, participants that have attended the organizations workshops and their programs and the
individuals that are working with the subject in itself. As we mentioned before our aim was to interview approximately three government officials from the ministry of Gender Equality also, however, we were unable to get an interview from them. We were keen to use a holistic approach when exploring the subject of engaging men and boys in the subject of violence against women, this is why we initially wanted to explore the engagement of men and boys at different levels.

The philosophy of science we used in our study is phenomenology. Phenomenology seeks an understanding of social phenomena from people’s own subjective perspectives, to describe the world as people experience it (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2009). This includes both the one who is conducting the research and the participant (ibid). It tries to analyze the social phenomenon from the person's experience and subjective experiences (ibid). The important part is the subject's own interpretation and how they, or the group of people, describe the phenomenon that they have firsthand experienced (Patton, 2002). It is a reflection on lived experiences, so it will always be explained from a retrospective perspective (ibid). Since our study aims to explore the subjective thoughts and experiences of the interviewee's rather than finding an objective truth, a phenomenological position is suitable. Us coming from another cultural context, it is of interest to hear from their individual point of view and how they interpret certain issues, coming from their subjective thoughts.

4.3 Analysis and Method

The analysis we used for our study was Abductive Thematic Network Analysis (ATNA) (Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013). ATNA is a method emerged from two different theories, Haig’s (2005) Abductive Theory of Method (ATOM) and Attride-Stirlings (2001), Thematic Network Analysis (TNA) (ibid). ’ATNA can be broadly defined as an abductive way of reasoning in looking at and explaining the linkages between the emerging themes from the gathered qualitative data’ (Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013, p.172). Using ATNA as a method suited our research because we wanted to start with a theory, but still have the opportunity to explore upcoming themes and the linkages between them.

Through using an abductive reasoning, which is based by a pragmatic approach, we are able to move back and forth between theory and empirical data (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Morgan, 2007; Feilzer, 2010, in Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013). This gave us a flexibility in our field
study to move back and forth between theory and empirical data which is an advantage because we are less restricted in the non-linear process which ATNA is (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005, in Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013).

4.4 Sampling

Before arriving to Mauritius, we initiated a contact with MAV-Men Against Violence, which is where we found our contact persons who agreed upon acting as a gatekeeper to initiate further contacts with organizations and other stakeholders working with men and boys towards violence against women. Therefore, we used snowball sampling (Grinnell, 2005), which is when our first contact or interviewee would further refer us to another participant for the study and so the same process follows with the next participant. During interviews the individual would also sometimes refer us to somebody else from the same organization.

Due to the fact that we had tried to reach out to other organizations and programs before coming to Mauritius, we were unsuccessful in getting a reply prior to our arriving. Therefore, we needed to use this method, also due to the difficulties in connecting with other stakeholders. We could almost say that it would have been impossible for us to come in contact with other stakeholders without our contact persons Jean Yves Valls and Jane Valls. They had great knowledge about what was being done in the area of engaging men and boys and who is doing what type of work in Mauritius. Also they had already a good established contact with other organizations/programs, which we never could have ‘created’ in a couple of weeks time. We also received a list of government officials from our supervisor Dr Komalsingh Rambaree, which we emailed and phoned, trying to get an interview with.

We have also been conscious about the division of men and women interviewed, nevertheless we have also thought of trying to represent different people with different backgrounds. Mauritius is a diverse culture and society, which might reflect on their view in different areas. Therefore, there can be relevance in trying not to just have one ethnic group represented in the study. Although we want to stress that this is not a sampling of the population, we rather have kept this in mind so we do not have for instance only a representation of the Hindu society. To keep this in mind for our study is relevant, since we want to have a holistic approach throughout the research process.
We interviewed professionals in the various organizations working with men and boys on the subject of violence against women, and some of the participants of the programs. Due to ethical considerations we did not interview anybody under the age of 18. Also considering our sub-research questions, it suited our study to interview men that had gone through the program a while ago, so they might have had time to reflect on the program/workshop.

Majority of our sampling has been individuals working within the organization's/programs, while the actual participants of programs has been a minority. The reason for this is that it has been more difficult to find participants of the programs then the people working with the organizations. The few participants we interviewed, were referred to us by the workers of the organization's/programs.

4.5 Interviews

We used semi-structured interviews, to gain an in-depth knowledge from the interviewees about the process of engaging men in the work towards violence against women (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The goal was to have an open dialog with the professionals working in the organizations and the participants of the programs (ibid). Through semi-structured interviews we could both narrow the topic down, but also have open questions to give the participants the capacity to elaborate their answers (ibid). There is also a flexibility to ask follow-up questions to the interviewees.

The first week in Mauritius we did some networking, for instance attending a launching of a sensitization program about domestic violence for prison officers. There we got to meet the Minister of Gender Equality, Hon (Mrs) Marie-Aurore Marie-Joyce Perraud, and her associates. Where we got to explain the purpose of our study and elaborate on why we would like to interview her or somebody from the ministry, and why it would add to our study in the subject.

Before we made our interview questions we coded our theory, which is hegemonic masculinity. The questions based on the theory, was formed so that there was a direct connection to our given theory, for example we could ask something related to masculine
norms or behaviors, which is directly connected to Connell's theory. We did this so that our theory could connect to the data. Additional questions were created so that they could add to our aim more specifically. As a way to improve the questions we have created, we continuously reviewed them and changed them if we felt that certain questions did not serve the purpose we initially thought it would. Also, the questions were a bit different comparing to if we interviewed a participant of the programs/organizations or a worker within the organizations. For example a question regarding funding of the programs would not be relevant to ask a participant. Also we could ask different questions to participants versus workers for the purpose of exploring if they had similar or different views on certain questions. The questions asked was accomplished through a funnel shaped approach (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Which is when the interview questions initially starts with a more general question and develops into more specific type questions as the interview goes along (ibid).

When we initiated a contact with the participant, we would have a conversation over the phone or face to face just to agree upon a time and a suitable place to meet, usually where they felt most comfortable or a place that was most accessible for them. We also asked if they agreed to be recorded for the interview, and made sure that nobody else but us would take part of the recordings. Prior to the interview, we would have casual conversation while we explained the purpose of our study and so on. Then they were handed a letter of consent which they read and signed before we started the recordings. They signed two consent forms, one was kept by us and the second one was kept by the interviewee participant, where they could find our contact details. We also informed the interviewees that they could withdraw from the study at any time during the process. They were also informed that they could receive the final bachelor thesis study if interested.

We tried to let the interviewees speak as freely as they wanted to, without any interruption from our side. However, if we needed to interrupt in order to get them ‘back on topic’, if they were sidetracked, we would do that. Although, we tried to have more of a conversation, instead of an interview in the sense of asking strict questions and wanting a specific response. We gathered more useful information when letting the respondent speak more ‘freely’.
4.6 Direct observations

The main advantage of using direct observations is its ‘realness’, which means that it is an observation made in the participant's natural setting and therefore there could be less of artificiality (Frankfort & Nachmias, 2008).

Other than our interviews that we conducted, we made some direct observations when we took part of different events and so forth. However, the interviews have been our main source of gathering data for our study, we have used observations as an addition to our data. During our field study we had the opportunity to for example attend a gathering in the church where the men and their family were invited. There we got to experience how the men would share what they had learned through the sessions with their families, and see how they used the church as a forum to have a continuation of their sessions with the men. The direct observations gave us more depth and understanding of how the organizations operated, which in the end gave us more rich data.

4.7 Other primary material

Other data used for the study besides the recorded interviews, have been data in the form of PowerPoint presentations and visual clips. These have been handed to us from the various organization for the purpose of greater understanding of their work and methods. We have used the material as data within ATLAS-ti, and analyzed and coded them the same way as we have with the interviews. This can be seen as a further triangulation, of cross checking the material to see if for example, what the interviewees has said to be a part of the power point presentations is in fact to be found in the power point presentations (Frankfort & Nachmias, 2008). But also, it gives us as investigators a greater understanding and wider view of the phenomena being studied.
4.8 Secondary data

We have used secondary sources to gain more knowledge to the subject of engaging men and boys in violence against women, but also to gain more knowledge about violence against women in Mauritius. ‘Secondary sources are accounts, including books and articles that are based on the analyses of primary sources’ (Grinnell, 2005, p. 334). This has been accomplished through reading books, articles that we have found through different databases and libraries. We also where given research made by Gender Links, which gave us statistics of the violence against women in Mauritius today. The material Gender Links has provided on the issue of violence against women has been the primary source of statistics in the Mauritian context for us, so it has been of great help.

Due to that there is little next to nothing written on the topic of engaging men and boys in the subject of violence against women in Mauritius to be found, much of the readings about the topic derives from other countries such as South Africa. Perhaps, it could be argued that it is not relevant in the Mauritian context, though it gave us a broader idea of the issue in a general sense and some insights that could be useful regardless of the context.

4.9 Tools of analysis

As mentioned above, we have throughout the analysis used the software ATLAS-ti.7 which is a tool used to help researchers with large data collections in qualitative research (atlas-ti). The use of ATLAS-ti started before the actual analysis took place, since we used the software when coding the theory, hegemonic masculinity. Initially we coded the theory separately, as a form of triangulation, after this we inserted the codes into the software, also separately. The next step was to agree upon what codes to keep and to remove, and what codes to merge with each other since many of the codes we had created separately, were similar and could therefore merge into one. We used separate computers whilst doing the first round of coding of the theory, but had to use only one for the agreed upon codes since the ATLAS-ti project in our separate computers could not be synced, one using the ATLAS-ti for Microsoft users and the other using the ATLAS-ti for Mac users.

The next step when using ATLAS-ti was to insert the recorded interviews and whilst listening to them, start to code the material we found relevant to answer our aim. This was also done
separately by us. When coding via ATLAS-ti, one listens to the interviews, and can mark a section of interest, for example 55 seconds, and then insert a new code to describe that certain section, or use the already existing codes from the theory if it is suitable. The codes and the sections marked within the codes becomes similar to quotations, as described in Rambaree & Faxelid; *‘Quotations are those segments of empirical evidence from the data identified by the researchers as being relevant to the research question and the phenomena being studied’* (2013, p. 176). The coding is a way of data reduction that within qualitative to organize and focus the data collected (Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013). Then whenever one wants to see what that certain code contains, one can just double tap the code and all the sections that have been marked under that code will appear in a list and the researcher can then listen to all of them. This is the reason why there is no need to transcribe the data as well, since the researcher can always go back and forth to these sections, or quotes, just by pressing the code name.

After coding all the material separately, we compared the codes, what differences and similarities we had in our separate codes, to then once again, agree upon which to keep, and from this point we had to start using one computer for the analysis of the data. So the agreed upon codes were put into one computer and the next step was to create and identify themes related to our aim and research (which is called families within ATLAS-TI). This step is an important one when using thematic network analysis and is aimed to organize the codes into groups where they belong which have certain meanings, or patterns, it is a form of higher data reduction (Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013). After the grouping of the codes, and the creation of suitable themes with certain meanings the next step was to create linkages between the themes identified. Firstly we looked at each theme and the codes within that specific theme, and created linkages between those codes, and the meaning of those linkages. With the help of ATLAS-ti the themes can be displayed through a network view, so that it is easier for the researcher to see the themes and its content. We could for example draw a link between two related codes within a theme, and assign the meaning ‘is a cause of’ to the link. For example; Violence against women, could be one which we assigned the link, is a cause of patriarchy, to get an understanding of the link between them (Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013). After this we used the network view function to insert all the themes we have identified to start to create linkages between the themes. This function;
‘Helps researchers to explore the complex phenomena, inherent in the gathered data, through creating the linkages and assigning relationships between the identified themes/codes/quotations’ (Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013, p. 178).

When all the themes had been inserted into a shared network view, we used the function ‘import neighbors’ so that the network displayed all the codes that had linkages between the different families (so all codes were not displayed only those with meaning and relation to each other). Due to this function, we could get an overview of the relationships and links between the themes which we used in order to analyze the data. Throughout the writing of the analysis we went back and examined the network view and also back to the individual themes to grasp the linkages between the codes and the themes. Thus we mainly focused on the themes prevalent between the network families that occurred within the shared network view since the program, with our help, detects what is of importance and connected between the different themes. When needed we also went back to the different themes to see what linkages we had created in order to understand the connections between the themes to a greater extent.
This is a visual of how ATLAS.ti creates networks between the families (themes) that we created, which makes the data more ‘manageable’, when you can visually see how the themes are interconnected. However, we did not use all of the themes, instead we picked out those that was of most interest and relevance for the thesis, but also those themes that were coming up as a method, issue or new method, continuously throughout the process.

4.10 Credibility/validity

The validity of a study concerns how well founded the findings are in relation to the aim (Grinnell, 2005). Validity in a qualitative study can also be referred to as credibility, which also means how ‘truthful’ a study is, and to show how trustworthy the study has been throughout (ibid).

In order for the participants to not feel compelled to answer in a certain way, we avoided asking any leading questions. We also tried to create a relaxed environment with the participants and had a casual conversation before starting our interviews. Further, the participant decided where the interview would be conducted so they felt comfortable in the environment. We also made sure that they understood that what they would say would be completely confidential and that they could feel comfortable that the recorded interview would only be shared between us.

Reflexivity is explained by Padgett (1998, in Grinnell, 2005) how able we are to examine one’s self. During the field study process we have constantly examined our beliefs with ourselves but also with each other. Due to the fact that we know that we are made up by our own biases we have tried to be aware of them and not let them hinder the process, which we have done through thinking of our beliefs during the coding process. This was done by ourselves, and later on together during the analysis.

Further, including direct observations and other material such as visual clips and PowerPoints, acts as a triangulation to our study and adds validity, due to the fact that we have used three different methods of collecting data (Frankfort & Nachmias, 2008). Also, having more than
one person conducting the study serves as an investigator triangulation which also adds validity to the study (Patton, 2002). This due to the fact that we have coded both the theory and the data separately.

Further, due to the fact that we used the ATLAS-ti software, also creates reliability due to the fact that anybody else can go through our project and see exactly what we have done, from our codes, to the created families in the program to the networks. In the software we also made field notes which we could put into ATLAS-ti called memos. This we wrote during our field study, which we later on compared with each other and cross-checked.

Combining ATNA (Abductive Thematic Network Analysis) with the ATLAS-ti software also adds to our credibility to our study (Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013).

4.11 Reliability

Reliability is concerned with how well the study can be replicated and also how consistent the findings are (Kirk & Miller, 1986; Rafuls & Moon, 1996, in Grinnell, 2005). We coded our theory of 'hegemonic masculinity' separately, prior to forming our interview questions, so we could point out what was the main important aspects of the theory. Thereafter we coded the interviews separately as well, where we put in quotes in the current codes but there also emerged new codes from the data collected. Lastly when comparing our codes we had for the most part similar codes, however, if we had different codes we would decide on which codes to keep, discard or merge with other similar codes. Coding both the theory and the data separately, serves as of a tool of reliability but also as an investigator triangulation (Patton, 2002).

In order to strengthen our reliability we could have asked the participants who had been interviewed to read the material and verbalize or write what their opinions are of the outcome of the study (Patton, 2002). However, this is also a matter of time limitations both for us and the participant. We probably would have needed more time to incorporate the participant and they would have needed to take more time out of their schedule to read and comment. Although if time is not an issue this way of triangulation might be an excellent way of having
an open dialogue with the participant, and making sure that nothing has been ‘twisted’ into another meaning.

4.12 Generalizability

Generalizability is according to Kvale & Brinkmann (2009): ‘The extent that findings in one situation can be transferred to other situations’ (p. 324). While it is quite difficult to generalize any findings due to the few participants used, we could say that due to the fact that we have interviewed eleven participants, which is more than actually recommended due to time limitations of a bachelor thesis, we would have a stronger generalizability than usual perhaps.

4.13 Critical discussion of the methodology

Using interviews might have created a risk for some language barriers, because English is not the interviewee’s mother tongue. We tried to simplify our language and having explanations for terms such as patriarchy etc. Still even if this has been kept in mind during the interviews and when creating the interview questions, it is difficult to be certain if it is enough, and to know what others will understand and not understand. Although we constantly reviewed the questions and had an open dialogue between each other to discuss what works and what not in terms of interview questions. Not only could there be a language barrier due to different mother tongue but also due to the fact that we might have another vocabulary than those interviewed. Since we are quite well acquainted with the subject or phenomena of study, this might have created a vocabulary that one does not normally use in everyday life. So there might have been barriers because of this especially when interviewing participants of the sessions that are not as aware of the terminology as for example those working within the organizations.

The use of snowball sampling, even though we could probably not have been able to find the organizations of interest to us nor the interviewees that took part of this study, there are some critique to this type of method, worth discussing and bearing in mind. The fact that we were
assigned for example participants of the sessions by the organizations themselves, might make
the participants biased in the sense that they might speak in favor of the organization, to
deliberately speak well or say what he or she thinks will benefit the organization. This could
create a bias which is difficult for the researcher to hinder or reduce to a greater extent.
Although considering our study and that we conducted it in another country, it was the most
suitable method of sampling which also worked due to the fact that we got to interview eleven
participants.

4.14 Limitations

There were difficulties in finding organizations working only on the topic that we had chosen.
Due to the fact that we had chosen a rather narrow subject, of how men and boys are engaged
in the issue of violence against women, it has been quite difficult to find organizations that
focus on the subject. Some of the organizations might be working on the subject but not
primarily, so at times it has been a challenge to collect sufficient data for our research.

4.15 Ethical dilemmas

Our only source, when it comes to statistics used in this research, has been the reports made
by Gender Links. It could very much be seen as an ethical dilemma since there are no other
institutions, or research done to be found on the statistics we are dealing with in this research.
So therefore, we could not choose to use one research over another in the subject or see if it
correlates with another study in the same field since there are none.

Another dilemma we believe that we have encountered, is that some organizations, might
want to portray their organization and the work they do in a very positive manner since they
might feel it is good ‘marketing’ for them as organizations. So even though we are not to say
if this is so or not, it is something to keep in mind for us as researchers, that our interviewees
may or may not have the organization’s reputation in interest while answering our questions.
Chapter 5 – Result & Analysis

Some of the findings we have gathered through the data, was not directly and initially connected to our chosen theory, and not something that we had coded through the theory. Although due to the fact that we have chosen an abductive approach, we had the possibility to explore new findings that are not directly connected through the theory (Rambaree & Faxelid, 2013). Two of our themes, are as such not directly connected, so to say we had our codings from the theory could not directly be connected to these findings. So we tried to, based on the theory and our knowledge of it, connect the findings with it. A way for us to do so, was to try to analyze and explore the new findings through, or via our chosen theory and thus give an explanation based on this exploration via these lenses of Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity.

5.1 METHODS OF CHANGING HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY THROUGH EMPOWERMENT

This section, which is about changing hegemonic masculinity through empowerment is a theme that was not to be found in our codes based on the theory itself, which we created prior to the interviews. This is, as an abductive reasoning enables a theme that has emerged through the data, through our interviews. It is not directly connected to the theory hegemonic masculinity but we have, since it emerged as what we believed a relevant theme for our research used it and ourselves connected it to the theory.

Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity is not a theory that has any practical solutions in how to change the hegemonic masculinity, it is rather an explanation of our current masculine norm in society. However, Connell (1995) mentions in his book Masculinities, that the norm of what masculinity is, is always contestable. How we accomplish this is mainly to challenge and try to change what hegemonic masculinity entails. This most certainly has to be challenged at all levels of society to be effective, and one way to challenge it is to work on an individual level. Connell (1995) continues to explain that one way that gender is constructed
is through interactions. Therefore, there is a significance in giving men tools in order for them to become a direct change in the society, through social interactions.

Some of the participants that we have interviewed have explained that the awareness sessions focuses on making the participants aware of the issue of violence against women and then further empowers the individual for change. One of the organizations try to create what they call ‘change agents’, making the individual take action which is one part of empowerment process (Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010). The first part is to give them tools and inform them what a change maker can be and what kind of characteristics they have, later on they are encouraged to make small changes in their life to stop the cycle of violence. This task is given to the participants as a form of homework to make small changes in their environment, which is a continuation to the next session where they come back and reflect upon what they have done and learned. In these sessions both girls and boys are included, due to the fact that either they want to have both girls and boys to be included in order to represent gender, or/and they have realized that it has been more effective including both sexes in the sessions. Here stated by one of the participants:

'Research have found that it is mostly men and boys that are the perpetrators of violence, and Mauritius being a patriarchal society, if you talk to the women you empower them without empowering the men, it can lead to more violence, what we have seen. So we realized that it was important to talk to the boys and the men, but at the same time we included the girls because they could have a choice you know to decide whether they would accept being a victim of violence or not.'

Further, there has to be real critical reflection for an authentic action to happen within the empowerment process, which can be questioned if that is possible to occur during the few sessions that they have (Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010). While one of the organization has ten sessions and a retreat at the end, most of the organization’s/programs have around one to three sessions. During the limited time that the organization have with the participants, it might be difficult to have a critical discussion with the group. In order for men and boys to really make a significant change in their behavior and mindset, there needs to be a space where they have that possibility to think and reflect, therefore the process should not be rushed. Although, this is of course a matter of enough funds being invested in the matter of equality. However, the
critical thinking might continue on outside of the workshop due to the fact that they are given homework, which makes the individuals continue to reflect about the issue of violence. Although only a few of the organizations would use the method of ‘homework’ in order to have a continuation of reflection outside of the workshops, it is an innovative way of utilizing the scarce time that the organizations have with the youths. Further, they do not use the ‘typical’ school homework where they maybe need to read and write, instead they ask them to make a concrete change in their daily life, which is what the youth can do. Instead of forcing them to attack huge structural problems they focus on the small changes that can be made, although stressing that they can make a big impact also.

Another organization uses empowerment in their workshop in another form which is to ‘Empower men to express themselves’. A negative characteristic of hegemonic masculinity is not being able to express your emotions (Scott-Samuel et al, 2009), which is being addressed in the faith-based workshops. Mainly due to the fact that this makes the participants open up about their feelings and different problems or emotions that they are dealing with. The workshop gradually makes them develop a tool to cope with their emotions instead of using the only tool that they know of, which is force and violence. The lack of tools for men to cope with in their daily lives, is expressed by an interviewee as such: ‘you do not have any tools to deal with, and what you have is force, which is what we have more than women, so we use it’. This very statement, is directly align with the stereotypic notions of masculinity, and what Connell (2005) describes as hegemonic masculinity. It also explains why there is a need to engage and inform men about issues of violence against women, since it is many times their lack of tools that are the reasons for violence against women. The workshop provides a practical tool for the men to use when they might feel the pressure or need to become violent or abusive they might instead resort to expressing what they are feeling and deal with their problems in a non-violent way.

However, due to the fact that empowerment deals with power we need to tackle the issue on a 'broad range of social interactions that enact power' (Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010, p. 5), and not only on the individual level. The issue needs to be tackled in many different ways and empowering the individual for action is one way of doing that, however, the issue of violence against women is such a big issue in our society that we need to handle the problem in a more holistic way. Many of the organizations do not tackle the root cause of patriarchy or masculinity, they speak of the causes and what can be done practically individually. The issue
is not spoken about structurally, rather individually. For the organizations this would be a difficult task, the reason being that they do not have proper funding to explore these possibilities, or would not have enough staff at all in order to accomplish this. The majority of people working within the NGO’s are volunteers, either due to lack of funding to hire full-time staff or due to ideological reasons, which is that their organizations is purely based on voluntarism. Additionally, when being a small organization or ‘project’ there needs to be a focus in which way they should handle the topic of violence against women, which in this case is awareness. Although, one of the participants suggested that their organization wish to do some lobbying in the future to involve the politicians and the government, in order to ‘declare violence against women a national scourge’, as stated by the participant. We should maybe tackle the issue on different levels and only then we might see real change, because if one of the levels do not ‘follow the change’, it will be nearly impossible to see any change at all. If the structures in society tells you that it is acceptable to abuse your wife and a sign of masculinity, then the individual male will have a hard time to not embrace those characteristics later on in life.

Although, we maybe should perhaps be critical to the fact that if we empower men to become a change a society, are we not giving them more power than they already have? Empowerment is associated with giving power to those that are marginalized or that does not necessarily have power in society. Which therefore can be a risk of abusing that power given, as we have seen men do in the past unfortunately. Nevertheless, the men in the workshops are taught mainly for example how to get in touch with their emotions and so forth, which is something that many men are not taught in life. This can be seen as an oppressive force in society towards men, which they need to be empowered by and change themselves. Connell (2005) writes how masculinity therapy during the 1980’s was initially pro-feminist and seen as an ’attempt to restore a masculinity thought to have been lost or damaged in recent social change’ (p. 207). Later on, this had vastly changed, the meaning behind it now was that there was too much emphasis on how powerless women have been and too little focus on how men have been feeling powerless (Connell, 2005). As we have seen this pattern of misusing power happen before, there has to be some form of caution when we tackle this area of empowering boys and men, mainly because it is highly connected to power.

Further, one of the organizations state in one of their PowerPoints that, ‘Women regain their status in the family, community and society through consolation of the family unit.’. Which
could be an indirect form of empowerment, due to the fact that women do not take part of most of their sessions, it is rather an outcome of the sessions with the men. Again, men are the ones holding the power, and they are the ones that are changing the position of women, rather than women doing that themselves. Which makes one think, is it impossible for women to regain power without the help of men? Is it necessary for the main stakeholder of power (men) to ’give back’ or share power, or do women have to claim power themselves? These questions need to be addressed and reflected by the organizations, in order to not create the same structures that has created hegemonic masculinity. The question of power is important to be handled in order for men and boys to realize how they have a certain privilege in society and therefore should also be handled with a ‘consciousness’ towards their privilege.

5.2 METHODS TO CREATE ALTERNATIVE ROLES OF MASCULINITY

‘New groups may challenge old solutions and construct a new hegemony. The dominance of any group of men may be challenged by women. Hegemony, then, is historically a mobile relation’ (Connell, 2005, p.77)

With this statement Connell (2005) suggests that hegemonic masculinity could always be changed, which brings some hope to an otherwise maybe gloomy subject. The organizations that we have interviewed have used role-models as one of their main tools to push alternative roles of masculinity. The majority work with the male stereotyped roles, or hegemonic forms of masculinity, to create alternative roles. Putting forward alternative roles of masculinity, in order not to put limits on what a man could or should be. Thus challenging the hegemonic forms of masculinity, that often consists of negative attributes such as aggressiveness, being emotionally illiterate and so forth (Pleasants, 2011). This is align with Connell’s reasoning, that masculinity and its hegemonic notions can be expanded beyond current forms in becoming more inclusive and diverse (ibid). The traits of what masculinity is today in our
society, does not need to have a negative connotation as of how it currently is. As one of the interviewees mentions, when speaking of the context of Mauritius, but it could be applied to most societies today, is the fact that we teach our boys to always be strong, to never cry because this is not a way for a boy to behave. Thus boys are often not taught to handle their emotions or how to express them. Further, statistics reveals, 54% of the Mauritian boys have been victims of neglect or any other type of violence (Genderlinks, 2012). Related to this, one of the interviewees expressed:

'So those boys who have been mistreated when they were young, and they can't talk. What happens to them? It's like a champagne bottle, it’s like putting menthol in Coca-Cola. It explodes, it has to evacuate somewhere.'

The interviewee continues to explain that boys are taught to bottle their emotions and feelings inside, and therefore they are not given space to express themselves. Which in the long run will become harmful for themselves and their surroundings, consequently creating frustration which manifests into violence. In order to change this cycle some of the organizations try to give men and boys tools on how to for example express and handle their emotions rather than using violence. They also display role-models that other men can relate to, and see as a role-model whom they can follow and model in their life.

A couple of the participants described that they use peer role-models to make the content relatable to the youth. For instance, they share success stories of other boys that have been part of the program and explain for instance what he has done to become a change in society. The workers in the organization explain that this is done to show the other youths that they can also be the change in their environment. They also bring up success stories about people in their age due to the fact that they would ‘understand’ and relate better to someone close to their own age better. It can also be of great importance to try to change what our gender stereotypes are early on in life, the reason being that this is mainly formed during that time (Barker & Peacock, 2014). This might be the most advantageous period in their life where we could influence the most, and therefore, showing them alternative roles of masculinity that is positive rather than harmful for them and their surroundings, is crucial. Even though, not all the organizations work with youth they collectively agree that working with young men and boys is important for that reason. Hotter in Connell et al (2004, p. 102) writes that the main
reason why we should try to target young men and boys is because it is the best ‘period’ of their life where we can ‘remold their perception of masculinity’.

Another program that use role-models as a tool is a faith-based program. The program uses Jesus Christ as a role model for the participants to learn from. Through the scriptures of the bible they bring forward Jesus and his way of living, which provides an alternative role to masculinity, other than what most men before taking part of these faith based sessions were aware of. One of their slides on a PowerPoint that they use says; ‘Unaware of Jesus as a role Model’, which means that these men do not associate Jesus as a role-model, however the facilitators make that connection during the sessions. The PowerPoint says that ‘Jesus was humble and walked the path of obedience’. Jesus can be seen to be opposite to the ‘macho man’, and thus teach men how to live their lives in alternative ways, for example, Jesus was respectful towards women and not violent, hence guiding men how to behave towards women. The use of Jesus as a role-model is also said from one of the facilitators to be effective because Jesus is well known, and therefore people can easily relate to him.

The difficulty in creating role-models can be that we do not completely agree with the used role-models way of living. One might say that a pillar of patriarchy is formed by religion in our society, so therefore it can be difficult in trying to break the mould of the current masculine norm through religion. Even though the program in itself only brings forward ‘positive’ traits that Jesus had, for instance using non-violence and so forth, other structures that may be impeding equality that the bible for example symbolizes, might not be taken up. There might be a difficulty due to the fact that the bible in general has men as the leading figure and women as subordinate, which indirectly teaches the men that they are the head of the family and society, and that women should be submissive. This brings the question, if religion has traits of patriarchy, should we then exclude those men and not include religious groups in the work of gender equality? On the other hand, we cannot forget that the Mauritian society is rather religious and using that in the strive for gender equality might be essential. Some of the participants have stressed that context is of importance, therefore we might need to use what the current society sees as an important aspect, which in this case is religion. Notwithstanding, that we might not be able to accept certain aspects of society just because they exist or because it is a strong force, we might need to open up our minds to how we need to tackle the issue of violence against women and maybe find new routes to solving this issue.
While at the same time be critical to how violence against women is handled by for example a religious group.

Another organization combined social media and role models, where they asked celebrities to come forward on the International women’s day.

*‘We have used the celebrity, or the influence that celebrity has, and we have posted their photo on Facebook during eight days where we write that they are against violence against women. This is to reach young people, because Facebook is mainly a ‘young place’*

Celebrities is a big part of our society and they act as a form of role-model rather they or we like it or not. This is why it could be of great impact to use celebrities as a tool to engage more men to stand up and become active in the work with violence against women. For instance in the sports environment where a ‘macho-man’ norm follows, it could be impactful to use an athlete to visibly and actively stand against the oppression of women. The athlete holds a form of power or authority when they have this kind of outlet which is being famous and could use it to reach many people. Although, the risk can be that we put too much pressure on one individual to solve a worldwide issue, in focusing too much on certain individuals to come forward and try to influence what masculinity is. Which on the other hand deemphasizes the issues of violence against women on a more structural level.

Using one or a couple of celebrities in our society to influence men, to create a shift in what masculinity is, could have an impact. What we cannot forget is that the formation of hegemony is not individually created, it is rather created through societal norms, institutional power and persuasion, while expressed individually (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Nevertheless, these celebrities that become a form of role-models for boys and men in our society, become a part of the societal norm of what masculinity means for the mainstream society. While institutional power and persuasion and societal norms creates hegemony, we cannot forget that it is not only expressed individually but also created from us individually in some form, and therefore we also have to take responsibility individually. However, not minimizing the impact the institutional power and societal norms have, they are a strong force. In order to start somewhere we have to start trying to change individually and as a result the societal norms might change, while at the same time trying to change institutions.
Another participant stated that ‘there is a need for politicians or other high rank individuals to stand up to violence against women, to act as a role-model, although they might not want to because they themselves are ‘taking part’ in that problem’. Furthermore, the participants explain that violence against women happens at all levels of the Mauritian society. Therefore that could be a reason why some of the politicians that could stand up for violence against women and be great role-models for the Mauritian men, cannot do so since they themselves are the perpetrators. This could also be a hurdle in changing the institutions, due to the fact that they hold a majority of powerful positions. This of course might hopefully change with the increasing number of women taking powerful positions and if there is a shift of the masculine norm the men taking part in that system will change eventually.

5.3 DIFFICULTIES WITH RECRUITMENT AND FACILITATORS: MEN’S UNWILLINGNESS TO GET INVOLVED

The organizations taking part in this study has facilitators that are leading the different organizational activities such as awareness sessions. During the interviews we came across shared patterns when it comes to the facilitators and the difficulties in recruiting them, especially recruiting men to join the organizations.

Out of the organizations taking part in this study, a majority of them only have workers that are volunteers. This means that many of the volunteers already, besides from the organizational work, have full-time jobs to commit to firstly. So there are restrictions in the organizational work and what can be further done due to time limits and availability of the volunteers. Due to this, there are difficulties in for example conducting sessions during normal working hours. As one of the interviewees stated: ‘Schools would be very keen to organize workshops, but it is during the day. So our own facilitators need to be free and most of them are working’. The interviewee who mentioned this also said that there had been ideas from the organization on how to tackle this issue, to have facilitators who are more available and thus increasing the number of sessions to reach out to even more youths; ‘At one time we
thought of targeting retired people (to work as facilitators), but then there is maybe a problem of the generation gap. Retired people maybe engaging with young people... There is such a large gap.

One of the greatest challenges when it comes to recruiting the facilitators is to get men to want to become involved within the organizations, dealing with engaging men and boys in the work with violence against women. For the most part, excluding the faith-based organization where all facilitators are men, there are more female facilitators then men. A majority of the organization would prefer to have more male facilitators in their organizations since they see it as necessary for more men to engage, and that young men could perhaps easier relate to other men. A male facilitator, some believe, could in another way spark the interest for other men to become interested in the issue of violence against women. Hence they see another man being concerned and thus dare to become involved himself. This idea or belief that men will influence other men to become involved, or that men listen better to men than to women, could very well be a good tool to use to get young men's attention. We have seen this in the interviews with the participants taking part of the sessions that it was in fact seen as a good thing for them as young men to have male facilitators. This since they could easily relate, but also they became more interested when they saw other men engaging in the issue. Even if this is a beneficial tool, to have men as facilitators and therefore see a need for more male facilitators, it is interesting to explore why this is so. The organizations that has been a part of this study is in some sense, fighting against a patriarchal society and practices, as a natural part of what they are doing. Yet at the same time, when using men as a tool to get other men to listen, it brings up the question: Would men not listen to the issue of violence against women if there were no men to listen to? It could be seen as, even though any tool that is beneficial in making people engaged in the subject may be a good tool, is it not a from a patriarchal stance to use men, because men listen to men? Although, maybe it is needed, for men to speak of such issues, to make younger men realize the issue, it could still be seen as furthering the same patriarchal practices that they are trying to combat. It gives a sense, or indicates of an acceptance that men will listen to men, even though it might be necessary since in many ways the society is at large still patriarchal and this might be the only way to engage young men. As one of the facilitators interviewed mention when the difficulties in recruiting male facilitators came up: ‘A lot of men, they are more as observers, they are not sure if they should be involved (in the work with violence against women)’.
The difficulties in making men become interested or wanting to join organizations that are tackling violence against women could be discussed in what Connell (2005) would describe as 'complicit masculinity'. According to Connell (2005), the vast majority of men are not actually practicing the hegemonic patterns of masculinity, but the majority could be seen to benefit from these practices that a small group of men pursue either way. We stress this fact that when speaking of the hegemony of masculinity, it is by no means to generalize all men, since there are other forms of masculinities, many of them subordinate to the hegemonic one, and therefore the experience of being a man is varying. Although as stated in Connell’s book Masculinities (2005): ‘Yet the majority of men gain from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women’ (p. 79).

Thus this advantage that men gain from the patriarchal dividend, could it be a reason for men to not become involved in issues like violence against women? Since it is the practices of a patriarchal society that are in many ways keeping the majority of men above women and therefore women oppressed and at a disadvantage in the society. Complicit masculinity is therefore referring to those not acting or displaying their power, or the hegemonic forms of masculinity. Yet, act more as a bystander that lets the practice of hegemony or the patriarchal practices to continue, and by doing so, accepting or gaining the privilege of being a man because of it. Even though, it might not be the case that men who are complicit are aware of the fact that they are in fact benefiting or enabling the hegemonic masculinity to further continue, this is what happens if they do not actively choose to stand against it. The organizations a part of this study are for the most part actively trying to make men stand up and say no to violence against women and thus challenging the hegemonic forms of masculinity. They try to make men realize that even though most men are not perpetrators of violence against women, they have a responsibility and should not accept violence against women. Therefore men need to be made aware of what they can do about it and how to actively work against it.

Many of the interviewees bring up the fact that, men are unwilling to join the organizations or become affiliated and a reason for that is because they are unaware of the issue of violence against women. Another factor that has been mentioned is that men are not directly touched by this kind of violence which could be an answer to why there is a lack of interest. This could further be viewed through what Connell (2005) describes as the 'male privilege' which goes hand in hand with complicit masculinity. Men being the dominant gender and thus
power holders in most societies, are privileged to the point that they do not perhaps feel a need to engage in issues that are not hurting them directly.

‘The women know the problem and they will come and look for all sorts of possibilities and avenues to tackle that. The men they hesitate because A: If they get involved, there is an ego issue, that if they get involved, they will say: what will other men think of what I am doing? And the other thing is that, they do not understand what it is, for a man to be violent against a woman. Most of them don't understand the issue.’

5.4 DIFFICULTIES WITHIN THE INSTITUTIONAL POWER

‘It is the successful claim to authority, more than direct violence, that is the mark of hegemony (though violence often underpins or supports authority)’ (Connell, 2005, p. 77)

In order for the issue of violence against women to become extinct, we have to tackle the problem from different levels in society, including institutions. Hegemony is expressed individually, however, created through cultural ideals and institutional power collectively (Connell, 1995). In other words, the state is a stakeholder in society, be it good or bad, influential or not, it has an impact on our society and how the society develops. Together with cultural ideals it has a trickle-down effect, which molds what for example hegemonic masculinity is in Mauritius. We have to realize what a great impact the government can have and taking responsibility for that would change the structures immensely. Similar to what a participant stated:

‘Some people say, you should never get the state or the politicians involved, and I say that I agree with you to some extent but unless they get involved our lives will become very difficult.'
If they get involved and actually publicly make declarations it would make life easier for us, cause more doors will open and we can do more than what we are doing already’.

As mentioned before, hegemony is created through cultural ideals and institutional power (Connell, 2005), therefore it is crucial for different institutions to join forces with for example the NGO’s to start a change in the cultural ideals of masculinity which could later on have an effect on men being violent towards women.

Yet, through the data we have collected there is a clear flaw in the co-operation or collaboration between the government and the NGO’s, when it comes to violence against women and engaging men and boys in the topic. Many of the participants expressed that the organization's goal versus the governmental goals, is in their opinion is not in line with each other. One interviewee stated when asked if they believe that the government supports them in their line of work; ‘I do not know if it is in the priority of the government, unfortunately’. Consequently, engaging men and boys in the subject of violence against women might be even less of a priority.

There is also a commonality with many of the participants interviewed that there is very little trust in the government, even sometimes a hint of suspicion towards the civil servants. Although, they still believe that there is a real need for the government to be involved and take action towards violence against women, they are currently getting very little support from the government and they are not hopeful that the support is going to increase. Nonetheless, a few expressed that they are more hopeful with the new Minister of Gender Equality, but that it will take some time in order to see if that support will develop.

However, through observing a launching of a Capacity Building Program to end Gender-based Violence for trainee prison officers, by the Ministry of Gender Equality, Child Development and Family Welfare, the government is doing something to incorporate men in the issue of violence against women. The majority of prison officers are men and therefore they are tackling those work forces to try to stop gender-based violence. We had an opportunity to briefly meet the Hon (Mrs) Marie-Aurore Marie-Joyce Perraud and her associates during the launching of this program. There we spoke about a meeting, where we could interview some people from the ministry in order to get their view on the topic of engaging men and boys in violence against women. This unfortunately never happened, even
though we and other individuals working in the NGO’s contacted them many times during our nine weeks in Mauritius. During our conversations with them they confirmed to meeting us and that it would happen soon, but it never did.

A reason for this could be that the current government is fairly new and therefore might not have time to have a meeting with us due to their workload. They mentioned for example when we met the first time that the Hon (Mrs) Marie-Aurore Marie-Joyce Perraud and her associates, would not be able to meet until a couple of weeks because the budget had to be finalized. Or they might not consider violence against women as an important issue to deal with in Mauritius? One interviewee said that: 'Violence against women is not a sexy issue, so therefore the government will not deal with that’. Another participant stated; 'If it brings votes, they will do it, if not, they will not. So violence against women does not bring votes’. So why would the government not do more on the topic of violence against women, when it is a national problem? An explanation for that could be the ‘privilege of men’, as discussed by Connell (2005). Men are not concerned with issues that does not directly affect them, although they might not understand that it indirectly affects them. The privilege of men is a direct cause of a patriarchal society, which Mauritius is. Some men, not all, are in a way privileged to certain areas in society that they perhaps cannot understand and sympathize with women, which might also be another negative trait of masculinity. For instance many men do not know how it feels walking home alone in the dark and constantly feeling afraid because a man would jump out of the bushes and rape you, because he has more force than you. Of course this is just to give an explanation of what male privilege could look like in our society, although it gives a picture of why men then at the top of the societal hierarchy would not feel a sense of urge to change the current policies for instance. They might not see a need to work on the issue of violence against women in Mauritius, and therefore even less see the reason why young men and boys should be engaged in the topic.

Further, Scott-Samuel et al (2010) writes that the hegemonic masculine traits such as aggressiveness and emotional illiteracy will transfer to politics and public policies being unemotional and aggressive. One participant stated when speaking of the law:

‘...because we need to take into consideration that the last woman that was a victim of rape and murder was 85 years old, she had a protection order, which comes to show that in the end the protection order is just a piece of paper, so it does not mean anything’.
This comes to show that there are laws that should protect women in Mauritius, for example this woman that he/she spoke of, in spite of that, they are not currently working effectively.

The participant also continued on explaining that the office that a victim of domestic abuse or violence can report a crime to, is closed certain days and therefore cannot turn to anybody for help or support. Further, when a woman finally reports a case of assault the case will take up to two years to be handled by the court. This can be an indication that it is not in the government’s priority to protect women.

However, we should not forget that it is not only men that perform hegemonic masculinity, for example ‘women who are successful managers perform hegemonic masculinity’ (Cheng, 1996, p. xii, in Scott-Samuel et al, 2010). Probably, because we consider leader positions as being a male-driven profession connected to masculine traits, and therefore as a woman you would have to take on those masculine attributes that a typical male leader has in our society.

All of the organizations have no funding from the government, while one of them has been funded by the government in the past, explain that it will be difficult for them to get funds once more. They are mainly funded by other organizations or clubs such as the Round Table, but also from companies through CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility). The lack of funding from the government to the NGO’s working on the topic of engaging men and boys can also be a further sign that the government does support the organizations in their cause. In order for the organizations to grow and have a larger impact on the society they need financial support.

However, it might also be that men want to sustain the power that they already have and not share it. This is done possibly through not dealing with what is considered a ‘woman’s issue’, or maybe also just because they see violence against women as a way to continue the suppression of women which makes them stay superior and in power. Hotter (in Connell et al 2004) explains that men use what they can in order to sustain power, for example men at the bottom of the ‘hierarchy’ will use their gender as a mechanism to keep their position, while men at the top of the societal hierarchy will use other gender-neutral forces to sustain power, such as economic or political influence.

An interesting quotation from an interviewee when speaking of government said: ‘...so they [the government] see us as a threat, doing the work that they should be doing’. Could this be
a reason for why the government is not supporting them in the cause of violence against women? Maybe the government sees the NGO’s as a competitor rather as an ally, and therefore does not want to support them in any form. The organizations see a substantial need to join forces with the government, and work together with them to end violence against women and to further include more men and boys in the cause. They understand the magnitude of the problem and also understand that together with the government, it is the only way to end violence against women. Hopefully, the government will come to that realization as well and start seeing the NGO’s as someone whom they can collaborate with instead of neglecting the issue and turning a blind eye it.

5.5 NEW WAYS FORWARD

Engaging boys in schools

The topic of engaging men and boys in the work with violence against women are in many ways still rather small scale in Mauritius we have found through our data collection. Most of the work that is being done to tackle violence against women is still focusing on working with women or speaking to women rather than men. The organizations in the interviews has expressed some new strategies and future goals or improvements when it comes to scaling up the work of engaging men and boys in the subject and how to reach a broader audience. Some of the organizations constantly review and evaluate their sessions and workshop as a way to see how to further develop their work and improve it.

Education is one common denominator that has been brought up by all of the organizations taking a part of this study. An action that they would like to take in order to scale up the work of engaging men and boys in violence against women is to get access more to the schools, and then have awareness sessions in school, starting at a rather young age. There is an agreement that ‘Education is the starting point’ in order for a change to happen in society. Most of the interviewee's would want to include some sort of awareness sessions in the curriculum at
schools, and there is quite a lot of critique from the participants in the study that there is no place for reflections, discussion or critical thinking within the schools today. The whey there is a need to start with young boys when it comes to gaining knowledge about violence against women is as explained by one representative of an organization; ‘Talking to these young men, from a young age, that is going to help. Why? Because they are going to be the men of tomorrow.’

Not only will young men gain knowledge at an early age about the issue of violence against women if something like this were to be implemented in for example schools, but they would also be able to influence their surroundings. The boys would be able to bring this knowledge to their home and families, and they share the information and perhaps then influence them as well or at least shed light on the subject and maybe, in some sense reduce notions of violence within the family home. One of the organizations are already focusing on young target groups and have their workshops at schools when possible, and thus gives a further explanation why it is relevant working towards engaging young men and boys;

‘If young boys are not made aware of what it is, of the consequences of it, and on how it can be stopped, or should be stopped, it will only increase. As opposed to dealing with men who are already violent, so rather than spending our energy on putting right one person, which will take a lot of time and effort, we prefer to concentrate on to get ten young people to grow 'normally’.

Working with youths, in the hope of making a change in the mindset of people and creating awareness is of great relevance when coming from a belief that our behaviors derives from our social environment, interactions and practices . The practices performed, are based on what one has learned and what is mostly the norms in the society. Therefore to include such sessions in early stages of schools would give young boys and men firstly a place to reflect over their surroundings and learn what violence is and in what ways it is harmful, before they are taught to become ‘strong macho men’, whom might one day act violently or witness violence without protest, due to the patriarchal norms. As discussed by Peacock & Barker (2014), our gender stereotypes, are formed when we are young, but as they are still being
formed it might be easier to change them since youths are more open for new influences than grownups who have lived longer with these gender stereotypes. So working with young people is an advantage that many of the organizations recognize and are working to do at a larger scale than they already are. To strive for access to the schools is a way to reach a large forum, and therefore get the chance to create awareness amongst many young men and boys that would otherwise have been difficult, though this is not without difficulties we have come to learn. There are a lot of obstacles for this not happening, resistance from those (schools etc) not wanting to become affiliated with the word violence, availability of facilitators and so forth.

If NGOs were to have the opportunities to reach out to schools and to be able to at a larger extend include their sessions in for example the curriculum, there would be a greater chance of changing the mentality amongst youths about what it means to me a man, the hegemonic forms of masculinity which at times means being aggressive, and also the view of women and the relationship between men and women. Changing at a young age the mentioned above `social practices´ could very well be a starting point to a brighter future, because if such patriarchal norms are questioned and challenged, surely violence against women would decrease.

**Awareness sessions for employees/companies**

One new strategy that has been discussed, is to reach out to the corporate world and have sessions for employees and companies, as a way to target adult men. Though this might be seen to be a bit of a paradox to what has earlier been mentioned since there has been much focus on the importance of engaging young people since they are still not as ‘set in their ways’. Although we cannot forget that one of the organizations work only with men that are older than 21 years. They have been very successful in reaching out to a large amount of men and seem rather successful as well in their aim to ‘transform men’. However, we can only assume that from our interviewees, but we do not have a report that clearly states that there is a shift in the men’s behavior and thinking.
One of the interviewees has stated that they are focusing on a young crowd since; ‘It is awareness and prevention more than finding a solution to a damaged already cause’. Although, to decrease the violence against women, occurring right now, it perhaps is not sufficient to only target young men and boys, but the adults whom would be more likely to practice these harmful notions of hegemonic masculinity, such as conducting violence (Connell, 2005). The idea is that there will be presentations and some sensitization, aiming to inform men at the workplace about forms of violence that many might not recognize as being violence. Harassment at workplace is mentioned by one of the interviewees as a topic to be covered in such sessions, that many men might see this as a form of violence which it actually is.

‘We hope by doing that, more men will come to us and ask: how can we join you? We want to have more and more men to come out and publicly say no to violence, so that then other men will realize that there is something there’.

As implied by the quote above, one of the organizations are hoping that if they conduct sessions for companies, more men will become aware of the issue of violence against women and also want to become involved in the cause.

In the effort to work with companies one of the participant explains that they are currently trying to gender mainstream the company's HR (Human Resource)-policies. ‘It is important because you cannot talk about GBV (Gender Based Violence) without gender mainstreaming the company's HR-policies’. There lies an importance to firstly change the foundation of the companies such as their HR-policies, while continuing the work with awareness sessions for the employees, not leaving one important part out. Instead this creates a more holistic approach in the work of engaging the corporate world in violence against women. Although they are not only working with men which is not their aim, but also with many women, one could imagine that working within a male-dominant environment there will in fact be mainly men attending those sessions. It is also of importance for the obvious reasons that a male-dominant environment will create an atmosphere according to those masculine norms, and
therefore they have to be addressed and talked about. Creating a reflexive atmosphere where it is spoken about that discrimination due to gender is not acceptable, and that the ways in which men perform their societal power to gain what they is not acceptable either. They have to realize their privilege and power and thereafter they can change their behavior.

Chapter 6 - DISCUSSION

6.1 Summary of the results in terms of the aim

We have looked deeper into the process of engaging men and boys in the subject of violence against women in Mauritius. We have interviewed both participants that has been part of the programs/sessions that the organizations offers, but also the individuals working within the organization's/programs. The aim was to interview some government officials as well to get a more holistic view on the topic, however, due to different reasons this was not possible to achieve. The theory used as a base for the study is Connell’s Hegemonic Masculinity, which we based much of our questions to the interviewees.

One of the main methods that the different organizations used was to create ‘change-agents’ in order for the men and boys to take action and become a change in society. The first step for this process to happen is through creating awareness and informing the boys what they can do individually to later on become a change. They later on encourage them to take action and change for example small things in their life. On the continuing sessions they are encouraged to reflect on what they have accomplished in their environment, and can share what they have done.

A majority of organizations work with both girls and boys, the reason being that they either want to represent gender, or/and due to the fact that they see a need to include both sexes for the sessions to become effective.
What we found is that the method they use is a form of empowerment process, where the individuals become aware and informed and then later are encouraged to take action. However, part of that process is to create real reflection which could be seen as difficult to achieve in that short period of time that the organizations have with the participants. Another organization uses another form of empowerment with the men. They empower them to be able to express their emotions, which is a negative trait of hegemonic masculinity (Scott-Samuel et al, 2009). This is done in order for men to get in touch with their emotions and resorting to that instead of using force to channel their feelings.

What we found was that the issue of power, which empowerment is a part of, is only dealt with individually rather than structurally, for the most part. The issue of violence against women in Mauritius, is mostly explained and handled through problematizing it individually. It could also be an issue when empowering men to take action, due to the fact that there could be misuse of that power given which there is a pattern of men doing previously in history. One of organizations also state that when men are empowered to become a change, their wives/girlfriends etc also regain their status, which brought the question if men again need to take power and give women that position or if women can accomplish that on their own. Although, due to the fact that they also work with girls they also empower girls to stand up and say no when they do not agree with something in their life, or for instance making them aware what is an unhealthy relationship and so forth.

One method used by many of the organizations in this study is the one of portraying alternative roles of masculinity and/or role-models as a way to tackle the issue of violence against women. This is done in different ways but the main idea is to show men and boys other ways of what it means to be a man. They are working to make masculinity more diverse and thus challenge what Connell (2005) would call hegemonic forms of masculinity, in order to create new ones. In doing so, combined with creating awareness on the issue of violence against women, there is a believe that violence against women will be reduced as an outcome.

Some of the organization could for instance give young men and boys tools, how to behave, how to express their feelings rather than using violence as a way to express themselves. The use of role-models is a part of this creation of new forms of masculinity that is less harmful for both men and women. Role-models in the meaning that people can use them as an
example of how to behave or act, someone they can relate to and use as guidance in situations needed. One of the organizations, has Jesus Christ as a role-model, where his life and doings show alternative roles of masculinity for men to follow and learn from. Which is believed by the organization to help reduce violence against women amongst other things. This because Jesus led a life which was respectful towards women and would refrain from violence and so forth. Although this might be a very good tool, we still question to some extent the use of a religious role-model due to the fact that in many religious instances, the patriarchal norms and values are prevalent, if not at times dominant. Role-models are also used in another way, which is the use of existing role-models, as a tool to catch people's attention in regards to the subject. The use of current role-models such as celebrities, to get them to say actively no to violence against women, could be seen to be very beneficial in getting others involved. Since celebrities often have much influence on people, especially on youths which is often the target groups of the organizations.

There are some difficulties faced by the organizations, one of them being the collaboration between the government and the organizations. The participants had somewhat of a suspicion towards the government, and what their priorities where when it came to violence against women and engaging men and boys in the topic. Some of the participants thought that the government would only tackle the problems that would benefit them. Many believed that the issue of violence against women was not an issue that would bring the politicians votes and therefore they would not tackle the problem.

Through a launching of a Capacity Building Program to end gender-based Violence for trainee prison officers, we met with Hon (Mrs) Marie-Aurore Marie-Joyce Perraud and her associates. It was evident that something was being done, although we could not delve deeper into that because we did not get the opportunity to interview anybody from the Ministry of Gender Equality, or anybody from the prison that had a part in developing the capacity building program for that matter. Of course there could have been numerous reasons to why this never occurred, we could not help to think that maybe the government does not prioritize the issue after all.

Connecting Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity, we could give an explanation to maybe why the government does not seem to see violence against women as a vast issue in Mauritius. One explanation could be due to that the majority of power in Mauritius is still
held by men. Also, men are privileged to a point that they might not see violence against women as an issue because it is not a direct issue for them. Therefore they are not concerned with it either. Or it can also be a way for men in power to sustain their power that they already have, which is to keep women oppressed and men superior. Therefore the men in power do not want to deal with those issues, because it might mean that women will become empowered and start taking 'their’ power.

We found through our interviews that the recruitment of facilitators was one common difficulty for most of the organizations in this study. Two of the main issues with the recruitment and the facilitators was the availability of the facilitators, and the recruitment of men to join the organization. The availability of the facilitators was at times a great difficulty since most of the organizations only had volunteers working for them. Therefore it would create obstacles in conducting sessions and furthering or developing their work. The other issue, was to get more men to become engaged in the organizations, to get male facilitators involved. Many of the interviewees stated that men do not see violence against women as an issue for them to be involved in, or are unsure that they should engage in it, due to the fact that they are men. Some state that men simply do not recognize the problem since they are not ‘directly’ affected by it as women are. The majority of the organizations wanted to have more male facilitators, and one of the reasons for that was that there is a belief that men listen to men. Further, if men see other men involved in the issue of violence against women, perhaps they will develop a curiosity and want to become engaged as well. The interviewees indirectly spoke about what we referred to as the male privilege, thus that men do not directly need to be aware of the issues of violence against women, and thus explained why more women are likely to engage in the issue of violence against women.

A common denominator that the organizations wanted to focus on as a new strategie, was to scale up the work on violence against women but also to engage men and boys more. One of their suggestions where to work more with schools to incorporate sensitization sessions in schools. The reasons for this is that they could reach more youth than possible today. Many of the interviewees expressed that working with the youth was the way forward, because they believe that working with youth is where they will see the results, changing gender stereotypes before it is set. Although, one of the organizations work mainly with men over 21 years old.
Some of the organizations see their work develop into the corporate world. One organization already is currently working with companies, where they have sensitizations sessions and also work with changing their HR-policies for it to become gender mainstreamed. While another organization is currently looking into working with companies as well, which means that they will reach a large amount of men in the end.

6.2 Critical discussion of the theory

One main criticism of hegemonic masculinity is that the theory does not directly describe what it looks like in practice (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). This might create some confusion on exactly what hegemonic masculinity is, although Connell (2005) also states that the hegemonic masculinity is different from context to context and therefore there is no fixed character type. It is also more of an abstract explanation of how the current masculine norm has trickled down to a majority of men and creates the current hegemonic forms of masculinity. This is what we consider, despite the current critique, that Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity, gives enough space and room for own interpretation of what hegemonic masculinity is at any given time or place. Though at the same time, this is seen as a flaw that can create confusion about what hegemonic masculinity is.

Wetherell & Edley (1999) questions Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity because it does not explain how institutionally powerful men such as Tony Blair could also be explained as ‘non-hegemonic in terms of their personal style’ (p.3). However, Connell (2005) also clearly states that it does not necessarily mean that all powerful men have the traits of hegemonic masculinity or create that, they can in fact hold traits much different to what is considered hegemonic masculinity, it can be other people as well that create what masculinity is.

‘The hegemony of men in relation to women, children and other men needs to be addressed more directly’ (Hearn, 2004, p.63). This needs to occur in order to avoid the possibility of excluding for example women, which can be a danger when speaking of masculinity, but we cannot forget that masculinity is developed not only through the interaction of other men but women as well.
According to Collinson and Hearn (1994) and Hearn (1996, 2004, in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), hegemonic masculinity does not emphasize issues of for instance power, and is vague and not clear in its description. Further, they state that the theory might only create one mold of what masculinity is, instead of expanding the concept of masculinity. The criticism of the inclusion of power issues in the theory, is very much contestable due to the fact that the word hegemony directly deals with power. The theory clearly states and handles this as an issue, although there might need to be an even more emphasis on the issue of power and how masculinity is affected and formed by it.

The theory of hegemonic masculinity by Connell depicts masculine traits with mainly ‘negative’ attributes, such as aggressiveness and unemotional (Collier, 1998, in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Therefore masculinity in itself becomes associated only with these characteristics, which can be dangerous, assuming that everything masculine is negative. This has been seen in for example criminology, where the term masculinity has been associated with negative characteristics, which in turn have been associated with criminal behavior (Collier, 1998, in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

6.3 Comparison with previous research

The initial step we took in creating this research, was to undertake extensive reading on the previous research in the subject of engaging men and boys in violence against women. The subject itself is a rather novice area, meaning that the research to be found is mostly very current, but also that there is little to be found considering some aspects. We had great difficulties in finding previous research deriving from the Mauritian context, which might not be so surprising because it is a small island and there are not perhaps such extensive work being done in the field as it might be in other countries.

Much of the previous research we could easily see similarities with the data we have collected throughout this research. Many of the difficulties found in other research in the subject of engaging men and boys in violence against women are the same. Casey et al’s (2013) study explores, what we also have found, the inherent tensions that surface when trying to engage
men or when men are already engaged in such efforts. The research brings up the problem with men viewing the issue as a ‘women’s issue’ that has nothing to do with their own lives, thus the difficulties in recruiting/engaging men. Although, in the same study, which is align with some of the responses we have gathered, some men do see the issue of violence against women as important, but they are unsure or unaware how to contribute to the cause.

There is a clear difference from our data collected and previous research which is that for the most part, the organizations do not work from an ecological approach (Peacock & Levack, 2004). An ecological approach is a method to work at different levels in order to not only change individuals but also to create societal change, which according to research is the most effective way to sustain change (ibid). The reason for this is that: ‘Ecological approaches recognizes that individuals often reflect the values of their families, communities and societies’ (Levack & Peacock, 2004, p. 8). The focus of the organizations lies in changing the individual to become the change in society while little emphasis is made on the societal changes, which could be an interesting aspect for the organizations to look deeper into.

A recent study on the subject of engaging men in what is largely seen as ’women’s issues’, for instance violence against women, has presented the crucial need for a collaboration between such organizations and women’s rights movements (Bojin, 2013). There is according to this study, a need for organizations engaging men in the issues, to at least consult with women’s group in the same field to get an accurate picture of the issues and so forth (ibid). It is also of great importance, to collaborate, so that men in the field do not ’take over the arena’, but jointly works toward the same goals and in consultation with one another (Bojin, 2013). This is something that we have found in our study to be prevalent in the work of the organizations that are a part of this study. The organizations collaborate with other organizations in the field, as a way to support each other but also to not duplicate the work, and to know what is being done and what needs to be further worked on.

6.4 Suggestions for further research

What we could not find, even though we found an organization working in the field of engaging men and boys against violence, was research concerning the subject or issues related to it. Which we thought would be interesting especially since there are organizations working
in the field. Thus we think it would be beneficial if there was more research about specifically engaging men and boys in a Mauritian context.

There is an overall lacking, from what we have seen from previous research, is how to engage men and boys in the issue of violence against women in Mauritius. What we believe could be interesting, that is very much a part of equality work, is further research on how the law engages or does not engage men in order to create a more equal society. For example, if the law promotes equality between men and women, this is something that later on might reflect the society too. Examples of this could be; If the law encourages men to be engaged in their child’s life in Mauritius, for example having paternity leave and so forth?

During this study, and whilst reading previous research from all over the world, we found little research regarding the outcomes or results of programs/organizations working to engage men and boys in violence against women. There was sufficient research about the subject overall but it is a rather novice area of research still, and thus it is no surprise that the results/outcomes of the programs are still missing when it comes to research. Though we think it would be of great interest to see some more result focused research, for example how effective or not effective some methods are in engaging men and boys, outcomes of sessions/workshops, if there has been a change in mentality for those participating in such programs etc. Such research would surely be beneficial for other organizations in the area of engaging men and boys, to see what is effective, what tools might work, and as inspiration for further development within organizations, and for those interested in starting up something new related to the area.

6.5 Alternative interpretations of the results

The results could have been interpreted in a certain way due to our background as women coming from a ‘socialist’ background. Because we come from a more socialist background where the state is a strong stakeholder in society, therefore our perception is that the state should play a significant role in many aspects in our society. While in Mauritius there is almost an opposite view amongst some of the participants. Further, our background is also
from a country where the patriarchal society is less than in Mauritius, which could have an effect on how we view equality and so forth.

In addition, there was sometimes a feeling of that the organizations would want to promote their organization, and therefore they would very rarely be critical to their methods and so forth. Or it could also be that they had never thought of the methods and how they are executed in a critical way. This in a way hindered the study, the reason being that we needed to in a way ‘pull-out’ a critical thinking from our participants which could be difficult at times, because we would have to be very careful in not asking leading questions, which was a hard balance to strike.
References


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